Buddhist Encounters and Identities Across East Asia

EDITED BY

Ann Heirman, Carmen Meinert
and Christoph Anderl

BRILL

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Dynamics in the History of Religions

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PART 2
Negotiating and Constructing Identities

Acknowledgments

We hope that this book contributes to understanding how Buddhist developments in the Asian world were shaped not merely through inner discourses but in fact through translocal and transcultural exchange relations across East Asian Buddhist networks.

Ann Heirman
Carmen Meinert
Christoph Anderl
Ghent/Bochum, April 16th, 2018

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List of Abbreviations

CE	Common Era
Chin./Ch.	Chinese
BCE	Before Common Era
DDB	Digital Dictionary of Buddhism (http://www.buddhism-dict.net)
BTD	Buddhist Transcription Dialect
DN	*Dīgha Nikāya*
DZ	*Daozang* 道藏. Taipei: Xin wenfeng chuban gongsi 信文豐出版公司 edition, 1977.
EMC	Early Middle Chinese
Fig.	Figure
G.	Gāndhārī
GDhp	Gāndhārī *Dhammapada*
HAR	Himalayan Art Resource, www.himalayanart.org
ibid.	*ibidem*
Jap./J.	Japanese
K & N	Kern and Nanjio 1908–1912
KG	Bernhard Karlgren
Kor.	Korean
LMC	Late Middle Chinese
MI	Middle Indic
MS	manuscript
MSS	manuscripts
ONWC	Old Northwest Chinese
P.	Pāli
PB	Pulleyblank
Pkt.	Prakrit
RE	Rock Edict
S & H	Soothill & Hodous 1937
SDP	*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*
Skt.	Sanskrit
SZ	*Shingonshū zensho* 真言宗全書. 44 vols. Edited by Shingonshū Zensho Kankōkai 真言宗全書刊行会. Kōyasan: Shingonshū zensho kankōkai, 1933–1939.
T.	*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大蔵經. 85 vols, ed. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1934.

TZ   *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō zuzō* 大正新修大蔵経図像. 12 vols. Edited by
              Ono Genmyō 小野玄妙. Tokyo: Daizō shuppan, 1932–1934.
Tib.   Tibetan
trans.   translated
W   *Wan xuzang jing* 卍續藏經. 150 vols. Ed. Xinwenfeng Bianshenbu
              新文豐編審部. Taipei: Xinwenfeng Chuban, 1975.

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and Social Sciences 8.1 (2015); "A Comparative Approach to Śubhākarasiṃha's (637–735) Essentials of Meditation: Meditation and Precepts in Eighth Century China," in *Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism*, edited by Yael Bentor and Meir Shahar, 156–94. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

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Introduction: Networks and Identities in the Buddhist World

Tansen Sen

By the first and second centuries CE, when objects and teachings associated with Buddhism started entering the ports and urban centres of Han China, several regions of Asia were already connected through networks of cross-regional commercial activity. People from diverse ethnic backgrounds operated these networks that linked the overland roads and pathways, rivers channels, and sea routes. The length and reach of these networks depended on various factors, including the nature of the terrain, the mode of transportation, profitability, as well as the political relationship among the various regimes involved. These networks facilitated the transmissions and circulations of commodities, ritual objects and ideas as well as the movement of craftsmen, artisans, and diplomats from one region of Asia to another. The long-distance spread of Buddhism took place through such networks. As Buddhist images, texts, and ideas spread across the Asian continent, they acquired new forms and interpretations, and subsequently entered re-circulation. For example, Indic texts were rendered into Chinese; later, commentaries explaining the teachings contained in these translated texts were composed by Chinese Buddhists. These translations and commentaries were then passed on to the clergy living in Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Tibet, and other places. Modifications took place with each rendition and movement, creating diverse forms of Buddhist practices, images, and philosophical traditions. Over time, these movements and modifications resulted in the emergence of distinct identities, often imposed by others, among Buddhist communities that are important for understanding the diversity and multiplicity of the Buddhist world that spanned from present-day Iran to Japan.

This collection of essays underscores the connections and the diversities within the Buddhist world. It becomes apparent from these essays that the history of Buddhism in premodern Asia was also the history of connectivities, circulations, conversions, and transformations that took place within the Asian continent prior to the colonial period. While the connectivities and circulations were intimately associated with the long-distance networks that linked far-flung regions of Asia, the processes of conversions and transformations highlight the diversity of the people and societies inhabiting the continent. Thus, although the core teaching of *karma* and retribution may have been the

common thread that linked the vast Buddhist world, a detailed examination of local practices suggests the existence of distinct identities rooted in unique cultural practices, beliefs, and indigenous socio-political conditions. Before proceeding to summarise the essays included in this volume and their contributions to comprehending the diverse Buddhist world, this Introduction outlines the issues of network and identity as can be discerned from the Buddhist connections between India/South Asia and China.[1]

1   The Networks of Buddhist Exchanges

The evidence for the presence of Buddhism in China during the first three centuries of the Common Era suggests a complicated and haphazard influx of Buddhist images and ideas. These images and ideas arrived through multiple routes, from different parts of South Asia, and were carried by people of diverse ethnic background engaged in varied professions and long-distance activities. A key factor facilitating the spread of Buddhist artefacts and ideas during this period may have been the commercial linkages formed by trading communities and the transportation networks of caravan and ship operators. Indeed, by the beginning of the first millennium CE, intra-Asian commerce and transportation, through both overland and maritime routes, had witnessed significant growth. Itinerant traders were travelling across the Asian continent more frequently than in the previous periods. The spread of Buddhism to Han China should be understood within this context of unprecedented connectivity and interactions taking place within Asia.[2] The linking of distant markets, ports, and urban centres contributed not only to the circulations of commodities and the movement of traders, but also triggered the flow of objects and people who were not necessarily part of the commercial activities. Such objects ranged from mundane personal items associated with food intake to those that were connected to the faith of the itinerant individuals. Missionaries, technicians, and diplomats travelled with their own agendas on ships or caravans. With

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1   The terms "India" and "South Asia" are used to specify the region that includes the present-day states of Republic of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh in case of the former; and the inclusion of Sri Lanka and Nepal for the latter.

2   See the classic work of Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China. 2* vols (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972). A work specifically on early India–China connections is Liu Xinru, *Ancient India and Ancient China: Trade and Religious Exchanges, AD 1–600* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988).

sustained demands, improvements in modes of transportation and naviga-
tional skills, and the formation of regular supply chain for commodities, the
long-distance commercial ventures became a routine. Travel between sites
of export and import became frequent and continued until changes in eco-
nomic, political, or climatic factors interrupted these connections. The sus-
tained movement back and forth between markets, ports, and urban centres
formed the basis of networks that were operated by one or several groups of
people who, in turn, interacted/negotiated with different polities across these
networks. Given the interdependencies between traders, transport providers,
and suppliers at ports and overland halting places, the long-distance networks
were unlikely to have been exclusive to one group of people or monopolized by
one faith. A 'Buddhist network',[3] if there were one, therefore, had to be a part
of or dependent upon other networks, with pilgrims and missionaries sharing
transportation space with members of other faiths. Indeed, insisting on the
existence of an exclusive Buddhist network, especially in the cross-regional
context, fails to convey the complexity of the long-distance connections across
Asia. Likewise, traders who supported the Buddhist cause did not solely deal
with objects that were in demand for Buddhist rituals and construction activi-
ties. In both cases, the Buddhist clergy and traders engaged with a variety of
people, faiths, and objects. Additionally, the contraction of a mercantile net-
work or the decline of Buddhism in a region did not imply the corresponding
termination of the other. The decline of Buddhist sites in the Gangetic plains
of India in the thirteenth century did not, for example, result in the collapse
of long-distance commercial networks in the region.[4] In other words, it is
important to separate the commercial networks that connected distant re-
gions and the movement of Buddhist images and ideas that were facilitated by
the existence of these networks.

Scholars have already examined the relationship between merchant com-
munities and the spread of Buddhist ideas and monastic institutions in
South Asia. James Heitzman, for example, has demonstrated the association
between mercantile activity, political power, and the spread of early Buddhist

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3 For an example of how this term has been used, see Tilman Frasch, "A Buddhist Network in
   the Bay of Bengal: Relations between Bodhgayā, Burma and Sri Lanka, c. 300–1300," in *From
   the Mediterranean to the China Sea: Miscellaneous Notes*, edited by Claude Gulliot, Denys
   Lombard and Roderich Ptak (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 69–92.
4 On this issue, see Tansen Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade: The Realignment of Sino-
   Indian Relations*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003.

institutions along the major trade routes in the hinterland regions of India.[5]
Similarly, Himanshu Prabha Ray has outlined the intimate bond between sea-
faring traders, Buddhist monasteries in the coastal regions of India, and the
maritime transmission of the doctrine.[6] Liu Xinru, on the other hand, has
applied the conceptual framework of an intertwined relationship between
long-distance trade and the transmission of Buddhist ideas to examine the
early exchanges between South Asia and China.[7] More recently, Jason Neelis
has studied the relationship between trade networks and the transmission of
Buddhism through the 'northern routes' in Gandhāra and Upper Indus regions
into Central Asia.[8]

Many aspects of the Buddhist networking, essentially the interactions
between Buddhist institutions, monks, and lay members frequently using the
mercantile networks between South Asia and China, are evident in the trav-
elogues of Chinese Buddhist monks Faxian 法顯 (337?–422?), Xuanzang 玄奘
(600?–664), and Yijing 義淨 (635–713). These are the main textual sources that
reveal the association between Buddhism and the long-distance networks of
traders and sailors. Also evident in these travel records are the relationships
between Buddhist monks (as well as institutions) and rulers, officials, and vari-
ous political elites. Individual monks and institutions formed their unique re-
lationship with these members of the society, which often advanced personal
objectives, benefited specific monastic institutions, or served the Buddhist
cause in general. Additionally, the travel records demonstrate the existence of
several hubs that were sites of interactions along the networks that connect-
ed South Asia, China, and several other regions of the Buddhist world. These
hubs included Dunhuang (in present-day Gansu Province of China), Khotan
(in present-day Xinjiang Province of China), Nālandā (in the present-day state
of Bihar), Palembang (in the island of Sumatra in Indonesia), and Chang'an
(present-day Xian in China). These places were centres of knowledge pro-
duction and circulation, as well sites for cross-regional trading activity. They
were vital for the spread of Buddhism across Asia.The circulations of goods,

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5   James Heitzman, "Early Buddhism, Trade and Empire," in Kenneth A. R. Kennedy and
    Gregory L. Possehl eds., *Studies in the Archaeology and Palaeoanthropology of South Asia*
    (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984), 121–137.

6   See the following two books by Himanshu Prabha Ray: *Monastery and Guild: Commerce under
    the Satavahanas* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986); and *The Winds of Change: Buddhism
    and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994).

7   Xinru Liu 1988.

8   Jason Neelis, *Early Buddhist Transmission and Trade Networks: Mobility and Exchange within
    and beyond the Northwestern Borderlands of South Asia* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011).

donations, and information through the networks of traders, urban settle-ments, and monastic institutions are reported in Faxian's work, entitled *Foguo ji* 佛國記 (Records of the Buddhist Polities, T. 875). Faxian was among the first Chinese monks who travelled to South Asia.[9] During his journey to South Asia, embarking in 399 CE, Faxian does not mention any contact with merchant car-avans or groups as he passed through the oasis towns of Dunhuang, Gaochang (present-day Turfan), and Khotan. Rather, as discussed below, Faxian's travels through the overland routes of Central Asia seem to have been facilitated by the networks of garrison towns, urban settlements, and monastic institutions. It is only when the monk started his return trip from Tāmralipta in Eastern India that he became depended on the network of seafaring traders. Indeed, his writing indicates a highly connected world of itinerant traders, monks, sailors, and circulating ritual and donative objects in the fifth century. One of the first indications of the existence of networks connecting the urban centres in the Gobi-Taklamakan desert region comes from Faxian's passing reference to a 'messenger' with whom the monk and his companions journeyed from Dunhuang to the polity of Shanshan.[10] Although no detail about this 'messen-ger' is given in the text, it is clear that such persons frequently moved between the oasis towns of the Taklamakan desert. They were most likely part of the communication network between the governors or rulers of these towns, who either had their own modes of transportation or travelled with merchant cara-vans. Faxian, and later Xuanzang, suggests that information regularly circu-lated among the oasis towns through such messengers and their networks, in addition to the networks belonging to traders and caravan operators. All these networks facilitated the movement of Buddhist monks and objects across the treacherous routes traversing the Gobi and Taklamakan deserts.

There were several other aspects to these, what appear to be, intertwined or parallel networks of traders and itinerant officials/messengers. Elite monks, such as Faxian and Xuanzang, may have attracted the attention of local officials/rulers, who then supported their journeys and provided housing in their homes or palaces. Other monks travelling through the oasis towns lived

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9   A detailed study and translation of Faxian's work (into German) is Max Deeg's *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-Zhuan als religionsgeschichtliche Quelle. Der älteste Bericht eines chine-sischen buddhistischen Pilgermönchs über seine Reise nach Indien mit Übersetzung des Textes*. Studies in Oriental Religions, vol. 52 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag). A recent English translation is Li Rongxi's 'The Journey of the Eminent Monk Faxian', in *Lives of Great Monks and Nuns* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2002), 155–214.

10   *Foguo ji*, T.51.2085: 857a14; Li 2002: 163.

in Buddhist monasteries. These monasteries formed important resting places
not only for Buddhist monks, but also traders and perhaps the court messen-
gers/diplomats. However, not all monasteries were receptive to travellers or
accepting of monks from different regions. Faxian, for example, mentions that
a monastery in Agni did not accept Chinese monks as members of the *saṅgha*.[11]
Faxian's implication seems to be that the Buddhist tradition practiced in Agni
('Hinayāna' according to him) and China were different and divisions existed
among various Buddhist groups in the spaces between South Asia and China.
This antagonistic, or at least complex, relationship between groups corrobo-
rates the likelihood that exclusive Buddhist networks, if they existed, may not
have been easy to establish or operate in reality. Crucial to the networks that
connected South Asia and China were roads, mountainous paths and stair-
ways, bridges (including the rope suspension bridge that Faxian used to cross
the Indus River) and ports, as well as boats and ships. Buddhist monuments
and temples, sites embodying Buddhist legends, and places that held relics of
the Buddha in South Asia were important nodes on these networks for itiner-
ant monks to—as in the abovementioned hubs—congregate, share informa-
tion, and exchange goods. Many of these places housed objects that came from
faraway places, donated by monks and merchants. Faxian, for instance, reports
seeing a 'Chinese white fan' in Sri Lanka, which he says was offered by a mer-
chant to the famous footprint of the Buddha at Adam's Peak.[12]

    Faxian's narrative of the maritime connections, first from Tāmralipta to Sri
Lanka, then from Sri Lanka to Southeast Asia, and eventually to the coastal
region of China from Southeast Asia, is one of the earliest accounts of the sailing
networks that existed within and across the Bay of Bengal and the South China
Sea regions. The Chinese monk boarded a 'large trade ship' from Tāmralipta to
Sri Lanka, which took fourteen days to reach the island with favourable winds.
After staying in Sri Lanka for two years, Faxian took another 'large merchant
ship' to a place called Yavadvīpa (Java?) located in South China Sea. This jour-
ney needed ninety days of travel. From Yavadvīpa he sailed on a third 'large
merchant ship' going to China. During these latter two occasions, the ships
encountered rough weather and deviated significantly from their intended
course. When sailing from Yavadvīpa to China, fellow Brahmin travellers sig-
nalled out Faxian as the cause for the 'unlucky' encounter with treacherous
'black cyclone'. 'It is because we have a Buddhist monk on board our ship',
one of them argued, 'that we have been so unlucky and suffered such great
trouble. We should drop the monk on an island. We should not risk our lives

11   Ibid.: 164.
12   Ibid.: 204.

because of one man'.[13] This proposition by the Brahmins is not only indicative of the rivalries that existed among those travelling long-distance to proselytize their faiths, but also of the use of maritime networks by several different groups of missionaries between South Asia and China. Other Chinese Buddhist sources also mention instances when Brahmins and Buddhist monks journeyed together between South Asia and China.

By the time Xuanzang, in c. 629, embarked on his travel to India from Tang China, the networks of travel, communication, and material exchanges between the two regions had become significantly more vibrant. At the same time, the spread of Buddhism to Southeast Asia, Korea, and Japan brought new regions and groups of peoples into the networks of exchange and interactions. The movement of Buddhist clergy, objects, and ideas peaked in the eighth and ninth centuries. Within this context, the travels of Xuanzang, in addition to corroborating the existence of many of the networks alluded to in Faxian's work, contributed to the creation of what could be called the 'network of imagination' that bonded the Buddhist world. In their recent collection of essays, John Kieschnick and Meir Shahar have noted the Indian impact on the Chinese creative imagination and the Chinese imagining of India.[14] This impact extended to other Buddhist communities in Asia. The Japanese, for example, imagined the Buddhist holy land from the writings of Xuanzang, representing his travels in drawings and mapping the Indian subcontinent. As Fabio Rambelli has demonstrated, the imagining of India, mediated through the Chinese texts, had a profound impact on the Japanese views on their place in the larger Buddhist world.[15] It augmented the network of Buddhist exchanges between Japan and China, which, similar to that between China and South Asia, was intertwined with the networks of commercial specialists and official envoys.

Erik Zürcher has noted that the expansion of networks of monastic institutions was the 'driving force behind the spread of Buddhism all over Asia'.[16] Xuanzang's writings provide important clues to the developing connections

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13   Ibid.: 211.

14   John Kieschnick and Meir Shahar ed., *India in the Chinese Imagination: Myth, Religion, and Thought* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 1.

15   Fabio Rambelli, "The Idea of India (*Tenjiku*) in Pre-Modern Japan: Issues of Signification and Representation in the Buddhist Translation of Cultures," in *Buddhism Across Asia: Networks of Material, Intellectual and Cultural Exchange*, edited by Tansen Sen (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014), 259–290.

16   Erik Zürcher, "The Spread of Buddhism and Christianity in Imperial China: Spontaneous Diffusion versus Guided Propagation," in *China and the West: Proceedings of the International Colloquium held in the Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Brussels, November 23–25, 1987*, 9–18, 14 (Brussels: AWLSK, 1993).

between Buddhist monks/institutions and the long-distance diplomatic networks. The Tang period witnessed frequent exchange of diplomatic missions between polities in South Asia and the Tang court. Especially noteworthy were the missions led by the Tang diplomat Wang Xuance to the court of the South Asian ruler Harṣa. The *Da Tang da Ci'ensi sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (Biography of the Master of the Tripiṭaka of the Great Ci'en Monastery) suggests an intimate relationship between the Chinese monk and the ruler in Kanauj, Harṣa's capital city.[17] Additionally, the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 credits Xuanzang for initiating the diplomatic exchanges between the Tang court and Harṣa.[18] These records are no doubt exaggerations, intended to underscore the importance of Xuanzang who had a close relationship with the Tang rulers Taizong and Gaozong, during whose reigns these diplomatic exchanges took place. Through either Wang Xuance or one of the other members of the diplomatic entourage, Xuanzang communicated and exchanged gifts with his acquaintances at Nālandā. In one of the letters he wrote to the monk named Prajñādeva, for instance, Xuanzang expressed his gratitude for the gifts that he had received from India and requested copies of Buddhist texts that he needed. These, he suggested, could be sent through a 'returning messenger'. In another letter Xuanzang notes that a Tang envoy returning from India had informed him of the passing of his teacher at Nālandā.[19]

Similar connections between Tang diplomats and Buddhist monks are also reported in the works of the monk Yijing (635–713), who embarked on his trip to India in 671 and returned in 695. Yijing mentions the Chinese monk Xuanzhao 玄照, who interacted with the Tang princess Wenchang in Tibet, received help from the king of Nepal, and had audience with the Emperor Gaozong. The Tang emperor asked him to return to India and bring to Tang China a Brahmin named Lujiayiduo 盧迦溢多 (Lokāditya?) from Kashmir. On his way Xuanzhao met a Tang envoy who requested the monk to instead go to Luocha 羅茶 (Lāṭa) to fetch medicinal plants for longevity for the Tang emperor. After procuring the plants, however, Xuanzhao fell sick and died in Middle India.[20]

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17 *Da Tang da Ci'ensi sanzang fashi zhuan* T.50.2053: 233b4–26. For a recent translation of this work, see Li Rongxi's *A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1995).

18 *Xin Tang shu* 221a: 6237.

19 T.2053.261b21–262a27; Li 1995: 230–235.

20 Yijing, *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 (Biographies of the Eminent Monks [who Travelled to the] Western Regions in Search of the Law, [Compiled during the] Great Tang [Dynasty]), T.51.2066: 1b26–2a27.

The writings of Xuanzang and Yijing indicate that the relationship between itinerant monks and official envoys (and the courts), similar to that between the traders and itinerant monks, was reciprocal and the networks they used to travel between China and South Asia were intertwined.[21]

Yijing mentions that he met the monk Xuanzhao in Nālandā, where the former had gone to study the practice of *vinaya* (monastic rules). As a centre for learning and missionary activity Nālandā played a key role in connecting several regions of the Buddhist world. From its founding in the middle of the fifth century through to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the institution functioned as a repository of knowledge, a site of interactions, and a place which accumulated and dispersed a variety of ritual objects and images. Indeed, from Yijing's writings (as well as that of Xuanzang before him) it becomes evident that Nālandā was at the centre of the cosmopolitan world of Buddhism in the seventh century. In his *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, Yijing mentions several monks from Tang China as well as from the Korean peninsula who had travelled to Nālandā to study Buddhist texts. Some of these monks lived at the renowned monastic institution for couple of years; others, according to Yijing, decided not to return to their homeland. Monks from Sri Lanka, Sumatra, and Tibet are also reported to have studied at Nālandā by Yijing and other sources. Yijing also alludes to connections between Nālandā and other similar learning centres across the Buddhist world. These centres included Chang'an, the capital of Tang China, Palembang in Sumatra, and Tāmralipta in eastern India. In fact, at one point Yijing recommends that Chinese monks planning to visit South Asia should first learn Sanskrit in Palembang.[22]

In sum, the records of the above three Chinese monks who travelled to South Asia reveal the existence of several intertwined networks that connected the Buddhist world in the first millennium CE. The networks of traders and sailors were clearly the most crucial for those travelling long distances. These networks not only facilitated missionary and pilgrimage activities, but also sustained the circulation of ritual objects and other goods associated with the practice of Buddhism. The networks of messengers and diplomats also facilitated these movements of people and objects. These different types of networks connected pilgrimage centres, sites housing important relics, and learning centres. Even the imagination of the Buddhist heartland created networks of connections that extended from Japan to India. It must be noted that the movements across these networks were not unidirectional. People and

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21   Ibid.

22   Yijing tr. *Genbenshuoyiqieyou bu baiyi jiemo* 根本說一切有部 百一羯磨 [*Mūlasarvāstivāda*]*ekaśatakarman*?], T.1453: 477c26–28.

objects moved in various directions, some limited to specific regions and others across vast distances. These movements were often coordinated between the members of the Buddhist communities and the operators of the networks. But there were also instances when the connections took place in arbitrary and unplanned fashion. In other words, the networks of connections across the Buddhist world were neither neatly organized nor part of a coordinated effort on part of the Buddhist communities or the operators of the networks. These haphazard and muddled movements, as well as the lack of an emphasis on universal ideology, seem to have defined the long-distance Buddhist networking. Indeed, the unsystematic spread of Buddhist ideas through the various networks of traders and transporters gives credence to Erik Zürcher's questioning of Central Asian oasis states as the staging ground for the initial transmission of Buddhism to Han China. Thus Zürcher contends that the spread of Buddhism from southern Asia to China was through 'long distance' transmission rather than a result of 'contact expansion'.[23] However, it is possible that during the course of such 'long-distance' transmissions some Buddhist artefacts and ideas entered the in-between halting places and relay centres. The unsystematic spread of Buddhism may have also contributed to the development of localized forms of Buddhist practices, images, and teachings across this Buddhist world. The awareness of sectarian differences, the cognizance of the centre-periphery gap, and the distinctions made between the local and foreign led to the formation of unique and multifaceted identities among the advocates and followers of Buddhism.

2   Changing Connections, Changing Identities

Many of the abovementioned networks that facilitated Buddhist connections persisted into the second millennium CE. Itinerant Buddhist monks continued to use the networks of traders and sailors, rulers and court officials offered support to the members of the clergy embarking on long-distance travel, and pilgrimage sites, old and new, drew Buddhist patrons from different regions of Asia. The circulation of Buddhist paraphernalia also endured through these networks. However, a noteworthy development during this period was the fragmentation of the Buddhist world into smaller circuits of connections. These circuits had their own doctrinal emphases, pilgrimage sites, linguistic

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23   Erik Zürcher, 'Han Buddhism and the Western Regions', in *Thought and Law in Qin and Han China: Studies Presented to Anthony Hulsewé on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, edited by Wilt L. Idema and Erik Zürcher (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 158–182.

coherence, and exclusive commercial and diplomatic networking. Thus, the East Asian circuit that linked the monastic institutions in China, Korea, Japan, as well as those in the Khitan and Tangut territories; the Southeast Asia–Sri Lanka circuit that was integrated through doctrinal, commercial, and diplomatic linkages; and the Tibet–South Asia circuit united through missionary and pilgrimage networks emerged as the three main subregions of the Buddhist world by the twelfth century.

The origins of these distinct circuits lay in the earlier phases of Buddhist connections, especially in the seventh and eighth centuries, when the monastic communities, itinerant monks, and polities started encountering the notions of the 'self' and the 'other'. Distinct identities were either imposed or gradually taken throughout the Buddhist world. In the case of the Buddhist tradition labelled as 'Theravāda', Peter Skilling has pointed that the term did not exist in pre-twentieth century European writings, nor did it appear in indigenous sources of Southeast Asia.[24] The category and the identity 'Theravāda' was clearly imposed after the nineteenth century. However, the realization of distinctiveness, the recognition of sectarian differences, and the awareness of the ways in which Buddhism could be used for political purposes existed among the Buddhist clergy at an early date. Distinctions were made between the 'Hinayāna' and 'Mahāyāna' practitioners (as is evident in the works of the three Chinese travellers mentioned above), between the sacred Buddhist heartland in South Asia and the peripheral regions of China, between native monks and foreign missionaries, and between Buddhists and non-Buddhists.

The chapter by Max Deeg in this volume explains the ways in which Chinese monks visiting South Asia perceived themselves and were, in turn, seen by others in the broader context of the Buddhist world, in which China was situated in the peripheral region. The feelings of belonging and not belonging, of being present in a foreign land even though among fellow Buddhists, and the creation and propagation of unique forms of doctrine led to the formation of dual and often times multiple identities. A Chinese monk, for example, was different from practitioners of other religious traditions; he was also unlike the foreign monks residing in China; his specific doctrinal pursuit gave him a distinct identity, and his status within the monastic community also created a discrete identification. The distinctiveness became more complex if the Chinese monk travelled to foreign regions, including to the pilgrimage sites or learning centres in South Asia.

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24 Peter Skilling, 'Introduction', in *How Theravāda is Theravāda?: Exploring Buddhist Identities*, edited by Peter Skilling, Jason A. Carbine, Claudio Cicuzza, and Santi Pakdeekham (Bangkok: Silkworm Books, 2012), xiii–xxx.

During the early phases of the spread of Buddhism the specific identities of Buddhist groups, icons, and teachings were most likely undistinguishable. Thus the early evidence of Buddhism in China, for example, indicates a mixture with local traditions, especially those related to funerary traditions.[25] The cross-regional interactions and exchanges of the first millennium CE, especially during the second half, were an important factor in the recognition of distinctiveness and difference within the Buddhist world. This paralleled the creation of new spaces of pilgrimage, new doctrinal explanations and preferences, and new practices stemming from local cultural and social needs. The decline of Buddhism in several regions of India by the end of the millennium contributed to the strengthening of localized identities and eventually the segmentation of the Buddhist world into the self-contained circuits. As a result, the 'borderland complex' (see the chapter by Deeg), which was prevalent prior to the eighth century, abated and each circuit assumed its own distinct identity.

The Buddhist connections between South Asia and China witnessed dramatic changes due to the abovementioned segmentation. Contacts between the clergies of the two regions became limited, as those in China were content to pursue their own doctrinal interests. Arguments were even put forth by some members of the Chinese Buddhist community, such as the famous Song monk Zanning 贊寧 (919–1001), for the reverse transmission of doctrines to India.[26] This feeling of a need to re-transmit Buddhist doctrines to India was apparent again in 1940, when the monk Taixu 太虛 (1890–1947) visited India as part of a Goodwill Mission sent by the Guomindang regime in China.

Taixu was one of the many monk-intellectuals in the early twentieth century who were wrestling with the issues of colonialism and modernity. Already in the late nineteenth century the Sri Lankan Anagarika Dharmapala (1864–1933) had spearheaded a revival movement in India with his attempt to restore the Mahabodhi Temple in Bodhgayā as a key pilgrimage site for Buddhist followers. He established the Maha Bodhi Society in Colombo in 1891, which subsequently relocated to Calcutta (now Kolkata), to accomplish this goal.[27] While Dharmapala's efforts to establish Buddhist control over the Temple site succeeded only after his death, eventually attracting a large number of pilgrims, it was the Maha Bodhi Society in Calcutta which became the centre for discourse

25   On this mixture of Buddhist and local elements, see Wu Hung's 'Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art (2nd and 3rd Centuries AD)'. *Artibus Asiae* 47.3–4 (1986): 363–352.

26   See Sen 2003.

27   On Anagarika Dharmapala and his activities, see Steven Kemper, *Rescued from the Nation: Anagarika Dharmapala and the Buddhist World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

among Buddhist monks and lay followers from around the world in the early twentieth century. These monks and lay followers tried to formulate a common agenda for Buddhism in the context of European and, subsequently, Japanese imperialisms. Several Chinese monks, officials, and scholars visited the Society, donated funds, and served on the governing committees of the organization. Taixu was one of the most prominent visitors to the Society, in both Calcutta and Sarnath.

The aim of the Goodwill Mission led by Taixu was to seek the support of the Indian Buddhist community and the political leaders in the war against the Japanese. Taixu met with people such as the future Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, delivered lectures at Buddhist gatherings, and visited the sacred pilgrimage sites in present-day Bihar state. During his public speeches, Taixu was introduced as a modern-day Xuanzang making pilgrimage in India. However, Taixu had his own agenda. From the moment Taixu disembarked in Calcutta, he was struck by the decline of Buddhism in India. He stressed in his writings and speeches, similar to the Song monk Zanning, albeit in a more melancholy tone, the need to re-transmit Buddhist doctrines from China to India. He even donated money to the Maha Bodhi Society to undertake this task. Taixu's feelings about his presence in India were clearly very different from those of the Chinese monks in the first millennium CE. Instead of sensing a 'borderland complex', Taixu felt that China had emerged as a centre for Buddhism with the responsibility to restore the doctrine in the Buddhist holy land. The sacred Buddhist sites in India no longer generated a sense of peripheral existence among the Chinese monks. Rather, they had attained an identity of their own as a central realm of Buddhism.[28]

Another aspect that also needs to be stressed here is the use of Buddhism to create a distinctive identity for political regimes, communities, or groups. Prior to the colonial period, several polities, such as the Sui dynasty, Srivijaya in Southeast Asia, the Khitans and Tanguts in the northern steppe regions, and the Mongols in Persia used Buddhism to establish a unique identity and distinguish themselves from contending regimes, rival polities, or unify the subjects within a common ideology. The same was true for some of the Chinese migrant groups settled in Southeast Asia and Calcutta. Among many of these migrant groups, Guanyin was one of the most ubiquitous Buddhist deities. Other figures associated with popular practice of Buddhism, such as the monk Jigong

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28   On Taixu's Goodwill Mission to India, his meetings, lectures, and feeling about Buddhism in India, see Tansen Sen, 'Taixu's Goodwill Mission to India: Reviving the Buddhist Connections between India and China', in *Buddhism in Asia*: Revival and Reinvention edited by Nayanjot Lahiri and Upinder Singh (New Delhi: Manohar, 2016), 293–322.

and the monkey god Sun Wukong, also appeared in the temples and shrines belonging to the Chinese overseas. However, the Buddhist identities of many of these deities are not always evident as they are often worshiped alongside Taoist divinities, deified individuals from local regions, and Confucian figures. Within this context, the veneration of two so-called buddhas, Ruan Ziyu 阮子鬱 (1079–1102) and Liang Cineng 梁慈能 (1098–1116), by migrants from the Sihui County in Guangdong province, is remarkable. Beyond the Sihui region, temples dedicated to the two buddhas can be found in Singapore, Malaysia, and Calcutta.

During the Song period, Ruan Ziyu and Liang Cineng, two commoners, lived near Shaoguan, where the mummified body of the Sixth Chan Patriarch Huineng 惠能 (638–713) was preserved. Ruan Ziyu is supposed to have one day dreamt of Huineng and suddenly attained enlightenment. Liang, on the other hand, had a dream about Ruan and also instantaneously became enlightened. Two temples, Baolin 寶林 (built in 1271) and Baosheng 寶勝 (built in 1290), dedicated to the two figures respectively, were erected in the Sihui region soon after the deaths of the two individuals. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the Cantonese-speaking people from the region started migrating to Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, and Calcutta, they established temples and shrines dedicated to these two buddhas. The two buddhas served as the protective deities of the Sihui community as they moved from one region to another. More importantly, the Ruan and Liang buddhas and the temples dedicated to them became important markers of Sihui identity as the migrant group tried to differentiate themselves from other Chinese migrants living in Southeast Asia and Calcutta. These days, the Sihui migrants often travel to the original temples in Guangdong province. For those who are unable to do so, photographs of the original temples and the images of the idols of Ruan and Liang from these temples are displayed at the temples in Southeast Asia and Calcutta. These temples served a similar purpose as the earlier transplanted pilgrimage sites in foreign regions, such as Mt. Wutai in China, giving a sense of belonging and a common identity to people living in foreign regions.

3　Encounters and Identities

Translocal cultural encounters and the diversity of Buddhist identities are the focus of the twelve chapters that appear in this volume. Connections between several regions of the Buddhist world, from South Asia to Japan, are examined to explain the intricacies of regional and cross-regional networks and the complexities of identities. Subjects covered in these chapters range

from artistic connections and notions of belonging to the movement of ritual objects. Together these essays illustrate the nature of the vibrant and multi-layered Buddhist world prior to the colonial era. The chapters contribute to the understanding of the networks that facilitated Buddhist connections, and the transformations of Buddhist ideas and objects as they moved through these networks. They also detail the unique identities of Buddhism as the teachings of the Buddha were accepted, transformed, and re-transmitted within the Buddhist world.

The first section of the book, 'Translocal Cultural Encounters', examines the Buddhist connections that were fostered through the various commercial and diplomatic networks. They focus on the transmission of ideas, objects, texts, and people from one region of the Buddhist world to another. Claudine Bautze-Picron explores the art-historical impact of Bagan's connections to Yuan China. Using unpublished aspects of the late thirteenth-century murals found in several temples at Bagan, Bautze-Picron examines the ways in which specific iconographic motifs, such as the representation of Mongols, the depiction of dreadful door-keepers, or the image of the short-necked Buddha from Yuan China, entered Burma (now Myanmar).

Rob Linrothe's essay focuses on a partial set of eight Ming dynasty textiles still in use at a shrine in the Western Himalaya that was never in contact with any Chinese state, and was in fact founded long after the Ming dynasty ended. Yet the group of relatively well-preserved embroidered textiles, at least one of which has a Chinese inscription on the back, are hung during the monastery's annual masked dance festival (Tib. *'cham*), treasures displayed on an auspicious pair of days. How and when they were acquired by a monastery in southeastern Ladakh on the far Western border of Tibet is not known, though other objects in the same monastery can be shown to have been sent by the nineteenth-century 14th Karmapa. These objects, Linrothe asserts, are potent, physical reminders of the circulation and flow of people, ideas, practices, texts, and objects within Buddhist networks crossing linguistic, state, ethnic and cultural borders. Spectacular objects created at or by the Ming court were prized at the major Tibetan Buddhist monasteries supported directly by the Ming court—reminders of the monastery's participation in wider networks of Buddhist teachings and support, helping to define their identities.

Megan Bryson's essay deals with the Nanzhao (649–903) and Dali (937–1253) polities centred in the Dali region of what is now southwest China's Yunnan province. Bryson demonstrates that the ruling elites in the Nanzhao and Dali polities relied more heavily on networks linking Dali to Chinese territory for their Buddhist material, especially their texts, than to other Buddhist sites in Tibet or South Asia with which the region also maintained close connections.

Despite this, Bryson argues, the ruling elites emphasized their links to India and downplayed the China connection. Employing texts and images related to the "border-crossing" Bodhisattva Guanyin (Skt. Avalokiteśvara), the essay shows how the documented and represented networks related to each other in the Nanzhao and Dali polities.

The basic characteristics and historical formation of the combination of Fudō 不動 and Aizen 愛染, two important esoteric Buddhist deities, in medieval Shingon 真言 esoteric Buddhism in Japan, are discussed in the essay by Steven Trenson. Looking at the issue from the standpoint of two different intersecting networks, a 'translocal' human network stretching between China and Japan and a 'local' conceptual network of ideas and practices developed in Shingon, Trenson highlights the belief that marked the identity of medieval Shingon, in particular of the Ono 小野 branch of that school. It contends that the Fudō-Aizen belief came to occupy a special place in the Ono branch as the result of ideas passing from China to Japan through certain human networks which were adopted at one time into the conceptual network of rainmaking.

Bryan Levman's contribution studies the transmission of the Buddha's teachings from India to China through the lens of the *dhāraṇī*s of the *Lotus Sūtra*. Kumārajīva was the first Chinese translator to undertake a transliteration of the *dhāraṇī*s that attempted to retain their ritual efficacy for Chinese Buddhists. His source text was Prakritic in nature and shown to be centuries earlier than the Sanskrit manuscripts that have survived. The transmission of the buddhadharma from India to China, Levman argues, was a highly complex process with dozens of human, temporal, spatial, dialectal, scribal, psychological and phonological variables, making it impossible to transmit the teachings error free. Levman's study of the *dhāraṇī*s opens a unique window on the networks of exchange of information between India and China in the early centuries of the Common Era and the interaction of two very different cultural and linguistic environments.

In the final chapter of this section Kaiqi Hua scrutinises the life of the last Song Emperor Zhao Xian 趙㬎 (1271–1323), who travelled extensively across China and Tibet, and became a Tibetan Buddhist monk with the name Lhatsün (Tib. Lha btsun). Using various sources in different languages and literary forms, Hua not only reconstructs Zhao's travel routes, but also explains the motives and processes of Buddhist exile for the royals during the Mongol Yuan dynasty through physical migration in space and textual reproduction in time. The essay demonstrates the role Buddhism played in cross-cultural and cross-regional contacts in the lives of individual migrants.

The second section of the book, 'Negotiating and Constructing Identities', consists of six chapters that explore the attempts by the clergy to find, create,

or assert their identities in different regions of the Buddhist world. Max Deeg's contribution draws on Antonino Forte's notion of a borderland complex and on the concept of the 'double belonging' of Chinese Buddhists in the medieval period. This was caused by the fact that China, the so-called Middle Kingdom, was not the centre of Buddhist cosmology. Indeed, it was not part of the Buddhist sacred realm at all, as Deeg argues. Nowhere can one observe this struggle better than in the records of Chinese pilgrims to South Asia, as noted above. In this regard, Deeg contends, the protagonists are, quite often, negotiating a dual cultural identity; they are both part of greater Chinese culture *and* express a sense of religious belonging to—and presence in—a Sacred Land that lays claim to cosmological and soteriological superiority over all the other regions in the world. The conflict that arose from this conflict of identities is expressed in the texts in the form of poems and narratives reflecting either homesickness or determination to stay in India (or both), as examined in the essay. The essay also addresses the different forms of expression of these identities and analyses them in the wider context of Chinese and Indian Buddhism.

The essay by Sem Vermeersch studies the way Chinese Buddhist monks looked at their Korean counterparts, and how this perception of a Buddhist 'other' changed over time from the beginning of the sixth to the late tenth centuries. This was the period when Buddhist exchanges between China and Korea were the most intensive. Throughout this period, a vast number of monks from peninsular kingdoms travelled to China and beyond; some eventually returned to their home country, but many stayed, and some left their marks on Chinese Buddhism. Given the lack of early Korean sources, much of our information about the biographies of these intrepid monks stems from Chinese biographic collections. So far, however, insufficient attention has been paid to the fact that these biographies were shaped by the ideals and motivations of their authors. Notably, Daoxuan, the author of a seminal collection of monastic biographies, projected his own ideals of the observance of the *vinaya* and doctrinal learning upon the biographies of Wŏngwang and Chajang. The way he creatively reimagined these biographies has been accepted in Korean scholarship and continues to influence even present-day perceptions. While later biographies do not show such a strong auctorial hand, they equally tend to ascribe Chinese monastic ideals or other motivations to the Korean material.

Henrik H. Sørensen devotes his chapter to the study of a specific phenomenon in the history of East Asian Buddhism, namely the quest for the Buddhist teaching (*qiufa* 求法) undertaken by Buddhist monks in regions other than their own. Based primarily on the analysis of epigraphical writings, Sørensen explains the experiences associated with Korean Sŏn 禪 (Ch. Chan) Buddhist monks journeying to Tang China during the eighth and ninth centuries.

The cult of Shōtoku Taishi 聖德太子 (Prince Shōtoku, 573–621) was a far-reaching movement across Japan throughout several centuries, and the belief that he was Huisi's 慧思 (515–577) reincarnation was an important element in his extensive cult in the Buddhist world. Pei-Ying Lin in her essay examines the connection between the Japanese prince and the legend cycles of the Chinese patriarch Huisi from the eighth century onwards. In particular, the essay discusses the networks of authors of this reincarnation story, namely Du Fei 杜朏 (c. 710–720), Jianzhen 鑑真 (688–763), Situo 思託 (722–809), Saichō 最澄 (767–822) and Kōjō 光定 (779–858). This self-identification involved Buddhist monks who located themselves in a broader context of East Asian Buddhism. Lin argues that the reincarnation legend reveals the authors' motives of rearranging the association between China and Japan. Their self-identification, Lin contends, matured as the reincarnation story developed into complete form.

Bart Dessein's chapter argues that one's Buddhist identity is not a monolithic singularity, but a layered construct, consisting of the acceptance of the Buddha-word (*Buddhavacana*) as one's core Buddhist identity, then one's particular monastic school and code as a first layer around this Buddhist 'nucleus', and finally philosophical interpretations of the Buddha-word as the outer layer of one's Buddhist identity. These three layers, Dessein points out, are represented in the traditional three collections of Buddhist literature (*tripiṭaka*): *sūtra*, *vinaya*, and *abhidharma*. The 'canonical' status of the *abhidharma* collection is the least stable of these three. The 'Abhidharmic' layer is, according to Dessein, therefore, the layer that enables 'networking', as the acceptance of the Buddha-word and one's monastic affiliation are beyond negotiation. It is this intricate connection between identity formation, canonization, and networking in the Indian and Chinese political spheres that form the core of this chapter.

The final chapter of the volume by Ann Heirman examines the monastic life as a major factor in the creation of Buddhist identity. In several types of Buddhist texts, and particularly in disciplinary texts, monastic life received a great deal of attention, with monks representing the Buddhist community as well as the Dharma. This is also the case with respect to bodily care. Although bodily care practices might seem trivial, they reveal what the community stood for, at least normatively. Heirman explains how this normative ideal was transferred from India to China, taking into account the role of Buddhist monastics in the social networks to which they belonged. Heirman further explores the ways in which the threshold for becoming a monk advanced over time, with purity attaining an ever more central position in Buddhist discourse on bodily care.

PART 1

Translocal Networks

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Bagan Murals and the Sino-Tibetan World

Claudine Bautze-Picron

1   Introduction

Located in the central plain of Burma on the left bank of the Irrawady, the
old city of Bagan was at the centre of an intensive commercial network with
some roads following the river from North to South, while others crossed the
hills on the Western bank of the river, either reaching Arakan and beyond
the Indian subcontinent or going toward Yunnan, China, Tibet and Central
Asia in the East and the North. These commercial contacts were backed by
political and diplomatic relations, which also linked the Kingdom of Bagan
(eleventh-thirteenth centuries) to those of Sri Lanka and Angkor.[1]

Being thus at one centre of this intricate network had profound repercus-
sions for the art of the site, a phenomenon which has been only too rarely
noted, let alone studied in detail. Most authors considered the Indian, and in
particular Bengali, impact on the architecture of the site, or introduced remarks
about the similarities between specific images from Bagan and Eastern India.
Systematic study of these similarities, as indeed also of those noted between
the art of Bagan and China, is however still lacking. A study of the wall paint-
ings from this standpoint is in fact richly rewarding: unlike the stone and cast
images found at Bagan, which show such strong similarities with the art of
Eastern India that one can at times surmise them to have been imported from
this region rather than produced locally, murals are immovable and were pro-
duced where they are still seen today. They thus reflect a local reality even if
penetrated by elements whose origin can be traced back to India or China.

As a matter of fact, the wall paintings which can be dated from the end of
the eleventh up to the early fourteenth century share various features with the
artistic productions of China and Eastern India. They have already drawn our
attention in recent years: those of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries

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1   Cotton was imported from India and silk from China (Frasch 1996: 281–282). Concerning the
    relations with China: below note 36 and Frasch 1996: passim; Wade 2009: 19–24; Goh 2010 &
    2015: 42–60. For those with India and Sri Lanka: Frasch 1998, and with Cambodia: Bautze-
    Picron 2003: 197. A short survey of the presence of Bagan in the international scene is made
    by Bautze-Picron 2003: 3–5.

illustrate characters wearing garments adorned with motifs encountered in Buddhist illuminated manuscripts from around 1100 CE produced in the region of Comilla in Bangladesh;[2] the style and the iconography of the paintings in a temple like the Loka-hteik-pan (beginning of twelfth century) go back to the art of Bihar;[3] and even if their iconography appears to relate to literary sources traditionally considered to belong to Theravāda, the murals in temples like Patho-hta-mya and Mye-bon-tha-hpaya share their style with eleventh-twelfth-century illuminated manuscripts from Eastern India.[4]

The iconography and style imported from Eastern India in the eleventh century—most probably because painters of Indian origin had then been invited to work at and founded ateliers in Bagan—rapidly underwent fundamental transformations when local painters succeeded their Indian masters. The pictorial development of the twelfth century led to the emergence of a genuine Burmese style which also radically modified iconographic topics inherited from Eastern India, such as bodhisattvas as door protectors; this movement persisted up to the early fourteenth century with the basic modification of letting the iconography become subsidiary to decorative paintings. With the Indian impact waning in the course of the twelfth century, new inspirations were embraced by the painters, derived from the motifs of Chinese textiles and ceramics from the Song 宋 (960–1279) and Yuan 元 (1271–1368) periods.[5]

Paintings were made not by monks but by trained craftsmen. And although they were told what to represent by monks or donors, the source of inspiration for the formulation which they gave to this iconography lay in their physical environment. Thus, even if the iconography of the murals refers to texts known in Sri Lanka, and iconographic models might also be imported from Eastern India in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, artists were open to foreign aesthetics made accessible through the import of Indian cottons and Chinese silk and ceramics. We recently had the opportunity to study some of these aspects of the murals in various papers[6] but many more questions and unknowns remain; here we will dwell on two of them in particular. As mentioned above, the painters were acquainted with various decorative motifs through Chinese garments and ceramics,[7] but certain aspects of the iconography

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2 Bautze-Picron 2014.

3 Bautze-Picron 2003: 8–9 and passim.

4 Bautze-Picron 2015: 113.

5 Ibid.

6 Bautze-Picron 2014 and Bautze-Picron 2015.

7 Bautze-Picron 2015: 115–117.

constitute evidence of the local presence of Chinese or Mongols in the thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries.

Not only did the Bagan artists integrate in their production stylistic, iconographic and ornamental features from the countries adjacent to Burma, but their works were also able, albeit to a limited extent, to inspire their colleagues from abroad. The Burmese impact, most probably originating from Bagan, is in fact perceptible in various regions: around Bodhgayā in Bihar, in Bengal, at Kharakhoto in Central Asia, or even in the artefacts of the Three Pagodas of the Chongsheng Temple in the Dali Kingdom (937–1253). Although these examples remain isolated and never deeply anchored in the local artistic production, they prove the existence of contacts between these regions and sites and Bagan.[8]

The reader will find below a list of various types of motifs seen both in Bagan and in different sites of the Sino-Tibetan world. These similarities are epiphenomenal and are generally isolated: an image at Bagan can relate to several examples noted elsewhere, or a picture seen abroad is correlated with different examples observed at Bagan. Moreover, some particular iconographic aspects of the murals do not enter into this category of 'similarities' but in fact reflect the presence of Chinese or Mongols in Bagan.

2 The 'Short-Necked' Buddha

The cult images of the Bagan temples present a very particular depiction of the Buddha image with round shoulders and deep-sunken head hiding the (short) neck, which is also introduced in the wall-paintings in the course of the twelfth century (Fig. 1.1). Outside Bagan, where it has in effect become a generic motif, this type is occasionally observed among the cloth-paintings of the Tangut period (1038–1227) collected at Kharakhoto, where different foreign styles—Nepalese, Chinese, and Tibetan—are attested, reflecting the international culture of the Buddhist community there.

This type, variously labelled robust or short-necked,[9] might not have been originally created by the artists of Bagan, although it is encountered in

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8   Reference here is to a unique small crystal rock carving of the Buddha found in the treasure of the Three Pagodas and approximately dated to the twelfth century; see Lutz (ed.) 1991a: 173–174, Kat. 47; Lutz 1991b: 107, 110, Abb. 91. See also Leoshko 1990 for an introduction on the Burmese impact in Bengal.

9   These terms were coined by by Hiram Woodward Jr and Ulrich von Schroeder (see Bautze-Picron 2010: 72, note 11).

FIGURE 1.1   *Buddha, Thambula: Northern side of the central core.*
                  ALL PHOTOS ARE COURTESY OF JOACHIM K. BAUTZE UNLESS OTHERWISE
                  MENTIONED.

practically all the local monuments. The very technique with which the cult
image was produced accounts for this 'robust' body built of bricks and stuccoed
before being painted. It is highly likely that the central image of the Bodhgayā

temple was made this way[10]—and I would go as far as suggesting that the wall behind the image there was painted with the programme of the Life of Śākyamuni, as found in the Loka-hteik-pan.[11] Cast and carved Indian images of the Buddha from the eighth up to the late twelfth century do not, however, show this thickset appearance, and in the few cases in which this appearance is to be seen it is probably to be understood as reproducing the cult image of the Bodhgayā temple.[12]

In the late eleventh and twelfth centuries the sculptors and bronze-casters of Bagan reproduced the main stylistic trend observed in Bihar and Bengal. Only towards the end of the twelfth century do we encounter carved images of the Buddha with large head hiding his neck in the Kubyauk-nge (1198 CE).[13] However, the cult image of the Bagan temples has always reflected a very different perception of the body of the Buddha, which is similar to the rare Indian examples mentioned above. As said above, this image is built in brick, stuccoed and painted, and owes its very characteristic form to this technique of production: the face is large and sunken, hiding the neck, whereas the body is heavy, rather round, the shoulders rounded. The head does not rise free above the body but is squeezed between the shoulders on a short neck, probably to reduce its weight. The hairline generally follows an evenly curved line without

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10   The Bodhgayā image located at the centre of the Buddhist world, where Śākyamuni became Buddha, was and still is the model for any subsequent images. We should not forget that the Burmese kings were closely involved in the restoration and upkeep of the temple from the end of the eleventh century onwards. This method of producing images in brick, stuccoed and painted, spread throughout the Ganga valley as far as Bengal and Bagan and was definitely used when the cult image was of large dimensions. See Bautze-Picron 2010: 71, note 2; this is also suggested by Frederick M. Asher (2008: 29). Clay hair scrolls discovered by Alexander Cunningham in Bodhgayā and today preserved in the British Museum (inv. 1887.0817.144–145) support this hypothesis (my thanks go to Michael Willis for drawing my attention to these objects).

11   That would also account for this iconography of the Eight Events in numerous cloth paintings from the Himalaya. In India, too, this iconographic model was considered to be fundamental, judging from the numerous carved depictions, in some cases of very large dimensions, such as the Jagdishpur image located near Nalanda or the remains from a similar stele discovered around Lakhi Sarai (Bautze-Picron 1995/96: 363–369).

12   This is also the opinion of Jinah Kim 2013: 66–70. See ibid.: figs. 2–7, 2–8, for two painted depictions of this type. See also Bautze-Picron 2010: 71, note 2 for a further cast example found in the region of Bodhgayā. It is highly likely that the lotus *maṇḍala* preserved in the British Museum (Zwalf 1985: 115, cat. 153) also originates from the region (as also suggested by Wladimir Zwalf): the group of the Aṣṭamahābodhisattvas surrounding the Buddha is a well-know iconography in the region (Bautze-Picron 1997).

13   Reference in Bautze-Picron 2013: 71 note 10.

the wave or the peak marking the middle of the line; the *uṣṇīṣa* is broad and flat, at times showing a small hole which was probably meant to contain a (semi-)precious stone; the forehead may be very broad. This physical appearance of the Buddha is also encountered in the thirteenth-century murals of the site and in small carved images carved in Bihar and Burma before it was transmitted all over the Buddhist world, many depictions being found in Tibetan monasteries, others in Sri Lanka or Arakan, for instance.[14]

One cloth-painting from Kharakhoto holds our attention here more particularly (Fig. 1.4),[15] being stylistically closely related to thirteenth-century murals of Bagan, in particular those in the Thamuti-hpaya (monument 844, dated 1260 CE) (Fig. 1.3), the Thambula (monument 482, dated 1255 CE) (Fig. 1.2), the Ajja-gona-hpaya (monument 588, dated 1237 CE) and the Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi (monument 539, dated before 1248 CE).[16]

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14   Bautze-Picron 1999: figs. 1, 6, 9–10, 12–13.

15   Piotrovsky 1993: 118–9, cat. 6. Two further paintings from Kharakhoto can be placed in relation to the murals of Bagan as far as the depiction of the Buddha is concerned; they show the face painted on the frame of an isosceles triangle, the base of which coincides with the hairline, and have a broad and flat *uṣṇīṣa* (Piotrovsky 1993: 106–109, cat. 2; Rhie and Thurman 1991: 341–2, cat. 135 or Menzies 2001: 88, cat. 59). All three paintings show the Buddha of the *vajrāsana*, flanked by the two Bodhisattvas Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara, whose images used to stand at Bodhgayā on either side of the outer gate to the main temple (Bautze-Picron 2010: 77; but with regard to the bodhisattvas seen on the Kharakhoto paintings, see the remark made by Rhie and Thurman 1991: 341). The iconography within which this image is set does not, however, show any relationship to the visual language of Bagan. The *thangka* to which we refer more particularly shows the event of the Bodhi surrounded by a series of *caityas* which are symbolic of seven other sites related to the Buddha biography; this program does not, however, reproduce the one generalised in India and Burma, since the two events involving the monkey and the elephant are replaced by the evocation of the Vulture peak and the house of Vimalakīrti (Piotrovsky 1993: 118). Similar observations could be made with regard to the other two cloth paintings mentioned in this note (including, for instance, the depiction of the five Tathāgatas, the Aṣṭamahābodhisattvas, various deities and *krodhas* belonging to Esoteric Buddhism, and of Tibetan monks).

16   Bautze-Picron 2003: 194–195, 198–199, 206, and plate 90. See also Pichard 1993: 300–303 (Thambula), 376–383 (Tayok-pyi-hpaya-gyi); 1994a: 55–59 (Ajja-gona-hpaya); 1994b: 32–35 (Thamuti-hpaya). Regarding the dating (up to the early fourteenth century) of the material found at Kharakhoto, see Stoddard 2008: 16.

FIGURE 1.2   *Buddha, Thambula: murals in the Eastern hall, Western wall.*

3   The Buddha on the Cushion

Among the paintings of the Thambula mentioned above, one located in the
Eastern entrance hall (Fig. 1.5) includes a particular element not seen in other
monuments but well known through various examples in the Indo-Tibetan
world. As a matter of fact, the Buddha displaying the *bhūmisparśamudrā*, the
"gesture of touching the earth", sits on a cushion adorned with intricate scrolls
which spread out of the mouth of a lion face depicted at the centre of the com-
position. This treatment of the cushion is encountered in a number of images
cast between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries in Eastern India and the
Himalaya, showing Śākyamuni seated on a cushion adorned with a lion face
in a central position. This probably alludes to the *siṃhāsana*, "lion throne", of
Bodhgayā (Fig. 1.6),[17] a conjecture which seems to find confirmation in the fact
that the motif is found beneath this Buddha only in the Thambula. All the
other images in the temple depict later episodes of the Buddha's life, none in

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17   The Amitāyus illustrated by Pal 1972: fig. 7, is an exception. For this iconographic motif,
      see Pal 1972 and Weldon/Casey Singer 1999: 61–66. To the images published by these
      authors are to be added: von Schroeder 2001, 1: pl. 85E–F (also reproduced in von
      Schroeder 2008: pl. 18A); and Sotheby's New York 1999: cat. 60. Of all the known examples,
      only one cast image was actually discovered in Bihar, more precisely at Jaipurgarh near
      Fatehpur (Weldon/Casey Singer 1999: figs. 31–32; on this Buddha image and the other im-
      ages recovered at Jaipurgarh, see Huntington 1979, Mitra 1987, Sahai 1977, Sharma 1979).

FIGURE 1.4   *Buddha in* Vajrāsana *and Eight Great* Stūpas. *China, Tangut State of* Xixia, Kharakhoto. *12th–13th century. Inv. no. XX-2326. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.*

PHOTOGRAPH © THE STATE HERMITAGE MUSEUM. PHOTO BY LEONARD KHEIFETS.

fact showing this very peculiar cushion.[18] The position of the monstrous face, under the Buddha and not at the top of the image, departs totally from the traditional composition of the image in India, hence I suppose that what is initially depicted is a precious piece of cloth, perhaps a Tibetan or Chinese silk brocade, offered to a Buddha image and laid before it.[19]

4   Foreigners in the Murals

Devotees constitute a feature included in all the murals of the site. They can be considered to be contemporary to the Buddha when observed in scenes from the Buddha's life, but they can also be the donors to the monument. Their situation in many cases remains ambivalent, however: for instance, those depicted in large groups in the Kubyauk-gyi (Myinkaba), dated 1113 CE, can be simultaneously perceived as direct disciples of the Buddha and as devotees of the twelfth century. Such large groups of lay people are no longer present in the later murals of the site, and their original position, underneath the panel, is occupied by assemblies of monks, profiled standing or kneeling.

     Because they are ordinary humans, the laypeople wear real garments, whereas the gods and goddesses or characters from the Buddha's life story, such as his mother, are dressed and bejewelled in very specific ways which contribute to defining an iconography inherited from North Indian models. This convention is observed throughout the Bagan temples, and thus the depiction of male characters wearing neither Indian nor Burmese dress might prove surprising.

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18   To this observation, we should add the presence of the two gods Indra/Sakka and Brahmā flanking the Buddha and replacing the two traditional Bodhisattvas Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara whose images used to stand in front of the Bodhi Mandir (above note 15).

19   It is also possible, as suggested by D. Weldon and J. Casey, that these images refer to a specific important image worshipped in Bihar (p. 65).

FIGURE 1.6   *Buddha, Bihar, Potala Museum, Lhasa.*
PHOTO COURTESY OF ULRICH VON SCHROEDER.

As Donors in the Thambula (*monument 482*)[20]—Within this general context the presence of an important group of foreigners whom I would tentatively identify as Mongols painted in the frame of the northern entrance to the Thambula in Minnanthu appears unusual for two reasons: on account of the appearance of these devotees, and their position within the monument (Figs. 1.7–1.9). As a matter of fact, in the thirteenth century a door frame was usually adorned with a covering pattern of scrolls over which flying divine figures hover.[21] However, the northern entrance is here framed by a series of human male devotees, all kneeling with hands folded before the breast. Six characters to our left and nine to our right are still preserved, the upper part of the murals having disappeared. The construction of the Thambula-hpaya was completed in 1255 CE, having been financed by Thambula, wife to the ruler Sithu III (Uccana) (r. 1251–1256),[22] but one may surmise that this group of men might also have participated in the work on the painted ornamentation of the monument and were rewarded by being portrayed at the northern entrance— perhaps because they had come from the North. The presence of the nimbus behind their heads attests further to their importance.[23]

Their physiognomy and dress depart from what we generally see in the site murals, obviously indicating their foreign origin.[24] They display bushy moustaches hiding their mouths and falling at either end; as depicted here, this style of moustache illustrates a fashion unknown locally but noted in examples of Chinese paintings.[25] Their hair is knotted at the crown of the head, also recalling a Chinese or Yuan fashion,[26] while the eyebrows are not depicted with a continuous horizontal line but with tiny parallel strokes painted vertically. All are heavily clad with garments in silk brocade adorned with various motifs

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20   Pichard 1993: 300–303.

21   Bautze-Picron 2003: fig. 93.

22   Frasch 1994: 138.

23   One could also speculate that they were part of the group which accompanied the monk Disāprāmuk back from his diplomatic mission in Ta-tu (Beijing) in 1285; see below, note 35.

24   Moustache and beard were not unknown at Bagan since all the male lay characters, monks excluded, wore them, but they show specific cuts: the moustache is shaped as a thin horizontal line ('à la Salvador Dalí') and the beard can be full, clipped, or shaped as a long goatee. As to the long hair, it usually forms a thick bun on the nape, see Bautze-Picron 2003: figs. 21–27, 48, 73, 78 for instance.

25   For comparison, see: Watt 2010: 193, figs. 211–212 (two ink on paper works respectively dated 1296 and ca. 1041–1106); Hearn and Smith 1996: 291, fig. 14.9.

26   Ibid.; Godley 1994: 55.

FIGURE 1.7   *Group of foreigners flanking the Northern entrance, Thambula.*

such as scrolls or medallions,[27] but also with parallel concentric lines probably representing thick folds.

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27   For a study of volutes and scrolls as seen here and their most probable Chinese origin, see Bautze-Picron 2015.

FIGURE 1.8   *Detail of the murals on the Northern entrance, Thambula.*

As part of the iconographic programme in three monuments—Similar male fig-
ures appear in three other temples, e.g. in the Nandamanya and the Kathapa
East (monuments 577 & 505), two temples situated near the Thambula, and
in monument 1077, located further West near the river.[28] Whereas the murals

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28   Pichard 1993: 331–333 (monument 505); 1994a: 35–39 (monument 577) and 1994b: 319–321
       (monument 1077).

FIGURE 1.9   *Detail of the murals on the Northern entrance, Thambula.*

in the Nandamanya and monument 1077 are fairly well preserved, the large panel of monument 505, which we dwell on here, is unfortunately much faded and disfigured with graffiti. In all three cases, the characters are included in iconographic panels: in the Kathapa East and in monument 1077, two heavily clad characters worship a *stūpa* belonging to a sequence of four monuments, all depicted in the upper part of the panel (Fig. 1.10). In both examples, they are paired with a depiction of the *caitya* worshipped by *nāga*s at Rāmagrāma, both panels being positioned at the same height, and thus the divine level, on the wall as the Dussa-thūpa and the Cūlāmani which are respectively worshipped by the Brahmās and the *deva*s.[29] While studying the painted programme of monument 1077, I suggested identifying this *caitya* as the secret underground *caitya* raised by Mahākāśyapa and King Ajātaśatru: this *caitya* contained ashes collected by Mahākāśyapa from seven of the eight original *stūpa*s, the only one which remained intact being the one standing at Rāmagrāma.[30]

In the Nandamanya, the same characters dressed in heavy garments are introduced in the depiction of the 'war of relics'; as described in a previous paper,[31] this scene faces the veneration of the Rāmagrāma *caitya* by the *nāga*s, thus sharing the positioning noted in monument 1077. Eight such characters are distributed in two symmetric groups of four figures each (Figs. 1.11–1.13) in the lower row; above it, eight similar figures—but defaced—are standing around a central group showing two horse riders flanking Doṇa, shown standing with legs apart and hands raised to assuage the tensions between the eight rulers. It would thus appear that these eight figures should be the eight kings who carried the ashes of the Buddha back to their kingdoms. Their physical appearance is identical to that of the devotees in the Thambula: wearing heavy dress consisting of various layers of garments, adorned with foliated scrolls showing the spiked lobed leaf;[32] their hair is knotted at the top of the head, and they wear moustaches. Here also, as in the donors' group in the Thambula, their importance is stressed by the presence of the nimbus behind their heads.

Eight similar characters are depicted around the bejewelled Buddha on the South wall of monument 1077 (Figs. 1.14–1.16), a presence which I tentatively tried to explain in a previous paper.[33] They are depicted paying their respects to the teaching Buddha, wearing heavy garments showing various kinds of pleating and different types of headdresses: the hair may be tied at the top of the head, as seen in the Thambula, but it may also be hidden under a hat,

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29   Bautze-Picron 2011:11–12, figs. 15–18.

30   Bautze-Picron 2011: 12, notes 16–17.

31   Bautze-Picron 2011: 11.

32   On this very specific decorative Chinese motif, see Bautze-Picron 2015.

33   Bautze-Picron 2011: 17–20.

FIGURE 1.10   *Two foreigners worshipping a* stūpa, *Temple 1077, Southern wall.*

apparently inspired by the ornament noted in some Chinese paintings found at Kharakhoto.[34] Whoever they may be, identifiable or not with characters

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34   Piotrovsky 1993: 208–213, cats. 50, 51; see in particular the attending figures as illustrated on pp. 210–211.

FIGURE 1.11   *Group of eight foreign rulers, Southern wall, Nandamanya.*

FIGURE 1.12   *Left part of the group of eight foreign rulers, Nandamanya.*

FIGURE 1.13   *Right part of the group of eight foreign rulers, Nandamanya.*

FIGURE 1.14   *Temple 1077, Southern wall.*

belonging to Buddhist mythology, the major fact here is that such foreigners
are held in such high consideration that they are distributed around the
Buddha who is teaching, seated on his throne as a king (he is bejewelled) and
flanked by Mahāmoggallāna and Sariputta, all three depicted within a shrine
constructed in front of a tree whose foliage tops the composition.

The fact of having radically changed the looks of the eight Indian rulers who
had collected the Buddha's ashes at Kuśīnagara probably reflects the historical

FIGURE 1.15   *Detail of the mural in temple 1077, Southern wall, left
                  group.*

FIGURE 1.16   *Detail of the mural in temple 1077, Southern wall, right group.*

reality: relations with India were then extinct, and the central position held up to the thirteenth century by Bodhgayā—to which Buddhists had once flocked from all over Asia—had waned, whereas Bagan began stressing its position as protector of the dharma, having its own Bodhi Mandir constructed in around the mid-thirteenth century.[35] This situation occurred in a period characterised not only by a shift of political interest towards China, but probably also by more extensive relations between monks from Bagan and the Chinese world.[36]

5   Door-keepers at the Let-put-kan

We probably owe to this development the fearsome blue- or yellow-skinned male characters holding weapons such as a short sword and a *vajra* who are painted on the side walls of the entrances to the Let-put-kan (monument 711), a monument constructed before 1241 CE (Figs. 1.17–1.18).[37] Their facial features are startling, and they stand in the so-called *ālīḍhāsana*, a position of victory which also symbolises their power and strength. Such characters are evidently related to the fearsome (*krodha*) figures that appeared in the last phase of Buddhism in India and found their way to Tibet and Central Asia, but are clearly not part of the Buddhism which finds expression in the murals covering the inner walls of the monument where, as in all the other monuments, the main character is Śākyamuni, and they also differ completely from the bodhisattvas acting as door protectors placed at earlier monuments, such as the Abeyadana and the Kubyauk-gyi.[38] Although they are much damaged and have been partly repainted,[39] we can still recognise that they are heavily armed with *vajra* and sword in the Western entrance, or with arrow (or *aṅkuśa*?) and an indistinct attribute or weapon in the Eastern entrance.

    These grim door-protectors were clearly added at a later date, most probably towards the end of the thirteenth century, and were not part of the initial

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35   Frasch 2000.

36   On his return from his diplomatic mission to Beijing in 1285, the monk Disāprāmuk was accompanied by "monks from seventy monasteries […] who were to propagate Buddhism at Pagan" (Than Tun 1978: 32–34). See also Brose 2006: 337–338; Sen 2006: 304–305; and Goh 2010 for a detailed study of this complicated question of the relationship between the Kingdom of Bagan and China.

37   Bautze-Picron 2003: 191–192: date after Pichard 1994a: 239–243.

38   Bautze-Picron 2003: 93–103 and pls. 103–106 for instance.

39   In particular, in the Eastern entrance, huge monstrous characters or *bilus* were painted over them at a much later date; these are probably contemporary with similar figures depicted at the Sulamani in 1778 CE (I owe this information to Alexandra Green).

FIGURE 1.17   *Doorkeeper, Western entrance, Let-put-kan.*

FIGURE 1.18   *Doorkeeper, Western entrance, Let-put-kan.*

iconographic programme which depicts the life of the Buddha through a series of panels distributed on the different walls of the shrine. Taking also into consideration the fact that these are isolated depictions in Bagan, we cannot consider them as evidence of the end of the Buddhist monasteries in Eastern India, which occurred around 1200,[40] but rather as a sign of connection with China: Tantric Buddhism was practiced by the Yuan rulers and in the Dali Kingdom.[41] The presence of such door-keepers at the entrances of a Bagan monument probably corroborates the presence at Bagan of monks of other than Theravāda persuasion, probably those who had accompanied Disāprāmuk on his way back home.[42]

6 The Army of Māra

Throughout its history, the representation of Māra's army attacking the Buddha has been the favoured setting for depicting those perceived as enemies to the Buddhist community.[43] This is also apparently the case in thirteenth-century murals where, among the demons of the army, we note the presence of human soldiers (Fig. 1.19) fully protected by their lamellar armour, reminiscent of similar armour and coats worn by Chinese and Tibetan soldiers.[44]

7 Kyanzittha-Umin

This monument (number 65)[45] is not a shrine; it is built as if it had been excavated within a mountain. Two concentric corridors overlapping at the back of the

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40 As a matter of fact, the local testimonies of tantric Buddhism, as known in Eastern India, are most rare and are limited to a few cast images imported from India (for instance Luce 1969–1970, III: pls. 426–428, 445a, 446a–b, 447a–d). Some of the fantastic characters seated or standing within a row of caves painted all along the corridor of the early twelfth-century Abeyadana are also clearly related to this phase (ibid. pls. 231–237).

41 Howard 1997 or Bryson 2013, with further bibliographical references.

42 See above, note 36.

43 In Eastern India, for instance, Hindu gods and goddesses belong to this army from the tenth century onward (Bautze-Picron 1996; 2010: 111–116). This iconography found its way up to the region of Chittagong and Bagan where, in the tenth-eleventh century murals, the demons of the army still show features inherited from the Hindu deities (Bautze-Picron 2003: 109–114).

44 Compare to LaRocca 2006: 55–64, cats. 1–6.

45 Duroiselle 1922; Luce 1969–1970, I: 256, 269; Pichard 1992: 134–136.

FIGURE 1.19   *Foreign soldiers among Māra's army, Kubyauk-gyi, Wetkyi-in.*

monument give access to nine rooms totally lacking natural light, which might
have been used for meditation. Two larger rooms are built in the central space,
accessible from the inner corridor. The date of the monument is debated[46] but
very clearly its murals are late (late thirteenth-fourteenth centuries?) and were
not produced by professional artists, lacking the colours, the volumes, and the
understanding of a logically constructed iconography distributed through
the entire monument, as seen in most of the temples of Bagan. The lines are
in fact rough, and the colours poor. The iconography mainly includes images
of the Buddha as a teacher, but four panels show topics not encountered any-
where else and which do not appear to be related to canonical Buddhist iconog-
raphy as seen in Bagan: a group of hunters (Fig. 1.20) is depicted on the inner
wall of the back corridor, shooting arrows or holding a hawk. They were discov-
ered and published by Charles Duroiselle, who identified them as Mongolian

46   Luce considers the monument to date from Kyanzittha's reign (eleventh-twelfth centu-
      ries; hence its name) while Pichard dates it in the thirteenth century, a date which we
      would tend to ascribe to the murals (see previous note).

FIGURE 1.20   *Mongol hunters, Kyanzittha-umin, Southern corridor, Northern wall.*

hunters.[47] As a matter of fact, they can be compared with certain Mongolian characters, such as those depicted in the Diez Albums: their hats show a rather broad brim and flat crown[48] with feathers attached on top;[49] they are fully dressed, wearing boots and trousers, and bearing their quiver on their hip and a bird, probably a hawk, on their hand. The upper part of their dress is most probably made of brocaded silk with roundels spread all over—an ornamentation which finds an echo in textiles of the Yuan period.[50]

In his description of the monument, Charles Duroiselle noted a panel painted above one of the four entrances—a square panel showing eight Christian crosses, which he relates to the Nestorian Church which was present in China (Fig. 1.21).[51] A panel illustrating a different iconography is seen immediately above this one, showing a seated monk. A similar painting is to be seen in a

47   See Duroiselle 1922: 17–18 and plate I reproducing the sketches of two of them; these drawings were also (but poorly) reproduced by Than Tun 1976: figs. 3–4. Further pictures are reproduced by Pichard 1992: 136, figs. 65j–k.

48   Compare to Watt 2010: 79, fig. 111.

49   See also Watt 1997: 96, fig. 38.

50   Watt 1997: 95, cat. 25; Watt 2010: 112–113, fig. 146. See further: Watt 2010: 76, fig. 106.

51   Duroiselle 1922: 18–21; see also Guy 2010: 173–175 on the situation of the Nestorian Church in thirteenth-century China.

FIGURE 1.21   *Upagupta, Kyanzittha-umin, mural above an entrance.*

FIGURE 1.22   *Upagupta, Kyanzittha-umin, central room, Eastern wall.*

niche on the Eastern wall of the Southern central room (Fig. 1.22). In both
cases, the monk sits with crossed legs, wearing shoes; he wears a heavy garment
which has folds clearly indicated in one case and a cape-like piece of clothing
covering his shoulders. He sits with closed eyes, smiling gently; slightly bowed,
he holds his bowl against his breast with both hands. The heavy dress and the
sandals seem to designate him as a foreigner.

   Taking into consideration his attitude and attribute, he could most probably
be identified as the monk Upagupta or Upagutta: these two depictions intro-
duce indeed an iconography which has survived to the present day, major dif-
ferences being that the other images of this monk known to us show him with
open eyes, head looking up.[52] Beside an inscribed panel in the Kubyauk-gyi,
dated 1113 CE,[53] mention is made of Upagupta in a grammar written at Bagan

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52   Strong 1992: figs. 1, 5, 6 and 10. He is in fact looking at the sun, which he tries to hide, so
     that he can prolong the before-noon period when, as a monk, he is allowed to eat (Strong
     1992: 156).

53   Thus in a Theravādin context, Upagupta is here represented in a scene involving Aśoka on
     the side wall of a window (Luce/Ba Shin 1961: 385; Strong 1992: 12, 182).

in 1154,[54] and he appears in the *Lokapaññati*, an 'eleventh-to-twelfth-century Pali cosmological text',[55] where he opposes Māra.

These two depictions include features which seem to refer to non-local habits, like wearing sandals or heavy dress. The cape-like pleated ornament seen in one case (Fig. 1.22) recalls a similar garment worn by bodhisattvas in embroidered *thangka*s and *kāṣāyas* of the early Ming Dynasty 明 (1363–1424).[56] These various elements might indicate that the Kyanzittha-umin was, at a certain time, inhabited by monks who had travelled to China or who originated from there.

8   Conclusion

Most observations made here concern monuments located on the outskirts of the site: the Kyanzittha-Umin is located North, not far from the Shwezigon; the Thambula, Let-put-kan, Nandamanya, and Kathapa East are located in Minnanthu area situated in the Southeast of the Bagan archaeological site; monument 1077 was built near the Irrawady, South of the village of Myinkaba, and the Thamuti-hpaya is situated midway between Minnanthu and Myinkaba. All the monuments, apart, possibly, from the Kyanzittha-Umin, were constructed in the thirteenth century, and all the murals can be dated to the second half of this century, a period of intensive contacts between the Kingdom of Bagan and the Yuan Empire.

However, considering the highly diverse nature of the aspects of the Bagan murals' iconography considered above, it might seem difficult to get a coherent overall view. As a matter of fact, the similarity in the depiction of the Buddha noted in Kharakhoto and Bagan does not imply that the painters of the Kharakhoto *thangka* found their inspiration at Bagan, since the images in both sites might actually go back to the fundamental image standing at Bodhgayā. On the other hand, the unique presence of the cushion adorned with the lion face in the Thambula, the depiction of *krodha*s protecting the entrances to the Let-put-kan, the row of heavily dressed devotees surrounding the northern entrance to the Thambula and their presence in the iconography of the Nandamanya, the Kathapa East and temple 1077 reflect the impact of Buddhism as practiced in China while also suggesting the presence in Bagan of Mongols or Chinese people, probably involved in trade or taking part in

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54   Strong 1992: 12.

55   Strong 2004: 133; see also Strong 1992: 186–208.

56   Watt 1997: 207–212, cats. 63–64.

a diplomatic embassy from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards.[57] These observations are consistent with those made when considering the decorative ornamentation of the murals of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, which include numerous motifs decorating Chinese porcelain and garments.[58]

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57 Aung-Thwin 1998: 66–69, also referring to a very badly preserved Chinese inscription at Bagan.

58 See Bautze-Picron 2015 on this aspect of the relations between Bagan and China.

Noise along the Network: A Set of Chinese Ming Embroidered *Thangkas* in the Indian Himalayas

Rob Linrothe

A focus on objects can productively redirect attention away from states and borders toward interlocking zones of contact and to networks within networks. An object transported along the networks inserts the recipient into a wide circulation system, locating it vertically in a hierarchy of importance and horizontally across multiple borders. Objects mediate and motivate such flows, but they can also disrupt and complicate a linear understanding of agency. In the case discussed in this paper, objects haunt the systems of exchange with distorted echoes of long-forgotten agents, agencies, and intentions.

The networks linking the Ming 明 Chinese court (1368–1644) with Tibetan Buddhist monasteries and lineages in Amdo, Kham, and Central Tibet are well known and much studied.[1] Some spectacular objects emblematise those connections, such as the scroll now in the Lhasa Museum documenting the 'miracles' observed when the Fifth Karmapa (1384–1415) visited Nanjing in 1407 in order to perform rituals for the benefit of the afterlife of the Yongle 永樂 Emperor's parents and for the well-being of the emperor himself (Fig. 2.1).[2] The painted and inscribed scroll was produced in a few copies with its inscriptions written in multiple languages, including Chinese and Tibetan. For some of the Ming emperors, and certainly for several of the Qing Manchu emperors, their connections with Tibetan Buddhist teachers were part of their personal and imperial identities. Buddhist objects created at or by the Ming court were prized at the major Tibetan Buddhist monasteries supported by the Ming court either directly—such as the Qutan monastery 瞿曇寺 (Drotsang Dorje Chang, Tib. Gro tshang rdo rje 'chang) in Amdo (Qinghai)—or indirectly, namely at Sera (Tib. Se ra) monastery near Lhasa. At the Qutan monastery, a set of nearly

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1 Among the many sources dealing with this topic from religious, art, and architectural history are those of Sperling, Debreczeny, and Campbell, among others, including Sperling 2004: 229–244; Sperling 1987: 33–53; Sperling 1982: 105–108; Sperling 2001: 77–87; Debreczeny 2003: 49–107; Campbell, 2011. See also Ching 2008: 321–364; Toh 2004; Weidner, 2009: 311–332; Weidner 2008: 92–99; Fong 1995: 47–60; Heller 2009: 293–302.

2 Berger 2001: 145–169.

FIGURE 2.1   *Detail of the silk handscroll entitled "Miracles of the Mass of Universal Salvation Conducted by the Fifth Karmapa for the Yongle Emperor." Lhasa Museum.* PHOTO 2005.

life-size gilt-metal standing bodhisattvas of exquisite quality were visible signs of imperial interest and support (Fig. 2.2), as are the buildings themselves, the products of architects from Beijing sent to emulate the capital's building technologies in this frontier region (Fig. 2.3). As for Sera monastery, it was founded by Shākya Yeshe (Tib. Shākya ye shes, 1355–1435) after his return from visits to Beijing, where he was amply rewarded with two portrait textiles, including an embroidery now in the Lhasa Museum and a portrait *kesi* (slit-weave tapestry) made in the court style, probably in the Xuande 宣德 period (1425–1435), also with a bilingual inscription, now in the Norbulingka.[3] Still hanging in one of the shrines at Sera, obscured behind a new Maitreya sculpture and cloth banners, are one or more sets of Chinese Arhat paintings from the fifteenth century (Fig. 2.4), which are known to have been sent to Tibet from the Ming court,

3   Ching 2008: figs. 7.8, 7.9.

FIGURE 2.2   *Gilt metal Yongle-period standing bodhisattva,*
once in the Qutan monastery, now in the
Qinghai Provincial Museum, Xining (China).
PHOTO 2007.

FIGURE 2.3   *Overview of Qutan monastery (Drotsang Dorjechang) Monastery in Amdo*
(Qinghai, China).
PHOTO 2001.

FIGURE 2.4   *Arhat painting, part of a set of Chinese Ming Dynasty paintings in Sera monastery, near Lhasa, Tibet.*
PHOTO 2005.

some with Shākya Yeshe.[4] They serve as visual reminders of the monastery's participation in wider networks of Buddhist teachings and support and help to define its identity.

In all these examples (Figs. 2.1–2.4), the objects were produced or changed hands as a result of personal relations between the court and the monastic founders and successors, and they came to embody the memory of those encounters. However, I recently noticed a partial set of eight Ming Dynasty textiles still in use at a Western Himalayan shrine that was never in contact with any Chinese state. Indeed, the monastery itself was not founded until the middle of the nineteenth century, long after the Ming Dynasty ended. Yet a partial set of relatively well-preserved embroidered textiles, at least one of which has a Chinese inscription on the back (see Fig. 2.19), is hung during the monastery's annual masked dance festival (Tib. *'cham*) as one of the treasures to be displayed on that auspicious pair of days.

On July 14, 2010, on the 17th day of a 42-day hike through India's Ladakh and Zangskar regions, I happened to arrive at Korzok monastery (Tib. Kor dzok, or dKor zog dgon pa) on the eve of its annual masked dance festival, Korzok Gustor (Tib. Kor dzok dgu gtor). Korzok is in southeastern Ladakh, near Lake Tsomori, not far from the current border of Chinese-occupied Tibet (Figs. 2.5, 2.6). The monastery is built on the shores of the lake and was once a major centre for nomadic people who travelled with herds of yaks and *drimo* across the loosely defined border between Kashmir-controlled Ladakh and the West Tibetan Ngari region. Now a road has been built up to the monastery (and no further), and it has become something of a tourist destination for jeep safaris, although it is still a central site for the region's dwindling nomad population.

During the uncostumed run-through for the annual Cham (or masked dance) festival, I entered the main shrine and was surprised to find that the monks had displayed a number of their artistic and religious treasures, including a group of twelve *thangkas* that were in the Karma Gardri style (Tib. Karma sgar bris), usually associated with Eastern Tibet. Three of the hanging paintings had Tibetan inscriptions on the backs, which were also uncovered. The inscriptions and the painting were done by the Fourteenth Karmapa Thekchok Dorje (Tib. Theg mchog rDo rje, 1798–1868), and in the mid-nineteenth century they were given by the Karmapa to the headman of Rupshu (Tib. Ru shod), Tsering Tashi (Tib. Tshe ring bkra shis), who was the founder of Korzok monastery. One of the paintings with inscriptions depicts Thekchok Dorje's

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4   Linrothe 2004: 9–44.

FIGURE 2.5   *Lake Tsomoriri, with Korzok monastery along Northwestern bank in*
                 Southeastern Ladakh (India).

predecessor, the Ninth Karmapa Wangchuk Dorje (Tib. dBang phyug rDo rje,
1556–1601/1603).[5]

I recently published these paintings, but I have not yet described what
I found the next day hanging in the courtyard for the dance festival. The court-
yard was crowded with various spectators (mostly locals but also many visi-
tors, including tourists) and a monastic orchestra. In one corner, away from
the main action, I was astounded to find eight finely embroidered textiles,
mounted in brocade in the Tibetan style, with an attached fringe dyed in rain-
bow colors (Fig. 2.7). The textiles were all sewn onto a shared horizontal strip
of the same mounting cloth, which was temporarily attached to the portico's
rafters. In Tibetan hierarchical compositions, an even numbered grouping can-
not be a full set of images, as such objects are typically arranged symmetrically
around a central image, which results in an uneven numbered set. In this case,
a blue Buddha was hung close to the centre (Fig. 2.8), surrounded by bodhi-
sattvas at his sides (Figs. 2.9–2.13), and what appeared to be wealth deities at

5   Linrothe 2012: 180–211, 220–223.

FIGURE 2.6   *Korzok monastery and village, Southeastern Ladakh (India).*

the outer edges (Figs. 2.14, 2.15). Since there were three deities on the Buddha's proper right and four to the left, I immediately recognised the compilation as an incomplete set. (All photographs are by the author in 2010 unless otherwise indicated.)

FIGURE 2.7   *Eight fifteenth-century Ming Dynasty embroideries belonging to a partial set of
the Bhaiṣajyaguru* maṇḍala *now hanging in Korzok monastery courtyard during
masked dance (Tib.* 'cham*).*

The workmanship of these objects is extraordinary, exhibiting a variety of
embroidered stitches and gold-wrapped silk thread couching. Generally the
thread is flossed silk, figured with an impressive range of stitching into tiny but
legible patterns.[6] The iconographic details, such as Mañjuśrī's book and sword
(Fig. 2.16), and the mongoose of what at first appears to be Yellow Jambhala
(Fig. 2.14), are generally recognisable.

The relatively large size of each member of this set is unprecedented, but
the iconography, materials and techniques, as well as the range of patterns,
are in line with those of other Ming textiles, many now in private or museum
collections. For example, the canopy is comparable to that of the Shākya Yeshe
kesi mentioned above.[7] The throne, the pillars, and the flowers are similar to a
Ming embroidery of Mahācakra Vajrapāṇi now in the Rubin Museum of Art.[8]

6   On types of embroidery stiches, see Jones 1993: 64–68.

7   Ching 2008: fig. 7.9.

8   HAR item no. 65108. Accessed July 13, 2014.

FIGURE 2.8   *Blue Buddha, probably Bhaiṣajyaguru, fifteenth-century Ming Dynasty embroidery now in Korzok monastery (Ladakh, India).*

The closest correspondences, however, are with a group of embroideries, now dispersed, that have the same set of deities and motifs, though done on a reduced scale, around 18 centimetres in width. Two are in the National Museum in New Delhi, but they have become noticeably discolored (Figs. 2.17, 2.18). One

FIGURE 2.9   *Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva, fifteenth-century Ming Dynasty embroidery now in Korzok monastery (Ladakh, India).*

FIGURE 2.10   *Sūryaprabha Bodhisattva, fifteenth-century Ming Dynasty embroidery now in Korzok monastery (Ladakh, India).*

FIGURE 2.11   *Maitreya (?) Bodhisattva, fifteenth-century Ming Dynasty embroidery now in Korzok monastery (Ladakh, India).*

FIGURE 2.12   *Possibly Pratibhānakūta Bodhisattva, fifteenth-century Ming Dynasty embroidery now in Korzok monastery (Ladakh, India).*

FIGURE 2.13   *Meruśikhara Bodhisattva, fifteenth-century Ming Dynasty embroidery now in Korzok monastery (Ladakh, India).*

FIGURE 2.14   *Mekhila (?) Yakṣa General, fifteenth-century Ming Dynasty embroidery now in Korzok monastery (Ladakh, India).*

FIGURE 2.15   *Caundhara Yakṣa General, fifteenth-century Ming Dynasty embroidery now in Korzok monastery (Ladakh, India).*

FIGURE 2.16   *Detail of Figure 2.9, Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva, fifteenth-century Ming dynasty embroidery now in Korzok monastery (Ladakh, India).*

is in the Cleveland Museum,[9] one in the Brooklyn Museum,[10] and another in the Rubin Museum.[11] These last three are in much better condition than the New Delhi pair, as are six in private collections in New York and Hong Kong[12] and one each in the Indianapolis Museum of Art and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.[13] The emphasis on the canopies, the multicolored clouds, scrolling flowers, treatment of the thrones, jewelry worn by the figures, outlining of the nimbuses, scarves that have a life of their own, dark blue background—all show that both groups, the one in Korzok and that dispersed in various collections, were produced within a similar timeframe. Since textile

9   Wardwell 1994: 342–345; Watt and Wardwell 1997: cat. no. 63.

10   HAR item no. 86936. Accessed July 13, 2014.

11   HAR item no. 65272. Accessed July 13, 2014. This one is different in that the central section is a painting in the Ming Tibeto-Chinese style, whereas the upper and lower sections are embroidered.

12   Reynolds 1995: 50–57; Hong Kong Museum of Art 1995: nos. 22a–22h.

13   Weidener, 1994: cat. nos. 8, 9.

FIGURE 2.17   *Bhudevī (Pṛthivī), one of the 10 guardians of the directions in*
charge of the West, riding a sow. National Museum, New Delhi,
acc. no. 51.223; 38 × 19.5 cm.
PHOTO 2012.

FIGURE 2.18   *Rakṣa, one of the 10 guardians of the directions in charge of the Southwest, riding a reanimated corpse. National Museum, New Delhi, acc. no. 51.222; 38 × 19.5 cm.*
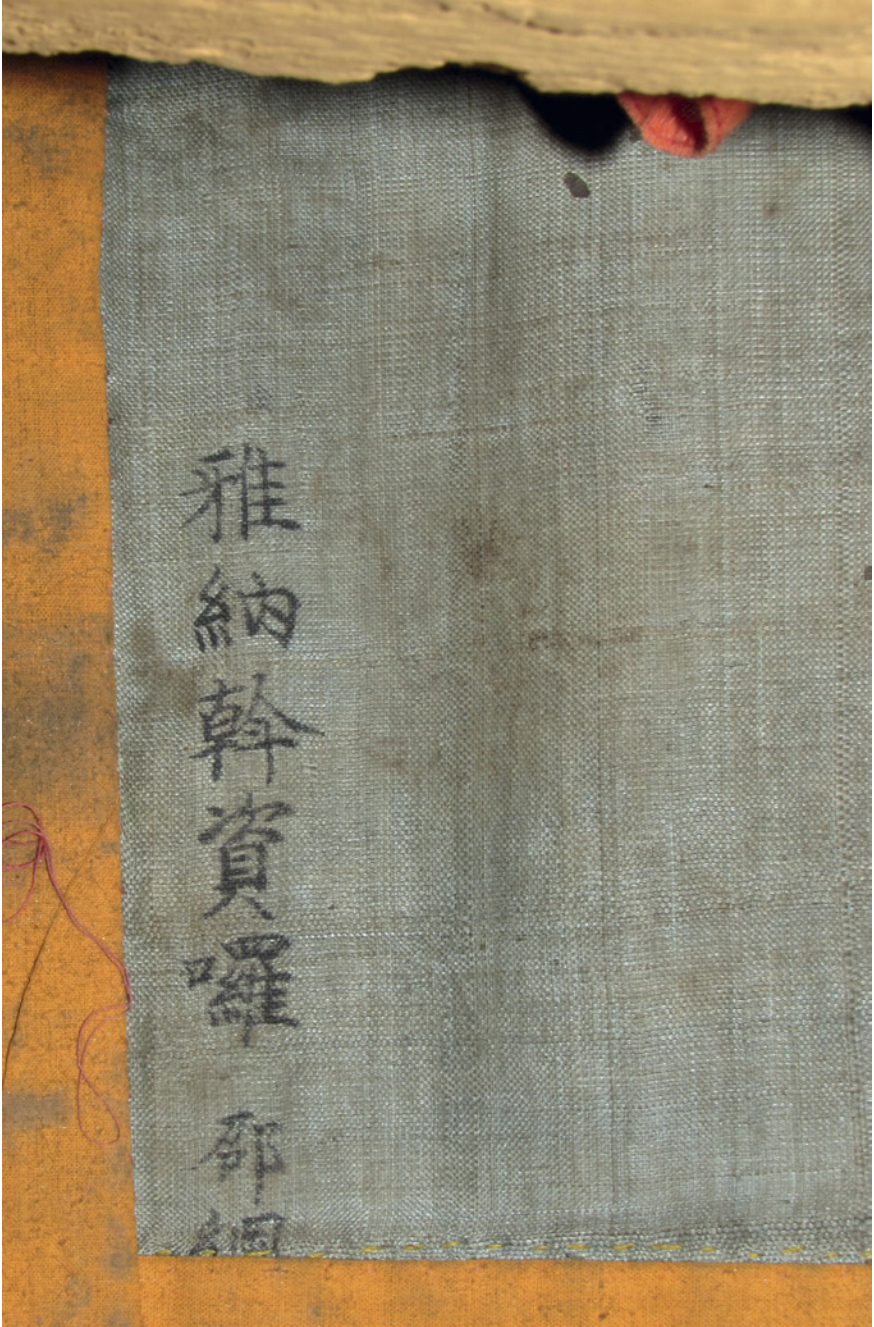PHOTO, 2012.

FIGURE 2.19   *Detail of the back of one of the fifteenth-century Ming Dynasty embroidery now in Korzok monastery (Ladakh, India), with Chinese inscription.*

specialists have tended to date these objects to the early fifteenth century, that can be accepted as the date for the Korzok textiles as well.

As for the iconography, Jeff Watt of the Himalayan Art Resource website has identified several of the small textiles as belonging to the 51-deity Medicine Buddha *maṇḍala*, the Bhaiṣajyaguru *maṇḍala*, in which the Medicine Buddha is surrounded by expanding circles of eight Buddhas, sixteen bodhisattvas, ten directional deities, twelve Yaksha Generals, and the four Guardian Kings (see Appendix).[14] In fact, all eight of the Korzok set, as well as the smaller embroideries, can be identified as members of this *maṇḍala* and belonging to three of the five groups. That is, among the eight Korzok embroideries, there is one Buddha, five bodhisattvas and two Yakṣa Generals. No representatives of the directional deities or the Lokapālas are among the eight.

Figure 2.8, intended as the central figure in the present arrangement, depicts the blue Medicine Buddha, Bhaiṣajyaguru. None of the other seven Buddhas in the *maṇḍala* is blue, so despite their slightly noncanonical appearance from a Tibetan perspective, the identification is secure. Figure 2.9 depicts Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva, the principal interlocutor of the *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra* in the various versions found from Gilgit to Japan.[15] The bodhisattva in Figure 2.10 is bright orange—probably intended to be red—and the small gold disk in the lotus at his left shoulder identifies him as Sūryaprabha. Sūryaprabha and Candraprabha (with a moon disk) generally attend the central Buddha, seated or standing on either side of him. Sūryaprabha, with his solar disk lodged within a lotus, stands to the proper left of the Medicine Buddha in a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century painting found at Kharakhoto.[16] Interestingly, in the compilation of the partial set at Korzok, Sūryaprabha is also adjacent to the Buddha's left side, suggesting that whoever put the group together understood the iconographic programme.

Maitreya Bodhisattva is the likely identity of Figure 2.11; he holds the stalk of a *nāgapuṣpa* flower-leaf. Figure 2.12 possibly features Pratibhānakūṭa Bodhisattva, with an incense burner emitting smoke, and Figure 2.13 shows Meruśikhara Bodhisattva carrying an *amṛta* (nectar of immortality) vase. As for the two Yakṣa Generals at Korzok, Figure 2.14 probably portrays the yellow Mekhila with a mongoose and a club with a red *vajra*-finial, whereas Figure 2.15 depicts the blue Caundhura holding a *daṇḍa* (club) and the mongoose.

All the bodhisattvas sit on the same type of throne, which has a cloth hanging over its front on which a lotus of a different color is stitched. This

14   HAR item no. 58141. Accessed July 13, 2014.

15   Schopen 1978; De Visser 1935: 2.533–2.540; Birnbaum 1979: 151–163.

16   Piotrovsky 1993: cat. no. 8.

configuration is also found on the Buddha embroidery (Fig. 2.8); his lotus appears to be a blue *utpala*. The baldachins are also identical in structure for the Buddha and bodhisattvas; only the colors vary. On the Buddha image, between the inner and outermost cusps of the body nimbus, are parallel straight lines in different hues—mostly yellow, light blue, and purple against the dark blue ground—as if the Buddha were radiating light. The bodhisattvas also appear to radiate light in different shades, but in each case with slightly wavy lines. Each bodhisattva is slightly different from all the others. To judge by the two examples of Yakṣa Generals (Figs. 14, 15), their baldachins, thrones, and nimbi were deliberately differentiated from those of the Buddha(s) and bodhisattvas. The canopies overhead include in both cases five-colored clouds that are not seen in the others. Where the Buddha and bodhisattva emanate rays of light, the Yakṣa Generals are surrounded by scrolling lotuses. The thrones are basically similar but do not have the textile hanging over the front of the throne. Similar structural differences distinguish the five classes of deities of the Bhaiṣajyaguru *maṇḍala* in the more numerous extant examples of embroidered banners mentioned above, including the two in New Delhi.[17]

These embroideries were not necessarily made as gifts for Tibetan visitors, although the iconographic and stylistic conventions suggest an amalgam of Chinese and Tibeto-Chinese characteristics. In China, the tradition of depicting separate members of the Bhaiṣajyaguru set of deities goes back at least to eighth-century Dunhuang, as evidenced by a beautiful inscribed Sūryaprabha painted in yellow and silver pigment on a dark blue silk banner (89.6 × 25.5 cm) now in the British Museum.[18] In this sense, the embroidered banners of Korzok would have been appropriate not only as donations for non-Han Buddhists, but also to decorate the shrines created by the Ming imperial family, such as those in the imperial palaces at Nanjing and later Beijing, at the Wuta monastery 五塔寺 in Beijing, at Mt. Wutai 五台山, or perhaps one of the princely shrines created in the Ming appanages to which imperial relatives were assigned.[19]

The Buddha image (Fig. 2.8) reveals almost as much a Chinese mode of depiction as a Tibeto-Chinese mode with its root in the Yuan court style

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17   For example, the Buddhas and bodhisattvas have precious objects in the lower section while the Yakṣa Generals have *lantsa*-script *dhāraṇī*; the clouds float in front of the latters' baldachins, but are only at the sides for the Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

18   Acc. no. 1919,0101,0.121; Ch.00303; on line at www.britishmuseum.org. Accessed July 15, 2014.

19   Clunas 2013; Linrothe 2015.

attributed to Anige.[20] Almost invariably, icons of Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha in the Tibetan sphere depict him with iconographic attributes different from those of the Chinese mode. The left hand is in *dhyāna-mudrā*, as here (Fig. 2.8), but it cups the alms bowl, which is missing in this embroidery. The right hand is lowered into the gift-giving gesture, palm facing outward, and often clasps the stem of a flowering branch of the myrobalan plant, a medicinal plant that is depicted in various ways. In the embroidered version, the Buddha does grasp the stem of the plant, but his hand is held up to the level of his chest and the palm is turned inward. East Asian depictions of the Medicine Buddha are much less consistent than Tibetan ones.[21] In Chinese versions, including the large mural in the Metropolitan Museum, datable to the early fourteenth century, from the lower Guangsheng monastery 廣胜寺 in Shanxi, the Buddha, seated under a similar baldachin, holds neither alms bowl nor myrobalan, and his right hand is lifted but turned outward.[22] In a Ming painting dated to 1477 now in the University of Oregon Museum of Art, the hand is also raised but appears to hold a small piece of fruit between thumb and forefinger while making the gesture of articulation.[23]

The Buddha's garments amplify the hybrid nature of the Tibeto-Chinese mode of depicting the Buddha. In Chinese versions, both shoulders tend to be covered but expose the main part of his chest. He also tends to wear a lower robe tied with a belt. By contrast, in the Tibetan versions, the right shoulder is exposed but—at least in early versions—the outer robe is pulled up so as not to expose the midriff. (Later, under the impact of Chinese imports, one finds the Buddha with both shoulder covered and the under-robe tied with a belt.) In this case, the Buddha has one feature of both styles: the right shoulder is exposed and the under-robe is belted.

The other figures, however, certainly do not reflect the Chinese mode of depicting bodhisattvas, the guardians of the directions (the Lokapālas), or the twelve Yaksa Generals. At Dunhuang, in the mural in Cave 112 of about the eighth century, and in the lower Guangsheng monastery mural now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the twelve Yakṣa Generals are shown in armour

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20   Jing 1994: 49–86. That the Yuan Mongol rulers, starting with Qubilai, had Bhaiṣajyaguru rituals conducted at their courts is demonstrated in van der Kuijp 2004: 4–8.

21   Lokesh Chandra provides more than a dozen variant types in China and Japan; Lokesh Chandra 1999–2005: 2.525–2.539.

22   Jing 1991: 148; see also the Yakushi Nyorai in the Yakushi-ji Kondō which also lacks the bowl; Morishima 2010: fig. 4.

23   Weidner 1994: pl. 3.

much like the Lokapāla.[24] Among the small embroideries dispersed to various collections and the eight larger ones now at Korzok, however, the Yakṣa Generals all follow the Tibetan mode, being depicted as resembling the big-bellied wealth deity Jambhala, which is how they have generally been (mistakenly) identified. They are seated, big-bellied, naked above the waist, and each has a mongoose in the proper left hand and a specific attribute in the right hand. It might be possible to date the shift in Tibetan practice relatively precisely, to the later thirteenth century, because two Bhaiṣajyaguru paintings in the Tibetan style from Kharakhoto, of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, depict the twelve Yakṣa Generals as Yakṣas of different colors with various attributes, but without the mongoose at the hip,[25] whereas the murals of the Khojar Dukhang (Tib. Kho char 'du khang) in Western Tibet, of about the late thirteenth century, depict them with the mongoose. Murals at both the Wanla Sumtsek (late 13th to early 14th century) and the Phyang Village Guru Lhakhang in Ladakh (late fourteenth to early fifteenth century) also feature the mongoose.[26] Had this convention been in place in Tibet by the twelfth century, one would expect it to have been transmitted to the Tangut Kingdom along with the rest of the iconographic package.

That the Korzok embroideries were created in China, or at least by Chinese craftpersons, is confirmed by a Chinese inscription on the back of one of the eight. The backs of all the textiles at Korzok were covered by cotton cloth, but the mounting on one of them was ripped, and I was able to move the backing in this one instance to reveal a fragment of a Chinese inscription: *dha na gan zi luo* 雅納幹資囉, followed by two partially obscured characters (Fig. 2.19).[27] *Ganziluo* is a standard equivalent to *vajra*, but for *dha na* or *ya na* I can find no equivalents in various Chinese Buddhist dictionaries.[28] They may instead represent an attempt to transliterate the Tibetan name of one of the depicted members of the Bhaiṣajyaguru *maṇḍala*. Unfortunately, at the time of my unexpected encounter with these precious imported objects, I was self-consciously aware that I was surrounded by a crowd of more than a hundred people gathered to watch the masked dance with live music being played by a monastic orchestra. I was on the margins of the ritual performance area with

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24   ARTstor, filename hunt_0054395_post.fpx. Accessed June 14, 2014.

25   Piotrovsky 1993: cat. nos. 7, 8.

26   Neumann and Neumann 2010: 121–142; Jackson 2014: 44, 52, 102; Lo Bue 2007: 175–196.

27   I thank Max Deeg who, at the conference, was able to locate and transliterate the first two characters. I would have expected the first two characters to have read *yana*.

28   Soothill 2003 [1937]; Meisig 2012; Digital Dictionary of Buddhism (http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/; accessed July 2014); Chen and Li 2005; and Heinemann 1985.

my back to the main event, facing and photographing these wondrous textiles to which no one was paying any attention, trying to be inconspicuous. In my haste, I neglected to note which of these eight textiles had the open back (mea maxima culpa). One possibility is that it represents the Tibetan 'Nyi snang,' a shortened version of 'Nyi ltar snang byed,' a term for Sūryaprabha (Fig. 2.10).

Most scholars have assumed that such embroideries were made as gifts for Tibetan hierarchs or monasteries. As indicated above, however, it is possible that the set was originally made for Chinese temples in the fifteenth century and then transferred to Tibet, eventually making its way to the Western Himalayas. Another possibility is that they were commissioned by Tibetan teachers and made to order in China. The Tibetan art scholar Yuko Tanaka has compiled a list from Tibetan sources of such commissions of embroidered and appliqué *thangka*s dated between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries.[29] If, in fact, they were made under Ming imperial sponsorship as gifts for those invited to come to court, or to reward those who did so, there are too many possible candidates for useful speculation, even for the Yongle 永樂 period (1402–1424).[30] Given the established connection between Korzok and the Fourteenth Karmapa, as mentioned above, one is tempted to look to that lineage as the likely conduit. In that case, the visit of the Fifth Karmapa to the court in Nanjing in 1407–1408 and subsequent follow-up missions, with the "lavish presentation of gifts" to the Karmapa so extensive that "they could not be adequately recorded,"[31] provide nearly irresistible scenarios for the transfer of these objects from China to Tibet. It is worth noting that the Bhaiṣajyaguru *maṇḍala* was constructed at Nanjing at the order of the Karmapa, who then initiated Ming Chengzu 明成祖 (r. 1402–1424) and Empress Renxiaowen 仁孝文皇后 (1362–1407) into it in late March 1408.[32] Nevertheless, without specific evidence linking the embroideries to a particular historical event, a suggestion of potential scenarios is only a possibility. After all, Bhaiṣajyaguru rituals were also performed when the Gelug teacher Shākya Yeshe was at court in early 1415.[33]

Related mysteries include how, exactly, these objects arrived at this remote location in the Indian Western Himalayas, and whether and where the other members of the set of embroideries remain. Korzok has several sister

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29   Tanaka 1994: 873–874.

30   For the many Tibetan religious leaders who received titles and invitations during the period in question, see Sperling 1983: 136–170.

31   Sperling 1983: 81, 86; see also the discussion of the gifts pp. 86–88.

32   Sperling 1983: 82 and 115 n. 33.

33   Sperling 1983: 148.

monasteries, notably the monastery of Hanle South of Tsomoriri, and at present it has a close connection also with the well-known Drukpa (Tib. 'Drug pa) Hemis monastery near Leh. It may be that others from the set belong to one or more of those monasteries. Like the paintings by the Fourteenth Karmapa discussed above, these may have been founding gifts to Korzok monastery made by someone, like the Fourteenth Karmapa, with deep resources of Chinese gifts accumulating over the centuries. Alternatively, they may have been brought out in 1951, when many monks from the Indian Himalayas who had been studying in Tibet were required to leave Tibet after the Chinese takeover and were then deposited across the border at Korzok. It is also not impossible that they were brought from Tibet after 1959, when many Tibetans fled the Chinese crackdown. These are among the most likely of the many conceivable scenarios.

What is relatively sure is that although these objects entered the Tibetan Buddhist network of relations as a gift from one Ming court or another, the Chinese gifting agency could not have foreseen—nor could it have benefited from the possibility that—these objects would be regifted to the far Western regions, where the exact provenance seems to have been unknown or forgotten, or where, frankly, it never really mattered. The objects are still recognised as Buddhist treasures and brought out at least once a year during the monastery's most important community festival, but they remain relatively mute reminders of the far reaches of the Buddhist monastic network. At most they produce static along the network lines.

As Arjun Appadurai and Richard Davis reminded us,[34] objects have their own biographies, their own afterlives that extend well beyond the moments of their creation, at which point these particular objects were most likely meant to crystallise a gift—as reward or inducement—for a Tibetan religious teacher. To whom they were delivered, and how these objects were subsequently transferred to the Drukpa Korzok monastery in Southeastern Ladakh on the far Western border of Tibet, is not known, although other objects in the same monastery can be shown to have been sent by the nineteenth-century Fourteenth Karmapa from either Eastern Tibet, where he mainly resided, or Central Tibet, where he also had important centers. At any rate, these objects are potent physical reminders of the circulation and flow of people, ideas, practices, texts, and objects within Buddhist networks, crossing linguistic, state, ethnic, and cultural borders.

Although we cannot identify the exact process of acquisition, this exceptional instance nevertheless demonstrates the distribution of objects along

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34   Appadurai 1986; Davis 1997.

the major trade roads, brought along with Buddhist ideas, relics, texts, and practices. It hints at the momentum of the trajectory of goods that travelled well beyond the spatial and temporal borders implied in their creation. The identity of Buddhists was simultaneously local and leavened with a translocal sense of belonging to a larger Buddhist community. Such an identity could accommodate and appreciate symbols of interchange and interconnectedness, however vague or underdetermined the precise parameters of the connections represented by the objects actually were.

Appendix

Identification of published examples of small fifteenth-century Ming embroideries belonging to sets of the Bhaiṣajyaguru Maṇḍala
(HAR = Himalayan Art Resource, www.himalayanart.org)

Identity	Former ID	Publication	Collection
Buddhas			
Abhijñarāja or Dharmakīrti-sāgaraghoṣa	Shakyamuni Buddha	Reynolds 1995: Fig. 2, Hong Kong Museum 1995: 22h	Private
Bodhisattvas			
Maitreya	Amitaprabha	Watt and Wardwell 1997: cat. no. 63	Cleveland Museum of Art
?	White Mañjuśrī	Weidner 1994: cat no. 8	Indianapolis Museum of Art
Dikpāla			
Yama	Guardian deity	Reynolds 1995: Fig. 5, Hong Kong Museum 1995: 22C	Private
Vayu	Crowned deity	Hong Kong Museum 1995: 22d	Private
Vayu	Vayu	HAR no. 86936	Brooklyn Museum of Art

Identification of published examples of small fifteenth-century Ming embroideries (cont.)

Identity	Former ID	Publication	Collection
Rakṣa	Crowned deity	Hong Kong Museum 1995: 22e	Private
Rakṣa	Yama—The God of Death	(see fig. 2.18)	National Museum, New Delhi
Agni	Crowned deity	Hong Kong Museum 1995: 22g	Private
Agni	Agni	HAR no. 65270	Rubin Museum of Art
Bhudevī/ Pṛthivī	Lord Buddha in meditation	(see fig. 2.17)	National Museum, New Delhi

Yakṣa Generals

Anila	Vatadhara (rlung 'dzin)	HAR no. 65272	Rubin Museum of Art
Māhura	Jambhala	Reynolds 1995: Fig. 7, Hong Kong Museum 1995: 22b	Private
Cidāla	Jambhala	Weidner 1994: cat. no. 9	Los Angeles County Museum of Art

Lokapāla

Vaiśravana	Vaishravana	Reynolds 1995: Fig. 3, Hong Kong Museum 1995: 22f	Private
Virūpākṣa	Virupaksa	Reynolds 1995: Fig. 4, Hong Kong Museum 1995: 22a	Private

Nation Founder and Universal Saviour: Guanyin and Buddhist Networks in the Nanzhao and Dali Kingdoms

Megan Bryson

From the seventh to the thirteenth century the Dali region of what is now southwest China's Yunnan province was the centre of two long-lasting independent regimes, Nanzhao 南詔 (649–903; see map 3.1) and Dali 大理 (937–1253; see map 3.2). These two kingdoms governed large swaths of territory that extended into parts of modern-day Burma, Laos, Vietnam, Tibet, and the provinces of Sichuan and Guizhou. The Dali region's position made it a hub in transregional networks known as the southern or southwest silk road that linked Dali to Tibet, India, Southeast Asia, and China. Buddhist texts, images, and objects were among the goods that people carried along these routes, as they offered points of continuity and familiarity among populations that spoke different languages and followed different cultural systems. Examining Buddhist materials from the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms reveals not only how transregional networks operated at this time, but also how Nanzhao and Dali elites represented their Buddhist identities in relation to these networks.

In theory, people in the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms could have adopted Buddhist materials entering their territory along any transregional network, potentially creating a regional Buddhist tradition with elements from China, Tibet, India, and Southeast Asia. However, traffic does not move along networks evenly, as some conduits are bigger than others due to geographical, political, and historical conditions. These same conditions influence what people adopt from different conduits or networks, which is not an arbitrary process. Nanzhao and Dali elites did not encounter an equal flow of Buddhist materials from all directions, nor did they equally adopt all that they did encounter from different regions. Instead, earlier networks and geopolitical factors informed the Buddhist tradition that developed in the Dali region, as well as Nanzhao and Dali elites' representations of regional identity.

Elites in the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms adopted texts primarily from Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1279) China due to earlier networks going back to the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) that established an official Chinese presence in the region. Most Buddhist texts from Nanzhao and Dali are Chinese

translations or creations that entered the Dali region from Tang-Song territory. Even the seven manuscripts from the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms that have been found only here are written in Sinitic script and make allusions to Chinese sources. Routes from Chinese territory also brought artisans and Buddhist images, such that much of Nanzhao and Dali art drew on iconographies and stylistic conventions that were prominent in the Tang through Song dynasties. Yet the Nanzhao and Dali Buddhist pantheon includes deities that were not popular in Tang-Song China as well as deities with Indian or Southeast Asian iconography.[1] I argue that Nanzhao and Dali elites—rulers and high officials—adopted most of their Buddhist materials from routes connecting them to Tang-Song China, but that they used images to claim India as the main source of their Buddhist transmission.

Texts and images related to the Bodhisattva Guanyin 觀音 (Skt. Avalokiteśvara) illustrate the juxtaposition of these two kinds of networks, which I will call documented and represented. Guanyin, in his (or her) many forms, is one of the most widely venerated figures in the Buddhist world, which makes him valuable in tracing transregional Buddhist networks. He was arguably *the* most important deity for the Nanzhao and Dali courts in his regional and transregional forms, from the distinctive Acuoye 阿嵯耶 (Invincible; Skt. *ajaya*) form that likely entered Dali from Southeast Asia to the familiar saviour from suffering that appears in the *Lotus Sūtra*.[2] Most sources related to Guanyin from the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms draw on networks linking the Dali region to Chinese territory, but representations of those networks foreground India instead.

Network theories have gained traction in the study of religion (and beyond) because they allow scholars to address dynamic interactions rather than static categories bound to political entities (Vásquez 2008: 153). Conduits link different nodes, and nodes with many large conduits become hubs, or sites where network traffic converges. Variations in conduit strength and volume mean that nodes can be connected weakly or strongly, and the amount of

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1   These deities include Mahākāla, who has seven distinctive forms in Dali, and whose iconography does not match images from Dunhuang or Japan. See Bryson 2012 [2013]: 24–30 and Li Yumin 1995: 28–35. Mahākāla's consort Baijie Shengfei 白姐聖妃 (aka Fude Longnü 福德龍女) does not appear outside the Dali region and has a crown of serpent heads rarely seen in China. See Bryson 2016. In addition, multiple forms of Guanyin in the *Fanxiang juan* (see note 44) only appear in the Dali region. See Li Yumin 1987.

2   I further discuss the regional and transregional forms of Guanyin below. The *Lotus Sūtra's Pumen pin* 普門品 (Universal Salvation Chapter) can be seen as providing a scriptural basis for the other forms by claiming that Guanyin can take many different forms to save his (or her) worshipers from suffering.

traffic that reaches them can fluctuate. There are, of course, different kinds of networks that do not necessarily overlap: Buddhist pilgrimage networks in China connect to mountainous areas far from economic hubs, but elsewhere irrigation networks and ritual networks might converge (Dean 1993: 342). Focusing on religious networks around the Dali region allows us to go beyond binaries of centre and periphery, or 'Chinese' and 'non-Chinese,' to consider how people in Dali encountered and interacted with people, texts, and images from elsewhere.

One of the challenges of reconstructing networks around the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms is that sources from these regions and periods are limited. Objects and images rarely state when and where they were created, meaning that their materials and other characteristics must be read for clues to their origin. Even if one can determine the provenance of a particular ritual object or iconographic form, this by itself does not prove how it entered Dali territory. Iconographies and objects are not tied to their place of origin, and given the widespread sharing of Buddhist statues, texts, and other materials, just because a scripture includes Sanskrit does not mean it entered a region directly from India. Textual records can help by describing networks, but in Dali's case there is a marked asymmetry: written sources from Tang-Song China far outweigh those from Tibetan, Indian, and Southeast Asian regions, giving a potentially skewed image of routes going in and out of Dali.

Many of these challenges apply to premodern contexts in general. As Anna Collar notes in her study of networks in ancient Rome, types such as innovators and early adopters that appear in contemporary network theory may not be relevant in the absence of mass media or detailed sources on specific individuals (2013: 25). However, she still sees networks as useful models for understanding and explaining the spread of new ideas. In the case of Dali, even without detailed descriptions of interactions among individuals, it is still possible to reconstruct major routes linking the region to the wider Buddhist world, as well as the representations of those transregional networks in Nanzhao- and Dali-kingdom sources.

1   Southern Silk Roads: Networking in the Dali Region

Networks are spatial metaphors, but they also have historical dimensions that inform conduit size and strength, and the formation and disintegration of hubs. Understanding Buddhist networks in the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms requires understanding the networks that were established there before the mid-seventh century. Archaeological and textual records suggest that people

in Yunnan had trade contacts with Southeast Asia in the first millennium BCE, as similar bronze drums have been found in both regions (Yang 2009: 27). Yunnan, a mineral-rich region with copper and tin deposits, probably supplied the raw materials for drums found in Southeast Asia (Li Xiaocen 1997: 56–83). In addition to bronze drums, cowries from the Maldives have been found in tombs from Yunnan dating back to the mid-first millennium BCE. They probably entered the region via either Burma or Bengal, suggesting that routes linked Yunnan to the sea trade from a very early period (Yang 2009: 34).

It was also in the first millennium BCE that representatives of Chinese regimes began making their way to Yunnan on official expeditions. According to Han-dynasty records, the Chu general Zhuang Qiao 莊蹻 (third century BCE) led troops to Yunnan with plans to claim the territory for Chu, but ended up remaining near Lake Dian when the Chu kingdom fell to Qin. Han sources claim that the rulers of the Dian 滇 kingdom centred in modern-day Kunming were descendants of Zhuang Qiao.[3] The Han court sent its own expedition to Yunnan for trade-related reasons. Official histories report that during the reign of Han Wudi (r. 141–87 BCE) the general Zhang Qian 張騫 discovered goods from Shu (modern-day Sichuan) in the Central Asian kingdom of Bactria, and after further investigation determined that the best route linking Han territory and Bactria would go through the Dian kingdom.[4] Zhang Qian ultimately failed to find this route, but his journey still led Han Wudi to establish Yizhou 益州 Commandery in the Dian kingdom in 109 BCE. Because the ruler of Dian offered his submission to the Han, he was granted the seal of office and invested as the Dian King.[5] The Han-dynasty presence in Yunnan further expanded when Han Mingdi (r. 57–75) established Yongchang 永昌 Commandery to the west of Yizhou in 69 CE, having secured the submission of the Ailao 哀牢 people.[6]

Surveys of tomb goods suggest that Han objects were a marker of high status in Yunnan during these periods: royal tombs contained the most Chinese goods, followed by the tombs of noble warriors, and then the tombs of peasant

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3   *Han shu* 95: 3838.

4   *Shiji* 123: 3166.

5   A golden seal bearing the inscription, 'Seal of the Dian King' (Dian *wang zhi yin* 滇王之印) was found in a tomb at the Shizhai shan 石寨山 Dian archaeological site. Other findings from this site provide information about Dian culture not found in Chinese sources, such as the centrality of bronze drums and metal pillars in ritual, particularly human and animal sacrifice. Some Chinese objects, such as crossbows, were found in royal tombs, but there is no evidence of pervasive Chinese influence. See Huang Yilu 2004: 154–57; Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens 1974: 53–66.

6   *Hou Han shu* 2: 114.

soldiers, which had no Chinese goods (Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens 1974: 27–36).[7] Among the Han goods that appeared in Dian tombs were metal coins, which signified the disruption of cowry currency in the region after the Han government took control.[8] Cowries resumed their cash role in the wake of the Han dynasty's fall in 220 CE (Yang 2009: 198–99).

Han governance of Yunnan had noticeable effects on the region's material culture, particularly among the regional authorities with the closest ties to imperial representatives. However, Han control of Yunnan relied heavily on regional authorities who offered submission to the court. Han histories record that there was a large-scale rebellion in Yunnan in 42 CE, and the Ailao rebelled in 76 CE, fewer than ten years after Yongchang Commandery was established.[9] This shows that there was considerable resistance to Han suzerainty over the area. Moreover, the Han court seems to have had little interest in spreading Chinese culture to the 'southwestern barbarians' (*xinan yi* 西南夷). Han interest in Yunnan stemmed primarily from the region's natural resources— including the valuable commodity of salt—and its strategic location for trading with Southeast Asia, India, and beyond. No records from Han-dynasty Yunnan attest to local leaders' literacy in Sinitic script or adoption of Han political organization.

After the fall of the Han dynasty, the political instability in the east meant that regional powers in Yunnan could operate more independently, with a few exceptions. Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181–234) famously subjugated the area in the third century CE but did not try to maintain central control, opting instead for a system in which local leaders would offer tribute in order to enrich the Shu-Han kingdom (221–263) without draining Shu-Han resources in keeping the region under direct rule.[10] Other regimes maintained outposts in Yunnan but had little actual influence. Interest in the region resumed in the Sui dynasty (581–618) when the new emperor, having conquered the Sichuan region, turned his attention farther south.

From the fall of the Han dynasty to the rise of the Sui, trade between Yunnan and the outside world continued. The fourth-century gazetteer *Huayang guozhi* 華陽國志 reports that Yongchang linked Sichuan to Southeast Asia and India.

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7   The tombs of royalty and noble warriors are from Shizhai shan, the Dian capital; the tombs of peasant soldiers come from Taiji shan in Anning, just west of Shizhai shan and the Kunming region.

8   Aside from metal coins, elite Dian tombs contained bronze mirrors, crossbows, and *jiaodou* food or wine vessels, among other Chinese objects (Wang Ningsheng 1980: 60).

9   *Hou Han shu* 86: 2846, 2851.

10   *Sanguo zhi* 35: 918–920.

Yongchang boasted a wide array of precious goods from the western regions as well as a diverse population with people from Pyu and India along with the native Ailao.[11] As is well known, Buddhism also traveled along trade routes linking India to China in the form of monks, merchants, and the things they carried. The northern Silk Road and maritime passages have received more scholarly attention for their roles in Buddhist networks than the 'southern Silk Road,' but sources from the Tang dynasty suggest that some Buddhist monks did use the southwestern route.[12]

By the Tang dynasty Yunnan's geopolitical situation was changing. Trade initially spurred Tang interest in Yunnan, as Tang Taizong wanted to control the territory to secure another route with India (Backus 1981: 17–18). Tang campaigns in the 640s managed to take territory as far as Er Lake (Erhai 洱海) in the Dali plain, the political centre of the future Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms. The Dali area, located between Yizhou and Yongchang commanderies, had not received much attention from earlier Chinese dynasties, but acquired strategic importance for the Tang as the Tibetan empire expanded east. For the Tang court, as for other Chinese dynasties looking to increase their influence in Yunnan, it was imperative to cooperate with regional leaders. In this case, those leaders were the rulers of a small kingdom called Nanzhao, located south of Er Lake.

Nanzhao Buddhism, and the Buddhism of the subsequent Dali kingdom, developed through networks that evolved from the first millennium BCE. Though there is much missing from the extant historical record, several consistent themes emerge. First, Yunnan has a long history of trade with the modern-day regions of Burma, Bengal, and Sichuan, making it an important node in ancient trade networks linking these three areas. Second, the only polities that attempted to gain suzerainty over Yunnan were Chinese empires, starting with the Han dynasty. These empires lacked the resources to directly govern the remote and mountainous territory of Yunnan, so they had to appeal to local authorities for support by conferring titles, gifts, and military assistance. Finally, prior to the Tang dynasty there are no records of Buddhist people or

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11 Chen Qian 1981: 170; *Huayang guozhi* 4: 21–22.

12 The monk Huirui 慧睿 was reportedly captured while traveling beyond Shu's western border and had to work as a shepherd before a merchant bought his freedom, whereupon he journeyed through various countries before finally reaching southern India (Chen Qian 1981: 170; *Gaoseng zhuan*, T.50.2059: 367a29–b5). Yijing also mentions over twenty Tang monks who travelled from Sichuan and Zangke to the Mahābodhi Temple in Bodhgayā, which would have taken them through the Yizhou and Yongchang regions (Chen Qian 1981: 170; *Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, T.51.2066: 5b7–8).

objects circulating in Yunnan. All of these factors help us make sense of new developments in the Nanzhao kingdom that arises in the seventh and eighth centuries.

2   Nanzhao Networks and Identities: Tang, Tibet, and Pyu

When Tang Taizong turned his attention to Yunnan in the 640s, six small kingdoms called *zhao* 詔 controlled the Dali region.[13] The name Nanzhao, 'Southern Kingdom', refers to its position to the south of the five other polities. It was also known as Mengshe 蒙舍 in reference to its rulers, who hailed from the Meng clan. Though scholars often describe the Meng in ethnic terms, the sources do not support an understanding of Meng ethnic self-representation. In the early- to mid-twentieth century scholars saw the Nanzhao rulers as Thai, but this theory has been refuted (Blackmore 1967; Backus 1981: 49). Modern scholarship frequently identifies the Meng as ancestors of the Yi 彝 *minzu* (nationality) and accepts the Tang designation of the Meng as a kind of 'Black Barbarian' (*wuman* 烏蠻) (Backus 1981; You Zhong 2006; Qiu Xuanchong 1991). However, the 'Black Barbarian' label belongs to Tang ethno-cultural discourse rooted in the binary of Chinese civilization and barbarism; it does not convey Nanzhao self-representation. Tang sources about the southwest contrast Black Barbarians with 'White Barbarians' (*baiman* 白蠻): though the distinction ostensibly refers to different colours of women's garments, it really reflects perceived proximity to Chinese culture, with the White Barbarians adhering more closely to Chinese norms (*Man shu*: 14, 74; Fang Guoyu 1983: 45).

Even if the sources do not support a discussion of Meng ethnic self-representation, they do help to locate the Meng within Dali culture. Meng rulers followed the patronymic linkage system in which the last part of the father's name becomes the first part of the son's name: the first five Nanzhao rulers are Xinuluo 細奴邏, Luosheng 邏盛, Shengluopi 盛邏皮, Piluoge 皮邏閣, and Geluofeng 閣邏鳳.[14] This naming system was also followed among the kings of early Burma, the Mosuo people of northern Yunnan, and the Hani people of southern Yunnan (Pelliot 1904: 166; Backus 1981: 66). However, people living around Er Lake (near the Nanzhao capital) had adopted Chinese surnames

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13   The term *zhao*, which refers to both the kingdom and its ruler, used to be cited as proof that the Nanzhao rulers were Thai, as it resembles a Thai word with the same meaning. However, fourth-century rulers in northern China also used it in the same way, suggesting that it was not distinctively Thai. See Blackmore 1967: 65.

14   *Jiu Tang shu* 197: 5280.

such as Yang 楊, Li 李, Zhao 趙, and Dong 董, and claimed to be the descendants of Han people.[15] The close proximity of self-identified Chinese people suggests that the Nanzhao rulers were familiar with Chinese culture (and the discourse of Chineseness), but did not represent themselves as 'Chinese' by claiming Han ancestry or adopting Chinese naming conventions. Instead, they appear to have represented themselves as descendants of the Ailao from Yongchang Commandery.[16]

In the late seventh and early eighth centuries Nanzhao was the largest and most powerful of the six kingdoms surrounding Er Lake, so when the Tang wanted regional allies to defend against the growing Tibetan threat, they looked to the Meng. The Nanzhao ruler Piluoge (r. 728–748) took advantage of the situation to enlist Tang support in conquering his regional rivals in the 730s (Map 3.1). The Tang court also awarded various titles to Piluoge, such as 'King of Yunnan' (Yunnan wang 雲南王), to encourage his cooperation.[17] However, the Tang-Nanzhao alliance began to weaken in the 740s, when Nanzhao accused Tang officials of betrayal. Piluoge's son Geluofeng (r. 748–779) transferred his allegiance to Tibet in 751, whereupon he received the Tibetan title *btsan po gcung* (Chin *zanpu zhong* 贊普鐘), 'younger brother of the emperor'.[18] The Nanzhao-Tibet alliance officially lasted until 794, when the Nanzhao ruler Yimouxun 異牟尋 (r. 780–808) restored relations with Tang.[19]

Despite these decades of alliance between Nanzhao and Tibet, there are few examples of Nanzhao adoption of Tibetan practices, with the possible exception of sumptuary laws about wearing tiger skins.[20] Even during the Nanzhao-Tibet alliance, the Chinese official Zheng Hui 鄭回 (kidnapped in a Nanzhao raid on Suizhou) served as royal tutor to young Yimouxun, and continued in his advisory role after Yimouxun rose to power.[21] Nanzhao rulers modeled their political structure on the six divisions of the Tang government and educated their sons in Chengdu.[22] This familiarity with southern Sichuan probably

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15   *Xi Erhe fengtu ji*: 218.

16   *Jiu Tang shu* 197: 5280.

17   Ibid.

18   *Dehua bei*: 3–4.

19   *Jiu Tang shu* 197: 5282.

20   Backus 1981: 79. According to the *Man shu*, 'Those with outstanding, exceptional achievements may wear tiger hide over their whole bodies. Those with lesser achievements may wear [tiger hide] on their chest and back, but may not have sleeves. Those with still lesser achievements may wear [tiger hide] on their chest, but not on their back.' *Man shu*: 72. It uses *boluo* 波羅 for tiger, which came from the local language.

21   *Jiu Tang shu* 197: 5281.

22   *Man shu*: 76; *Xin Tang shu* 215a: 6027; *Zizhi tongjian* 249: 40b.

MAP 3.1   *Nanzhao Kingdom.*

helped Nanzhao forces in their 829 raid of the city in which they took skilled labourers along with material riches.[23]

In its relations with Tang and Tibet, Nanzhao had to assume the inferior position, but in its expeditions to the south it took the dominant role. Nanzhao

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23   *Xin Tang shu* 222b: 6282.

expansion to the south and west had begun by the late eighth century, but it was not until the early ninth century that it took over the Pyu kingdom, as shown in Xungequan's 尋閣勸 (r. 808–809) adoption of the title *Piao xinju* 驃信苴, 'ruler of Pyu'.[24] Later in the ninth century, after the fall of the Tibetan empire, Nanzhao and Tang forces battled over control of Annam in modern-day Vietnam. This conflict weakened both regimes, which collapsed around the same time in the early tenth century.

Nanzhao's foreign relations show that Dali was connected to Tang outposts in Yunnan and Sichuan, to Tibetan forces north of the Dali region, and to the Pyu and Annam regions to the south. However, the links between the Nanzhao rulers and these places differed quantitatively and qualitatively. Ties between Nanzhao and Sichuan were particularly strong, and though Nanzhao occupied the subordinate role it could still act as an aggressor through surprise raids. Ties between Nanzhao and Tibet were weaker, and seem to serve more militarily strategic purposes. Finally, ties between Nanzhao and Pyu reversed the dynamic to put Nanzhao in the superior position.

3 Acuoye Guanyin and the Mahārāja: Buddhist Networks in the Nanzhao Kingdom

Nanzhao relations with Tang, Tibet, and Pyu shape both the records and representations of Buddhist networks during this period. Buddhism became a prominent part of Nanzhao elite culture by the mid-ninth century, when Nanzhao rulers reportedly built Chongsheng si 崇聖寺 and its central pagoda Qianxun ta 千尋塔 (Li Gong 2006: 153). An inscription dated to 850 records a Nanzhao official's sponsorship of Amitābha and Maitreya carvings at the Buddhist grottoes of Shibao shan 石寶山 in Jianchuan, north of the Dali plain.[25] In 863 a Tang official reportedly shot an arrow into the chest of a foreign monk (*huseng* 胡僧) who was performing a ritual for Nanzhao forces in Annam.[26] When in 876 Tang representatives sought to put an end to their conflict

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24   *Jiu Tang shu* 197: 5284.

25   Hou Chong 2006b: 126; *Zhang Banglong zaoxiang ji*: 5–6. Zhang Banglong 張傍龍 was probably an official under Nanzhao from the northwest part of Nanzhao territory.

26   *Man shu*: 80. The text recounts that a naked foreign monk holding a staff and wrapped in white silk (perhaps wearing a *dhoti*?) was taking forward and backward steps south of the city wall. The Tang official Cai Xi shot this 'ritual performing foreign monk' in the chest with an arrow, whereupon the barbarians took him back to their camp and went into an uproar.

with Nanzhao over Annam, they sent a Buddhist monk to negotiate with the Nanzhao ruler Shilong 世隆 (r. 859–877), knowing that 'it was [Shilong's] custom to revere the Buddhist dharma.'[27] Conversely, the 766 *Dehua bei* 德化碑 (Stele of Transforming through Virtue), written to repair the Nanzhao court's relationship with the Tang after Nanzhao had allied with Tibet, makes no mention of Buddhism.

Despite the absence of Buddhist records in Nanzhao sources before the ninth century, it is clear that Buddhism was known in the region. The earliest dated source related to Buddhism in Dali is a 698 funerary stele for the Tang (and Zhou) official Wang Renqiu 王仁求 with carvings of the buddhas Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna from the 'Appearance of the Treasure Pagoda' section of the *Lotus Sūtra*.[28] Though the stele was erected in Wang's hometown of Anning, near Kunming, Wang spent his career in the Dali region, suggesting that Buddhist ideas were known in the Dali plain as early as the seventh century. A collection of Tang-style Buddhist statues found at Weishan 巍山 in 1990 might date to the early Nanzhao kingdom, which would suggest that Nanzhao rulers adopted Buddhism earlier than the ninth century (Liu Xishu 2006). However, the difficulty of dating these statues reliably means that even if Nanzhao rulers were familiar with Buddhism before the ninth century, there is no solid proof that they had embraced Buddhism.

In addition to architecture and statues, sources for ninth-century Nanzhao Buddhism include the 899 *Nanzhao tuzhuan* 南詔圖傳 (Illustrated History of Nanzhao), which recounts in text and images how Acuoye Guanyin introduced Buddhism to the region for the edification of the final Nanzhao ruler Shunhuazhen 舜化貞 (r. 897–902), who was still a boy (Li Lin-ts'an 1967: 147–48). Acuoye Guanyin takes the form of an Indian monk and helps the first two Nanzhao kings, Xinuluo and Luosheng, establish their kingdom. The Bodhisattva then attempts to spread the dharma around Yunnan, but finds that the local population is not yet ready for Buddhism. He displays his true form of Acuoye Guanyin, which an old man casts as a gold statue (Figure 3.1) that is enshrined on a mountaintop. In the ninth century the Nanzhao ruler Longshun 隆舜 (r. 878–897) hears of the statue and sends officials to retrieve it. The *Nanzhao tuzhuan*'s last scene shows Longshun and other figures from the narrative worshiping this image of Acuoye Guanyin. When considered in

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27 *Xin Tang shu* 222b: 6290. Shilong had previously refused to bow to Tang officials because he wanted to be acknowledged as an equal, but he made an exception for the monk. Tang records refer to Shilong as Qiulong 酋龍 because the characters in his name violated Tang taboos.

28 *Da Zhou gu Hedong zhou cishi zhi bei*: 68–70.

FIGURE 3.1   *Acuoye Guanyin, 1147–72 / San Diego Museum of Art, USA.*

conjunction with other evidence for Nanzhao Buddhism and Nanzhao history, the *Nanzhao tuzhuan* points to the networks through which Nanzhao elites encountered Buddhism and reveals how the Nanzhao court represented those networks.

Routes linking the Dali region to Tang territory were important conduits through which Buddhist texts and artisans entered Nanzhao. Qianxun ta, a sixteen-story brick pagoda that stands fifty-eight meters tall, closely resembles the Tang-dynasty Xiaoyan ta 小雁塔 in Xi'an (Fang Guoyu 1978: 51). Buddhist statues at Shibao shan, including the 850 Amitābha and Maitreya images, show familiarity with Tang styles in their robust physiques (Li Yumin 1991: 376). Given that Nanzhao elites educated their sons and kidnapped artisans from Chengdu, it would not be surprising for the sculptors and architects responsible for Qianxun ta and the Shibao shan carvings to have learned their craft in Sichuan.

Textual sources from Nanzhao also show ties to Tang territory in that they are all written in Sinitic script and several allude to classical Chinese texts. The *Dehua bei*, which was composed by a Tang official or literatus, draws from the *Shijing, Shiji*, and *Shang shu*.[29] The *Nanzhao tuzhuan* quotes a line from the *Yijing* when Acuoye Guanyin prophesies to the first two Nanzhao rulers' wives that 'the dragon will fly when nine [i.e. pure *yang*] is in the fifth position.'[30] It also claims that Acuoye Guanyin 'set the *zhaomu* 昭穆 order in the ancestral temple' and 'follows the way of the Five Constants'; the former refers to the organization of tablets based on generational divisions, and the latter refers to the five cardinal virtues of Confucianism.[31] Though it is impossible to determine the specific conduit through which Nanzhao elites encountered these texts and ideas, it is clear that they came from Tang territory or had been introduced to the region from Chinese territory prior to the Tang.

If the text of the *Nanzhao tuzhuan* suggests routes linking the Dali region to Chinese areas, its images show that Dali elites adopted Buddhist materials from other routes, too. Acuoye Guanyin's 'true form' probably entered the Nanzhao kingdom from Southeast Asia as a single statue that served as a template for all images of the Bodhisattva from the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms (Lutz 1991: 186). Images of Acuoye Guanyin show complete consistency: the Bodhisattva has a slim physique with a narrow waist and broad shoulders; his comparatively large head features an intricate, high hairstyle (*jaṭā-makuṭa* in Sanskrit); and he wears a *dhoti* with a sash as well as a jewelled collier and bracelets (Ibid.: 185). Though art historians have disagreed about whether Acuoye Guanyin's iconography comes from different regions of India or Southeast Asia, they agree that

29 *Dehua bei*: 4; *Shijing*: 541b; *Shiji* 55: 2042; *Shang shu*: 34b, 111b.

30 Li Lin-ts'an 1967: 148. The line from the *Yijing* reads, 'Nine in the fifth [position]: the dragon flies in the sky; it is advantageous to see a great man'. *Zhou yi*: 10.

31 Li Lin-ts'an 1967: 148–149. The term *zhaomu* appears throughout the Chinese classics, such as the *Shijing, Liji*, and *Zuozhuan*.

the image of Acuoye Guanyin entered Nanzhao territory from Southeast Asia.[32] Given Nanzhao involvement in both Pyu and Annam, it is likely that Acuoye Guanyin entered Nanzhao from one of those areas.

The *Nanzhao tuzhuan* and other Buddhist sources from the Nanzhao kingdom suggest a network with conduits extending into Tang territory, especially Sichuan, and Southeast Asia, namely Annam and Pyu. However, the *Nanzhao tuzhuan*'s central claim is that Acuoye Guanyin introduced Buddhism to the region from India: the Bodhisattva appears in the form of an Indian monk, and in 825 a monk from the 'western regions' (*xiyu* 西域) comes to the Nanzhao capital and says, "Acuoye Guanyin, Worthy of the Lotus Family in our western regions came from a foreign kingdom [*fanguo* 蕃國] and carried out various transformations until arriving in your Great Feng People Kingdom [i.e. Nanzhao]. Where is he now?"[33] The *Nanzhao tuzhuan* thus depicts the conduit linking the Dali region and India as the strongest part of the Nanzhao kingdom's Buddhist network.

Emphasizing Nanzhao Buddhism's Indian origins does not entail rejecting other channels of transmission, as seen in the *Nanzhao tuzhuan*'s statement that "if one traces the source of the Holy Teaching [*shengjiao* 聖教, i.e. Buddhism] in the Great Feng People Kingdom, some came from *hu* 胡 [Central Asia] and *fan* 梵 [India], while some came from *bo* 蕃 [Tibet] and *han* 漢 [China]."[34] However, the *Nanzhao tuzhuan* generally downplays the Chinese contribution. The text takes pains to refute a rumour that the famous Tang monk-pilgrim Xuanzang was the one who bestowed the prophecy on Xinuluo and Luosheng, noting that Xinuluo was born in 629, the same year in which Xuanzang departed for India, making it impossible for Xuanzang to have encountered both Xinuluo and his grown son.[35]

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32   Helen Chapin and Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann each saw India as the ultimate source of Acuoye Guanyin's iconography, with Chapin tracing the figure to the northeastern Pala dynasty and de Mallmann positing origins in the central-western region of Mahārāṣṭra or the southern port region of Mahabalipuram. Both surmised that Indian statues went through Southeast Asia—probably Śrīvijaya—before entering Nanzhao territory. Chapin 1944: 182; de Mallmann 1951: 572. Angela Howard follows Nandana Chutiwongs in locating Acuoye Guanyin within the arts of Champa (in what is now southern Vietnam) instead. Chutiwongs 1984: 477–483; Howard 1996: 233.

33   Li Lin-ts'an 1967: 145–46. The term 'Great Feng People Kingdom' (*da fengmin guo* 大封民國) only appears in the *Nanzhao tuzhuan* and *Xin Tang shu*, where Longshun is said to have called himself 'Great Feng Person' (*da feng ren* 大封人). *Xin Tang shu* 222b: 6291. It is unfortunately unclear what the term means.

34   Ibid.: 147.

35   Ibid.: 145.

Longshun's titles, as depicted in the final image of the *Nanzhao tuzhuan*, also deemphasize the Chinese connection to Nanzhao. In the final scene Longshun and others worship the true form of Acuoye Guanyin. The penultimate Nanzhao ruler wears only a *dhoti* and earrings, with his hair pulled back in a bun and his hands in the *añjali mudrā*. A cartouche identifies him as 'Mahārāja, Earth Wheel King, *Bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan*, He Who Invites the Four Directions to Become One Family, the *Piao xin* Meng Longhao'.[36] These titles locate Longshun (here, Longhao) at the centre of a Buddhist network that extends in every direction. 'Mahārāja' points to India, and in conjunction with the title 'Earth Wheel King' refers to a Buddhist monarch. Though earth is not one of the standard kinds of *cakravartin*, the term clearly relates to this notion of Buddhist kingship. *Bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan* could be a Tibetan title for 'Victory Banner of the [Buddhist] Teachings,' and *Piao xin* is an abbreviated form of *Piao xinju*, 'Lord of Pyu.'[37] 'He Who Invites the Four Directions to Become One Family' probably comes from Chinese classical tradition: the *Lunyu* describes the gentleman (*junzi* 君子) as one who takes all within the four seas as his brothers, and Xunzi praises the ability to make all within the four seas as one family.[38]

This image of Longshun and Acuoye Guanyin draws on an important part of Nanzhao Buddhism, namely the centrality of esoteric Buddhism, which uses the metaphor of the *maṇḍala* to position the ruler/practitioner as a divine being at the centre of his (or in rare cases, her) realm. The *Nanzhao tuzhuan* depicts Longshun performing the rite of consecration (Skt. *abhiṣeka*; Chin *guanding* 灌頂) in which he identifies with Acuoye Guanyin. Two youths standing behind Longshun hold vases with water that would be sprinkled on the ruler's head during the ritual. In addition, the text of the *Nanzhao tuzhuan* states, "in the ninth year of Cuoye 嵯耶, *dingsi* annum [i.e. 897], the emperor was sprinkled from the basin".[39]

Another source from just after the fall of Nanzhao confirms the royal adoption of esoteric Buddhism: a 908 subcommentary on the *Renwang huguo boreboluomiduo jing* 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經 (*Prajñāpāramitā* Scripture for Humane Kings to Protect Their Countries; hereafter *Renwang jing*) known as the *Huguo sinan chao* 護國司南抄 (Compass for Protecting the Nation Subcommentary) is among the Buddhist texts that have only been found in

36   Ibid.: 137. In Chinese: Moheluocuo tulun wang danbi qianjian sifang qing wei yijia piao xin Meng Longhao 摩訶羅嵯土輪王擔畀謙賤四方請為一家驃信蒙隆昊.

37   I am grateful to Leonard van der Kuijp for explaining this Tibetan term.

38   *Lunyu*: 12; *Xunzi jijie* 4: 5b.

39   Li Lin-ts'an 1967: 146.

Dali (Hou Chong 2006a: 73).[40] Its existence suggests that Nanzhao rulers were familiar with the tradition of esoteric governance that Amoghavajra (Chin Bukong 不空; 705–774) promoted at the Tang court and in his 'translation' of the *Renwang jing*, as the *Huguo sinan chao* was based on Liang Bi's commentary on Amoghavajra's version of the text (Hou Chong 2006b: 70; Orzech 1998). The *Huguo sinan chao* also supports the theory that Buddhist texts entered Nanzhao mainly from Tang territory.

Longshun's titles and image in the *Nanzhao tuzhuan* affirmed his role as an esoteric Buddhist monarch at the centre of a circular *maṇḍala* that extended to India, Tibet, China, and Pyu. By the ninth century Nanzhao rulers had claimed the title emperor (*huangdi* 皇帝) and were distancing themselves from the subordinate titles their predecessors received from Tang and Tibet, such as King of Yunnan and *btsan po gcung*. This effectively raised Nanzhao's status from that of a border kingdom in the shadows of two great empires to that of a Buddhist empire in its own right. It did so by strategically representing Buddhist networks in a way that placed Nanzhao in the centre and minimized the conduits tying the Dali region to Tang territory.

It is possible that the *Nanzhao tuzhuan*'s representation of Buddhist networks does accord with the networks by which Buddhist objects, ideas, and people traveled to and from the Dali region. After all, trade routes linked Nanzhao to Pyu and the Pala empire, so Indian monks could have made their way into Nanzhao territory. Later sources for Dali history do claim that Indian Buddhist monks—most famously the esoteric master Candragupta (Zantuojueduo 贊陀崛多)—played important roles in spreading Buddhism in Nanzhao.[41] However, Hou Chong has convincingly shown that these tales cannot be dated to earlier than the Ming dynasty (Hou Chong 2002: 264–265). Moreover, no sources from the Nanzhao kingdom clearly came from India, nor do any Tang or Tibetan records mention Indian monastics in the Dali region.

Juxtaposing records and representations of Buddhist networks from the Nanzhao kingdom thus results in a disjuncture between the two. By the second half of the ninth century Nanzhao rulers had embraced Buddhism, drawing on textual traditions, architectural models, and artistic styles from Tang China and adopting the 'nation-founding' Acuoye Guanyin from Southeast Asia. Acknowledging the importance of Tang China as a main channel for the transmission of Buddhism to Nanzhao would implicitly subordinate Nanzhao

40   The extant manuscript of the text dates to 1052, but its contents date to 908. Hou Chong explains the calculation of the 908 date, as the date is recorded incorrectly in the text.

41   See the 1438 inscription *Gu baoping zhanglao muzhiming*: 43; and *Bo gu tongji qianshu jiaozhu*: 62–63.

Buddhism to that of the Tang. By emphasizing Nanzhao's connection to India, the Nanzhao court could claim superiority due to its closer proximity to Buddhism's source.

Regardless of how the Acuoye Guanyin statue came to the Dali region, Nanzhao elites used it to signify their Buddhist tradition's Indian origins: the name Acuoye probably comes from Sanskrit, the text describes Acuoye Guanyin as coming from the 'Western Regions', and he takes the form of an Indian monk in attempting to spread the dharma. From the *Nanzhao tuzhuan* it does not appear that Nanzhao elites had detailed understandings of India or actually sent any delegations to the Western Regions. Instead, India seems to have been an imagined place with symbolic resonance as Buddhism's source. Acuoye Guanyin shows both the documented networks linking the Dali region to Pyu or Annam, and the represented network linking Dali to India.

3.1   *Nation Founder: Acuoye Guanyin in the Dali Kingdom*

Acuoye Guanyin, a regional form of an otherwise transregional bodhi-sattva, was the central figure in Nanzhao Buddhism in the late ninth century. However, the completion of the *Nanzhao tuzhuan*, which told of the kingdom's founding, preceded the kingdom's downfall by only a few years. In 903 the Nanzhao official Zheng Maisi 鄭買嗣 (r. 903–910) killed the infant heir and usurped the throne, establishing the short-lived Dachanghe 大長和 kingdom (903–927). This was followed by the even shorter Datianxing 大天興 (928–929) and Dayining 大義寧 (929–937) kingdoms, after which Duan Siping 段思平 founded the Dali kingdom (Map 3.2). Unlike the fractious relations between Nanzhao and Tang, the Dali kingdom had little conflict with the Song dynasty. This was intentional on the part of Song Taizu, who decreed that, in light of Tang entrenchment in the southwest, everything south of the Dadu River would belong to Dali.[42] As a result, there are fewer surviving sources from the Song about Dali than there were from the Tang about Nanzhao. However, far more materials from the Dali kingdom survive, most of which are Buddhist texts and art.

Despite these differences in extant sources and history, several threads connect the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms. Members of the Duan family had served as prime ministers (*qingpingguan* 清平官) under the Nanzhao king-dom, and the Dali court continued many of the traditions established by their Meng predecessors, including the use of certain official titles, governmental

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42   *Song shi* 353: 11149.

structure, and the claim to the same Indian Buddhist transmission.[43] Dali rulers worshiped Acuoye Guanyin and included several scenes from the *Nanzhao tuzhuan* in the *Fanxiang juan* 梵像卷 (Roll of Buddhist Images) from the 1170s. The *Fanxiang juan*, a long painting sponsored by the Dali ruler Duan Zhixing 段智興 (r. 1172–1199), contains an eclectic pantheon of Buddhist figures, from Chan patriarchs to wrathful dharma guardians.[44] As shown by scenes of rulers at the beginning and end of the painting, the Dali court used the *Fanxiang juan* to claim Buddhist authority for their rule.[45] This connection to statecraft manifests in the painting's inclusion of Acuoye Guanyin, but the painting also depicts other forms of the Bodhisattva. The *Fanxiang juan* (and other sources) thus shows that the Dali court worshiped transregional forms of Guanyin in addition to the distinctive Acuoye form, shedding more light on the religious networks that shaped Dali-kingdom Buddhism. Images and texts related to the Bodhisattva Guanyin from the Dali kingdom show that Dali elites continued to use images of Acuoye Guanyin to represent religious networks linking Yunnan to India, but their textual sources for the Bodhisattva's worship came primarily from Song territory.

The *Nanzhao tuzhuan* is the only source reliably dating to the Nanzhao kingdom that features Acuoye Guanyin, but several statues of the Bodhisattva could date to either the Nanzhao or Dali kingdoms. Two of these are stone carvings from Shibao shan, where caves ten and seventeen depict Guanyin in the guise of an Indian monk, complete with a pet dog mentioned in the *Nanzhao tuzhuan*.[46] Another image of Acuoye Guanyin at Shibao shan clearly dates to

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43   The Nanzhao and Dali courts used titles not found elsewhere, such as buxie 布燮, tanchuo 坦綽, jiuzan 久贊, and qiuwang 酋望. *Xin Tang shu* 222a: 6267–68; *Man shu*: 76.

44   The *Fanxiang juan* was originally created in an accordion-fold format, and was later remounted as a scroll. The painter Zhang Shengwen 張勝溫 supervised its creation, though nothing else is known about him. Art historians agree that the painting's overall style follows conventions from Tang-Song China, though several figures' iconographies differ from those of the Tang through Song. The *Fanxiang juan* currently belongs to the collection of the National Palace Museum in Taiwan. See Matsumoto 1976, Li Lin-ts'an 1967, and Li Yumin 1987.

45   The opening frames show Duan Zhixing himself at the head of a large retinue, and the closing frames depict the "Kings of the Sixteen Great Countries" (*shiliu daguo wangzhong* 十六大圀王衆), a set that appears in the *Prajñāpāramitā Scripture for Humane Kings to Protect Their Countries* (*Renwang huguo boreboluomiduo jing*), T.8.246: 834c25ff. See Li Lin-ts'an 1967: 78–79, 122–123.

46   In Acuoye Guanyin's fourth incarnation in the *Nanzhao tuzhuan*, he appears as an Indian monk accompanied by a white dog. As they pass through a region west of the Lancang

MAP 3.2   *Dali Kingdom.*

the Dali kingdom: cave thirteen centres around a statue of Acuoye Guanyin that closely resembles his 'true form' in the *Nanzhao tuzhuan*; he is flanked on

(aka Mekong) River, a village headman steals the dog and the villagers eat it. When the monk calls for the dog, the dog barks from inside the villagers' stomachs, whereupon the villagers attack the monk, believing him to be an evil spirit. The monk lives up to Acuoye's "Invincible" title and escapes unscathed. Li Lin-ts'an 1967: 142–43.

both sides by pagodas. An inscription identifies this image's sponsors as Yaoshi Xiang 藥師祥 and his wife Guanyin De 觀音得 of the Dali kingdom.[47]

Three small statues of Acuoye Guanyin also number among the many Dali-era Buddhist objects found in Qianxun ta. One is gilt bronze, one is gold, and one is wood. The gilt bronze statue is 48.9 cm tall and conforms to the Acuoye Guanyin iconography described above. It bears an inscription that shows its royal provenance: the Dali 'Emperor and *Piao xin* Duan Zhengxing 段政興 [r. 1147–71]' had it made for his two sons Duan Yizhang Sheng 段易長生 and Duan Yizhang Xing 段易長興 (see fig. 3.1).[48] Duan Zhengxing also used the term Yizhang in his daughter's name, and the term appears in frame 100 of the *Fanxiang juan*, which depicts Yizhang Guanshiyin pusa 易長觀世音菩薩.[49] It is probably not a coincidence that Duan Yizhang Xing is none other than Duan Zhixing, the Dali ruler who sponsored the *Fanxiang juan*. The term Yizhang can refer to easily increasing one's lifespan or easily raising children to adulthood; Yizhang Guanshiyin may be a regional form of the Bodhisattva with a special connection to the Duan family.[50]

The image of Yizhang Guanyin in the *Fanxiang juan* is not identical to Acuoye Guanyin, but the *Fanxiang juan* contains several frames that feature Acuoye Guanyin in scenes from the *Nanzhao tuzhuan*. Frame 99 depicts 'True Form Guanshiyin Bodhisattva' (Zhenshen Guanshiyin pusa 真身觀世音菩薩),

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47   Hou 2006b: 127. The absence of surnames is surprising, but it was common for Dali-kingdom Buddhists to have two-character Buddhist terms in their given names. Dali elites also used terms such as Dari 大日 (Great Sun, Mahāvairocana), Prajñā, and Tianwang 天王 (Celestial King, *devarāja*) in this way. See a full list in Tian Huaiqing 2002. Inserting Buddhist terms into personal names was also a feature of Liao Buddhism, though most of the terms used there were different, such as Pusa 菩薩 (Bodhisattva) and Fobao 佛寶 (Buddha Treasure). Zhang Guoqing 2004: 71–72.

48   Li Lin-ts'an 1967: 73.

49   *Dali guo gu Gao Ji mumingbei*: 11.

50   I agree with Xu Jiarui's theory that including Buddhist terms in personal names was a form of protection and blessing. Xu 2005: 336. Based on Yizhang Guanshiyin's dragon throne and *nāga* devotees, Moritaka Matsumoto speculated that it was a regional form of Dragon-Head (*longtou* 龍頭) Guanyin, one of the thirty-three forms of the Bodhisattva based on the *Pumen pin* chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra* (Matsumoto 1976: 246). Li Yumin accepts Helen Chapin's theory that Yizhang Guanshiyin's name came from the Indian and Southeast Asian practice of adding rulers' names to deities' names in signifying the ruler's divinity. Yizhang Guanshiyin would thus result from Duan Yizhang Xing's name being added to Guanyin (Li Yumin 1987: 234). While the shared name Yizhang may have identified Duan Zhixing with Yizhang Guanyin, the term's use in his siblings' names suggests that it did have the meaning of 'raising easily to adulthood'. Yizhang Guanshiyin could have been worshiped for the protection and longevity of the Dali ruling family.

in which Acuoye Guanyin appears in a white circle as the old man casts a statue in the lower left corner and a villager beats a drum in the lower right corner. The central figure in frame 58 is 'Indian Monk Guanshiyin Bodhisattva' (Fanseng Guanshiyin pusa 梵僧觀世音菩薩), who preaches to the two wives of the first Nanzhao rulers. Frame 86, titled 'Nation-Founding Guanshiyin Bodhisattva' (Jianguo Guanshiyin pusa 建國觀世音菩薩), shows the Indian monk form of Guanyin projecting an image of Acuoye Guanyin above his head; his dog and other figures mentioned in the *Nanzhao tuzhuan* accompany him.

These examples of Dali-kingdom Acuoye Guanyin images show that the Duan rulers presented themselves as heirs to the Nanzhao court's Buddhist mandate. Acuoye Guanyin was not only the founder of the Nanzhao kingdom, but also the symbolic founder of the Dali kingdom. Dali-kingdom rulers shared the claim that Buddhism in Dali came from India and they continued to use the image of Acuoye Guanyin to signify this authentic Indian origin. Acuoye Guanyin linked Dali spatially to India and temporally to the Nanzhao kingdom. Moreover, it was the image of Acuoye Guanyin, rather than texts, that signified the Indian link. The *Fanxiang juan* repeatedly reinforced his ties to India and distinguished him from other images of Guanyin.

Dali-kingdom images of Acuoye Guanyin do not show an attempt by Dali rulers to erase networks connecting them to their Song neighbours. The inclusion of a Chan lineage in the *Fanxiang juan* shows that Dali elites acknowledged Song China as *a* source of their Buddhist tradition.[51] However, it remains significant that only the Indian-looking Acuoye Guanyin, rather than one of the Bodhisattva's many other forms, is the nation founder. This reflects Dali elites' greater emphasis on conduits linking Dali and India, even though extant materials suggest that the conduits linking Dali and Song China were more active. This latter point is apparent in images and texts from the Dali kingdom related to transregional forms of Guanyin.

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51 This lineage connects Śākyamuni to the Mahārāja Longshun in frames 42–55. It has attracted Chan scholars' attention because it includes Shenhui as the seventh patriarch. Shenhui seems to be a double figure that signifies both the famous Heze Shenhui 菏澤神會 and Jingzhong Shenhui 淨眾神會 of Sichuan's Bao Tang lineage. Shenhui is followed by the Sichuanese monk Zhang Weizhong 張惟忠, who studied with Jingzhong Shenhui and was a grand-disciple of Heze Shenhui. The figures following Zhang Weizhong—Xianzhe Mai Chuncuo 賢者買純嵯, Chuntuo Dashi 純陀大師, and Faguang Heshang 法光和尚—appear to be monks from the Dali region who would have lived during the Nanzhao kingdom. Li Lin-ts'an 1967: 91–95; Yanagida 1988: 237–38.

4   Universal Saviour: Guanyin and the *Lotus Sūtra* in Dali-Kingdom Buddhism

Images and texts related to Guanyin's transregional forms point in a different direction than do sources for Acuoye Guanyin. Most statues of Guanyin from the Dali kingdom show close connections to Tang and Song artistic styles and iconographies, which characterizes Nanzhao- and Dali-kingdom Buddhist art more broadly (Matsumoto 1976; Li Yumin 1991). Carvings and statues of Guanyin appear in multiple Dali-kingdom sites, including Shibao shan and Qianxun ta. Several of these hold a willow branch in their right hand, which is a form that developed in Tang China (Yü 2001: 78). For example, among the objects from Qianxun ta is a small silver statue of a seated Guanyin holding a willow branch in his right hand and a lotus-shaped bowl in his left (Lutz 1991a: 181 fig. 55). Some additional Guanyin statues from Qianxun ta were clearly modelled on Tang originals, showing that statues and artisans were among the traffic on Buddhist networks linking Dali to Chinese territory (Ibid.: 180, 176 figs. 49–50).

Networks for visual and textual materials overlap, so it should not be surprising to find connections between the Dali kingdom's Buddhist scriptures and images in the *Fanxiang juan*. According to Li Yumin, twenty-one frames of the *Fanxiang juan* are connected to Guanyin, which makes Guanyin easily the most popular figure in the painting.[52] In addition to Acuoye Guanyin, there are several images of esoteric forms of Guanyin, as well as images of Guanyin from the *Lotus Sūtra*. The clearest example of the latter is in frames 88 through 90, which are labelled 'Guanshiyin Bodhisattva from the Chapter of Universal Teaching' (*Pumen pin Guanshiyin pusa* 普門品觀世音菩薩): Guanyin sits in the posture of royal ease on a lotus in the middle of frame 89, while frames 88 and 90 show the Bodhisattva saving people from eight ills. These include enmity, drowning, elephants, snakes, bandits, imprisonment, and wild beasts, all of which appear in the *Pumen pin* as examples of disasters from which Guanyin can offer salvation.[53]

Li identifies the *Lotus Sūtra* as the source of two other images of Guanyin in the *Fanxiang juan*: frame 91 shows a feminine, longhaired bodhisattva standing on a leaf floating on water. The cartouche reads 'Praise to Guanshiyin Bodhisattva Who Seeks the Sound and Saves from Suffering' (*Namo Xunsheng*

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52   Li Yumin 1987: 228.

53   The cartouches for bandits and imprisonment are missing, so I follow Li's interpretation based on the images. Ibid.: 235.

jiuku Guanshiyin pusa 南無尋聲救苦觀世音菩薩).[54] Frame 101 features a form of Guanyin with a similar title, 'Guanshiyin Bodhisattva Who Saves from Suffering' (*Jiuku Guanshiyin pusa* 救苦觀世音菩薩). Inasmuch as the *Pumen pin* provides a scriptural foundation for the idea that Guanyin saves people from suffering, these forms of Guanyin could be seen as further evidence of the Dali court's adoption of the *Lotus Sūtra*. Their proximity to the *Pumen pin* form of Guanyin also suggests a connection.

Given the connections between Guanyin and the *Lotus Sūtra* in the *Fanxiang juan*, it is no surprise that two partial manuscripts of the *Lotus Sūtra* (Kumārajīva's translation) number among the Buddhist scriptures from the Dali kingdom. One comes from Fotu ta 佛圖塔, while the other was written on the reverse of an esoteric ritual manual from Fazang si 法藏寺, which I discuss below. The Fotu ta manuscript covers part of chapter twenty-four through part of chapter twenty-eight, which includes the *Pumen pin*.[55] The text includes several explanations of pronunciation, such as when a character should be read with a falling tone (*qusheng* 去聲); when the character *bu* 不 should be read *fou* 否; and how certain uncommon characters should be pronounced.[56] Such marks are fairly common in Chinese Buddhist texts, and their inclusion in the Fotu ta *Lotus Sūtra* manuscript reinforces its Chinese provenance.

The other *Lotus Sūtra* manuscript appears on the reverse of an esoteric ritual manual that has been split up in the modern manuscript reproduction, but seems to be a single, untitled text that Hou Chong calls *Jingang daguanding daochang yi* 金剛大灌頂道場儀 (Ritual of the *Bodhimaṇḍa* of the Great *Vajra* Consecration).[57] The *Pumen pin* is the only section of the *Lotus Sūtra* that appears here, and it lacks the pronunciation guides that appear in the other version.[58] Taken together, these two manuscripts of the *Lotus Sūtra* reinforce the importance of Guanyin devotionalism in the Dali kingdom. Guanyin's centrality in the *Fanxiang juan* suggests that the *Pumen pin*'s survival in both manuscripts was not an accident.

These two sections of the *Lotus Sūtra* represent Dali-kingdom Buddhist texts as a whole. Most Buddhist texts from the Dali kingdom are Chinese

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54   Ibid.: 236.

55   The section in the Fotu ta manuscript corresponds to T.9.262: 55c5–61b18.

56   These notes are more common toward the beginning of the extant manuscript. *Miaofa lianhua jing*: 117–19.

57   Hou 2006a: 36–37.

58   The sections correspond to T.9.262: 56c2–58b7. They appear in *Jingang saduo huoweng tan shou guanding yishi*: 540–47 and *Daguanding yi*: 570–79 (Hou Chong considers these both to be the *Jingang daguanding daochang yi*).

translations or creations, and the seven manuscripts that have only been found in Dali are all composed in Sinitic script. Aside from the aforementioned *Huguo sinan chao*, these are all ritual texts that appear to have been created in Dali.[59] A handful of Sanskrit texts also survive, namely a syllabary in Brāhmī script and various *dhāraṇī*, including the *Mahāpratisarā-vidyārājñī-dhāraṇī* and *Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī*. Walter Liebenthal noted that the latter came from Dharmadeva's (Fatian 法天 and Faxian 法賢) tenth-century version of the text that was known in the Song dynasty (Liebenthal 1947: 38; 1955: 57–59). In addition, texts similar to the Sanskrit syllabary and *Mahāpratisarā-vidyārājñī-dhāraṇī* circulated in Japan, which suggests that they could have entered Dali from China.[60]

The seven texts unique to Dali were stored at Fazang si, family temple of the Dong 董 clan that served as national preceptors (*guoshi* 國師) under the Dali kingdom. Fazang si was not sealed off when the Dali kingdom fell, so it is possible that other texts written in Sanskrit, Tibetan, or other languages *were* known in the Dali kingdom but did not survive the Mongol and Ming conquests. However, the various pagodas were relatively undisturbed after the fall of the Dali kingdom, and their preponderance of texts in Sinitic script conforms to the makeup of the Fazang si corpus. It appears that Dali-kingdom elites participated in textual networks linking them to Chinese territory, and Song records confirm this.

When the Jin dynasty took over the north, the Song court lost access to the northern horse trade and had to rely on the southwest instead. The Song court

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59   In addition to the *Jingang daguanding daochang yi*, these ritual texts include the *Tongyong qiqing yigui* 通用啟請儀軌 (Invitation Ritual Procedures for General Use), *Zhufo pusa jingang deng qiqing yigui* 諸佛菩薩金剛等啟請儀軌 (Ritual Procedures for Inviting Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, *Vajra* Beings, Etc.), *Dahei tianshen daochang yi* 大黑天神道場儀 (Rituals for the *Bodhimaṇḍa* of the God Mahākāla), *Guangshi wuzhe daochang yi* 廣施無遮道場儀 (Rituals for the *Bodhimaṇḍa* of Widespread Offerings Without Restrictions), and the *Dengshi wuzhe fahui yi* 燈食無遮法會儀 (Rituals for the Dharma Assembly of Unrestricted Lamps and Food).

60   Paul Harrison, personal communication. The *Mahāpratisarā-vidyārājñī-dhāraṇī* and *Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī* were also important in the Tangut Xixia dynasty (1038–1227), which shared with the Dali kingdom a geopolitical position between Song China and Tibetan regions (Shi Jinbo 2014: 146). As such, Xixia and Dali belonged to some of the same networks for the transmission of Buddhist materials, but I have found no evidence of direct contact between them. Moreover, Tangut Buddhists drew far more on Tibetan textual and visual sources, as is apparent in a comparison of the Dali-kingdom and Xixia Mahākāla cults (Bryson 2017: 412–414).

gave books to the Dali delegation that paid tribute in horses in 1136, though the *Song shi* does not record the titles.[61] Fan Chengda reported that in 1173 Dali representatives, led by Li Guanyin De 李觀音得, brought horses to the Hengshan market (in modern-day Guizhou) to trade for an assortment of Chinese texts, including Buddhist titles. Fan also describes the Dali representatives as 'elevating and reciting the Buddhist books'.[62] These examples show that Dali elites actively sought out Chinese learning, from medical tracts to rhyme dictionaries, and that their Buddhist texts came primarily from these exchanges.

As with Acuoye Guanyin, it appears that these textual networks follow the conduits that had been established in the Nanzhao kingdom and even earlier. The early presence of Chinese officials in Yunnan made Sinitic script the language of authority. Despite Dali's greater proximity to India, Sanskrit in Dali seems to have operated similarly to Sanskrit in Tang-Song China: it was a religiously potent script used mainly for those *dhāraṇī* and mantras whose power depended on the language in which they were written and uttered. There would have been Buddhist ritual masters who could read and write Sanskrit, but it was not the main language for Buddhist texts.

The two partial *Lotus Sūtra* manuscripts from the Dali kingdom probably entered the region from Song territory or were copied in Dali. They show how Dali elites acquired Buddhist texts from Song China, and further how these texts informed other aspects of Dali-kingdom Buddhism. Familiarity with the *Pumen pin* section of the *Lotus Sūtra* is evident in the *Fanxiang juan*, and the *Lotus Sūtra* undoubtedly contributed to Guanyin's popularity in the Dali kingdom. Images of Guanyin modelled on Tang styles also show how Dali elites were connected to Song territory (and temporally to the Nanzhao kingdom), given that objects and artisans traveled the same routes that brought texts to the Dali region. How, then, do these documented networks linking Dali-kingdom Guanyin worship to Song China, map onto the networks represented by Acuoye Guanyin and other regional forms of the Bodhisattva?

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61   *Song shi* 186: 4565.

62   *Guihai yuheng zhi Dali shi jilu*: 232. I do not know whether there is a connection between this Li Guanyin De and the female Guanyin De mentioned in the dedicatory inscription in Shibao shan, cave thirteen. Tian Huaiqing notes that of all the Buddhist terms inserted into personal names in the Dali region from the Dali kingdom through the Ming dynasty, Guanyin is most common with 140 instances (Tian Huaiqing 2002: 59–60).

5   Conclusions: Networks and Identity in Nanzhao- and Dali-Kingdom Buddhism

Networks organize information by privileging certain links over others, which means that all networks are in some sense imagined. Similarly, representations of networks that lack documentary evidence can shape how people interact with each other. The distinction between documented and represented or imagined networks thus breaks down at a certain point: rather than being two separate or even opposing kinds of networks, they are intertwined and mutually constitutive. Nanzhao- and Dali-kingdom elites' representations of Guanyin in Buddhist networks can only be understood in connection to documented networks showing how texts and images related to the Bodhisattva made their way to the Dali region, and vice versa.

Texts and images related to Guanyin from the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms show that regional elites encountered the Bodhisattva through multiple channels. Acuoye Guanyin probably entered the region from Annam or Pyu, while other visual and written materials came from Tang-Song territory. While it is possible that other materials related to Guanyin came to Dali from India or Tibet, there is no evidence for this. Instead, it appears that Nanzhao and Dali elites downplayed their links to China and depicted their tutelary form of Acuoye Guanyin as a sign of their close ties to India. Representing networks to highlight ties to India is hardly unique in the Buddhist world, but in Dali's case it takes on additional significance in connection to the documented networks that linked the Dali region to Chinese territory. Dali's proximity to India lent credence to claims that Buddhism entered Dali from the west rather than the east, especially in Dali representatives' encounters with their Tang and Song counterparts. Starting in the Yuan dynasty, Chinese sources show the success of this strategy, as they ascribe Buddhism's popularity in Dali to its closeness to India and report that Indian monks spread Buddhism in the region.[63]

Dali's position as a transit hub linking China, Southeast Asia, India, and Tibet also highlights how history and agency shape network creation. Based on location alone, Dali elites could have drawn from each of their neighbours to craft a regional Buddhist tradition. However, geography alone does not determine how networks develop. Historical power relations inform, and are informed by, the way people in different regions encounter each other. Had the Han dynasty not extended its reach to the Yizhou and Yongchang Commanderies, perhaps Nanzhao- and Dali-kingdom elites would have eventually adopted a different script or looked elsewhere for most of their Buddhist texts, images, and objects.

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63   *Ji gu Dian shuo ji*: 662; *Dali xingji*: 136.

Nanzhao and Dali elites located Acuoye Guanyin within a network tying them to India because this supported their identity as Buddhist monarchs whose right to rule did *not* depend on Chinese authorisation. Before the ninth century Nanzhao rulers relied on alliances with Tang or Tibet and had little choice but to accept titles that made them mere kings or younger brothers of the emperor. Buddhism offered an alternative system in which Dali's location was an asset rather than a liability. Nanzhao- and Dali-kingdom elites never denied that Tang and Song China were parts of the Buddhist network to which they belonged, but they could not acknowledge that Chinese territory was in fact the source of most of their Buddhist material. To do so would have been to continue to claim a subordinate position. Emphasizing the direct link between Dali and India allowed Nanzhao and Dali rulers to be Buddhist emperors whose authority came from the Buddha's birthplace.

A Study on the Combination of the Deities Fudō and Aizen in Medieval Shingon Esoteric Buddhism

Steven Trenson

1   Introduction

Regardless of how the term is understood, it is clear that any historical study of an element of human culture cannot be adequately discussed without employing the notion of structure. If one would replace the word 'structure' with 'network,' as in the meaning of 'netlike interconnections,' it is possible to conceptualise two types of networks which construct the significance of that element. One is a conceptual network, which contains various components (thoughts and ideas related to practices, customs, beliefs, etc.) with which the element of study has a close relationship in a certain time and space. The multiple relationships within that time and space need to be explicitly brought to light and thoroughly analysed to allow a more complete and nuanced grasp of the element's meaning. However, the configuration of the components in this network and their semantic values are not static but continuously evolve or devolve due to the influence of forces tied to social practices and activities. Hence, the conceptual network always intersects with another type of network, which is one of historical human activity marked by socio-political, economic and cultural motivations, and which extends over a certain geographical area. Within this network, people, artefacts, texts, and other vehicles of human thoughts and expressions move from one place to another, crossing geographical, political and cultural borders, and affecting modes of human activity in other localities. Needless to say, they also impact on the configuration of the components in the conceptual net spun around the element of human culture we want to examine for a given time and space.

To say it differently, any object of historical inquiry related to human culture can be viewed from the perspective of a 'translocal'[1] historical human network that extends 'horizontally' over certain geographical areas, and a 'local' conceptual network that widens 'vertically' within a limited time and space, the content and internal configuration of which changes in accordance with

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[1]   For a theoretical outline of the concept of translocality, see Greiner and Sakdapolrak 2013.

the impetuses received from activities in the human network.[2] Of course, it is impossible to concretely show the interrelatedness between the two networks for each time and space in intricate detail, however their historical existence and/or relevance *can* theoretically be assumed, and this will be the working guideline applied to the subject of inquiry in this chapter.

The subject that will be examined here is the combination of Fudō 不動 (Skt. Acala) and Aizen'ō 愛染王 (Skt. *Rāgarāja; often abbreviated as 'Aizen') in medieval Shingon esoteric Buddhism (Shingon Mikkyō 真言密教).[3] Fudō, the 'Immovable One,' and Aizen, the 'King of Lust,'—as his name is rendered by Roger Goepper (1993), who made an extensive study of the deity—are two important esoteric Buddhist divinities which are classified in the category of *myōō* 明王, 'Mantra Kings' or 'Wisdom Kings'; more will be said about them later. Recent research, which will also be explained in more detail later in this article, has shown that this particular belief functioned within specific Shingon circles as one of the primary doctrinal and ritual characteristics of the school in the medieval era. In other words, it constituted one of the fundamental components in the conceptual network that constructed the identity of a certain branch of medieval Shingon. According to the general scholarly consensus, it was a belief that was in all likelihood established in Japan somewhere during the late Heian period (794–1185), as there is no Indian or Chinese scripture to be found which mentions it. In fact, Shingon monks at the time were aware that there was no authoritative Buddhist text that showed the combination of

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2   This line of thought is derived from the following theory of Franz Boas, as quoted by Lévi-Strauss: "The detailed study of customs and of their place within the total culture of the tribe which practices them, together with research bearing on the geographical distribution of those customs among neighbouring tribes, enables us to determine, on the one hand, the historical factors which led to their development and, on the other, the psychological processes which made them possible" (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 6–7). Hence, a distinction is made here between a psychological or conceptual net of customs and practices (in which the custom under investigation has a specific place and meaning) existing within a 'local' tribe and a historical-geographical network stretching out 'translocally' over different tribes in which the custom circulates. From this, the idea of a 'horizontal' ('translocal') and a 'vertical' ('local') network can be derived.

3   In Western scholarship, Japanese Mikkyō is mostly referred to with the label 'esoteric Buddhism' or 'tantric Buddhism.' In this article, I use the former label, not because I am critical or sceptic of the latter, but because I find it more practical. Indeed, by using the label 'esoteric Buddhism,' I avoid defining in this article what I mean by the 'tantric Buddhism' that has been transmitted from India to Japan, which is necessary when one employs the label (as was pointed out also in Orzech 2011: 9–10), but which is a complicated matter that cannot be resolved in only a few words.

the two deities, and were even proud to present it as one of the most important features of their own school, as shown in the following quote from the *Himitsu kudenshō* 秘密口伝抄 (*Book of Secret Oral Instructions*):[4]

> 馬陰蔵ト云事ハ人々ノ竪義不同ナレトモ、慥ニ大日経不動愛染王ニ引合せテ辻ヲ云事ハ无也、此即自宗ノ真言宗ノ不具ノ法門一大事ノ秘事也、[5]
>
> People have different interpretations regarding the 'horse penis [concentration'].[6] However, it is true that in the *Dainichi-kyō* (Ch. *Dari jing*, Skt. *Mahāvairocana sūtra*) there is no line that combines Fudō with Aizen'ō and explains their interconnection. Hence, this [combination of Fudō and Aizen'ō] is the exclusive, ultimate secret teaching of our own school, the Shingon School.

In this article I will attempt to shed more light on the processes that led to the formation of that particular feature of Shingon identity. At the present time, there are only a few explanations offered as to the possible reasons, causes, or contexts that led to its appearance and initial development. These explanations, which will be discussed in detail later, have not affected the general conclusion that the belief emerged at some point within Shingon circles in the course of the eleventh/twelfth century as an exclusively Japanese Buddhist invention.

4	'*Himitsu kudenshō*' is the title of a late Kamakura (1185–1333) period copy of a work written by Hōkyō 宝篋/Rendō 蓮道 (fl. early Kamakura period), which records teachings from two Kōyasan Buddhist priests, Kakukai 覚海 (1142–1223) and Yūgen 融源 (dates unknown). The alternative title given to the work is '*Kakugen kudenshō*' 覚源口伝抄. This is the same work as the *Kakugenshō* 覚源抄 reproduced in sz 36. However, whereas the latter is a copy made in the Edo period (1603–1868), the *Himitsu kudenshō* is a much older version. There are various differences of content organisation between the two versions, and the contents themselves sometimes vary as well.

5	Regarding citations from original sources, where the source cited is a manuscript, or where deemed necessary to make the argument clear, the original text is provided in addition to a translation; in other cases, it is omitted. The same lines quoted here can also be found in the *Kakugenshō* (sz 36: 343a), but it appears that in the latter text the character '*kyō*' in '*Dainichi-kyō*' is missing, which would make translation rather difficult.

6	The 'horse penis concentration' is one of the many interesting teachings explained in the *Yuqi jing* 瑜祇経 (T.18.867), the scriptural basis for Aizen (cf. *infra*). The lines quoted here seem to suggest that the concentration involved the union of Fudō and Aizen.

However, a question one might ask is whether the belief was truly the product of local Japanese monks' speculations, or if it was brought from China to Japan. Even if the truth is that the feature was not directly transmitted from the mainland to Japan but was instead created in the Japanese archipelago by esoteric Buddhist priests, it would probably still not be accurate to view the creation as standing totally independent from a human network—possibly extending to China—in which various closely related thoughts and beliefs circulated. The greater part of the ninth century, the late tenth century, and the late eleventh century were periods in which numerous Buddhist texts and iconographies were imported into Japan through the travels of Japanese Buddhist monks to Tang or Song China,[7] and it is possible that the idea of the combination of Fudō and Aizen could have been derived from these materials. But if that is so, what would these materials have been, and through what network might this transfer have happened? Then there is the question of why the combination developed specifically in Shingon and not in Tendai 天台 Buddhism. There must be some characteristic particular to Shingon doctrine and practice which stimulated this development.

These are the questions that will be considered in this study. In keeping with what was said in the beginning of the chapter, these questions will be examined based upon the assumption that to understand the formation of the combination of Fudō and Aizen in Shingon better, one must see it as being set at the intersection of a translocal historical human network and a local conceptual network of various thoughts related to doctrine and practice developed in specific Shingon circles at a certain time. Thus, the working theory, the 'net' applied over the complex reality behind the creation processes of this particular belief, involves two hypotheses. The first hypothesis is that the combination of our two deities was produced in Shingon as the result of esoteric Buddhist concepts (e.g., in the form of texts, iconographies) circulating in a human network which possibly extended across the borders of Japan. The second hypothesis is that the combination gained a special status in a particular Shingon group of monks because of a close relationship with other components in the conceptual network of doctrines and practices that characterised that group.

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7   Here the reference is of course to the various Japanese pilgrim monks who went to Tang in the ninth century, and moreover to Chōnen 奝然 (?–1016) and Jōjin 成尋 (1011–1081), who both travelled to Song China. Chōnen returned to Japan and brought back with him various texts, among which were forty-one new scriptures, and Jōjin, although he stayed and died in China, had several texts sent to Japan (see Fujiyoshi 2006; Kamikawa 2014).

In this chapter, I will first explain the basic features of the Fudō-Aizen combination in medieval Shingon esoteric Buddhism. Then I will investigate the possible processes, paths, and conditions through which the combination was formed and elaborated. Finally, I will state my conclusions on the formation of the Fudō-Aizen cult.

2   Description of the Fudō-Aizen Combination in Medieval Shingon

Fudō, the 'Immovable,' and Aizen'ō, the 'King of Lust,' are two esoteric Buddhist deities which essentially embody a wisdom—an esoteric knowledge or concentration—that holds the power to shatter all obstructions to full Awakening. In this sense, both are often referred to with the term 'wisdom king' (*myōō*). If one wishes to describe them in more concrete and simple terms, one could say Fudō represents the unshakable wisdom with which ultimate Awakening can be achieved, and Aizen'ō the wisdom which allows one to understand that human passions are identical with enlightenment. Of course, each deity is endowed with many other inherent philosophical features of a complex nature, which due to practical reasons cannot be provided here.

Fudō mostly appears as a wrathful deity with dark blue skin holding a noose in the left and a double-edged sword in the right hand. He is surrounded by flames and seated on a rock which expresses the deity's 'immobility' towards forces averse to enlightenment. His alternate physical form is a serpent known as the dragon king Kurikara 倶利伽羅 (Skt. *Kulika) which coils around a double-edged sword standing upside-down. Aizen'ō likewise assumes the appearance of a wrathful divinity, with brilliant red skin, hair on end, three fierce-looking eyes, and a lion crown on the head. He usually has six arms, each holding a different object, i.e., a bow, an arrow, a five-pronged *vajra*, a *vajra*-bell, a lotus, and 'that' (a secret object symbolising various esoteric notions). The deity resides in a blazing circle (in most cases regarded as a sun disk in medieval Japan) and is commonly seated on a red lotus, which in turn rests on a precious vase spilling jewels.

Fudō has roots in Indian religion as the wrathful transmutation of Vajrapāṇi. Insofar as Aizen'ō is concerned, however, although a possible precursor of the deity might be found in the Indian god Ṭakki-rāja, its distinct features are only fully explained in the *Jingangfeng louge yiqie yujia yuqi jing* 金剛峯樓閣 一切瑜伽瑜祇経 (J. *Kongōbu rōkaku issai yuga yugikyō, Sūtra of all Yogas and Yogīs of the Pavilion with the Vajra-Top*, T 867), often abbreviated as *Yuqi jing* (J. *Yugikyō*), a Chinese scripture said to be a translation made by Vajrabodhi or Amoghavajra, though this attribution is highly questionable. Therefore,

since no direct prototype can be found in India, Goepper (1993: 87–88) believes that the figure of the wisdom king of lust might have been first created in Tang China.[8]

The *Yuqi jing* was brought to Japan in the ninth century on different occasions by three Shingon priests (Kūkai 空海, Eun 惠運, and Shuei 宗叡), but it also quite soon circulated in Tendai, as is evidenced by the fact that Annen 安然 (841?–915?), a prolific Tendai monk, was among the first Japanese monks to write a commentary on the scripture (T 2228). However, although Aizen was surely well known in both Shingon and Tendai, it seems that the wisdom king was considered most essential in Shingon, and especially at Daigoji 醍醐寺 (*Asabashō*, TZ 9: 299a28–b2), a temple closely related to the Ono 小野 lineage of the school. One reason for the development occurring in medieval texts is the prayer made to Aizen by the Ono priest Seizon 成尊 (1012–1074) with the purpose of ending the life of Emperor Goreizei 後冷泉 (1025–1068). With this prayer, which was apparently effective, he helped prince Takahito 尊仁 (Emperor Gosanjō 後三条; 1034–1073), for whom he acted as protector-monk, obtain the imperial throne. It is said that from that time forward the ritual of the King of Lust was mostly enacted by Shingon monks as a result of the court's favour toward Seizon and his lineage (ibid., TZ 9: 299b1–15).

It was also particularly in the Ono branch that Aizen was interconnected to Fudō. One of the oldest Shingon texts in which they are described as forming a union is the *Kakuzenshō* 覚禅鈔 (*Book of Kakuzen*), written at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century by the Ono priest Kakuzen 覚禅 (1143–ca. 1213). In this work, an image is given of a special variant of Aizen, the 'double-headed Aizen' (Ryōzu-Aizen 両頭愛染), which shows the deity with a single body, two hands—the right hand grasping a five-pronged *vajra* and the left hand a *vajra*-bell—and two heads, the one on the left (from the observer's view) wrathful-looking and the one on the right showing a compassionate expression (Figure 4.1). An oral instruction is quoted, which is said to have been passed on by Shōbō 聖宝 (832–909), founder of the Daigoji temple and first patriarch of the Ono branch, which says that the face on the left is Fudō, and the face on the right Aizen (TZ 5: 254a16–18). The reference to Shōbō could be an anachronistic attribution, but there is no doubt that the two deities were

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8 Recently, Ogawa Toyoo (2014: 62–65) has shown that a direct precursor to Aizen'ō can be found in the figure of 'Kongō Aizen Bosatsu' 金剛愛染菩薩, a two-armed deity with red skin, grasping an arrow in each hand, which appears in the *Dale jingangsaduo xiuxing chengjiu yigui* 大楽金剛薩埵修行成就儀軌 (T 1119). As the latter scripture is unquestionably a translation made by Amoghavajra, Ogawa argues that the figure of Aizen'ō in the *Yuqi jing* was probably formed in its wake.

FIGURE 4.1 *Aizen with Two Heads.* Kakuzenshō (*Kakuzenshō Kenkyūkai edition; Kamakura-period manuscript preserved in the Kajūji* 勧修寺).

interconnected in the Ono branch of Shingon, in particular at Daigoji, by at least the end of the twelfth century.

How were Fudō and Aizen interpreted in this dual and yet non-dual state? The *Kakuzenshō* does not provide a clear explanation of what esoteric principles they represent exactly, but it includes an elaborate discussion on the

relationship between Aizen and Zen'ai 染愛—a deity which is also explained in the *Yuqi jing* but in a chapter different from the one devoted to Aizen—from which it may be learned that our King of Lust was seen in the light of the duality and non-duality of Concentration (*jō* 定) and Wisdom (*e* 恵).[9] These two principles commonly refer respectively to the Womb *maṇḍala* (*Taizō mandara* 胎蔵曼荼羅) and the Vajra-realm *maṇḍala* (*Kongōkai mandara* 金剛界曼荼羅), the twofold *maṇḍala*s of Shingon tradition. From this it may be assumed that the single-bodied Fudō-Aizen was probably also seen by that time as an icon expressing the duality and yet inseparability of Womb and Vajra realms.

In her study of the two-headed Aizen, Kagiwada (2012) provides some medieval sources which associate Aizen with the Vajra realm and Fudō with the Womb realm and further points out that in the Kamakura period (1185–1333) the rite of Aizen was enacted according to the Vajra-realm liturgy, and Fudō following the rules for the Womb *maṇḍala* ritual (p. 58). However, the association of the two deities with the two *maṇḍala*s was not that clear cut. There are numerous Kamakura-period sources touching upon these two deities which state different descriptions of their characters. Depending on the source taken, Aizen can either represent the Vajra (Wisdom), the Womb (Concentration/ Principle), or non-duality. Likewise, Fudō can stand for one or the other, or for the non-duality of both. There is no room here for exemplifying each of these cases with concrete sources, but the variety of connections can be illustrated with the contents of the following excerpt from the *Bikisho* 鼻帰書 (*Book of the Return to the Origin*; 1324), which projects the combination of Fudō and Aizen on the Inner and Outer shrine of Ise 伊勢 in two different ways (p. 506):

> When applying the teaching of Fudō and Aizen [to the two shrines], on a simple level it is said that Fudō is the Womb world, the Inner shrine (Amaterasu 天照), and that Aizen is the Vajra realm, the Outer shrine (Toyouke 豊受). On a more secret and profound level, when adding the teaching of the sun and moon disks, the moon disk is [said to be] Fudō, the Outer shrine. This is because the outer aspect (lit. 'surface') of the moon expresses Wisdom (*Vajra*). The sword of Fudō [also] expresses this [Wisdom]. The sun disk is Aizen, the Inner shrine. [This is because] the outer aspect (lit. 'body') of the Womb *maṇḍala* expresses Principle. The vase on which Aizen is seated [likewise] expresses this [Principle]. These twin disks are taught as the 'real-life embodiments' (*shōjin* 生身) of Fudō and Aizen.

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9   On the interpretations and significance of the double-headed Aizen, see Dolce 2010.

As this example shows, it seems that whereas the basic view involved attributing Aizen to the Vajra and Fudō to the Womb realm, the configuration could be reversed when certain elements or viewpoints were added, such as the duality of sun and moon disk, with the sun expressing 'Principle' (*ri* 理; or Womb realm) and the moon 'Wisdom' (*chi* 智; or Vajra realm). From this perspective, since the blazing circle seen in the iconography of Aizen was commonly interpreted as a sun disk, the deity was connected to the sun goddess Amaterasu of the Inner shrine (Womb realm) instead of to the *kami* of the Outer shrine (Vajra realm).[10]

It is difficult to affirm that Aizen, for example, is exclusively representative of either the Vajra or the Womb realm since the notion of non-duality by definition means neither of the two wisdom kings can be separated from one another, just as the twin *maṇḍala*s are in fact always one. What is important to understand, however, is that there were different lenses through which each wisdom king could be viewed, and that depending on the lens different explanations could be given.

Besides the 'sun-moon' distinction, another important lens was that which differentiated between 'body' (*shintai* 身体) and 'inner reality' (*naishō* 内証). On this topic, medieval sources talk for example of Fudō as having the 'body' of Wisdom (*Vajra*) which possesses the 'inner reality' of Principle and Wisdom amalgamated.[11] In contrast to this type of Fudō, then, Aizen would have to have the 'body' of Principle (Womb) of which the 'inner reality' consists of both Principle and Wisdom.

Although such an unambiguous statement of the definition of Aizen cannot be found, the view can be supported by the case of the Fudō-Aizen arrangement in the *Goyuigō daiji* 御遺告大事 (*Essentials of the Testament* [*of Kūkai*], 1328) of the Daigoji priest Monkan 文観 (1278–1357). In this work, an explanation is

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10 On the relationship between Aizen and Amaterasu, see Itō 2002.

11 *Kakugenshō* (381b): 不動ノ身ト者即チ智体ナリ、智体ト者理智不二ノ内証ナリ. Similarly, it is explained in the *Kanjō hiketsu: Sanbōin* 須秘訣〈三宝院〉(*Secrets on the Consecration Ceremony: Sanbōin*) that the Vajra realm is in itself a non-dual entity, corresponding to the mind of a man: 金剛界印明、印台明金也、是金剛界不二也、男子識身不二定恵一躰之義 "Concerning the *mudrā* and mantra of the Vajra realm, the *mudrā* stands for the Womb and the mantra for the Vajra. That is because the Vajra realm is in itself non-dual. [The Vajra realm] stands for the single, non-dual, Concentration-Wisdom amalgamation mind-substance of a man." The Womb realm, contrarily, is explained as the non-dual mind-substance of a woman. Hence, a distinction is drawn here between a man and a woman and their associated 'inner mind-substances,' with a man linked to the Vajra and a woman to the Womb, and their respective mind-substances in both cases being explained as the union of the two realms.

given of the 'Three Worthies' (*sanzon* 三尊) Fudō, Aizen, and Nyoirin Kannon 如意輪観音, the latter represented by a five-wheel *stūpa* containing two 'relic-jewels' (man-made jewels holding inside a number of Buddha relics). These three icons were fashioned with sandalwood and placed inside a miniature shrine, the interior space of which was associated with the three major peaks of Mount Murō 室生山 in the ancient Yamato province, with Aizen set on the left, Fudō on the right, and the *stūpa* on the middle peak. The ceiling inside the miniature shrine was further painted with different esoteric Buddhist images.[12] On the part of the ceiling above the statuette of Aizen the Vajra-realm *maṇḍala* was drawn, and above Fudō the Womb *maṇḍala*. In the case of Aizen, an explanation in the *Goyuigō daiji* says the following about its connection to the Vajra realm: "愛染王上天井図金剛界曼陀羅、此愛染能変本身内証所具諸尊也". As these Sino-Japanese remarks mention 'Aizen' in conjunction with '*vajra*', the common interpretation given in Mikkyō studies is that Aizen 'represents' the Vajra realm. However, properly read, the phrases state: "On the ceiling above Aizen'ō is drawn the Vajra-realm *maṇḍala*. The [deities of this *maṇḍala*] are the deities which Aizen holds as the inner reality (*naishō*) of its transformable (*nōhen*) bodily appearance (*honshin*)." According to this rendering, then, Aizen is a deity of which the 'inner reality' corresponds to the Vajra realm and not its 'outer body.'[13] The same can be said about Fudō but in a reverse way.

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12   For images of the Three Worthies, see Naitō (2010: 247, 2011: 45), Dolce (2008: 62, 2010: 183), and Faure (2016: 213). For the full text of the *Goyuigō daiji*, see Makino and Fujimaki 2002. For a study of the ritual and iconography of the Three Worthies, see Uchida 2012, Faure (2016: 209–219), and Rappo 2017.

13   The various manuscripts of the *Goyuigō daiji* offer different reading punctuations of this phrase, which are not all necessarily correct. The most logical reading of the final part of the phrase, I believe, is the following: "*Kore ha Aizen* (*ga*) *nōhen honshin no naishō toshite shogu suru shoson nari.*" Hence, according to this reading, the subject is not Aizen but *kore*, which refers to the term 'Vajra-realm *maṇḍala*' in the previous phrase. Also, the distinction between 'outer body' (or surface, physical appearance) and 'inner truth' and the attribution of these two aspects to one of the two *maṇḍala*s or to both, I believe, is one of the primary but often overlooked principles of the theory of non-duality in medieval Mikkyō. For example, it should be considered that a combination like 'Fudō-Womb,' as in 'the enactment of the rite of Fudō according to the Womb realm liturgy,' does perhaps not always express a relationship of equality (Fudō *is* Womb), but of complementarity (Fudo as Vajra *linked with* the Womb). Also, an expression such as 'a *vajra*-river flowing down from the east side of a mountain' (as in *Ben'ichisan ki* 宀一山記 [Account of Mount Murō], 296b), with the east (normally expressing Womb) being seemingly wrongly equated with the Vajra, is perhaps not a mistake but an application of the idea that 'east' as Womb is associated with a '*vajra*-river' to express non-duality. Or further, when a female principle which ought to appear as female yet manifests as a male entity, such as a 'male

Therefore, rather than simply concluding that Aizen here represents the Vajra realm, a more subtle and precise interpretation would be to argue that Aizen represents the *vajra* 'with its inner reality.' Its outer aspect, then, considering the fact that the explanation uses the term 'transformable,' which implies that the physical body has a different nature from the inner reality, in all likelihood expresses nothing but the Womb.[14]

In other words, although Fudō and Aizen seem to emanate as it were from the non-dual unit of the *stūpa* in the centre, each on a different side of it, and give the impression that each divinity expresses only one aspect of that non-dual unit, they each represent not one of the two *maṇḍala*s, but both, in a manner which distinguishes between outer body (statuette) and inner reality (*maṇḍala* drawn above on the ceiling of the miniature shrine). This illustrates again that the connection of Fudō and Aizen to the twin *maṇḍala*s should not be seen in a simple one-to-one relationship, which would hinder understanding the more complex nature of each wisdom king in this non-dual context.

Returning to the *Kakuzenshō*, from the contents of this work it cannot be deduced that Fudō and Aizen were given a primary place within the totality of medieval Shingon doctrines and practices. The belief is presented as merely one among many others. However, it is a fact that from a certain time onward, the combination had been given the status of highest secrecy, specifically at Daigoji. This has now become well known through the studies of Abe Yasurō (1989, 2011, 2013), Naitō Sakae (2010, 2011), Lucia Dolce (2008, 2010), Gaétan Rappo (2010, 2017), and Bernard Faure (2016).

The way in which the combination was given its paramount importance can be found in a number of texts produced by Monkan in the early fourteenth

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Amaterasu' for example, it might be argued that the same 'body-inner mind' lens is applied. Though confusing, perhaps, it is a basic philosophical feature of medieval Mikkyō. I intend to explain this feature, which from a doctrinal point of view seems to have been based on the *Yuqi jing*, in more detail on another occasion.

14   In fact, there are compelling arguments to support the notion that the Three Worthies were imagined from a vantage point which looks out toward the south. The five-wheel *stūpa* resting on the central peak of Mount Murō was associated with the 'Iron Stupa of Southern India' (*Ben'ichisan ki*, 296b), a well-known trope in esoteric Buddhist doctrine. Also, a prayer dedicated to the relic—a relic was put in the five-wheel *stūpa*—was often performed while facing south (since that is the direction of the Buddha Hōshō 宝生, who incarnates the relic-jewel). Hence, it is likely that Aizen was seen as occupying the eastern mountain and Fudō the western mountain. If that is so, since east and west (or left and right hand) are commonly associated in Mikkyō with respectively the Womb and Vajra realms, it supports the assumption that the physical appearance of Aizen, for example, represents the Womb, with the Vajra realm drawn above it expressing its inner reality.

century. For example, the *Goyuigō daiji*, mentioned above, presents the combination of Fudō and Aizen as connected to the relic of the Buddha and the wish-fulfilling jewel (*nyoi hōju* 如意宝珠) of the dragon, with which the relic shared status of consubstantiality, and furthermore, importantly, places them in the framework of the *Goyuigō* 御遺告, the so-called *Last Testament* of Kūkai (774–835). The latter work, in all likelihood an apocryphal text produced in the tenth century, emphasizes the supreme importance of the relic-jewel, but it does not associate the relic or jewel to Fudō and Aizen. These are only concretely connected to the contents of the *Testament* in Monkan's writings,[15] which emphasize that the combination of Fudō and Aizen constituted one of the primary secrets of Shingon since the time of the founder Kūkai. Hence, by being placed in the context of the *Goyuigō*, the combination was elevated to one of the greatest secrets of Shingon, since in this context, it was Kūkai himself who stressed its importance.

Relics (jewels) were rather essential to Shingon practice as a relic was commonly used in most Shingon rituals, whether on a grand or small scale (Abe 1989: 126). As such, they can be defined as the currency of ritual exchange (Ruppert 2000), since the ritual's success and the expected reward and status were believed to depend on them. They were also known to function as symbols of power, in particular of imperial authority, balancing out social relations vis-à-vis power holders (Ruppert 2000, Faure 2004).

In medieval Shingon a variety of texts were produced that explain how to perform a 'relic rite,' or *dado-hō* 駄都法 ('*dado*' being the Sino-Japanese rendering of the Sanskrit word '*dhātu*,' which is taken to mean 'relic'). It seems that such a rite could not only be enacted independently but could also serve as a template for other rituals relying on the relic. Among such rituals mentioned by the *dado-hō* texts are the Latter Seven-day ritual (*Goshichinichi no*

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15   Opinions differ on whether the tripartite jewel belief was established only in the second half of the thirteenth century (Abe 2011, 2013) or already in the early twelfth century (Naitō 2010: 119), as the texts themselves also claim. Abe's point of view is credible as it is supported by documents. Naitō, on the other hand, accepts the message of Monkan's texts, which says that the tripartite belief was upheld by the Daigoji abbot Shōkaku 勝覚 (1057–1129), but as he does not add any supportive argument, this conclusion can easily be questioned. However, as I have pointed out in a different study, the combination of Fudō and Aizen with the relic (jewel) functioned as the secret structure of the esoteric rain ritual by at least the end of the Heian period, and presumably already by the early twelfth century (Trenson 2013, 2016). This fact makes it thus possible not only to confirm that the origin of the belief goes back to the Heian period, but also to re-examine the development of that cult from the perspective of rainmaking.

mishiho 後七日御修法) and the *Rain Prayer Sūtra* ritual (Shōugyōhō 請雨経法), both large-scale state rituals, but there are also simpler practices such as the Goya nenju 後夜念誦 rite, which was performed privately every day early in the morning. The primary icon (*honzon* 本尊) of a *dado* rite, as mentioned in the *Dhatu-hō kudenshū* ᬉ ᬈ 法口伝集 (*Collection of Oral Instructions on the Relic Rite*; copied 1281–1282), could be many objects, such as the Buddha Hōshō 宝生 (Ratnasambhava), the Buddha-Mother Butsugen 仏眼 (Buddhalocanā), or a grain of rice. But among the possible icons, the dual Fudō-Aizen was also included and, according to the text, considered most secret.

Thus, in theory, although this point needs to be further examined, the combination of Fudō and Aizen could have functioned as the ultimate secret concentration in any form of Shingon practice that relied on the relic, both high state rituals and daily rites.[16] But how was this belief formed? Was it created arbitrarily, or was it brought about due to the effect of more concrete reasons? I will investigate this issue in the next sections.

3   Processes behind the Creation of the Fudō-Aizen Combination

The scholarly consensus is that Fudō and Aizen'ō were connected to one another in medieval Japan in the course of the eleventh to twelfth century. Goepper (1993) indicated that there might possibly have been a connection between Acala and a deity called Ṭakki-rāja, a plausible precursor of Aizen'ō in India, but advances the possibility as merely a tempting speculation and follows the common opinion that the belief started in Japan (Goepper 1993: 49, 52).

In a recently published study, Bernard Faure mentions that the coupling of Fudō and Aizen may derive from that of Fudō and Gōzanze 降三世 (Skt. Trailokyavijaya, 'Conqueror of the Three Worlds'), as seen in the Sonshō 尊勝 *maṇḍala* and Miroku 弥勒 *maṇḍala*, and emphasises embryological symbolism

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16   This theory can be supported by the following lines in the *Gumon nikki* 愚聞日記： 凡後夜念誦・十八日観音供・晦御念誦・後七日御修法・法花八〔本〕尊愛 染王仏眼等法也、即皆如意宝珠法也、又避虵法也、又奥砂子平法也、又請 雨経法也 "The daily Early Morning rite (Goya-nenju), the Offering to Kannon on the eighteenth day of the month, the Last-Day-of-the-Month rite (Tsugomori-minenju), the Latter Seven-Day ritual, and the *Lotus Sūtra* [ritual] are all rituals with Aizen'ō or Butsugen as the primary icon. In other words, these are all wish-fulfilling jewel rituals. So too are the Placation of Serpents rite (Byakujahō) and the Subjugation rite (Ōsashihyōhō). The *Rain Prayer Sūtra* ritual is also such a ritual." Although only Aizen is mentioned in this quote, it might be that the combination with Fudō was understood.

as one of the driving principles behind their combination (2016: 204–205). These observations already point to the likelihood that a broader network of thought and belief produced the Fudō-Aizen combination. However, besides the abovementioned factors, I believe the following two clues are also quite important when trying to unravel the intricate processes underlying the formation of the Fudō-Aizen cult. The first clue is the composition of the Aizen *maṇḍala* associated with the Tendai prelate Enchin 円珍 (814–891), and the other clue is the world of Shingon esoteric rainmaking. Let us start first with a discussion of the *maṇḍala*.

3.1   *Enchin's Aizen* Maṇḍala

The Aizen *maṇḍala* (Figure 4.2) is a *maṇḍala* in which nine different eso-teric divinities are evenly arranged within a square or slightly rectangular frame. One of the oldest extant versions of the *maṇḍala*, a hanging scroll made in 1107, which is today part of the Mary and Jackson Burke Collection (New York),[17] shows in the middle our King of Lust, appearing under his usual wrathful form with one head, three eyes, and six arms. Above and underneath Aizen are two bodhisattvas, respectively Miroku (Skt. Maitreya) and Kannon 観音 (Avalokiteśvara), both drawn within a circle, which suggests their inter-connection. To the left of Aizen stands the dragon king Kurikara, and to the right the shape of the Jewelled Banner (*hōdō* 宝幢). Their elongated form and the fact that they are drawn inside the contours of a leaf-like shape suggest that the latter two features were also regarded as forming a pair. Below Aizen, in the two corners, are two wisdom kings, who were probably also regarded as a pair, illustrated by the fact that both are surrounded by flames and seated on a rock. The wisdom king in the left corner is Daiitoku 大威徳 (Yamāntaka) and the one in the right corner Fudō. The final two divinities are the twelve-armed Daishō Kongō 大勝金剛, considered a variant of Dainichi (Mahāvairocana) or Kongōsatta 金剛薩埵 (Vajrasattva),[18] drawn in a circle in the upper left corner, and our Aizen with two heads, draped in flames, in the upper right corner.[19]

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17   For an image of the scroll, see Goepper (1993: 72) and Yanagisawa (1979: 91). The scroll itself is said to be a copy of a version possessed by the Tendai monk Ryōyū 良祐, who obtained it from his master Chōen 長宴 (1016–1081). The latter was a disciple of Kōgei 皇慶, who affirmed that the *maṇḍala* was brought back from China by Enchin (cf. *infra*).

18   The twelve-armed Daishō Kongō is explained in the *Yuqi jing* (T.18.867: 258b03). It is said that the divinity was taken at Miidera as the real aspect of Aizen, whereas at Daigoji it was the two-headed Aizen (*Asabashō*, TZ 9: 303a15–16).

19   For a more detailed description and discussion of the *maṇḍala*, see Goepper 1993: 71–78.

Daishō Kongō
(twelve arms,
drawn in a circle,
seated on a lotus)

Miroku
(drawn in a
circle, seated
on a lotus)

Two-Headed
Aizen
(surrounded
by flames,
seated on a
lotus)

Kurikara
(drawn in a
leaf-like
shape)

Aizen
(six arms, single
body, one head,
drawn in a circle,
seated on a lotus)

Jewelled
Banner
(drawn in a
leaf-like
shape)

Daiitoku
(three heads,
surrounded
by flames,
seated on a
rock)

Kannon
(drawn in a
circle, seated
on a lotus)

Fudō
(holding
sword and
noose,
surrounded by
flames, seated
on a rock)

FIGURE 4.2   *Composition of the Aizen* maṇḍala *as shown in the hanging scroll of the Burke*
Collection (dated 1107).

There is some mystery regarding the provenance of this particular *maṇḍala*. According to a certain tradition, it was brought to Japan from China by Enchin:

> The present drawing of the [Aizen] *maṇḍala* can be found in the book of the An'yōbō priest (Hōgen). *Ajari* Kōgei [says]: "The grandmaster of the Sannō'in and the Mii[dera] temple (Enchin) brought [this] Aizen'ō *maṇḍala* back with him [from China]. (…) (Marginal note: The *maṇḍala* is included in the grandmaster's list of items used for personal practice (*gojinen mokuroku* 御持念目録), but no Buddhist title is given to it.)" (*Kakuzenshō*, TZ 5: 257a6–14)

Hence, according to the Tendai priest Kōgei 皇慶 (977–1049), Enchin had taken the Aizen *maṇḍala* back to Japan with him from China. The passage above also refers to An'yōbō Hōgen 安養房芳源, a Shingon monk of the Ninnaji 仁和寺 and Ishiyamadera 石山寺 temples active in the eleventh century,[20] a fact which shows that the *maṇḍala* also already circulated in Shingon by that time.

Enchin, as is well known, travelled to China in 853 and stayed there for five years, studying Buddhism and collecting new Buddhist materials, mainly at Mount Tiantai 天台 and Chang'an 長安 (Ono 1982: 5–9). After his return in 858, he lived at the Sannō'in 山王院 hall on Mount Hiei 比叡山 and later became the abbot of Enryakuji 延暦寺 and Miidera 三井寺. His connection to iconographies of Aizen is also a well-known fact. Besides the Aizen *maṇḍala*, he is also reported to have brought back from China the iconography of Tenkyū Aizen 天弓愛染, or 'Aizen with the Heavenly Bow,' which is a variant of a six-armed Aizen holding a bow above the head and pointing an arrow to the sky.[21]

However, there are conflicting opinions as to the origin of the nine-Buddha Aizen *maṇḍala*. The thirteenth century *Asabashō* relates that Tendai priests of Enryakuji 延暦寺 did not use the *maṇḍala* at the time as they saw it as a forgery (*Asabashō*, TZ 9: 302b28), but at the same time also quotes a text implying that it was brought from Tang (ibid., 302c14). The same work also cites the opinion of Shingon priests which affirms that the *maṇḍala* is of old origin and that it had been brought back by Kūkai as well, but that the texts explaining it are forgeries. The link to Kūkai was supported by the fact that in the *Hakke hiroku* 八家秘録 of Annen (T. 55.2176: 1131b28) an 'Aizen *maṇḍala*' is included

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20   The name of An'yōbō Hōgen often appears in the *Kakuzenshō* (Ogawa 2013: 177). The fact that Hōgen was a Ninnaji priest is mentioned in the *Denjushū* 伝受集 (T.78.2482: 250b23–24). On his relationship with Ishiyamadera, see Uchida 2012: 239.

21   Enchin's name is also tied to a peculiar iconography of Aizen with four heads and four arms, seated on a four-headed lion of which each paw treads on a coiled serpent (*Kakuzenshō*, TZ 5: 257a15–29 and fig. 288). As Ogawa (2013) explains, the iconography follows the instructions for a complex three-layered Aizen *maṇḍala* (which also includes the two-headed Aizen) given by a work entitled *Himitsu yōjutsuhō* 秘密要術法, which is said to be a translation made by a monk called Amogha 阿謨伽 (probably referring to Amoghavajra), but which according to Ogawa was in all likelihood created in Japan. Besides the belief that the iconography was brought back from China by Enchin (*Kakuzenshō*), the explanation also circulated that it was first drawn by a priest of the Kiyomizudera 清水寺 as the central icon in a nine-deity *maṇḍala* (different from the nine-Buddha Aizen *maṇḍala* under investigation here) on behalf of the retired emperor Shirakawa 白河院 (*Asabashō*, TZ 9: 303a18–29). Ogawa argues that although the latter explanation should not be taken for granted, the icon of the lion-riding Aizen was probably made in Heian-period Japan. However, he does not make any statements about the nine-Buddha Aizen *maṇḍala* under examination here.

among the new items the founder of Shingon had taken to Japan from China (*Asabashō*, TZ 9: 303a6–14). Then there is also the following Shingon opinion mentioned in the *Himitsu kudenshō*:

> 一身両頭愛染王云事、是他門ヨリ出事也、所謂智証大師九佛愛染王
> 作給フ、其随一ナリ、説處分明ナル文ハ无シ、但シ随意愛染王ノ内
> 證作顕給也、経文全不見處也、

> The image of Aizen with one body and two heads comes from a different school. That is to say, master Chishō [Enchin] made an Aizen'ō [*maṇḍala*] with nine Buddhas, among which this [Aizen with two heads] is a primary [Buddha]. There is no clear textual explanation [for the image]. However, the image was made [by Enchin] according to speculations to express the inner reality of Aizen'ō. We cannot find it in the scriptures at all.[22]

As is said in these oral instructions coming from Shingon priests active at Kōyasan in the early Kamakura period, the *maṇḍala* was created by Enchin himself on the basis of personal reflections on the inner reality of the King of Lust.

   All these conflicting opinions, together with the fact that a 'nine-Buddha Aizen *maṇḍala*' is not specifically mentioned in the various catalogues listing the items that Enchin or any other Japanese pilgrim monk brought back from China, make it difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether the *maṇḍala* was imported from Tang China or whether it was made in Japan. But despite the uncertainty, I think that the following arguments can be defended. First, it is fair to assume that if the *maṇḍala* was indeed created in Japan, it was done so at an early time in the Heian period. This assumption can be supported by the fact that the oldest extant version of the *maṇḍala*, the hanging scroll of the Burke Collection, which can be traced back to a disciple of Kōgei (see note 17), bears the style of early Heian-period paintings, which were mostly based on Chinese models (Goepper 1993, quoting Yanagisawa 1979). Second, if the *maṇḍala* was created in early Heian-period Japan, when pilgrimage to China was thriving, there is the fair possibility it was done so on the basis of instructions received in China. Third, despite the fact that the creation of texts and iconographies was certainly quite active in medieval Japan, there is no direct reason to seriously doubt the oldest oral tradition of our *maṇḍala*, that of Kōgei, which says that the *maṇḍala* was brought to Japan from China by

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22   See also *Kakugenshō*, fasc. 2: 340b.

Enchin and that it was included among the items the latter Tendai prelate used for personal practice. In fact, it might well be that the later assertions of Enryakuji and Kōyasan monks saying that the *maṇḍala* was first created by Enchin were simply based on a misunderstanding. Finally, the fact that an 'Aizen *maṇḍala*' is mentioned among the imported items in Annen's *Hakke hiroku* is quite intriguing and might actually prove that the nine-Buddha Aizen *maṇḍala* was indeed brought from China.

The question of whether the *maṇḍala* was created by the sole genius of a Japanese monk or whether it was based on a Chinese model (in iconographical form or in the form of instructions) is important, because the composition of the *maṇḍala* may well be one of the primary sources of the combination of Fudō and Aizen in Japan, as I will now try to explain.

As Goepper rightly pointed out, the *maṇḍala* was probably created by a learned monk who put various deities together on the basis of certain speculative connections, not as the result of a sudden mystical experience (1993: 76–77). In other words, the composition was achieved by the effort of specific intellectual religious musings regarding the various linkages between the deities. This fact can be supported by the iconographical resemblance of certain pairs in the *maṇḍala* and by textual evidence. Indeed, the *Kakuzenshō* quotes an instruction which establishes connections between the upper and lower bodhisattvas, the serpent Kurikara and the Jewelled Banner, the two-headed Aizen and Daiitoku, and Daishō Kongō and Fudō (TZ 5: 257a8–14).

Still other speculative linkages were envisioned. The *Himitsu kudenshō*, for example, mentions the following additional association:

又九佛ノ愛染王ヲ畫共倶利加羅ヲ云也、其故ハ倶梨カラ即愛染ノ意
也、所謂ル不動尊ノ持物ハ劍索也、劍索ト申ハ即大日如来ノ智拳印ヲ
二ツニ引分ケタル也、索ハ理也、即无中〔明ヵ〕煩悩ヲ縛スル由、劍
智ナリ、故真言教意〔理〕智互ニ能證所證トナル由顕也、所謂倶梨加
羅ハ理也、劍ハ智也、劍ヲ呑ムハ即理カ智ヲ證スル意也、

Further, one draws the image of Aizen'ō in the nine-Buddha [Aizen'ō *maṇḍala*] and calls it 'Kurikara.' One calls it so following the thought that Kurikara is [none other than] Aizen. That is to say, the objects which the Worthy Fudō holds in his hands are the sword and the noose. The sword and the noose are the two objects obtained when the two hands forming the Wisdom Fist *mudrā* of Dainichi Nyorai are pulled away from one another. The noose is Principle [the Womb realm], because it catches and binds ignorance and passions. The sword is Wisdom [the Vajra realm]. [Both] appear because according to the teachings of Shingon, [Principle]

and Wisdom interpenetrate and become the active and the passive agents of Awakening.[23] Hence, the serpent Kurikara is Principle and the sword is Wisdom. The serpent swallowing the tip of the sword indicates the thought that Principle possesses the inner reality of Wisdom.[24]

As this instruction shows, another important connection made in regard to the Aizen *maṇḍala* is the identification of Aizen'ō in the middle and the serpent Kurikara to the left, to the extent that the former was even concretely referred to by the appellation 'Kurikara.' This detail further suggests the high probability that, generally, all deities surrounding Aizen'ō in the middle were in some way or another connected to the King of Lust. Indeed, as the *Himitsu kudenshō* remarks, "The Worthy in the middle is Aizen encompassing all [nine divinities] (中尊ハ惣愛染ノ意也)," or "All nine Buddhas together complete the meaning of Aizen [as the producer] of all phenomena (惣シテ九佛ニ万法愛染ノ義ヲ盡也)."[25] These lines clearly indicate that all divinities in the *maṇḍala* were regarded as different forms, aspects, functions, inner realities or emanations from Aizen'ō in the middle. In other words, Kurikara, Daishō Kongō, Fudō, the double-headed Aizen and the other divinities were drawn around Aizen in the centre because they were all regarded as partisans intimately endowed by that wisdom king of lust.

From this perspective, then, it is fairly easy to argue that the composition could readily have served as one of the sources behind the combination of Fudō and Aizen. Indeed, since Kurikara, which basic teachings tell us is the alternate form of Fudō, is drawn next to Aizen, the latter must surely be intimately connected to Fudō. Another line of reasoning might have been that Aizen represents the passions (*bonnō* 煩悩), which are compared in various Mahāyāna scriptures to the venom of serpents. Next to Aizen in the *maṇḍala* is the image of the serpent Kurikara, the symbolic form of Fudō. Hence, in this context, Fudō *cannot be but seen* as a different manifestation of Aizen and vice

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23   The terms *nō* 能 (active) and *sho* 所 (passive) form quite a complex but interesting aspect of medieval Mikkyō. Basically, they indicate a principle or object which is 'acting' (*nō*) and a principle or object which is 'acted upon' (*sho*). For example, a distinction can be made between a moon disk resting on a lotus and a lotus drawn inside a moon disk. In the former case, the moon disk fulfils an active aspect (it 'sits' on a lotus), in the later, a passive aspect (it functions as a 'seat'). The idea is that the one cannot be without the other. Hence, without Principle, there is no Wisdom and vice versa.

24   See also *Kakugenshō*, fasc. 1: 328a, for similar but slightly different information.

25   See also *Kakugenshō*, fasc. 2: 342a.

versa. Furthermore, what image could better fit their interconnection than the double-headed Aizen'ō which figures in the upper right corner?

This simple demonstration shows that anyone with a basic knowledge of esoteric Buddhism could quite easily come to the conclusion that Fudō and Aizen are interconnected when considering the arrangement of the nine Buddhas in the Aizen *maṇḍala*. This is not to say that this conclusion was always consciously drawn by anyone who saw it. But although medieval Japanese texts do not mention the *maṇḍala* as the source of the combination, one should not overlook the obvious implications of its composition. A quick glance at it suffices for one to *see* and *understand* that Fudō and Aizen are interconnected, and thus it should be regarded as one of the primary possible sources from which the idea of the combination was derived in medieval Japan.

The following line of reasoning is also very crucial to the argument of this chapter. If one agrees that the composition was *not* made at random (the reverse is quite difficult to defend), then it must be recognised that the learned monk who created the *maṇḍala knew* that Aizen, Kurikara, Fudō and the double-headed Aizen are interconnected. Thus it follows logically that the connection, which almost naturally flows from the *maṇḍala*, had to be explicitly known by its creator before the *maṇḍala* came about, and that it was not a notion occurring later in the mind of an inquisitive monk. That is, the creator did not randomly draw the composition and later suddenly realise he had brought Fudō and Aizen together. Instead, the creator *knew* beforehand that Fudō/Kurikara is an inherent quality of Aizen, and *therefore* drew it next to that wisdom king.

In other words, the combination of Fudō and Aizen was part of the conceptual network that lay behind the very appearance of the composition of the *maṇḍala*. For that reason, it is important to determine whether the *maṇḍala* was created by a Japanese monk exclusively on the basis of his own speculations or whether the composition was founded on beliefs produced in China. There is no way to ascertain the truth, but as argued above, it is possible the composition was first created in China. And thus, following the line of reasoning given above, it is necessary to consider the possibility that the combination of Fudō/ Kurikara and Aizen was already known in Chinese esoteric Buddhist circles before it was transmitted to Japan. At any rate, it is no longer appropriate to state in a matter-of-fact fashion that the idea of Fudō-Aizen was solely the product of the genius of a Japanese monk. Rather, its emergence in Japan could just as well have been the product of thoughts moving in a complex human network that stretched between China and Japan.

3.2   *Rainmaking*

The nine-Buddha Aizen *maṇḍala* circulated in both Tendai and Shingon from at least the eleventh century. Following the arguments given above, it is thus reasonable to assume that, theoretically, the combination of Fudō and Aizen could have been comprehended in both Tendai and Shingon. However, as mentioned before, the pair Fudō-Aizen would come to be highlighted especially in the Ono branch circles of Shingon, more specifically at Daigoji. Tendai monks seem to have rejected the identification on the argument that it was written up in doubtful Shingon texts which should not be followed (Goepper 1993: 53). As is well known, Aizen, especially Fudō-Aizen, was connected to various heterodox speculations in certain religious groups associated in some way with Shingon, and especially, again, with Daigoji (ibid.: 102–113).

The question remains thus why the combination was eventually held as an important secret in the Ono branch of Shingon, particularly at the Daigoji temple. Here one could think again of the significance of Seizon's prayer to Aizen and the subsequent success his lineage, which was passed on at Daigoji, enjoyed with practices based on this deity on behalf of the court. However, although it might explain the strong tie of the Ono branch to the cult of Aizen, it does not tell us why monks of that particular branch used to combine the wisdom king with Fudō. There has to be more to it than the effect of Seizon's prayer. In this regard, I believe it is important to have a better historical understanding of what position exactly the combination of Fudō and Aizen occupied in the larger conceptual network of doctrines and practices particular to the Ono branch and to Daigoji. Here it is necessary to refer to the other clue I mentioned that ought to be considered when trying to unravel the mystery of Fudo-Aizen in medieval Japan: rainmaking.

Why rainmaking? First, it is an undeniable fact that the medieval Shingon relic cult, with which our two wisdom kings were eventually connected, was inseparably tied to dragon worship. The *Testament* of Kūkai specifically describes the relic-jewel as an object of the dragon king and explains that it produces rain clouds that make all things grow. It also speaks of the 'avatar of the jewel' (*nyoi hōju gongen* 如意宝珠権現) that all Shingon grandmasters have to revere, which according to some texts is a different appellation for the dragon (Trenson 2013, 2016). In other words, Shingon priests, if they desired to follow Kūkai's footsteps, *had* to worship dragons.

Second, dragons can be worshipped wherever there is a drop of water, but as far as Shingon is concerned, the most important cultic places of dragon worship are the Shinsen'en 神泉苑 royal garden, Mount Murō, and Daigoji. These three places are linked to one another essentially through the practice

of rainmaking.[26] Rainmaking is an all-round Buddhist affair, one of the basic tasks of a Buddhist monk so to speak, but the fact is that Shingon for a fairly long time, roughly between 950–1150, monopolised esoteric Buddhist rainmaking for the state.[27] In that period, no other school was able to establish a stable tradition of esoteric Buddhist rain prayers. Moreover, certain Shingon monks, most of them trained at Daigoji, achieved a bright career due in large part to their success with rain-producing, and the line of Daigoji rainmakers eventually developed into a veritable branch of the school, the Ono branch. Indeed, it is essential to know that the Ono branch was originally established as the lineage inheriting the secrets of Shingon's oldest traditional esoteric rain ritual (Shōugyōhō). Third, it is a fact that the latter ritual was a practice constructed on the interconnection between Fudō, Aizen, and the relic/jewel (Trenson 2013, 2016). What is more, these principles do not just simply figure in the ritual as abstract notions brought to mind during meditation but with concrete, physical representations (as a banner deity, a dragon, and a Buddha relic). In fact, whereas the Fudō-Aizen combination might theoretically have been adopted during meditation procedure in every relic ritual (cf. *supra*), it was only in the rain ritual that they appeared as real visible features.

There is no room here for an elaborate discussion of the rain ritual (Shōugyōhō), of which I have already provided an explanation on different occasions (Trenson 2013, 2016). I will therefore skip the details and instead explain its basic structure.

The rain ritual took place regularly between 875 and 1273 in a wooden building built temporarily for the purpose at the Shinsen'en imperial garden. Inside the building four or five separate platform rites were enacted, but the heart of the ritual consisted of the Great Platform rite (Daidanpō 大壇法). The structure of this platform rite, as shown in Figure 4.3, was built on the vertical interconnection between Fudō (central dragon-banner planted on the roof), Aizen (central dragon among the five dragons appearing in a *maṇḍala* spread out on the platform), and the relic (set inside a box, or in a blue vessel resting on a wooden lotus, in the middle of the same platform), which was visualised as

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26   On rainmaking at the Shinsen'en and Daigoji, see Trenson (2003, 2010). The findings communicated in these articles, however, have been largely updated and amended in my recently published monograph on Shingon rainmaking and relic-jewel worship (see Trenson 2016).

27   I want to make clear here that I am referring to 'esoteric Buddhist rituals' (*shuhō* 修法) and not to all Buddhist rain prayers in general.
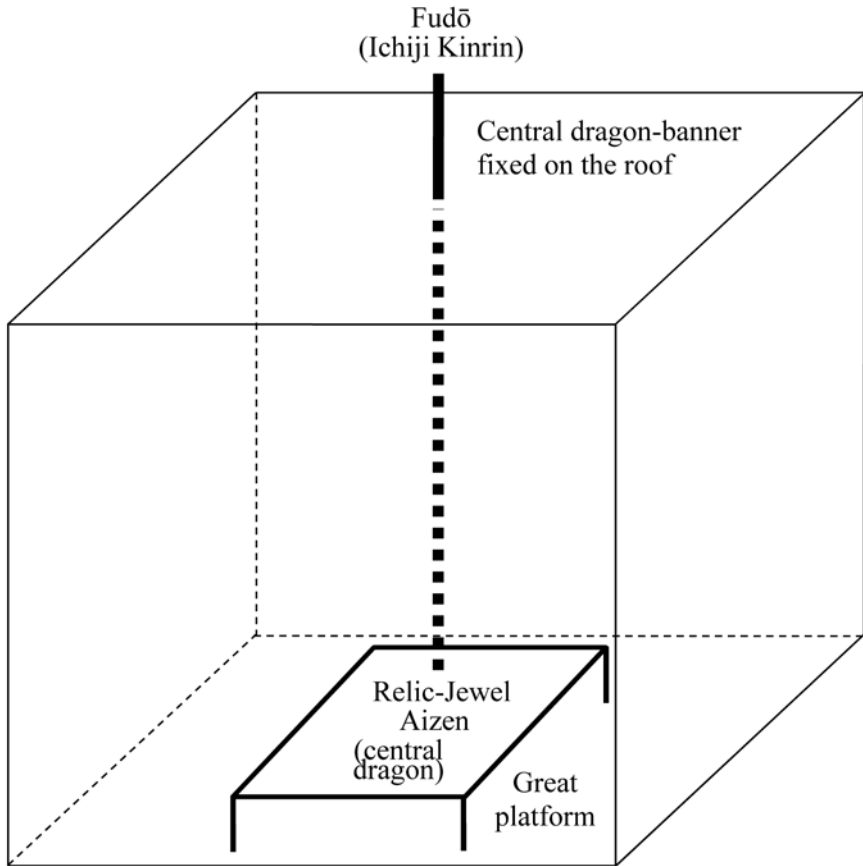
FIGURE 4.3   *Core structure of the Great Platform rite of the Shōugyōhō.*

a jewel. In some cases, Ichiji Kinrin 一字金輪, the One-syllable Golden Wheel-turning King, was substituted for Fudō.

The rationale for the interconnectedness between platform and roof is based on an instruction related to one of the auxiliary platform rites of the rain ritual, the Offering to the Twelve *devas* (Jūniten 十二天). According to this instruction, the image of Kurikara had to be visualised in the centre of the platform and imagined as being linked to the banner on the roof. This type of meditation was most likely not restricted to this particular offering but also applied in the great platform rite.

The identity of the dragon as Aizen is confirmed by an early Kamakura colour painting of a Shōugyōhō *maṇḍala* kept at Daigoji that was spread out on the platform (Trenson 2016). It shows in the middle a wrathful deity with three

fierce-looking eyes, hair on end, red skin, round fleshy face, and a lion crown on the head, which are all characteristics that collectively can only apply to Aizen. Another clue that points to Aizen is the seed syllable of the dragon shown in an early Kamakura text belonging to the Ono tradition. The syllable resembles the shape of the so-called Denpu Aizen 田夫愛染, or 'Peasant's Aizen', a special form of Aizen appearing as a (double) serpent with a jewel on top of the head (for details, see Trenson 2013, 2016). In fact, the syllable's shape closely resembles that of *hhūṃ*, a double *hūṃ*, which is the seed syllable of the King of Lust. Incidentally, the dragon of the Shinsen'en is explained in the *Testament* as having appeared to the founder as a double serpent. It appears thus that this double serpent was regarded as 'Aizen', at least within the Ono branch.[28]

It is important to realise that it is only in the context of the Shōugyōhō that Fudō and Aizen appear as interconnected deities with concrete representations. This detail cannot be emphasised strongly enough. Moreover, the structure of the ritual explained above can be inferred from documents which date to the late Heian, early Kamakura period, and can fairly be thought to go back to at least the early twelfth century. This makes it the oldest Shingon relic ritual adopting the Fudō-Aizen combination that can be pointed out. What this seems to suggest is that the Shōugyōhō must have been the very ritual context in which Shingon monks first implemented and elaborated the combination of our two wisdom kings. It is therefore understandable that our couple was especially valued in the Ono branch, which was after all originally established as the branch of rainmakers, and specifically developed in Daigoji circles, since that temple legitimately claimed the ritual as one of its primary secrets.[29] This fact may come as a surprise, for although medieval texts explain

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28   The fact that Aizen appears as a dragon here might perhaps come as a surprise. However, Aizen functions as a serpent in medieval Japanese religion and serpents and dragons were readily interchangeable in Mikkyō. To remind us of that fact, the 'dragon king' of the rain ritual appears as a serpent, the serpent divinity Suiten 水天 is mentioned among the 'dragon kings' listed in the *Peahen Sūtra* (T. 19.982: 417b06), and Aizen was sometimes considered a different form of the 'dragon king' Kurikara. Also, those familiar with the world of medieval Shinto will probably immediately recognise the conceptual link between Aizen and the dragon of the Shinsen'en as a logical idea. Indeed, medieval Shinto, in which Aizen sometimes functions as the primary icon (such as in the 'Reiki' 麗気), is often said to have been passed on by the dragon of the Shinsen'en (e.g., *Jingūhō narabi ni shinbutsu itchi shō* 神宮方并神仏一致抄, quoted in Kōchū kaisetsu gendaigoyaku Reiki-ki).

29   The scholar Manabe Shunshō 真鍋俊照 apparently asked Kagiwada the question why the cult of the two-headed Aizen (Fudō-Aizen) especially developed at Daigoji. This was a question hard to answer (2012: 60). However, a possible solution is now available: the cult developed at Daigoji because it served as the core structure of rainmaking, the practice

that the combination of Fudō and Aizen was used for various purposes, such as black sorcery, relational harmony through subjugation, prolongation of life, and providential childbirth, they hardly ever mention rainmaking. However, a careful study reveals that it was in the latter context that the combination had been worked out in most grandiose fashion.

Let us now examine further the sources or teachings on which this tri-partite structure of rainmaking could have been based. The answer to that question can be found in the interchangeability of Fudō with Ichiji Kinrin as the central banner deity on the roof. As already explained in a different article (2013), this interchangeability was probably not an example of one of those illogical playful liberties of Shingon priests, but founded on specific instructions in the *Yuqi jing*. Indeed, the *Yuqi jing* provides much pertinent esoterica, but among them are two points which deserve special attention. One point is the notion that the universal monarch Ichiji Kinrin is 'born' from the 'Mother of all the Buddhas' (Issai Butsumo 一切仏母). More specifically, the scripture affirms that the One-syllable Supreme Wheel King arises from the mantra of the 'Buddha-Mother' Butsugen (Buddha-Eye; T.18.867: 260a6–12). The other point is that the secret knowledge incarnated by Aizen also functions as a 'Buddha-Mother' (ibid.: 257a19–b3). From these two points it can be argued that Shingon rain masters took the liberty to put either Fudō or Ichiji Kinrin on the roof because they saw the central dragon on the platform as a 'Buddha-Mother.' In other words, if the accent was laid on the idea of the Buddha-Mother producing Ichiji Kinrin, then the latter was installed, but if the accent was put on the idea of the Buddha-Mother Aizen as a different form of Kurikara,[30] then Fudō was a more logical counterpart. In either case, the interchangeability of Fudō and Ichiji Kinrin can only be logically explained if one considers their mutual connection to the notion of the Buddha-Mother (Butsugen and Aizen) explained in the *Yuqi jing*.[31]

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of which for a long time constituted one of the primary components in the conceptual network of secret doctrines and beliefs of that temple.

30   Daigoji rainmakers were probably well aware of the Kurikara-Aizen identity since they visualised Kurikara in connection to Fudō on the roof during the Twelve-*deva* offering, and in addition visualised Aizen in the centre of the Great Platform rite, also probably in connection to Fudō on the roof. For this reason, it is highly likely that the identity of Aizen as Kurikara was rather well known to them.

31   Of course, one might counter-argue that this is merely a conjecture, which it certainly is, but another logical explanation for the interchangeability cannot be readily provided. At any rate, I strongly doubt that the interchangeability was done arbitrarily or without any doctrinal foundation.

The argument above, which is also quite important to the discussion of Fudō-Aizen in this article, is based on the fact that the *Yuqi jing* describes Aizen as a Buddha-Mother. As this might not be a very well-known fact, I would like to explain that aspect in more detail here. The explanation of Aizen as a mother of Buddhas is given in the following passage of the fifth chapter of the *Yuqi jing* (the passage has been abbreviated to enhance the clarity of the argument):

> 復説愛染王
> 一字心明曰、*hhūṃ ṭakki hūṃ jjaḥ*（梵字）〔中略〕
> 復説根本印〔中略〕、名羯磨印契、亦名三昧耶、若纔結一遍、及誦本真言、能滅無量罪、能生無量福、扇底迦等法、四事速円満、三世三界中、一切無能越、此名金剛王、頂中最勝名、金剛薩埵定、一切諸佛母
> (T.18.867: 257a19–b3)
> I will now further explain Aizen'ō. Its one-syllable heart-mantra is: *hhūṃ ṭakki hūṃ jjaḥ*. Furthermore, I will explain its basic *mudrā*: [...]. It is called the '*karma mudrā*.' It is also called the '*samaya* [*mudrā*].' If you form this *mudrā* once, and recite it together with its basic mantra, [the effects of] all evil actions are skilfully obliterated, countless merits are produced, and all four basic categories of rites, such as placation, are swiftly brought to a successful end. In the past, present, and future and in the Three Worlds there is nothing which exceeds [this *mudrā* and mantra]. These [powerful *mudrā* and mantra] are [together] called the '*vajra* King' (Kongō-ō), which within the [*vajra*] Peak Tradition is the highest name. They are the Concentration of Kongōsatta (Vajrasattva) and the Mother of all the Buddhas.

Some remarks have to be added first regarding the translation of the passage. Goepper made an excellent English translation of the entire fifth chapter of the *Yuqi jing* in which Aizen is explained, but his rendering of the passage here can be called into question. Goepper translates the final four phrases of the original Chinese text above as follows (1993: 16): "And this is called the *vajra* King (Kongō-ō), which is among the highest things the utmost name. The Meditation of Vajrasattva is the Mother of all the Buddhas." This is not a satisfactory translation as it lacks a proper understanding of the grammatical subject in these phrases. Indeed, this rendering overlooks the point that the subject is the same in all the four phrases, namely, the *mudrā* and mantra of Aizen. In other words, this translation misses one of the more important messages of the *Yuqi jing*, namely that Aizen'ō is a 'Buddha-Mother' just like Butsugen.

In fact, the translation I presented here can be supported by a reading of the same phrases in the *Yugikyō kuketsu* 瑜祇経口決 (*Oral Instructions on the Yuqi jing*) by Dōhan 道範 (1178–1252). The text says: 此ヲ名金剛王ト、〔金剛〕頂中最勝ノ名、金剛薩埵ノ定ナリ、一切諸佛母ナリ (sz 5, fascicle 2: 63), with the word '*kongō*' (*vajra*) added by me before '*chō*' (peak) since it appears in a previous line in the same work. The translation of this passage would then be: "These [*mudrā* and mantra of Aizen] are called the '*vajra* King,' which within the [*vajra*] Peak [Tradition] is the highest name. [They] are the Concentration of Kongōsatta. [They] are the Mother of all the Buddhas." In other words, 'Concentration' should not be taken as the grammatical subject of the phrase which mentions the Buddha-Mother. It is not just the concentration of Kongōsatta that is the Mother of all the Buddhas. More exactly, it is Aizen, the King (or Queen?) of Lust which functions as Kongōsatta's concentration and, at the same time, as the Mother of all the Buddhas.[32]

Shingon monks were naturally well aware of the fact that Aizen is a Buddha-Mother. Kakuzen, for example, defines Aizen as such in the first passages of his discussion of the deity, quoting the lines of the *Yuqi jing* just mentioned to support this view (*Kakuzenshō*, TZ 5: 227c22–24). Daigoji monks also knew it since they considered Butsugen and Aizen to be 'one matter', with the acceptance of a couple of differences.[33] Although the textual evidences are not numerous, it should be considered that the identity of Aizen as a Buddha-Mother was in all likelihood generally well known since the *Yuqi jing*, if carefully read, clearly mentions it.

4   Concluding Statements

As was mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the scholarly consensus is that the combination of Fudō and Aizen was a purely Japanese invention, created somewhere in the course of the eleventh or twelfth centuries by Shingon

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32   Goepper strongly asserts that Aizen is a male god (1993: 10). However, it seems to me that the idea of Aizen as the representative of the Womb or the 'Buddha-Mother' was quite common in medieval Japan, where, moreover, 'Buddha-Mother' was mostly understood not only in abstract but also in biological terms. I intend to explain the notion of the 'Buddha-Mother' in more detail in a forthcoming article.

33   *Zasshō* 雑鈔：愛染王仏眼者一事也（割注：愚云、二・三相違可尋、鳥羽（範俊）二ケ、権僧正（勝覚）ハ三ケ歟）"Aizen'ō and Butsugen are one matter (Inserted note: I suggest that one should make further inquiries about the two or three differences [between the two deities]. I believe the priest of Toba [Hanjun 範俊, 1138–1112] taught two differences and the supernumerary archbishop [Shōkaku] three)."

esoteric Buddhist monks. Although some clues have been provided in previous scholarship to explain the origin of the Fudō-Aizen cult, they do not affect the general assumption that the cult was created in Japan. This chapter is an attempt to broaden our perspective on the subject by considering it from the viewpoint of two intersecting networks, a translocal historical human network stretching between China and Japan, in which various thoughts and beliefs circulated, and a local conceptual network of esoteric ideas and practices developed in Shingon.

In regard to the translocal network, the importance of the nine-Buddha Aizen *maṇḍala* was emphasized. As was argued in this chapter, it is rather evident that the interconnection of Kurikara, Fudō and Aizen—three of the nine deities depicted in the *maṇḍala*—was part of the very knowledge on the basis of which the *maṇḍala* was made. A fairly early account included in the *Kakuzenshō* mentions that the *maṇḍala* was brought to Japan from China by the Tendai prelate Enchin. Therefore, as there is no apparent reason to deny the veracity of the account, the probability should be considered that the source of the Fudō-Aizen belief lies in Chinese Buddhism.

Another important factor transmitted from China which contributed to the development of the Fudō-Aizen cult in Japan was the notion of the 'Buddha-Mother' in the *Yuqi jing*. This Chinese scripture instructs that the 'Buddha-Mother' Butsugen 'gives birth' to the Buddha Ichiji Kinrin, and defines Aizen as being similarly a 'Mother of Buddhas.' It seems that Shingon rainmakers of the Ono branch used this knowledge in combination with the Fudo-Aizen dragon belief to ensure success in the *Rain Prayer Sūtra* ritual (Shōugyōhō). Indeed, as illustrated in this chapter, they conceived of Aizen as a dragon and connected it to Fudō during meditations, but also, alternatively, to Ichiji Kinrin. This procedure shows that Shingon rainmakers besides the Fudō-Aizen belief also relied on the instruction of the Buddha-Mother in the *Yuqi jing*, replacing Butsugen with Aizen as the progenitor of Ichiji Kinrin.

In this way, this chapter draws the attention to the fact that when investigating the origin of the Fudō-Aizen combination in medieval Shingon, one should not ignore the influence of Chinese Buddhist ideas. In other words, it is important not to overlook translocal socio-historical networks in which esoteric knowledge passed from China to Japan through scriptures, iconographies, or other means.

At the same time, it is also essential not to disregard the significance of specific local developments. Hence, besides the 'translocal' one should not lose sight of the 'local.' Indeed, although the source of the Fudō-Aizen cult might ultimately lie in China, it was because of a special appropriation of the cult by Shingon monks that the feature became one of the hallmarks of Shingon

and not of Tendai. Seizon's reliance on Aizen to 'protect' the emperor and the court's subsequent favour bestowed on his lineage (Ono lineage) initiated the strong connection of Shingon to the King of Lust. This connection was further consolidated by integrating Aizen in combination with Fudō into the conceptual network centred around the *Rain Prayer Sūtra* ritual, the enactment of which was the prerogative of Shingon monks of the Ono branch. This could account for the fact that the Fudō-Aizen cult developed especially in Shingon and more specifically in the Ono branch of that school. Although the truth is certainly infinitely more complex than the assumptions offered here for further scholarly reflection, I trust that this chapter broadens our perspective on the historical development of this intricate subject.

The Transmission of the *Buddhadharma* from India to China: An Examination of Kumārajīva's Transliteration of the *Dhāraṇīs* of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*

Bryan Levman

1　Introduction

It has long been understood that the earliest Chinese translations of the *Buddhavacana* were made from Prakrit (Pkt.) sources transmitted along the Silk Route caravan network from India (see references below). Indeed, the earliest translators were not indigenous Chinese but Indo-Aryan speaking missionaries and monks who brought the teachings to China and translated them, often with the help of a translation 'team' of local Chinese scholars. Two of the earliest translators were An Shigao (fl. 148–180) and An Xuan (fl. 168–189) who spoke Parthian, a northwestern Iranian (Indo-European, IE) language, and perhaps the most influential was Kumārajīva (344–413), from the Kingdom of Kucha, an Indo-European oasis kingdom on the northern edge of the Tarim Basin in what is presently Northwestern China. Kucha was one of the stops on the Silk Route and the native language of the kingdom was West Tocharian, the easternmost branch of the IE language families. The language of the source transmission translated into Chinese has been a subject of scholarly investigation for over a century; this paper examines Kumārajīva's transliteration of the *dhāraṇīs* of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (SDP) in an attempt to identify some aspects of the underlying transmission's phonological structure.[1] As Jan Nattier (2008: 3) has noted (referring to translations of the second and third centuries CE), these early translations "offer a window into the Buddhist

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[1]　The word *dhāraṇī* is a multi-faceted term with many meanings, common to all of which is the notion of retention of the Buddha's teachings. The *dhāraṇī* formulas were expected to be memorized exactly in order to preserve their ritual efficacy; therefore they are particularly apt for the study of the transmission of the *dharma*, as special care was taken with their memorization and transmission. For recent studies on the *dhāraṇī*s, see Braarvig 1985, McBride 2005, Copp 2008, and Davidson 2009.

heritage of both India and China at a pivotal period in history". In the case of the SDP, Kumārajīva's translation is earlier than any of the Indic or Tibetan witnesses by several centuries, and his was the first attempt to transliterate the *dhāraṇī*s in order to retain their sonic efficacy for Chinese disciples. His translation practice provides a fascinating glimpse into the phonological structure of the source SDP text which is the subject of this paper.

2   The Nature of the Source Dialect: Previous Work

The hypothesis that source documents for the Chinese (Ch.) *āgama*s were written in Middle Indic rather than Sanskrit (Skt.) is not a new one. Scholars have been investigating this issue since the early twentieth century; their primary tool has been to examine Chinese transliterations of Indic names and Buddhist terms in order to reconstruct the original transmission. In 1914, for example, Paul Pelliot (1878–1945) examined the Chinese translation of the *Milindapañha*, and the transcriptions of the proper names therein. In his opinion the source document was Prakrit; a name like Skt. *Kubjottara* (Pāli *Khujjuttara*) was rendered in Chinese as Jiuchoudan 鳩讎單—according to Pulleyblank (PB): kuw-dzuw-tan[2]—confirming that the name in the source document did not have the Sanskrit conjunct *-bj-* but the Prakrit form *-jh-* (Pelliot 1914: 412–413). Pelliot also believed that the Chinese version preserved forms closer to the original Greek than those of the Pāli (P) text of the *Milindapañha*, possibly because of a Parthian or Indo-Scythian influence. The name Menander (Μένανδρος), for example, appears in Chinese as Milan 彌蘭 (PB: mji/mjiə-lan), which Pelliot reconstructs as *Milandi, maintaining it is closer to the original Greek word Menander than the P. Milinda; the change *-n-* > *-l-* is frequent in Central Asia and in the Prakrits[3] and conforms to general laws of dissimilation in IE languages (ibid.: 384–385). Regardless of whether the change of two vowels between the Chinese transcription and P. is that significant, it is clear that

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2   PB = Pulleyblank 1991, which reconstructs the pronunciation of Early Middle Chinese (EMC). The abbreviation PB will be used before all transcriptions (phonetic reconstructions) which use this system. Transcriptions are given in regular type, with italic type reserved for Middle Indic words and Chinese *pinyin*. When I consult Bernhard Karlgren's transcriptions, I use Ulving 1997, abbreviation KG. "Early Middle Chinese" is the Chinese codified in the *Qieyun* rhyme dictionary (601 CE), representing the Chinese language of the fourth to seventh centuries CE, per Pulleyblank 1984: 3.

3   For example, see Geiger 1916 [2005]: §43.2, e.g. Skt. *enas* > P. *ela* ("fault"); hereinafter "Geiger."

Pelliot's primary point—that the Chinese names indicate a Prakrit not a Sanskrit. source document—is well made.

In 1915 Sylvain Lévi (1863–1935) examined the Sanskrit remnants and three Chinese translations of the *Mahāmāyūrīsūtra* ("Great Peacock"), which contain stories and *dhāraṇīs* that protect practitioners from all sorts of harm (snakebites in particular). He examines how the names of 106 *yakṣas* contained in the *sūtra* are transliterated into Chinese in three systems of transcription: 1) in the early sixth century by Saṃghavarman, 2) late seventh century by Yijing and 3) early eighth century by Amoghavajra. These show changing translation practices over time and Prakritisms which are later Sanskritised. For example, Saṃghavarman translated the proper name of *yakṣa* Pūrṇako as Fennake 分那柯 (PB pun-naʰ-ka),[4] showing that in his source document, the *-rṇ-* conjunct had been assimilated to *-ṇṇ-*, as is typical of the Prakrits (Lévi 1915: 41; Woolner 1928 [1996]: §48). In his later transcription, Yijing Sanskritises Pūṇṇako by adding back in an epenthetic *-r-*: 脯律[5]挐, Pulüna (PB bɔ-lwit-nraɨ/nɛ:). Lévi notes that the Chinese and Tibetan versions represent a state of the text prior to the surviving Sanskrit manuscripts, since they contain Prakritisms which are later Sanskritised.

In 1916 Heinrich Lüders (1869–1943) examined three fragments of Sanskrit texts found at Khadalik in Central Asia (part of the Hoernle collection). After comparing forms in the Central Asian MS like *sraṃsitavān, sraṃsayati* ("he did [not] slacken", "[she] does not slacken") with corresponding forms *saṃśritavān, saṃprakāśayati* in the Nepalese ("he did not cling", "[she] does not reveal", and alternates *janayati, saṃmayati, praśayati*, all incorrect Sanskritisations per Lüders), he concluded that an earlier Prakrit form *saṃsitavā* must have existed in an underlying form to account for these anomalies. He therefore concluded that both the Nepalese and the Central Asian MSS of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* must have a common source, maintaining that the original text was written in a language that had far more Prakritisms than either of the two versions. Lüders was inclined to believe that the original was written in a pure Prakrit dialect which was afterwards gradually put into Sanskrit. This dialect was a "mixed Sanskrit" based on Māgadhī, acccording to him (1916: 161–62). While many today would disagree with Lüders about the possiblity of isolating an Urtext, his comparison of manuscripts well illustrates the complexity,

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4 Lévi 1915: 41. Lévi notes that Saṃghavarman was a "demi-hindou, originaire de l'Indo-Chine" and Yijing was "un pur styliste chinois instruit par un long séjour dans l'Inde" (ibid.: 122).

5 The character in Lévi shows a radical 冂 on the left which I cannot find in any dictionary.

ambiguities and confusions inherent in the transmission process (within just the Sanskrit texts, not to mention Chinese), especially when there is a Prakrit source involved; due to the simplified nature of the language—where, for example, conjunct consonants are assimilated and intervocalic stops > *-y-*, *-ẏ-*, (a weakly articulated glide) or > Ø—it contains many homonyms.

In 1930 Friedrich Weller (1889–1980) examined the transliteration of Buddhist terms and proper names in the Chinese translation of the *Pāṭikasutta* from the *Dīgha Nikāya* (DN 24). Here the name of a Licchavi general Ajita ("Unconquered") occurs (Ayoutuo 阿由陀 PB: ʔa-juw-da or KG â-i̯ĕu-da), where *-j-* > *-y-*; *-t-* > *-d-*,[6] along with names like Udena (Youyuan 憂園, PB: ʔuw- wuan) where *-d-* > Ø or *-d-* > *-y-*, and Anupiyā (Anuyi 阿脇夷, PB: ʔa-nɔ-ji), where *-p-* > *-y-*, which prove that the source document was not composed in Sanskrit, although he did not specify which Prakrit the forms might represent (Weller 1930: 111).

At the end of his long career Ernst Waldschmidt (1897–1985) maintained: "[…] that the original *Dīrghāgama* text translated into Chinese was written in some kind of archaic Prakrit and not in Sanskrit will hardly be contested". He believed that it was probably translated from the Northwestern Prakrit of Gāndhārī (G.), a hypothesis which Pulleyblank supported (Waldschmidt 1980: 137, 163; Pulleyblank 1983: 84–87; Karashima 1992). In 1932 Waldschmidt published a Central Asian Sanskrit manuscript of the *Mahāsamājasūtra* (DN 20 in Pāli) together with a Chinese translation which pointed to an underlying, more Prakritic version of the *sūtra*. In the Chinese transliterations he discovered many Prakritic forms, the most common being the ending in *-u* for the nom. and accus. masculine sing., which is also the case in the GDhp (Waldschmidt 1932: 230; Hiän-lin Dschi 1944: 121–44; Brough 1962 [1991]: §75). He also found lots of examples of intervocalic stop lenition (in the underlying source text, as transcribed in the Chinese), another feature of G: Vairocana (Bilouyena 鞞樓耶那 PB: pji/pjiə-ləw-jia-na) = Vairoyana; *tejo* (*tiyu* 提豫 PB: dɛj-jɨaʰ) = **teyo*; *vācā* (*poye* 婆耶, PB: ba-jia)= *vaya*; *-r-* assimilation: Candra (Zhanda 栴大 PB:

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6   See Pischel 1900 [1981] §236 (hereinafter Pischel); the change of an intervocalic stop to a glide (*-y-*) or a weakly articulated glide (*-ẏ-*) or even its disappearance is quite common in the Prakrits. For an example from one of the earliest Buddhist *suttas*, see Norman 1980: 175 (also in Norman 1991, vol.2: 151), where, for example, the earlier word *virayo* can be confidently derived from two MI reflexes: in the P. *Sutta Nipāta, virato*, and in the *Mahāvastu, virajo*. The voicing of *-t-* > *-d-* is also a common Prakrit phenomenon, especially in Gāndhārī. See Brough 1962 [2001] §33 (hereinafter Brough 1962 = GDhp = Gāndhārī *Dhammapada*).

tɕian-daʾ/dajʰ) = Canda; etc., all of which are also features of Gāndhārī,[7] and many other Prakritic features.[8]

For some fifty years, not much work was done on this subject of Chinese transliterations. The last thirty years, however, have witnessed something of a "renaissance" in this arcane sub-field of philology with studies by several important scholars: von Hinüber, Karashima and Boucher. Von Hinüber's research confirms that a Gāndhārī version of the *Madhyamāgama* existed as one of the translation stages for the Chinese text. This is the only way to account for such forms as are found in the P. *Upālisutta* like *pabhinnakhilassa* (*Majjhima Nikāya* 1, 386³), "broken up the fallow spiritual wasteland", which do not correlate with parallel Sanskrit forms from the Central Asian manuscripts, *prahīṇakhilasya*, "he who has abandoned the afflictions". The Chinese text has *duan hui* 斷穢 ("cut off impurity") which is a translation of the Central Asian text, but not the Pāli. This suggests that the source document (underlying both the Pāli and Sanskrit) must have contained the word *p(r)ahiṇa* or *p(r)ahina* ("abandoned") in G., with *-bh- > -h-* and the *-nn- > n/ṇ*, and no vowel quantity shown (von Hinüber 1983: 28–29). Another example von Hinüber adduces is the word *pannadhaja* ("whose flag is lowered") from the same text, which has a Central Asian Sanskrit reflex of *parṇajaha*, translated by Saṃghadeva as 慧生 *huìshēng = *prajñā-jāta* ("wisdom-born"); a number of strange changes and misunderstandings have taken place that are probably due to the Sanskrit and Chinese translators' not recognizing the word *panna* ("fallen") as the past participle of √*pad*.[9]

In an important recent study, Karashima has gathered all the Prakritisms in Kumārajīva's and Dharmarakṣa's translations, line by line, and has concluded that the Chinese translations represent an earlier stage in the transmission process when the source Indic texts were more Prakritic in nature than the current surviving Sanskrit witnesses (Karashima 1992: 13, 274–275). I will be

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7   Waldschmidt 1932: 231. For intervocalic stop lenition in Gāndhārī (G.), see GDhp 28. For assimilation of *-r-* (which is sporadic per Waldschmidt, 232), see Burrow 1937 §37 and 38. Note that *candra* occurs in the GDhp as *cadra* and usually. appears in P. as *canda* and in AMg as *caṃda*. In G., *-r-* is usually assimilated after a stop (*kodha < krodha* in GDhp 280), but sometimes it is kept (*pridi* < Skt. *prīti* in GDhp 56, 224). For discussion, see GDhp 51; *vācā* as *vaya* occurs in several GDhp *gāthās* (53, 290, 291, etc.).

8   Waldschmidt 1932: 231–234. To name a few: change of aspirated stops to *-h-* (*abhikrāntā >* transcribed in Ch. as *ahikanta*); same, plus assimilation of *-r-* before *-ṣ-* (*abhivarṣa >* transcribed in Ch. as *ahivaṣa*); change of *-ṣṭ- > -ṭṭ-* (*śreṣṭha >* transcribed in Ch. as *śeṭha*).

9   Ibid.: 29–32. Some of this confusion is understandable as *panna = prajñā* in AMg (Pischel §226). See also Mylius 2003: 413, s.v. *paṇṇa = prajñā*. Brough 1962, GDhp, also discusses this confusion in §45.

drawing on this work further in my study of *dhāraṇīs* below. Using data from Karashima's study, Daniel Boucher examined Dharmarakṣa's translation at a lexical level, pointing out various misunderstandings due to lack of expertise, dialect (phonological) confusion, script confusion and unresolved ambiguities (e.g. the practice of "double translation", translating a word twice when it has more than one meaning) and concludes that the source text was "a very mixed and layered text […] already in a hybrid language" which had a very complex transmission process. He does not try to identify the dialect, although features of Gāndhārī clearly had an influence and the source document may well have been written in Kharoṣṭhī script. He calls for more studies that "unpack the philological clues contained in these mongrel documents" (Boucher 1998: 501–503; Deeg 2008: 83–118).

3　　　The Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra

This work was originally composed in approximately the first century BCE in Prakrit or Sanskritised Prakrit, and has a complicated textual history in MI and Chinese. We possess three different MI recensions of the *sūtra*, all fairly recent; two have been almost completely Sanskritised and the third and oldest, from Central Asia, still retains some Prakritic elements. There are six Chinese translations (completed in 255, 286, 290, 335, 406 and 601 CE) of which only the third, fifth and sixth survive. Of these, the fifth (the second of the surviving witnesses), by Kumārajīva, is considered the standard (Hurvitz 2009: xiii). So the Chinese translations are much older than the MI manuscripts that we possess, and indeed when one looks at the proper names, technical terms and *dhāraṇīs* of the Chinese versions we find many Prakritic elements still preserved. As is well known, the SDP is one of the most important texts in Chinese Buddhism. A key enjoinder of the SDP is its admonishment to "receive and keep it [the *sūtra*], to read and recite it, to preach it, to copy it and to make offerings to it" (Hurvitz 2009: 263). This central message of the SDP, i.e., securing its transmission to present and future generations and the accuracy of that transmission, is repeated so many times, one might argue it is *the* main theme of the *sūtra*. The text starts and ends with the concept of "mastering the *dhāraṇīs*", which does not refer solely to "magic charms" as Hurvitz defines the term,[10] but more germanely to memorizing and retaining the dharma. As a result, the SDP was

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10　　Ibid.: 3. Compare: *jie de tuoluoni* 皆得陀羅尼 "All had attained the *dhāraṇīs*" (T.9.262: 2a3). See also Hurvitz 2009: 309: "incalculable, limitless bodhisattvas […] attained the *dhāraṇī* […]."

copied thousands of times over the centuries (Stevenson 2009: 134, 145; Chün-fang Yü 2001: 75) in a variety of Indic, Chinese, Tibetan and other languages, and a rich manuscript tradition of over sixty copies have survived in Sanskrit alone, which are available for study (Tsukamoto et al. 1986: 5). Given the importance of the text, one would expect an assiduous attention to detail in its transmission, especially with regard to the *dhāraṇīs* whose accurate recitation was essential for ritual efficacy. In the Lotus *samādhi* ritual for example (*Fahua sanmei chanyi* 法華三昧懺儀), a twenty-one day repentance ritual in the Tiantai tradition involving recitation of the SDP, mistakes in the recitation were simply not permissable (*bude miuwu* 不得謬誤).[11] But in fact, there is no uniformity amongst the Indic versions themselves, nor between these and the texts translated into Chinese. In fact, the differences are often more striking than the similiarities, especially when comparing the two earliest surviving Chinese translations—those of Dharmarakṣa in 286 CE and Kumārajīva in 406 CE—to the extant Sanskrit MSS. This lack of correspondence—and the fact that the Sanskrit manuscripts are all fairly late—points to an earlier lost manuscript tradition on which the Chinese translations relied.

3.1   *Textcritical Background*

Scholars recognize three major recensions for the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīkasūtra* Indic text: Nepalese, Gilgit and Central Asian (Bechert in Chandra 1976: 3; Karashima 1992: 12). The closest thing we have to a critical edition of any of these is Kern and Nanjio's edition (1908–1912, hereinafter K & N), which, however, was based on only eight manuscripts (seven Nepalese and one Central Asian) and does not include all variants. None of the Nepalese texts are earlier than the eleventh century (Tsukamoto et al. 1986: 9); the Gilgit manuscripts date from the early sixth century and belong to a recension similar to the Nepalese (Watanabe 1972–1975: xi); the earliest of the Central Asian manuscripts date from the fifth or sixth century as well (Tsukamoto et al. 1986: 24; Dutt 1953: viii). These manuscripts are linguistically earlier than the Nepalese and Gilgit recensions—composed before major Sanskritisation had taken place—and contain hundreds of Prakrit forms, some of which are detailed in K & N and Dutt's later edition (K & N 1972–1975: vi f.; Dutt 1953: xvii f.; Karashima 1998: 49–68; Karashima 2001: 207–230). In his exhaustive study on Sanskritised Prakrit, which he calls Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (BHS), Edgerton has established a time scale which confirms that the more Prakritisms a manuscript contains,

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11   *Bude miuwu* (T.46.1941: 954a5), translated in Stevenson 1986: 69. See footnote 63.

the earlier it is.[12] As stated above, there are three extant Chinese translations of the SDP: one by Dharmarakṣa in 286 CE, one by Kumārajīva in 406 and a third by Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta in 601. There is also a partial translation, the *Satanfentuolijing* (T.9265), thought to predate Dharmarakṣa (Karashima 2003: 87). The earliest manuscript evidence we have of the Chinese translations is from Dunhuang (fifth–tenth centuries). Several Tibetan versions preserved in the various Kanjurs are presumed to date back to the early eighth century (Karashima 1992: 13).

It has long been assumed that Kumārajīva's translation was based on the Nepalese/Gilgit recension, while Dharmarakṣa's translation was based on the earlier Central Asian manuscript (Bechert in Chandra 1976: 6; Baruch 1938: 41). However, recent studies by Karashima have problematised this view. He has shown that not only Dharmarakṣa's source text, but also Kumārajīva's, are based on manuscripts containing a lot of Prakrit material and that in fact Kumārajīva's translation agrees with the earlier Central Asian recensions in 409 instances versus only 138 instances of agreement with the Nepalese/Gilgit recensions. The corresponding numbers for Dharmarakṣa's translation are 622 agreements with Central Asian MSS and 230 with the Nepalese/Gilgit recensions (Karashima 1992: 256, 260). Therefore both Kumārajīva's and Dharmarakṣa's source texts are assumed to predate the existing Sanskrit MSS, dating from a time before full Sanskritisation had taken place. In this regard, a very useful text for this study—and one that confirms Karashima's findings of the Prakrit nature of the source documents at this time—is Kumārajīva's

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12 Edgerton 1953 [1998], vol.1: xxv. Dutt (1953: xvii, citing Lüders, Hoernle and Mironov, with no reference) agrees and gives the example of Central Asian MSS written in Upright Gupta script in the early 5th or 6th centuries containing more Prakritisms than those written in the calligraphic script of the 7th century. Hoernle (1916: xxxi) discusses the Northern and Southern canon and maintains that they were originally written in the "vernacular language of Magadha" which is of course the essence of Heinrich Lüders' thesis as documented in his 1954 posthumous opus *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des Buddhistischen Urkanons.* Another scholar to make this point, specifically about the SDP, is Hiän-lin Dschi (1944: 139: "Ich glaube früher gezeigt zu haben, daß das Werk [*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*] ursprünglich in der Alt-Ardhamāgadhī abgefasst worden war, daß die Kashgar-Rezension [Central Asian] dem Original viel näher steht also die nepalesische, und schliesslich, daß die Alt-Ardamāgadhī-Formen der Kashgar-Rezension in der nepalesischen Rezension mit der Sanskritisierung nach und nach beseitigt wurden" ("I believe to have shown earlier that the text was originally composed in Old Ardhamāgadhī, that the Kashgar recension was nearer to the original than the Nepalese and finally that the Old Ardhamāgadhī forms of the Kashgar recensions were gradually removed in the Nepalese recension with Sanskritisation").

translation of the *arapacana* syllabary in the *Dazhidu lun*[13] where we find unique Prakritisms like *a'noubotuo* 阿耨波陀 (PB: ʔa-nəwʰ-pa-da) *anuppāda* < Skt. *anutpāda*, "non-arising", with simplification of conjunct *-tp- > -pp-; zheliye* 遮梨夜 (PB: tɕiaw-li-jiaʰ) *cariya* < Skt. *carita*, "practice", with lenition of intervocalic stop *-t- > -y-; dusheta* 荼闍他 (PB: dɔ-dzia-tʰa) < *ḍajamaṇo*[14] (GDhp 75-d, 159-b) < Skt. *dahyamāna*, "burning", with simplification of conjunct *hy- > -j-; hebota* 和波他 (PB: ɣwa-pa-tʰa) < *vappatha* < Skt. *vākpatha*, "fit for speech", with simplification of conjunct *-kp- > -pp-*, to name only a few (see also Appendix 1).

Given the rich and complex textual tradition, it is evident that there is no such thing as a single, monolithic SDP. There has not even been an attempt to create a critical edition (i.e. a reconstructed "original"—or as close as possible to the original per Maas 1958: 1—a text based on elements from all known sources); the complex tapestry of witnesses, multiple recensions and Sanskritisations and *contaminatio* (combination of several exemplars per Maas 1958: 3) suggests that any attempt to re-construct an Urtext would be impossible. Yet, given the importance of the SDP in East Asian religious traditions, it is a "sorry state of affairs" that we do not make use of "all available resources" when studying the text (Pye 2003: 168). Recently, this lacuna in SDP studies has been partially rectified by Karashima's partial publication of a trilingual edition of the SDP from all Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan sources (Karashima 2004: 33–104; 2006: 79–88).

From the Preface to Jñānagupta's and Dharmagupta's translation Michael Pye hypothesizes that Kumārajīva worked from a Kuchean text which may well have been older than Dharmarakṣa's source text. Pye arrives at this conclusion based on three factors: 1) material that was left out of Kumārajīva's original translation and subsequently added, 2) the separate numbering of the Devadatta chapter and 3) the arrangement of the last seven chapters (Pye 2003: 170). Dharmarakṣa's translation represents a later stage of the textual tradition, but at an earlier date. Other scholars have agreed with Pye on philological

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13   This rendering was done between CE 404 and 406, just before Kumārajīva began the SDP translation. Lamotte (1944) called it the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* but it was known by various names in medieval China. For a discussion on the name, see Benn 2009: 12–13, fn. 1. For the *arapacana* syllabary, see Brough 1977: 86, who suggests that the list of headwords which the syllabary represents "might have been in origin a mnemonic device to fix the order of the verses or paragraphs of some important text, by taking the first word of each. Thereafter, the mnemonic would have been further reduced to initial syllables where possible" (ibid: 94). For more information on the *arapacana* syllabary, see Salomon 1990: 255–273. Salomon argues (convincingly) that the *arapacana* syllabary was formulated in Gandhāra, in the Kharoṣṭhī script, based on epigraphical and internal evidence.

14   The letter *-j- = -jh-* per Brough 1962, GDhp 6a.

grounds. Although it may be impossible to confirm the absolute chronology of the underlying source documents, one fact seems certain: based on linguistic and text historico-critical analysis, both Dharmarakṣa's and Kumārajīva's source documents are earlier than the surviving Indic witnesses.

4 Methodological Considerations

4.1 *Purpose of this Study*

Kumārajīva's transcription of the SDP's *dhārāṇīs* represents a "fresh effort at transcription" of MI phonemes into EMC (Pulleyblank 1983: 87).[15] It therefore provides a unique opportunity to study the nature of Kumārajīva's transliteration practice and to identify some of the characteristics of the underlying MI source transmission dialect, while at the same time comparatively examining the main textual traditions, their differences and ambiguities. Epitomizing a central theme of the SDP—the injunction to memorize and repeat exactly the content of the *sūtra*—the *dhāraṇīs* highlight the challenge of transmitting the *Buddhadharma* accurately over time, especially between a phonographic (MI) and logographic (Ch.) writing system. A tentative reconstruction of the *dhāraṇī*s' MI form is a further by-product of the study.

4.2 *Methodology*

This study involves the use of transcriptional data and reconstructions of the phonetic structure of EMC, based on Karlgren's and Pulleyblank's work. Many scholars have questioned the validity of this approach; Zürcher omits the use of transcribed names and Buddhist technical terms from his study on "Late Han Vernacular Elements in the Earliest Buddhist translations", noting that their value is greatly reduced by a whole range of "obscuring factors" including 1) our ignorance of the source language, 2) distortion due to pronunciation by foreign missionaries, 3) the imperfect way the Chinese scribes may have

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15   Kumārajīva was of course not the first translator to transcribe MI. The Kucha monk Lokakṣema (latter part of the second century CE), for example, transcribed Buddhist names and technical terms, while An Shigao transcribed personal and place names and translated technical terms (Nattier 2008: 4). Kumārajīva preferred to transcribe technical terms (or use existing transcriptions, like 菩薩 = *bodhisattva*, 涅槃 = *nirvāṇa*, 波羅蜜 = *pāramitā*; 陀羅尼 = *dhāraṇī*), while he generally translated proper names (*bhaiṣajyarāja* = Medicine King = *Yaowang* 藥王; *akṣayamati* = Inexhaustible Mind = *Wujin yi* 無盡意), but sometimes used existing transcriptions (e.g. 文殊師利 for Mañjuśrī). He was the first translator to attempt a transcription of the SDP's *dhāraṇīs*.

perceived the sounds, 4) the differences in Sanskrit and Chinese phonology which make correlation of sounds problematic and 5) primitive early translation attempts which were later subsequently refined (Zürcher 1977: 179). This last objection does not apply to Kumārajīva who had the benefit of two centuries of previous translators' experience. He was also well aware of all the phonological issues involved, as his translation of the *arapacana* syllabary from the *Dazhidu lun* shows (Appendix 1); although there is certainly no exact one-to-one correspondence between Indic and Chinese languages, Kumārajīva was aware of the ambiguities and developed means of dealing with them, as will be demonstrated below. As for the source language(s), in the last thirty years there have been a lot of advances in our understanding or the underlying Prakrits, as outlined above. This is not to fully answer Zürcher's objections—especially points 2) and 3), which are intractable; however, that we can and do know quite a bit about EMC phonology is manifest in the works of Karlgren, Pulleyblank and Coblin, and if we use the data judiciously, as Coblin recommends (1983: 7–8), using it to corroborate what we already do know from other sources (as Zürcher recommends),—i.e. the phonological changes between Prakrit and Sanskrit,—then the results can be very revealing.

4.2.1   Dhāraṇī Comparison

The main body of this chapter is a comparison and discussion of the linguistic form of all the SDP's *dhāraṇīs*. In what follows I list the Sanskrit texts in the three traditions, grouping the Nepalese and Tibetan together in column #1 with all variants shown in brackets;[16] here I also include the Tibetan as separate items (marked "Tib.") when it differs from one of the Nepalese manuscripts, as is sometimes the case. Column #2 contains the Gilgit manuscripts (from Watanabe 1972–1975). Column #3 is the Central Asian manuscripts, some of which are shown in Kern & Nanjio and Dutt, and all of which are shown in Tsukamoto 1978.[17] Column #4 shows Kumārajīva's Chinese translation taken from the *Taishō* (Junjirō et al. 1924–1934 [1974]), with assistance from CBETA and with variants shown in square brackets. The Chinese characters are transcribed in modern *pinyin*, and further transcribed phonetically as they

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16   Some of these variants are found in K & N; all are shown in Tsukamoko 1978: 1–35. The various manuscripts in the Nepalese tradition are listed and described in Tsukamoto et al. 1986.

17   These are, except for the Lüshun Museum fragment, also available in Toda 1981. The Central Asian facsimile manuscripts are available in Institute for the Comprehensive Study of Lotus Sutra 1977: vol. 11, 12 and the Kashgar manuscript in a facsimile edition in Chandra 1976, which contains Bechert's Foreword.

sounded in Middle Chinese using Pulleyblank or Karlgren. Column #5 is a reconstruction of the source document text which Kumārajīva used, based on his transliteration. Column #6 is the meaning of the word, where known (or conjectured), and column #7 is a note on whether the word from the source document is Sanskrit or Prakritic in origin, together with any short notes that might be applicable. Longer notes follow the relevant entries. Where an entry is blank, it is missing in the appropriate document. While the *dhāraṇīs* of the SDP have been transliterated four times, the earliest transliteration is Kumārajīva's. Dharmarakṣa translated the *dhāraṇīs* in his *Zhengfahuajing* 正法華經, (T.263, 286 CE), but this is not a transcription. Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta also transliterated them in their translation, *Tiānpǐn Miàofǎ Liánhuájīng* 添品 妙法蓮華經 (T.264, 601 CE); both of these are reviewed occasionally when they might be helpful in clarifying Kumārajīva's practice and/or intention. In addition to these testimonies, there are three other transcriptions made by Jñānagupta, Xuanzang and Amoghavajra (early seventh to eighth centuries) which I have not referred to (but may be found in Karashima 2001: 380–392).

4.2.2   A Note on Vowel Notation

The transliterations are not consistent with respect to vowel notation. Sometimes the EMC phonetic sound which PB transcribes as [i] is used to represent Sanskrit/Prakrit final *-e* and sometimes *-i*. The phonetic sound [ɛ]- is used for Sanskrit/Prakrit *-e-, -a- and -i-*. I assume these variations reflect dialectical variations, idiosyncrasies, allophones, etc. prevalent at the time the translations were done, which I have not tried to unravel. For derivational purposes, the consonants are much more important than the final vowel, which tends to be very variable in the dialects.[18] Also, since long vowels were not notated in Gāndhārī and even Brāhmī (GDhp 20; Norman 1997 [2006]: 107), and Chinese does not maintain the difference between long and short vowels, reconstruction of vowel length differences must be considered tentative at best. When I transcribe with long vowels in the hypothetical source document, it is usually based on Sanskrit parallels (e.g. Pkt. *nāḷi* < Skt. *nādi*) or accent/*sandhi* rules (e.g. Pkt. *kauśalyānugada* < Skt. *kauśalya-anugata* or Skt. *śamita-avi = śamitāvi*).

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18   See for example the different endings in the nom. sing. in G. which can be either *-e, -a, -o or -u*, per GDhp: 75, 76. Aśoka's Rock Edicts from Shābāzgaṛhī (Northwest MI) show *-a, -o* and *-e* (Hultzsch 1925 [1969]: xc). In GDhp 21, Brough (1962) notes that in G., *-e* in final position regularly appears as either *-e*, or *-i*. See also Fussman 1989: 459, which notes "l'equivalence phonétique en finale de *-e, -o* et *-a*".

5   Dhāraṇīs

5.1   *Dhāraṇī #1 Spoken by Bhaiṣajyarāja* 藥王 (*Yaowang*)[19]

Nepalese-Tibetan[a]	Gilgit	Central Asian	Kumārajīva	Source document	Meaning	Pkt. or Skt. & notes
anye (*atye*)	*anye*		安爾 *aner* (PB: ʔan-ɲiǎ'/ɲi')	*anye* or *a(ñ)ñe*[b]	"other(s)"	Either
manye (*manne, maṇe*)	*manye*		曼爾 *man er* (PB: muanh ɲiǎ'/ɲi')	*manye* or *ma(ñ)ñe*	"I think"	either (GDhp 283-c, *mañati*, "he thinks").

a   Tibetan is only noted when it is different than the Nepalese recension which it generally mirrors.

b   The brackets *a(c)chaye* simply indicate that the double consonants were often not notated in G. or early Brāhmī. The double consonant represents the derivation from two consonants (-*ny*- > -*ññ*-), which was, however, not noted in the early script.

In the Prakrits, a glide following a nasal is assimilated (-*ny*- > -*ñ*-).[20] However, the sound is virtually identical, so one cannot be sure what word was in the source document. All forms ending in -*e* may be construed as an eastern Prakrit nominative singular.[21] It may also be northwestern as there are lots of examples in nom. sing -*e* in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī (Sh) and Mānsehrā (M) Aśokan rock edicts[22] and in the Niya dialect the original nom. ending was probably in -*e*,

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19   The *dhāraṇīs* are found as follows: #1: K & N pp. 396[1]–397[2]; #2 398[4–5]; #3 399[1–2]; #4 399[9]–400[1]; #5 401[2–3]; #6 477[1–4]. *Dhāraṇīs* 1–5 are in Chapter 21, *dhāraṇī* #6 in Chapter 26. Chinese versions may be found at *dhāraṇī* #1 in T.9.262: 58b19 to T.9.262: 58c03; *dhāraṇī* #2 in T.9.262: 58c14 to T.9.262: 59a03; *dhāraṇī* #3 in T.9.262: 59a10 to T.9.262: 59a11; *dhāraṇī* #4 in T.9.262: 59a18 to T.9.262: 59a19; *dhāraṇī* #5 in T.9.262: 59b01 to T.9.262: 59b04; *dhāraṇī* #6 in T.9.262: 61b19 to T.9.262: 61b2.

20   Pischel §282; GDhp 260 *aña* < Skt. *anya;* P. *añña* < Skt. *anya;* AMg *aṇṇa* < Skt. *anya*.

21   Lüders 1954: 10 and §§1–11.

22   Hultzsch 1925 [1969]: xc. For instance, *jane* in Sh Rock Edict (RE) 10 A *vivade* in RE 6 F; *devanapriye* in RE 10, A, etc. Capital letters refer to location reference used by Hultzsch. See also Brough 1962, GDhp 76. See also Hiän-lin Dschi 1944: 143, quoting Konow, who associates the -*e* dialect with the Mānsehrā dialects and the Niya Prakrit.

although it later changed to -o.[23] The word *anye* could also be nom. plural in Sanskrit, Pāli and other Prakrits. While the meaning and syntax (if any) of these words and phrases is highly speculative, Tsukamoto (1978: 4f) seems to interpret the -e forms as voc. sg. fem. which is possible for some words which are feminine (*anyā*, "inexhaustible"; *manyā*, "nape of the neck"), but not for nouns like *citta* (masc.) or *kṣaya* (masc.), nor for words like *carita* that appear to modify them. These would have to be loc. sing. or nom. sing. if stemming from an eastern Prakrit. The verb *manye* ("I think", first person sing. of √*man*) is a much more logical meaning than "Oh! nape of the neck", voc. fem. sing (< Skt. *manyā*, "nape of the neck"). In the translations that follow, I treat the -e endings as nom. sing. unless otherwise stated.

arau					
parau (*marau*)					
mane (*maṇe, mene, ane, amane*)	*mane*		摩禰 *moni* (PB: ma- nɛj')	*mane*	? "pride"[a]	either
mamane (*nemane*)	*mamane*		摩摩禰 *momoni* (PB: ma-ma-nɛj')	*mamane*	?	either
citte (*citta*)			旨隷 *zhili* (PB: tʂi'/ tɕi'-lɛjʰ)	*cire* (?)	"long"	either
carite (*calite*; Tib. *cirate*)			遮[利]梨第 *zhe*[*li*]*lidi* (PB: tɕia-[liʰ]li- dɛj')	*caride*	"behaviour"	Pkt. -t-> -d-

a   Nom. sing. (eastern Pkt. nom. ending in -e); long -ā- not written in G. This could also be derived from *manas* (P. *mano*, AMg *maṇa*, "mind") or Skt. *manā* ("zeal, devotion") in voc. sing. as per Tsukamoto 1978: 4.

The change of -t- > -d- seems to be the first unequivocal evidence that we are dealing with a source document which is (in part at least) in a Prakrit form. Voicing of intervocalic consonants is a standard feature in Gāndhārī (GDhp 33), and Pulleyblank (1983: 86–88) notes that intervocalic -t- is "quite consistently" rendered by Ch. -d- in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra dhāraṇīs*. We will see several other examples of this feature below, where the source document has Prakrit forms and the extant Indo-Aryan (IA) reflexes have Sanskrit words,

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23   Burrow 1937: §53. The Niya documents represent the administrative language of Shan-Shan (Northwest China) in the third century CE (ibid.: v, Introduction).

like *idime* for Skt. *itime, mādaṅgī* for *mātaṅgī, daṇḍavadi* for *daṇḍapati*, etc. The word *citte* is a puzzle as it appears to be representing a source word **cile* (=*cire*, "long?"). The character 隸 is always used to represent an *-l-* sound or a vocalic *-ṛ-* or consonantal *-r-* by Kumārajīva, but here it may be a translation rather than a transliteration (旨隸 = lit. "control one's intention"). Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta have *zhidi* 質㲼 (PB: tɕit-tɛj = *citte*).

same	*śame*	賒咩 *shemie* (PB: ɕia-me)[a]	*śame*	"tranquility calmness"	either Skt. *śama* "tranquility"; or Skt. *sama*, "same, equal"
samitāvi (*samayitāriśānte samitāviśāṃte samitāviśānte samitāniśānte*; Tib. *śamayitāvi, śameyitāvi, śameyitābhi*)[b]	(*śamayitāvi, śameyitābhi*)	賒履多瑋 *shelüduowei* (PB: ɕia-li- ta-wuj'/jwẹi)[c]	*śamitāvi*	"pain that has been pacified" (*śamita-āvi*)	Skt.
śānte (*sante*)	*śante* (*śantai*)	羶帝 *shandi* (PB: ɕian-tɛj[h])	*śānte*	"peace"	Skt.

a　The character 咩 is not in Pulleyblank or Karlgren. It is also not in the *Guangyun shengxi* 廣韻聲系, Song rhyming dictionary: http://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&res=77357&by_title=%E5%BB%A3%E9%9F%BB. Accessed Nov. 2014.

b　In all the Skt. texts (K & N, Wogihara & Tsuchida, Vaidya and Dutt) the word division is after *-tā*: i.e., *samitā viśāṃte*; other variants in the Nepalese–Tibetan tradition include *samitā visāṃte; samite viśānte*.

c　A second interpretation of the 瑋 sound is in KG: page 201, entry 2213. Coblin 1994: 246, sub-entry 0405, transliterates this character as **ui* in Old Northwest Chinese (ONWC).

Dharmarakṣa translates these three words (*same śamitāvi śānte*) as *feng xiu jiran* 奉修寂然 ("Esteem & cultivate quiescence"); the word 奉 ("esteem, revere, respect") is perhaps a translation for Skt. *śālita* ("praised"). This would be the normal transliteration of *shelüduo* 賒履多 (PB: ɕia-li-ta), i.e. with 履 representing the sound *-li-* as per PB and KG. In Soothill & Hodous (1937; S & H) we find words like *tipilü* 體毘履 (PB tʰɛj'-bji-l(r)i), Skt. *sthavira*, "elder", or *modalüjia* 摩怛履迦 (PB: ma-tat-li-kɨa), Skt. *mātṛkā* "summary, condensed statement of contents" where 履 = *-r-/-ṛ-* and *bibeilüye* 臂卑履也 (PB: pjiajk-pji/

pjiɜ̌-li-jia'), *pipīlikā*, "ant" where it represents an *-l-*. How 履 came to represent the *-m-* sound is a mystery. Pulleyblank is also puzzled and suggests that it represents an "old reading of the character that has gone unrecorded in the dictionaries".[24] In Jñānagupta's and Dharmagupta's redo of the *sūtra* two centuries later they transliterate *śamitāvi* as 攝寐多鼻 (PB: ɕiap-mjiʰ-ta-bjiʰ), where there is no mistaking that the second syllable begins with *m-*. Note also for this section of the *dhāraṇī* that all four versions of the Sanskrit texts transliterate *śamitā viśānte* which is probably incorrect, as there is no such word as *visānte* in Prakrit or Sanskrit, while there is such a compound as *śamita-āvi*.

mukte	*mukte*	目帝 *mudi* (PB: muwk-tɕjʰ)	*mukte*	"liberated"	S (GDhp 92, 122 = *muto* for *mukta*) P. = *mutta*
muktatame (*muktataye*)	*muktatame*	目多履 *muduolü* (PB: muwk-ta-mi)	*muktame*	"most liberated"	? but probably Skt.
same	*same*	娑履 *suolü* (PB: sa-mi)	*same*	"constant"	either
aviṣame (*asaṣame*, Tib. *aviśame*)	*aviṣame* (*asamasame*)	阿瑋娑履 *awei-suolü* (PB: ʔa-wuj'-sa-mi)	*avisame*	"equal"	either
samasame (*asamasame*)	*samasame*	桑履娑履 *sanglü-suolü* (PB: saŋ-mi-sa-mi)	*samasame*	"completely unequalled"[a]	either
jaye (*jaya, trāye*)	*jaye*	Missing			
kṣaye (*kṣaya, kṣeye, yakṣe*)	*kṣaye*	叉裔 *chayi* (PB: tʂʰai/ tʂʰɛ:-jiajʰ)	*kṣaye* or *chaye*[b]	"loss"	Pkt.
akṣaye (*akṣaya, kṣaye*)	*akṣaye*	阿叉裔 *achayi* (PB: ʔa- tʂʰai/ tʂʰɛ:-jiajʰ)	*akṣaye* or *a(c)chaye*	"undecaying"	Pkt.

24 Pulleyblank 1983: 100, footnote 13. The character is used for Skt. syllables *mi, me* and *vi* as well as the usual *ri* and *ḍi*. See also Coblin 1983: 155, # 43 where 履 is transcribed as *lji* from the *Baihu tongyi* 白虎通義 paranomastic glosses (first century CE).

akṣiṇe (akṣiṇa, Tib. akṣiṇi, akṣiṇo)	akṣiṇe		阿耆膩 aqini (PB: ʔa-*gji*-nriʰ)	a(g)ghiṇe or a(j)jhiṇe	"undestroyed"	Pkt.

a　Alternately, instead of *sam-asame*, this may be parsed as a distributive repetition (*sama-same*) with a meaning of "equal in every way".

b　It would be noted *-kṣ-* in G. and *-ch-* in other Prakrits. See the discussion.

The word *akṣaye* occurs later in the *dhāraṇī* where Kumārajīva transliterates it as *echaluo* 惡叉邏 (PB: ʔak-tʂʰaɨ /tʂʰɛː-la= *akṣara*), i.e., he captures the *-kṣ-* conjunct perfectly, as *-k-* is an allowed final in EMC. Why did he not do it here? With *kṣaye* and *akṣaye* he transcribes with a retroflex affricate sound tʂhai- and with *akṣiṇe* he uses a velar stop with a glide *-gji-*. Gāndhārī used the symbol ᛃ to represent Skt. *-kṣ-* and it had the value of a retroflex unaspirated fricative (*ṭṣ* or aspirate *ṭṣʻ*),[25] which is how Kumārajīva transcribed it, i.e. with a sound usually represented by *-(c)ch-* in MI (as in *chudaṃ* Gir, Rock Edict 9 < Skt. *kṣudra*, "small, trifling;" Pāli has both *khaṇa* and *chaṇa* as derived forms of Skt. *kṣaṇa* "moment"). This is also the sound (叉 = tʂʰaɨ/tʂʰɛː) which Kumārajīva uses in his *arapacana* syllabary to represent Skt. *-kṣ-*.[26] This suggests that his source document was in Gāndhārī. The Sanskrit word *akṣine* was not transcribed as a retroflex fricative but as a voiced aspirated stop, pronounced and/or written *aghiṇe* in the source document—we have examples of this in Pāli where *-kṣ-* > *-(c)ch-*, *-(j)jh-* as well as *-(g)gh-*; for example, Skt. *kṣāyati* > P. *jhāyati* and *ghāyati* ("it is consumed"). *Khīṇa* is the normal Pāli reflex of Skt. *kṣīṇa*, but *jhīṇa* also existed as a form, and possibly *ghīṇa* which is the same sound with [-back] > [+back].[27] It appears that the conjunct *kṣ-* could be pronounced several ways

25　For a full discussion see H. W. Bailey 1946: 770–775. See also GDhp §16. Most Prakrits used the notation *-(c)ch-* or *-(k)kh-* to represent Skt. *-kṣ-* (brackets indicate that the doubled consonants were often not shown in Pkt.). See also Hiän-lin Dschi 1944: 143, who makes the same point that Skt. *kṣa* changed in the west and northwest to *cha* and was represented in Ch. by *tscha*. See footnote 66 for further references. In G., *-(c)ch-* could also apparently be mistaken for a palatal fricative, as in GDhp 12-b which has *śotria* ("learned in the Veda") paralleling Dhp 294-b and P. Dhp 47-b *khattiye* ("warrior caste" < Skt. *kṣatriya*); here the western *ch-* sound (< *kṣ-*) has apparently been heard or interpreted as a *ś-* sound.

26　T.25.1509: 408c17 (*Dazhi du lun* 大智度論). Here he uses the same word as an example: *chaye* 叉耶 (PB: tʂʰaɨ/tʂʰɛː-jia) < Skt. *kṣaya*. See also Appendix 1.

27　Norman 1995: 283. See also Sheth 1963: 308, where Pkt. *ghitta* for Skt. *kṣipta* is found, so presumably *ghīṇa* < Skt. *kṣīṇa* is possible, if not attested.

in Kumārajīva's time, according to its dialectical origin. As the language of Buddhism became more and more Sanskritised—by Xuanzang's time, for example, in the seventh century—the conjunct was always captured by a two-character sound; but the fact that Kumārajīva sometimes transcribes it with a retroflex fricative alone, and sometimes with a stop followed by a fricative suggests that he was making a deliberate distinction according to his understanding of the word and its pronunciation.[28]

śānte (sānte, sānta)	śānte		羶帝 shandi (PB: ɕian-tɕjʰ)	śānte	"peace"	either
samite (śamite, śamiti, samite, śami, sami, sanī; Tib. śamito)	śame		睒履 shelü (PB: ɕia-mi)	śami	"effort"	either
dhāraṇī (dhāranī)	dhāraṇī		陀羅尼 tuoluoni (PB: da-la-nri)	dhāraṇī	"dhāraṇī"	either
ālokabhāṣe (ālokābhase, ālokābhāṣe, ālokabhāṣa, ālokāvabhāṣe)	aloka-bhāsi (āloka-bhāse)	āloka-bhaṣa	阿盧伽婆娑 aluqieposuo (PB: ʔa-lɔ-gia-ba-sa)	ālogabhāsa	"light of splendour" or "light and splendour"[a]	Pkt. -k- > -g-. See Aśokan edicts, Jaugaḍa Separate Edict 2 H, hidalogaṃ ca palalogaṃ ("this world and the other world") where loka > loga.[b]

pratyavekṣaṇi, (*apratya-vekṣaṇiprat yavekṣaṇe*; Tib. *pratyavekṣaṇī*)	*apratya-vekṣaṇi* (*pratya-vekṣaṇi*)	*pratya-vekṣaye*	簸蔗毘叉膩 *bozhepicha-ni* (PB: pa'-tɕiaʰ-bji-tṣʰaɨ/ tṣʰɛ:-ni)	*pac(c)a-vekṣaṇi* or *pac(c)a-ve(c)chaṇi*	"inspecting, looking at"	Pkt.
nidhiru (*nipibhi, nivita, nipiru, niviḍa, viviru, nidhiruciciru, nidhiruviniru, niniru, niniruviciru, ninirupiciru, nidhibhi*)	*viviru-niviṣṭe* (*viviru*)	*niviṣṭe* **rdiṣṭe **=missing.	禰毘剃 *niqie ti* (PB: nɛj'-bji-tʰɛjʰ)	*nivi(ṭ)the*	"penetrated"	Pkt.

a Dharmarakṣa translates this as *guancha guangyao* 觀察光耀 "observe the splendour".
b Hultzsch 1925 [1969]: 117; Bloch 1950: 141. Jaugaḍa is located in Eastern India in Kalinga. Another instance of *-k- > -g-* occurs in a Ch. translation of the Dhp 97 compound *akataññū* ("knowing the uncreated") which is translated in the Ch. version of the *Abhidharma-jñāna-prasthāna-śāstra* as 不往知 (*bù wǎng zhī*, "not knowing what is gone" or perhaps "knowing the not-yet frequented," i.e. the dominion of death), indicating that the Ch. redactor had the Pkt. form *agata-* in front of him/her, rather than *akata-*. See Minoru Hara 1992: 185.

5.1.1 pratyavekṣaṇi

The *-kṣ-* conjunct in *pratyavekṣaṇi* is treated the same as in *akṣaya* above, using a retroflex sibilant to express the sound. The *-ty-* had become palatalized and changed to *-cc-* as also occurred in Pāli (*pa(c)cavekkhana*) and Gāndhārī and other Prakrits.[29] Although Pāli and all the other Prakrits lost the *-r-* in *pr-*, Gāndhārī kept it (e.g. Skt. *pratyaya* > G. *prace'a* in GDhp 88-b), and in the NW Aśokan edicts of Sh and M it was sometimes retained and sometimes assimilated. Two and a half centuries later, when Sanskritisation was much more prevalent, this conjunct was regularly represented by two characters, e.g. in Xuanzang's transliterated version of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra*, where

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29 See Pischel §280 and Coblin 1983: 35: "It therefore seems safe to conclude that earlier dentals followed by *y* had become palatalized in the underlying language(s) of the BTD texts" (BTD = Buddhist Transcription Dialect).

the *pr-* in *prajñā* is represented by two characters, one for *p-* and one for *-r-*: *boluoe'rang* 鉢 囉誐 攮 (PB: pat-la-ŋa/nga-ɲɨaŋ).[30]

5.1.2   nidhiru

Prakrit (attested in Mylius 2005: 332) has *ṇiviṭṭhe;* the Central Asian MS has *niviṣṭe*. Final EMC *-s* had disappeared by this time in the north of China (Pulleyblank 1983: 87), so it is unclear whether Kumārajīva could have captured it with the tools at his disposal, although presumably he could have inserted a character starting with an *s-* to capture the sibilant sound. It does, however, appear that Kumārajīva had a Prakritic source document based on other evidence. The large number of variant forms of the Sanskrit word *nidhiru* shows that there was a lot of confusion concerning this form, which may be attributable in part to the alteration of *-dh-* >< *-v-* which is not uncommon in Prakrit. Norman lists several example of this in one of Buddhism's oldest texts, the *Sutta Nipāta* and it is also present in the Mahāyāna texts.[31] The Sanskrit letter *-r-* cannot be pronounced by the Chinese and is automatically changed to an *-l-* sound which also might further mutate to a retroflex *ṭ* or *ḍ* in the Prakrits, although the change from *-ṭ- >-ḍ- > -l-* is far more common.[32] The sounds *-ḍa-* and *-la-* are very similar and apparently were confused, judging by the many variants: *nivita, niviḍa*, etc.

abhyantaraniviṣṭe (*abhyantaranivíṭhe abhyantaraniviṣṭhe abhyantaraniviṣṭa amyantaraniviṣṭe abhyantaranirviṣṭa*	*abhyantaraniviṣṭe abhyantaraniviṣṭhe*	*abhyantara*	阿便哆邏襧履剃 *abianduoluonilü- ti* (PB: ʔa-bjianʰ-ta-laʰ-nɛj'-li'- tʰɛjʰ)ᵃ	*abhyantara-nivi(ṭ)the*	'inside, penetrated'	Pkt.

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30   Shu-Fen Chen 2004: 115. The character 誐 is neither in Pulleylank or Karlgren, so *nga* represents the author's (Chen's) transliteration, which is taken from William H. Baxter, "An Etymological Dictionary of Common Chinese Characters" (manuscript, 2000). Coblin (1994: 123, entry 0011) gives it the same *Qieyun* value (ngâ, based on the *fanqie* spellings in the *Guangyun*).

31   K. R. Norman 2006: 157. *vīra/dhīra, vaṃkaṃ/dhaṃkaṃ, avibhū/adhibhū*, etc. This also occurs in the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*, where in Chapter 9, 56a1, page 92, the manuscript reads *avodigbhāga*, and it has been changed in critical edition to *adhodigbhāga*. See Study Group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature 2006.

32   Pischel §§238, 240. In the Aśokan edicts, for example, we find Skt. *ḍuli* written as *duḍī* ("turtle") in Pillar Edict 5 B (Allāhābād-Kosam) and Skt. *mahilā* written as *mahiḍā* ("woman") in Gir RE 9 C. For other examples see Levman 2010: 66.

abhyantaravisiṣṭa *abhyantaraviciṣṭa* *abhyantarapiviṣṭe* *abhyantarapraviṣṭe* *abhyantaravivaṣṭe*)						

a The character 哆 is not found in PB or KG. The 反切 spelling given in the Taishō is 多可 or 都餓, which I transliterate as "ta", as both 多 and 都 have the EMC phonetic value of "ta" or "tɔ". However, Coblin identifies this character as a retroflex -ḍ- reconstructing EMC phonetic value "ḍje" (1983: 164, #210), based on Xu Shen's work (2nd century CE) in the *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字, an early Han Dynasty Chinese dictionary. If indeed the sound is voiced, this would be further evidence of a Prakritic influence (which tends to voice voiceless intervocalic consonants). In his later "Compendium," Coblin (1994: 119, sub entry 0001) gives 哆 as *Qieyun* tâ.

Hurvitz transcribes the second word in this compound as *niviṣṭe*, same as the immediately preceding *niviṣṭe*, but it is not clear why Kumārajīva spells it differently this time, using 履 (usually signifying the sound *li*, but also used for *vi* and others)[33] for the second syllable where before he used 毘 (-*bji*-; i.e. nɛj'-vi'-tʰɛjʰ vs. nɛj'-bji-tʰɛjʰ). It certainly suggests a difference in the source text spelling, which is not immediately apparent. Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta transcribe 儞鼻瑟 (nɛj'-bjih-ṣit)[34] which seems to be an attempt at transcribing *niviṣṭe*.

abhyantarapāriśuddhi (*abhyaṇtarapariśuddhi* -*pariśuddho, -pariśuddhi* -*pariśuddhī, -visuddhī,* -*pāraśuddhe, -pariśuddhe*; Tib. *atyantapāriśuddhi,* *atyantabheriśuddhi*)	*abhyantarapāri-* *śuddhi* (*anyantapāri-* *śuddhī*)		阿亶哆波隸輸地 *adanduobolishu di* (PB: ʔa-tan'-ta-pa-lɛjʰ-ɕuɤ̌-diʰ)	*at(t)anta-pāri-* *śu(d)dhi*	"perfect purification"	Pkt. -*ty-* > -(*t*)*t*-

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33   See footnote 30.

34   The character 儞 is neither in PB or KG; Coblin 1994: 219, entry 0307a, gives it a *Qieyun* value of nï and an ONWC value of *nii.

There are two traditions here, *abhyantarapāriśuddhi* ("complete purification inside") and *atyantapāriśuddhi* ("perfect purification"). Kumārajīva has followed the second one. Coblin's comment (see footnote 29 above) that dentals followed by a *-y-* were palatalized is not true in this instance, where the *-y-* has simply dropped off. It is clear that Kumārajīva could have represented the *-ty-* conjunct if he wished as *-t-* was a permitted final and he had characters like 關 and 延 (PB: ʔat, jian-), but did not use them. In Gāndhārī *-ty-* usually changes to a *-c-* (*kṛtya > kica* in GDhp 48-b), but also sometimes the *-y-* is just dropped as in this instance (e.g. GDhp 263-a *maṇuśa* < Skt. *mānuṣya*). Alternatively, the future tense in Gāndhārī regularly changes the *-sy-* > *-ṣ-,* as in GDhp 301-d *payeṣidi*, "he will collect"). This also happens in other Prakrits, for example, in AMg, where Skt. *pratyeka > patteẏa* (Pischel §80), and is seen in the Aśokan edicts, e.g. Rock Edict 5 B in Girnār (Gir) and Shāhbāzgaṛhī (Sh) where Skt. *kalyāna* > Gir *kalāṇassa* and Sh *kalaṇasa*.

mutkule (*utkūle*, *utkule*, *ukkule*, *ukūle*, *kule*, *ulūke*, *kukkula* *mukkule*; Tib. *utkulo*, *udkulo*, *mutkulo*)	*ukkule*		漚究隸 *oujiuli* (PB: ʔəw- kuwʰ- lɛjʰ) Skt. *utkūla?*	*u(k)kule*	"outcast"? "high"	Pkt. *-tk-* > *-(k)k-*
mutkule (*mutkūle*, *mutkule*, *mukkule*, *mukkula*, *mukūle*, *akule*)	*mukkule*		牟究隸 *moujiuli* (PB: muw- kuwʰ- lɛjʰ < Skt. *utkula*, Pkt. *ukkula* ("outcast")	*mu(k)kule*		Pkt. *tk-* > *-(k)k-*

If the *m-* in the Anlaut of the first *mutkule* is taken as the accusative singular of the previous word *pāriśuddhim*, then the *utkule mutkule* phrase would agree with the Chinese and the Tibetan (which has *mutkule mutkule*). The Chinese version accords with the Gilgit manuscript (and some of the Nepalese manuscripts) which preserve the older non-Sanskritised form (Pkt. *-kk-*), which was later Sanskritised to *-tk-*. The final *-ut* was permitted in EMC and Kumārajīva had access to logographs like 芴 (PB: mut-) which suggests that he did not have this reading in his source document. The meaning is not clear; *utkula* means "an outcaste" whereas *utkūla* means "sloping up, high". Long syllables were not

marked in Gāndhārī's Kharoṣṭhi script and *mukkule* could simply be a euphon-ic -*m*-, often introduced in the Prakrits as a substitute for Sanskrit *sandhi* (eu-phonic junction between words); that is *ukkule ukkule* > *ukkula ukkule* (where the final -*e* in *ukkule* > -*a* because of the following vowel *u*-) would exemplify the normal connection between two nouns, one of which ended in -*e* and the second beginning in another vowel (*u*-); however, with the loss of *sandhi* rules this could also become *ukkule-m-ukkule* (Geiger §73.2).

	vavatisaṃbhave					
araḍe (*arate, asaḍe*; Tib. *araṭe*)	*araḍe*		阿羅隸 *aluoli* (PB: ʔa-la-lɛjʰ)	*araḷe*	?	Pkt. -*ḍ*- > -*ḷ*-
paraḍe (*parate*; Tib. *paraṭe, maraṭe*)	*paraḍe*		波羅隸 *boluoli* (PB: pa-la-lɛjʰ)	*paraḷe*	?	Pkt. -*ḍ*- > -*ḷ*-

A common change from Sanskrit to Pkt. is -*ḍ*- > -*ḷ*- and we may be fairly certain that this is what has happened here as Kumārajīva had specified the character 茶 as the transliteration for *ḍa* in his translation of the *arapacana* syllabary, which character he could have used if his source document had *araḍe* or *paraḍe*, as in the Sanskrit. But he uses *li* 隸 instead, which he only uses to rep-resent the vocalic liquids or consonants. Change of *ḍ*- > -*ḷ*- is very common in P. (Geiger §35) and also occurs in the Aśokan edicts.[35] In the language of the Niya Documents (G), the letter -*ḍ*- was either pronounced as a voiced ret-roflex fricative (= *ẓ*), as an -*ṛ*-, or as an -*l*-, in the case of loan-words incorpo-rated into Khotanese Saka (Burrow 1937: §18) which may have been one of the languages Kumārajīva (a Kuchean) spoke, Kucha being on the north side of the Taklamakan Desert and Khotan on the south, presumably with constant interchange between the two caravan destinations. The meaning of *araḷe*/ *paraḷe* is uncertain. Dharmarakṣa seems to associate it with turning: *wuyou huixuan, suo zhouxian chu* 無有迴旋，所周旋處, but it is not clear where he gets this derivation. Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta's transliteration is similar to Kumārajīva: *anluodi boluodi* 頞邏第 鉢邏第 (PB: ʔat-laʰ-dɛjʼ, pat-laʰ-dɛjʼ), preserving the -*l*- sound.

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35   Skt. *eḍaka* > *eḷakā* ("ram") in Pillar Edict 5 C.

sukāṅkṣi (*sukākṣi, śukākṣi, śukākṣe, śru-kākṣī*)	*śukākṣi*	***kākṣi*	首迦差 *shoujiacha* (PB: ɕuw-kɨa-tʂʰaiʰ/tʂɛː ʰ)	*śukā/ăkṣi* or *śukā/ă(c)chi*[a]	"swift wish" < Skt. *śu*, "quickly" and *kāṅkṣā*, "wish"	Pkt.

a Before a double consonant the vowel in Prakrit would always be short (Geiger §5) although it had the value of two morae. This probably means that the form Kumārajīva had in front of him was *śukāchi*, or *śukacchi*, but not *śukācchi* with both double *-cch-* and long *-ā-*. In AMg this word appears as *-kaṃkhā* (P. *-kankhā*, both with short *-a-*) which shows the eastern change *-kṣ-* > *-(k)kh-*; however other words like AMg *kaccha* ("forest" < Skt. *kakṣa*) show the western form *-kṣ-* > *-(c)ch-*.

Here again Kumārajīva uses a single sound (the character 差, a retroflex fricative) to represent the conjunct *-kṣ-*. It is not clear why he did not use the character 叉 as in *akṣaya* above, but both appear to be almost identical phonetically (叉 = PB: tʂʰai/tʂʰɛː, 差 = PB: tʂʰaiʰ-tʂʰɛːʰ). The compound *śukā/ăkṣi* (*śukā/ă(c)chi*) could also come from *śuka-akṣi* ("eye of a parrot") which makes no sense in this context. It is much more likely that it derives from *śu-kāṅkṣā* ("swift wish"), where the *-ṅ-* was omitted in the source document, as a long, open syllable was automatically nasalized in Gāndhārī and the nasalization was often omitted in the written script (Fussman 1989: 478). Dharmarakṣa translates as *qi mu qingjing* 其目清淨 ("their eyes are pure") taking the compound as derived from Skt. *śukra-akṣi* which is not supported by any of the versions (which would have been spelt *sukkākṣi*, with a double *-kk-* to account for the conjunct), although Tibetan (and Kern's "K" MS) has *śrukākṣī*, which might point to *śukra-akṣi* ("pure eye") by metathesis (*śruka-akṣi*).

	yogakṣeme					
asamasame	*asamasame*		阿三[摩]磨三履 *a-san[mo]mosanlü* (PB: ʔa-sam[ma]ma-sam-mi)	*asama-same*	"equal to the unequalled"[a]	Pkt. or Skt.
buddhavilokite	*buddhavilokite*	*buddhavilo***	佛[陀]駄毘吉利褻帝 *fo[tuo]tuopi jili-zhidi* (PB: but-[da] da-bji-kjit-liʰ-?-tɛjʰ)	*buddha-vikliṣṭe*	"Buddha destroyed"	Pkt. or Skt.

a So translated by Dharmarakṣa as *deng wu suo deng* 等無所等.

The character *zhi* 裻 is not found in PB or KG. Hurvitz transliterates as *buddhavikliṣṭe*, and analagous characters with the same radical (製) suggest a tɕiajʰ pronunciation which would almost fit (although a palatal sibilant instead of a retroflex one); however, the meaning does not seem apt for a *dhāraṇī*, unless we are to take this in a Chan sense, i.e. positively (but of course this would be an anachronism). The clear Sanskrit meaning (*buddhavilokite*, "Buddha seen") is more appropriate. Dharmarakṣa renders *jue yi yuedu* 覺已越度, "awakening to transcendence" so it is not clear what he was translating, but certainly not *vikliṣṭe*. Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta have *bodibiluji* (?) 勃地鼻盧吉,[36] (PB: bət-diʰ-bjiʰ-lɔ-kjit-[?]) transcribing *bodhi-vilokite* ("enlightenment seen"). The compound *buddhavikliṣṭe* is an example of Kumārajīva using two characters to capture the *-kl-* conjunct (吉利) which suggests that the word being transcribed is either Sanskrit or Prakrit, where it would have been written with an epenthetic *-i-*, viz., *-vikiliṭhe* (G.) or *vikiliṣṭe* (GDhp 60, with *-ṭha-* = *-ṣṭa-*) and *-vikiliṭṭhe* in Pāli and the Prakrits.

dharmaparīkṣite (*dharmaparikṣite*)	*dharma-parīkṣite*		達[摩]磨波利差帝 *da* [*mo*]*mobo-lichadi* (PB: dat- mɔ/ma-pa-liʰ-tʂʰaiʰ/tʂhɛːʰ-tɛjʰ). Note P. *dhamma* vs. Skt. *dharma*.ᵃ	*dhammaparikṣite* or *dhammapari-*(*c*)*chite*	"the dharma investigated"	Pkt.
saṃghanirghoṣaṇi (*saṅghanirghosaṇi saṃghanighasani saṃghanighaṣaṇi saṃghanisaṃghani saṃghaniḥsaṃgha-sani*)	*saṃghanir-ghoṣaṇi*	***ghanir-ghātani*	僧伽涅瞿沙禰 *sengjianiequshani* (PB:sən-gia-nɛt-guə- ʂai/ʂɛː-nɛj')	*saṃghanirghoṣaṇi*	"The sound of the assembly" "the silence of the assembly"ᵇ	Skt.
nirghoṇi (*nirghoṇi, nirghonti, nirghoṣaṇī, nirghoṣaṇi*)	*nirghoṣaṇi*	*saṃghani*				

a   Per Coblin 1983: 248, no. 173, *tanmo* 曇摩 (PB: dam/dəm-ma) was the eastern Han transcription of *dharma*, which Kumārajīva inherited.

b   Translated by Dharmarakṣa as [*Ling*]*hezhong wuyin* [令]合眾無音 "the silence of the Saṅgha".

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36   This is the closest character I could find to what is shown in the *Taishō*, notated as [羊*(句-口+瓦)]. However this character is missing the 句-口, and I don't know what the phonetic value might be (or the *pinyin*).

The *kṣ-* conjunct in Skt. *dharmaparīkṣite* is rendered as a single retroflex fricative (差) as in the previous compound *śukā/ă(c)chi*. It appears that *saṃghanirghoṣaṇi* was in the source document, as Kumārajīva has taken pains to translate the actual *-rgha-* conjunct, using an EMC character with final *-t*. This is a standard method of indicating an *-r-* with *sarva* (as he does below) and other common words (e.g. 薩婆, PB *sat-ba* < Skt. *sarva*), so presumably he had a source text with the conjunct *-rgh-* which indicates a Skt. or Sanskritised text. The word *nirghoṣaṇi* can either mean "noisy" or "without noise" (< Skt. *nirghoṣa*, "noisy" or "silent"). However as the consonant *-r- > Ø* in most Prakrits (but not always in Gāndhārī),[37] this compound could also have a Prakrit source. Note that the word *saṃgha* occurs without change in some Prakrits (e.g. P. *saṅgha*, AMg *saṃgha*, Aśokan Minor Rock Edict I, D, *saṃghe*), and in GDhp as *saǧa*, where, per Brough, the letter *-ǧ-* represents the sound of *-ng-* (GDhp 8, verse 102-d).

bhayābhayaviśodhani (*bhayābhayaviśodhanī bhayābhayadhanī, bhayaśodhani*, Tib. *bhayābhayaśodhani*)	bhayābhaya-viśodhani	bhāṣyābhāṣya-śoddhī; -śodhani	婆舍婆舍輸地 *posheposheshudi* (PB: pa-ɕia'-pa-ɕia'- ɕuə-diʰ)	bhāṣyā-bhāṣya-śodhi[a]	"pure speaking"?	Skt.

a   Karashima (1992: 360) transliterates as EMC bwâ-śja-bwâ-śja-śju di.

The Chinese spells out a word closest to the Central Asian manuscript; however the character 舍 is usually used by Kumārajīva to represent the palatal *ś*, not the retroflex *ṣ* as Karashima suggests (e.g. in the mantra of chapter 28 where 舍 represents the palatal *-ś-* in *daṇḍakuśale*). This would give us **bhaśyābhaśyaśodhi* which doesn't make sense; it is probably just an alternate form as we find both *bhaśadi*, *bhaṣati* and *bhaṣadi* used in Gāndhārī.[38] Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta transliterate *bayebayeshudani* 跋耶跋夜 輸達泥 (PB: bat-jia-bat-jiaʰ-ɕuə-dat-nɛjʰ; KG: puâ-ịa-puâ-ịa) which seems

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37   See discussion below in *dhāraṇī* #6, s.v. *saṃghanirghātani*, p. 179.

38   See *Dictionary of Gāndhāri* s.v. *bhaśadi* (British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 18 available at gandhari.org/a_manuscript.php?catid=CKM0020, accessed Nov. 2014), *bhaṣati* (Bhajur Fragment 2 available at gandhari.org/a_manuscript.php?catid =CKM0265, accessed Nov. 2014) and *bhaṣadi* (GDhp 114-b, 201-d, 202-d).

to transliterate *bhaya*. Dharmarakṣa has "What one states is very clear; be contented".[39] The *-ṣy-* or *-śy-* conjunct suggests that this part of the source document was written in Sanskrit, as all the Prakrits would show *-ṣy-* > *-ś/ṣ/s-* assimilation.

mantre (*mantra*)	*mantre*	*mantra; maṃtre*	曼哆邏 *manduo-luo* (PB: muanʰ-ta-laʰ) P. *manta* < Skt. *mantra*	*mantra*	"mystical verse, sacred formula"	Skt.

In this word Kumārajīva again makes use of what Xuanzang was later to name *erhe yin* 二合音, or "two combined sounds" to represent a conjunct consonant. This might also be the addition of an epenthetic vowel (i.e. *mantara) which is quite common in the eastern Prakrits (e.g. Pkt. *ariya* < Skt. *ārya*, "noble"; Pkt. *radaṇa* < Skt. *ratna*, "jewel"), however the MI word *mantara or *mandara (= German *Mandarin*)[40] is not attested. Since there is a Prakrit form of this word (Pāli *manta*), we can assume that Kumārajīva was at pains to capture the full three-consonant conjunct which presumably he had before him.

mantrākṣayate (*maṃtrākṣaye*, *mantrākṣaye*, *mantrākṣare*; Tib. *mantrakṣayate*)	*mantrākṣaye*	*maṃtrākṣayate mantrakṣayā*	曼哆邏又夜多 *manduo-luochayeduo* (PB: muanʰ-ta-laʰ- tṣhaɨ/ tṣhɛ:-jiaʰ-ta)	*mantrākṣayata* or *mantrā(c)chayata*	"mantras! rule!"	Skt. (*mantra*) Pkt. (*-kṣa-yata*)

The Chinese compound clearly ends in *-ta,* not *-te* like most of the Sanskrit versions and is "correct Sanskrit" for "mantras" (voc. pl.) "rule!" (2nd pers. pl. imperative). Dharmarakṣa has *jin chu jie xian* 盡除節限, which Karashima

39   T.9.263: 130a18–19: *suoshuo* [*xian*] *jieming er huai zhi zu* 所說[鮮]解明而懷止足.

40   Mayrhofer 1963: vol. 3, 578. The word Indara for Indra appears in the Mitanni-Hittite treaty, c. 1350 BCE, in Norman 1995: 1, but this is probably due to the cuneiform writing system.

correlates with this section and translates as "one clears away segments and limits completely". He suggests that Dharmarakṣa's source document read *matra* or *mātra* ("measure, size") and *-nt- > -t-* in the Prakritic form that Dharmarakṣa had before him (1992: 236–37). This seems unlikely as nasals before stops are usually retained in Prakrit (Pischel §272), and the word *matra* occurs in the GDhp 17-b, 164-c, representing both its masculine (*mātra*) and feminine (*mātrā*) forms. The Prakrit for *mantra* would be closer to the P. *manta*. Dharmarakṣa seems to be saying that the use of mantras "eliminates limitations", paraphrasing *mantrākṣayata* in terms of the result, which is typical of his translation approach to this *dhāraṇī*. The second word in the compound (*-kṣayata*) is treated by Kumārajīva the same as *kṣaye* above, using the retroflex fricative for the Sanskrit conjunct which is the sound it has in Gāndhārī and other Prakrits. Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta translate *mandaluoqiye* 曼怛邏 憩夜, (PB: muanʰ-tat-la-kʰiajʰ-jiaʰ) which sounds like an alternate Prakrit form (*-kkhaya or -khyaya*) for *-kṣaya*, found in Pāli and AMg, where *kṣ- > (k)kh-*.

| *rute* (*uta, ta*) | *rute* | *rute* | [卸]郵樓哆 [*xie*] *youlouduo* (PB: [ziaʰ] wuw-ləw-ta) | *uruta* | ? | either |
| *rutekauśalye* (*rutakauśalya, krutakauśilye;* Tib. *rutakauśale*) | *rutekauśalye* | *rudakauśalyā* (*mahāruta-kauśalye*) | [卸]郵樓[多]哆憍舍 略 [*xie*]*youlou* [*duo*] *duojiaoshelüe* (PB: [ziaʰ]wuw-ləw-ta-kiaw-ɕia'- liak) | *urutakauśalya* | ? | Skt. |

While *rute* and *rute kauśalya* have a clear meaning ("sound" and "sound and well-being"), the addition of the prefix *u-* is a puzzle, not present in any of the non-Chinese reflexes. It might be a Prakrit form of *ava-*,[41] but *avaruta* is not attested either. Notice that the Central Asian reflex has a voiced intervocalic *-d-*, while all the other forms, including the Chinese have a voiceless dental (if indeed *duo* 哆 represents such, which is not clear; see page 157, note a).

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41   See von Hinüber 2001 §139. The character 卸 may simply represent a strong initial *r-*, per Prof. Max Deeg (private communication).

akṣaye (*akṣaṣe, akṣaya*)	*akṣaya*	*akṣaye*	惡叉邏 *echaluo* (PB: ʔak- tʂʰaɨ/tʂʰɛ:-la)[a]	*akṣara*	"imperishable" or "syllable"	Skt.

a   Karashima (1992: 360) transliterates as EMC ʔâk tʂha lâ (*akṣara*).

Again Kumārajīva's transliteration stands apart from the Sanskrit reflexes, all of which have a different word, which has the same sense ("undecaying") as one of the meanings of *akṣara*. We have seen above that Kumārajīva transcribed *akṣaye* as *achayi* 阿叉裔, (PB: ʔa- tʂhaɨ/tʂhɛ:-jiajʰ), omitting the *-k-* in the conjunct and treating it as one retroflex fricative sound; yet here he chooses to treat it as a conjunct, so it seems self-evident that he is trying to spell out the Sanskrit word *akṣara*. The Prakrit form of this word is *akkhara* (P. and AMg), and there was probably a form **acchara*, although not attested (as AMg *accha* < Skt. *akṣa*, "eye" is attested).

akṣayavanatāye (*akṣayavanatāya, akṣayavanatāyā, akṣayevatāyaiva;* Tib. *akṣavartāyā, akṣavartānatāya, akṣavarhāyā*)	*akṣayavanatāya* (*akṣavanatāya*)	***tāya*	惡叉冶多冶 *echayeduoye* (PB: ʔak- tʂʰaɨ/ tʂʰɛ:-jia'-ta-jia')	*akṣayatāya*	?	Skt.

All the Sanskrit reflexes repeat the first word (*akṣaye-*) in the next compound (i.e. *akṣaye akṣayavanatāye*); however Kumārajīva changes *akṣara* to *akṣaya* (*akṣayataya* or *akṣayatāya*), while still preserving the dual consonants in the Skt. *-kṣ-* conjunct. Hurvitz omits this word in his transliteration (2009: 296). The compound may be an oblique form of the Prakrit *akṣaya-tā* ending ("condition of, state of imperishability").

vakkule (*vakule, vakkula, vatkule, vaktula, vakkusa, valoḍa valoka, valota valoka*; Tib *valorā*)						
valoḍa (*valoka, vale, valot, valota*)	*balo*	*abale*	阿婆盧 *apolu* (PB: ʔa -ba-lɔ)[a]	*avala*	"weak"	Pkt. *-b-* > *-v-*[b]
amanyanatāye (*amanyanatāya, amanyanatāyā, amanyanatāyai, amanyatāye, amanyatāya, amanyavanatāye, amanyavanatāyai*)	*amanya-natāya*	*amanya-natāya*	阿摩若([任]荏 蔗反)那多夜 *amaruonaduoye* (PB: ʔa-ma-ɲiak-na'-ta- jia[h])	*amanya-natāya*	?	either
svāha						

a   Karashima (1992: 360) transliterates as EMC ʔâ bwâ lwo (*abalo*).
b   For *-p-*/*-b-* > *-v-* see Pischel §§199, 201; GDhp 34. See note on character 婆 below, under *dhāraṇī* # 6.

Hurvitz transcribed 阿婆盧 as *avaru* with a footnote saying that the Sanskrit has nothing to correspond to this (296, 364), but he was unaware of the Central Asian version, which the Chinese matches, with the usual Prakrit change of *-b-* > *-v-*. Dharmarakṣa has something similar: *Yong wuli shi* 永無力勢, "one forever lacks strength" (Karashima 1992: 237). The last compound *amanyanatāya* recapitulates the beginning (*anye manye*) in terms of sonic echo, if not in meaning. The member of the compound *-nata*, appears to be the past participle of √*nam* ("to bow"), i.e. *nata*, in the dative case, which is often used as an infinitive form; if one takes *manya-* as Sanskrit "appearing as, thinking oneself to be" then one may construe the meaning of the compond *a-manya-natāya*, as "homage to the non-appearance [of an I]", but this is fanciful at best, although Dharmarakṣa has something similar: *Wu suo sinian* 無所思念, "lack of thought". Better to take it as a recapitulatory sonic echo of the *dhāraṇī* beginning (*anye manye*).

In this first *dhāraṇī* we have sixteen forms that could derive from either a Prakrit or Sanskrit source document, sixteen that derive from Prakrit and eleven from Sanskrit.

5.2 *Dhārāṇi #2, Spoken by Pradānaśūra Yongshi* 勇施

jvale (jvāle)	jvale	jvale	[座]痤隸 [zuo]cuoli (PB: [dzwaʰ]-dzwa-lɛjʰ)	jale or jvale	"flame"	Pkt.
mahājvale (mahājvāle)	mahājvale	ma**l**	摩訶痤隸 mohecuoli (PB: ma-xa-dzwa- lɛjʰ)	mahājale or mahājvale	"great flame"	Pkt.

The difficulty here is determining what sound the character 座 represents, a single letter *j-* or a conjunct *jv-*. The *fanqie* (shi luo 誓螺, PB: dziajʰ-lwa) suggests a single letter pronounced "dza" which is similar to Kumārajīva's transliteration of *ja* in the *arapacana* alphabet, i.e. 闍 (= PB: dzia).[42] KG transliterates 痤 as dz'uâ. Tsukamoto suggests Kumārajīva's transliteration = *jale* which is the Prakrit form of this word (e.g. AMg *jala;* Tsukamoto 1978: 19; Mylius 2003: 286). The character 痤 (PB: dzwa) does suggest a slight labialization of the affricate dz-; however, since Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta transliterate as *shepoli* 涉 皤犁 (PB dzip-ba-li), i.e. using two characters to capture the *jv-* in Sanskrit, it appears that they thought Kumārajīva's transliteration was Prakrit and Sanskritised it.

ukke (utke, ukte; Tib. ugge)	ukke	u**k**	郁枳 yuzhi (PB: ʔuwk-tɕiǎ/tɕi'; KG: i̯uk-tśiẹ)	ukśe	?	?
tukke (bhukke, tukte, gukke)						
mukke (mukaye)	mukke		目枳 muzhi (PB: muwk-tɕiǎ/tɕi')	mukśe	?mukta "liberated"	?

42   T.25.1509: 408c10 (*Dazhi du lun* 大智度論).

This is a puzzle. As Brough points out, "the regular correspondence of the three Indian [i.e. Gāndhārī] sibilants with the Chinese is striking", yet here we have a palatal *-ś-* with a velar *k-* which never happens in Sanskrit or any of the Prakrits that I am aware (although in the Aśokan edicts, the Kālsī rock edicts use the sibilants *ṣ* and *ś* where they are "phonetically and etymologically impossible").[43] This of course might be a simple interchange of *-ś-* for *-ṣ-*, but Kumārajīva has not shown any "sloppiness" in transliterating before. If he was trying to capture a *kṣ* sound in the source dialect, why didn't he use the character 叉 (PB: tṣʰaɨ/ tṣʰɛː), which he used in *kṣaye* and *akṣaye* above? Karashima (1992: 237) suggests a derivation of *ukke* from Sanskrit *ulkā* ("a meteor, fire-brand, torch"). The rendition by Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta is clearly Pkt. 郁雞目雞, *yujimuji* (PB: ʔuwk-kɛj muwk-kɛj) with a possible derivation < Skt. *mukta/mukti*. A possible explanation for Kumārajīva is that he was transcribing from a Prakrit where (*m*)*ukta* was pronounced (*m*)*ukδa* or (*m*)*ukza* (*i.e.* as a fricative, as is the case in Gāndhārī, per GDhp 43a), the sound of which he tried to capture with this character (枳).

aḍe (*atrā, ata, aḍā*)	*aḍe*	*aṭe*	阿隸 *ali* (PB: ʔa-lɛjʰ)[a]	*aḷe*	?	Pkt. *-ḍ- > -ḷ-*
aḍāvati (Tib: *aḍavati, aṭāvati*)	*aḍāvati*	*aṭāvatī*	阿羅婆第 *aluopo dì* (PB: ʔa-la-ba-dɛj')[b]	*aḷavade*	?	Pkt. *d- > -ḷ- -t- > -d-*

a Karashima 1992: 360, transliterates as EMC ʔa-liei which he suggests represents **aḷe* or **ale < aḍe*.

b Karashima 1992: 360 transliterates as EMC ʔâ-lâ -bwâ-diei, representing **aḷāvadi* or **alāvadi*.

See discussion under *araḍe parade* above. The meaning is not clear. Tsukamoto suggests three possible derivations from *ada* ("eating"), *ādi* ("beginning") and from the root √*aṭ* ("wander about"), but none of these are convincing, because of lack of context (1978: 20). Dharmarakṣa's "translation" of this section appears to be *shunlai* [*dang*] *fuzhang* 順來[當]富章 meaning of which is unclear to me ("Follow, come and accept the chapter")? Karashima (1992: 237) correlates 順來 ("one comes obediently") with *aḍe* < Skt. √*aṭ* ("to wander about") and 富章 ("a piece of writing about wealth") with *aḍāvati* < Skt. *āḍhya-pāda*, but the derivation of the latter is questionable.

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43 Hultzsch 1925 [1969]: lxxii. Could *mukśe* represent a Tocharian influence (i.e. from Kumārajīva's native language), where velars > palatals before *i* or *e* (Adams 1988: 40–43)? Here *muk-ke > muk-śe?* I thank Prof. Alexei Kochetov for this suggestion.

nṛtye (nṛtye, nṛtya, nṛtyo, nṛdye, nṛtyati; Tib *tṛtye)*	*nṛṭṭe*	*nṛte*	涅隷[剃]第 *nieli[ti]di* (PB: nɛt-lɛjʰ-[tʰɛjʰ]-dɛjʰ)	*nṛde*	"dance"	mixture
nṛtyāvati (nṛtyavati, nityāvati, nityāvati, nityavati, nṛdyāvati, tiṭāvati; Tib *tṛtyavati)*	*nṛṭṭāvati*	*nṛṭāva***	涅隷多婆第 *nieliduopodi* (PB: nɛt- lɛjʰ-ta-po-dɛjʰ)	*nṛtavade*	"characterized by dancing"	mixture

While the preservation of the vocalic *-ṛ-* indicates a Sanskrit derivation (as none of the Prakrits kept the vocalic *-ṛ-*), the voicing of the voiceless dental, *-t- > -d-* in *-vade*, is a definite Prakrit feature. Dharmarakṣa translates as *yuexi xinran* 悅喜欣然 ("happy, joyful"), which seems like a gloss on *nṛde* in its meaning "dance" (< Skt. *nṛtta*).

iṭṭini (iṭini)	*iṭṭini*		伊緻[抳]柅 *yizhi[ni]ni* (PB: ʔji-driʰ-ni)[a]	*i(ṭ)ṭini*	?	probably Pkt.
viṭṭini (viṭini; Tib. *viṭṭi)*	*viṭṭini*		韋緻[抳]柅 *weizhi[ni]ni* (PB: wuj-driʰ-ni)	*vi(ṭ)ṭini*	?	probably Pkt.
ciṭṭini (ciṭini, niṭṭini)	*ciṭṭini* (*bhiṭṭini, vittāni*)	*ciṭini*	旨緻[抳]柅 *zhizhi[ni]ni* (PB: tɕi'-driʰ-no)	*ci(ṭ)ṭini*	?	probably Pkt.

a   Neither of the characters 抳 or 柅 are in PB or KG so I have used the *fanqie* (女氏反) for the transliteration. According to the *Guangyun,* its sound is *ni.*

The double retroflex *-ṭṭ(h)-* is a common Prakrit form derived from Skt. *-ṣṭ(h)-* which is how Karashima derives it;[44] there are, however lots of native Sanskrit words with the double retroflex consonants (e.g. *paṭṭa* = "cloth"; *kuṭṭa* = "breaking, bruising", etc.), so the evidence is not conclusive as to the source dialect. The meaning, as interpreted by Dharmarakṣa, is *zhu ci li zhi yong* [*zhu*]*zuo*

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44   See Pischel §§303–304. Karashima 1992: 237 derives *-ṣṭh- > -ṭṭh- > -ṭṭ-*

住此立制永[住]作 ("remains here, establishes, rules, and always acts"); he also takes the words as derived from Skt. √*sthā* (Karashima 1992: 237).

nṛtyani (*nṛtyini, nṛṭṭini, nṛṭṭini nṛtye, nṛtini, nṛṭṭi, nṛṭinṛ, ṭṛṭinṛ, nṛṭitṛ ṭṛṣṭitṛ, kuṭṭini*)	*nṛṭṭini*	*nṛṭini*	涅隷墀[扼]柅 *nielichi[ni]ni* (PB: nɛt-lɛjʰ-dri-ni)	*nṛ(ṭ)ṭini*	?	Pkt. -*ty*-> -*t*- or -(*ṭ*)*ṭ*-
nṛtyāvati (*nṛtyavati, vṛtyaviti, ṭṛtyāvati, kuṭṭini*)	*nṛṭṭāvati*	*nṛtyāvati*	涅[隷]犁墀婆底 *nie[li]lichipodi* (PB: nɛt-[lɛjʰ] lɛj- dri-ba-tɛj')	*nṛ(ṭ)ṭivate*	?	Pkt. *ty*-> -*t*- or -(*ṭ*)*ṭ*-
Svāha						

The "dri" sound is used by Kumārajīva for the retroflex -*ṭ*-,[45] as was the case with the previous entry (伊緻柅 = *iṭṭini*). The last word 涅[隷]犁墀婆底 (*nṛṭṭivate*) differs from the previous treatment 涅隷多婆第 (*nṛtavade*) by only two characters, 多 = ta and 第 = dɛjʰ, suggesting that Kumārajīva's source had a change here, as we have noted, although Hurvitz (2009: 296) transcribes them the same. The vocalic -*ṛ*-, as mentioned above, points to a Sanskrit original, but von Hinüber suggests this is a Sanskritisation.[46] The meaning seems to be related to Skt. √*nṛt* ("to dance"), however Dharmarakṣa translates *wuhewuji* 無合無集 ("no joining, no gathering").

In *Dhāraṇī* #2 most of the words have a Prakritic source. Ten are Prakritic in origin (including three "probably"), two are questionable and two show elements of both Prakrit and Sanskrit.

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45   The character 緻 may also designate a retroflex -*ḍ*-, but I have been unable to find another example where Kumārajīva uses it as such; in his *arapacana* syllabary he uses 荼 (PB: dɔ) for retroflex -*ḍ*- and 吒 (PB: traiʰ/trɛːʰ) for retroflex -*ṭ*-

46   Quoted in Pulleyblank (1983: 101): "[...] they should be derived from an original text having *naṭ*-, the -*ṛ*- being due to a part-Sanskritisation [...]."

5.3 *Dhāraṇī #3 by Vaiśravaṇa* 毘沙門 (*Pishamen*)

aṭṭe (*aṭṭa, aṭṭo*)	*aṭṭe*		阿[利 or 犁]梨 *a*[*li*]*li* (PB: ʔa-li/lih)	*aḷe*	?		Pkt. *-ṭ-* > *-ḷ-*
taṭṭe (*bhaṭṭe, bhaṭṭa, taṭṭe*)	*vaṭṭe*						
naṭṭe (*naṭṭa, naṭṭo*)	*naṭṭe*		那[利 or 犁]梨 *na*[*li*]*li* (PB: na'-li/lih)	*naḷe*	?		Pkt. *-ṭ-* > *-ḷ-*
vanaṭṭe (*nanaṭṭe, tunaṭṭe, tunaṭṭo, vanaṭṭe, vanatta, naṭṭe*; Tib. *tanaṭṭe*)	*nunaṭṭe* (*kunaṭṭe*)		[甈]那 [利 or 犁]梨?[a] [*nou*] *na*[*li*]*li* (PB: nəu -na'-li/lih)	*nunaḷe*	?		Pkt. *-ṭ-* > *-ḷ-*
anaḍe (Tib. *anate, anaṭo*)	*anaḍo*		阿那盧 *a'nalu* (PB: ʔa-na'-lɔ)[b]	*anaḷo*	?		Pkt. *-ḍ-* > *-ḷ-*
nāḍi (*nāḍini* Tib. *nāti, nāṭi*)	*nāḍi*		那履 *nalü* (PB: na'-li')	*nāḷi*	"vein, reed" (AMg, *ṇala*)		Pkt. *-ḍ-* > *-ḷ-*
kunaḍi (*kunāḍi, kuṭani*; Tib. *kunaṭi*)	*kunāḍi*		拘那履 *ju'nalü* (PB:kuə-na'-li')[c]	*kunaḷi*	?		Pkt. *-ḍ-* > *-ḷ-*
svāha							

a The first character is not in PB or KG, but it is found in Coblin (1994: 264), sub-entry 0472, and he transliterates it as "probable *Qieyun* nəu," and ONWC *nou. He notes that it is fairly common in ONWC texts.

b Karashima 1992: 238: < *anaḷo* or *analo*, EMC ʔâ-nâ-lwo = Dharmarakṣa *wuliang* 無量 ("measureless").

c Karashima (1992: 360) transliterates as ʔâ lji … nâ lji: kju nâ lji; he also reconstructs an original *-ḷ-* sound: *aḷe … naḷi kunaḷi* or *ale … nali kunali*.

All the above words show a change from retroflex dental to a retroflex *-ḷ-* which is typical of the Prakrits (Pischel §§238, 240; Geiger §35), so one may assume the Sanskrit forms have been Sanskritised at a later date and Kumārajīva's source document represents an earlier iteration with the Prakrit *-ḷ-*. This change also occurs in Gāndhārī where, in the language of the Kharoṣṭhi documents, *-ṭ-* and *-ḍ-* become *-ḍ-* (aspirant or fricative).[47] Brough represents this sound as [δ] or [z] or as *-r-* which the Chinese translators would have heard as *-l-* (GDhp 42,

47 Burrow 1937 §18. At present in the Northwest intervocalic *ḍ* is represented by *r* which may have been the ancient pronunciation (which the Ch. would have heard as *ḷ*). Also, in loanwords from Khotan, the *ṭ* or *ḍ* usually appear with *l*.

42a, 42b). This *dhāraṇī* is translated cryptically by Dharmarakṣa as "wealth is tamed, game is without game, without measure (is) without wealth—how (can there be) wealth?"[48] All six words in *dhāraṇī* #3 point to a Prakrit source document.

5.4   *Dhāraṇī #4 by Virūḍhaka* 持國天王 (*Chiguo tianwang*)

agaṇe (Tib *agaṇo*)	*agaṇe*	*agaṇe*	阿伽禰 *ajiami* (PB: ʔa-gɨa-nɛj')	*agaṇe*	"without a multitude"	either
gaṇe (*gaṇa*; Tib. *gaṇo*)	*gaṇe*	*gaṇe*	伽禰 *jiami* (PB: gɨa-nɛj')	*gaṇe*	"flock, troop, multitude"	either
gauri (*gori*)	*ghori*	*gori* (*ghori*)	瞿利 *quli* (PB: guə̌-li^h)	*gori*	"shining, brilliant" (< Skt. *gaura*) or "frightful, awful" (< Skt. *ghora*)	either; Pkt. -*au*- > -*o*-
gandhāri (*gandhāli*, *kālaci*; Tib. *gandhari*)	*gāndhāri*	*gāndhāri*; *gandhāri*	乾陀利 *gantuoli* (PB: kan-da-li^h)	*kan-dhāri*	name of a people < Skt. *Gāndhāri*	Pkt. -*g*- > -*k*-

Both PB and KG transliterate 乾 with a voiceless velar stop *k*-, suggesting *kandhāri* in the source document, or at least an interpretation of the initial *g*- as voiceless. This may be due to the fact that the Kuchean language (Kumārajīva's native language) "ignored the difference between voiced and voiceless consonants",[49] but this fact is inconsistent with the fairly consistent practice of changing voiceless stops > voiced stops as noted above. Although Brough mentions that the -*nd*- conjunct usually changes to -*nn*- (written -*n*-, as in Skt. *vindati* > G. *vinadi*), in the Aśokan inscriptions we also find -*ndh*- >

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48   T.9.263:130b09: 富有調戲無戲，無量無富何富; Karashima (1992: 238) translates: "One richly has (Ridicule. No ridicule) [...] No riches. What is richness?" However, this does not seem to be a sentence, but simply a group of words mirroring the *dhāraṇī*. I thank Prof. Max Deeg for the suggested translation above.

49   Pelliot 1914: 402, footnote 1, and Burrow (1937: viii), who says the same thing about the language of the Niya Documents (which he terms "Krorainic", named after the capital of the kingdom; "it was devoid of voiced stops"). Shan Shan was on the south side of the Karim basin in NW China and Kucha on the north side (within 200 kms of each other).

-dh- and also retained, as in the Northwestern Rock Edicts: RE 5 J Mānsehrā has *gadharana* and Shāhbāzgaṛhī has *gaṃdha-ranaṃ* for the name of the Gandhāran peoples. In the Prakrits in general a nasal before a stop is usually retained (Pischel §272), but in the language of the Kharoṣṭhi documents, loss or assimilation of the nasal before a stop is sporadic, as in the case of the Aśokan edicts.[50]

caṇḍali (*caṇḍari*; Tib. *caṇḍali*)	*caṇḍali*	*caṇḍāli*	(栴)旃陀利 (*zhan*)*zhantuoli* (PB: tɕian-da-li^h)	*caṇḍāli*	proper name	either
mātaṅgi (*mātagi*; Tib. *mātiṅga*)	*mātaṅgi*	*mātaṅgi*	摩蹬耆 *madengqi* (PB: ma-dəŋ-gji)^a	*mādaṅgi*	proper name	Pkt. *-t-* > *-d-*
pukkasi (*pukkaśi, pokkasi, pākkasi, puśkasi*)	*pukkasi*	*pukkase*	Omitted		"indigo plant"	either
saṃkule (*jaṅguli*; Tib. *kule*)	*saṃkule*	*jā(ṃ)gu(li)*^b	常求利 *changqiuli* (PB:dziaŋ-guw-li^h)^c	*jaṅguli*	"snake charmer"	either
vrūsali (*vrūsala, vrūsasi, vrūsasili, vrūṇasi, vrūhi, vrūla, kuśali vrūhi, dula*; Tib. *vrusale, vrūṣalī*)	*bhrūsali* (*vrūsali*)		浮樓莎[抳]柅 *fulousuo*[*ni*]*ni* (PB: buw-ləw-swa-ni)	*vrūsuni*	?	either

a   Pulleyblank gives the phonetics of 蹬 as deŋ^h in 1983: 88. The character is not in PB.
b   Reconstructed by Karashima 1992: 238.
c   Karashima (ibid.: 360): EMC: zjang gjəu lji-.

Although *-r-* is usually assimlated in the Prakrits (e.g. Skt. *vrajati* > P. *vajati*), it is not always assimilated in the Northwestern Prakrit Gāndhārī, nor the language of the Niya Documents,[51] so the dialect of the source document for *vrusūni* could be either Prakrit or Sanskrit.

sisi		*agasti*	頞底 *è dǐ* (PB: ʔat-tɛj')	*atte*		either
svāhā		*svāhā*				

50   Burrow 1937 §45. In P. as well this phenomenon occurs as in *abaddho* ("unbound") with variant *abandho* (idem) in Sn v. 39-a.
51   Burrow 1937 §36. See also GDhp words like *bramaṇa, praṇa*, etc.

Dharmarakṣa translates *dhāraṇī* #4 as *Wushu youshu, yao hei chi xiang, xiong zhou dati, yu qi shun shu, bao yan zhi you* 無數有數，曜黑持香，凶呪大體，于器順述，暴言至有 ("Innumerable are the numbers. Sunshine and darkness hold perfume. A terrible curse is the main thing. By one's abilities, arrange and tell. Cruel words. Supreme existence"). Beyond the obvious meaning correlations (無數 = *agaṇe*, 有數 = *gaṇe*, 曜 = *gori*), the rest is obscure. Of the ten words in this *dhāraṇī*, all except two could be from either a Prakrit or Sanskrit source.

5.5 *Dhāraṇī #5 by the rākṣasyaḥ Luocha nü* 羅剎女

itime 5x	*itime*	*itime*	伊提履 *yitilü* (PB: ʔji-dɛj-liʼ)	*idime x5*		Pkt. *-t-* > *-d-*
nime 5x	*nime*	*nime*	泥履 *nilü* (PB: nɛj-liʼ)	*nime x5*		either
ruhe 5x	*tṛruhe*		樓醯 *louxi* (PB: ləw-xɛj)	*ruhe x4*		either
stuhe (*haste*) *5x*	*stahe* (*tṛstahe tṛstasahe*)	*stahe*	多醯 *duoxi* (PB: ta-xɛj) 3x	*tahe x3*		Pkt. *s-* > Ø
			兜醯 *douxi* (PB: təw-xɛj)	*tuhe x1*		Pkt. *s-* > Ø
			瓮醯 *nouxi* (PB: nəu -xɛj)[a]	*thuhe x1*		Pkt. *s-* > Ø

a   See note a on page 171. The character 瓮 ("hare") is only found in Coblin who gives the possible phonetic value ONWC *nou, which is no more explanatory than the aspirated stop value for its principal component 免 (tʰɔʰ), "hare".

Dharmarakṣa gives various fanciful renditions of the above words which do not correlate very well with any Sanskrit or Prakrit words: The *itime* sequence corresponds to *yushi yusi yu er yu shi* 於是於斯於爾於氏 ("In this, in this place, in you, in the family"); the *nime* sequence to *jishen wuwo wuwu wushen wu suo ju tong* 極甚無我無吾無身無所俱同 ("no I, no self, no body, no object together");[52]

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52   Karashima (1992: 239) derives this from *nir me* ("without me").

yi xing yi sheng yi cheng 已興已生已成, ("already rising, already growing, already accomplished") perhaps correlates with *ruhe* (< Skt. √*ruh*, "to grow"); the remainder *er zhu er li, yi zhu jietan, yi fei xiao tou, da ji wu de jiahai* 而住而立，亦住嗟歎，亦非消頭，大疾無得加害 ("both reside and stand, also to reside and sigh, also not to extinguish remnants (?), in the case of a severe illness, one should not increase it") presumably correlates with *stuhe* or *haste* (< √*sthā*, "to stand" or √*tuh*, "to pain" or √*stu*, "to praise"?) but exactly how is not clear. The voiced *-d-* in *idime* (when all the other witnesses have the voiceless *-t-*) suggests a Prakrit source for this word and the *s-* > Ø in the last three forms also confirm a Prakrit source, although the consonant is aspirated only in the last word.[53] Nevertheless, in the Northwest Prakrits the initial *st-* is generally preserved,[54] so a form like *tahe* (when all the other witnesses have *stahe*) may suggest derivation from a different Prakrit. In this last *dhāraṇī* of Chapter 26 (Chapter 21 in the Sanskrit), all but two of the sequences appear to have a Prakrit source document.

In total, for this chapter we have the following:

Dhāraṇī	Pkt.	S	Either	?
1	16	11	16	
2	11	1		2
3	6			
4	2		8	
5	4		2	
Total	39	12	26	2

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53 The general rule in the Prakrits is that when a sibilant occurs before a stop, the sibilant is assimilated and the stop is aspirated (e.g. Skt. *stana* > P. *thana*). See Woolner 1928 [1996] §38.

54 Burrow 1937 §49, except in cases of words having the root √*sthā*, of which *tahe* may be an example. See GDhp 209-f *stuka-stoka*.

5.6   *Dhāraṇī #6 by Samantabhadra Puxian* 普賢

adaṇḍe (*adaṃḍo, ādaṇḍe*; Tib. *sudaṇḍe*)		*adaṇḍe*	阿檀地 *atandi* (PB: ʔa -dan-diʰ)	*adaṇḍe*	"without a staff"	either
daṇḍapati (*daṇḍāpatira, adaṇḍapatira*, Tib. *daṇḍāpati*)		*daṇḍāpati-vate*	檀陀婆地 *tantuopodi* (PB: dan-da-ba-diʰ)ᵃ	*daṇḍavadi*	"lord of the staff"	Pkt. *-p-, -b- > -v-*ᵇ, *-t- > -d-*
daṇḍāvartani (*daṇḍāvarttani daṃḍāvartāni, daṇḍavarttani, daṇḍavarttanī*; Tib. *daṇḍāvartani*)		*daṇḍāvarte daṇḍāvartani*	檀陀婆帝 *tantuopodi* (PB: dan-da-ba-tɛjʰ)	*daṇḍavate*	"lord of the staff", or "turning the staff" < Skt. √*āvṛt*, "to turn"	Pkt.

a   Karashima (1992: 363) transliterates as EMC ʔa-dân-di-dân-dâ-bwâ-di < **adaṇḍe daṇḍavadi < adaṇḍe daṇḍapati.*

b   See Kumārajīva's *arapacana* syllabary (Appendix 1) where 婆 = ba becomes -*v*- intervocalically. For -*p*-/-*b*- > -*v*-, see Pischel §§199, 201; GDhp 34 ("regular development -*p*-, -*b*- > *v*").

Per his syllabary (Appendix 1) Kumārajīva regularly uses the character 婆 for *ba*- and *bha*- initially and -*va*- intervocalically (e.g. *Sà pó*, PB: sat-ba < Skt. *sarva*, "all"; *huopoye* 火婆夜 PB: xwa'-ba-jiaʰ < Skt. *hvaya* < √*hve*, "to call"), and this has been his practice in the *dhāraṇīs*, e.g. *aluopodi* 阿羅婆 (PB: ʔa-la-ba-dɛj'), representing *aḷāvati* above. For this group of words Dharmarakṣa has *wuwo chu wo* 無我除我 ("no I (*anatta*), eliminate the I"), which Karashima is suggesting be corrected > *wu zhang chu zhang* 無杖除杖 ("no staffs, removes the staffs"). For *daṇḍāvartani* he suggests another correction: *yin wo* 因我 > *hui zhang* 回杖 ("swings around a staff"; 1992: 246). Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta have the same as Kumārajīva through this *dhāraṇī* and appear to have copied it from the latter.

daṇḍakuśale (*daṇḍakuśala*, *daṇḍakuśalini*)		*daṇḍakuśale*	檀陀鳩舍隸 *tantuojiusheli* (PB: dan-da-kuw-ɕiaʰ-lɛjʰ)	*daṇḍakuśale*	"clever with a staff"	either
daṇḍasudhāri	*daṇḍasudhāri*	*daṇḍasudhare*	檀陀修陀隸 *tantuoxiutuoli* (PB: dan-da-suw-da-lɛjʰ)	*daṇḍasudhare*	"holding the staff well"	either
sudhāri	*sudhāri*	*sudāre*	修陀隸 *xiutuoli* (PB: suw-da- lɛjʰ)	*sudhāre*	"well holding"	either
sudhārapati (*sudhārapate*, *sudhāripati sudhārimati*)	*sudhārapati*	*sudārapati*	修陀羅婆底 *xiutuoluopodi* (PB: suw-da-lɛjʰ-ba-tɕj̊)	*sudhāravate*	"well holding lord"	Pkt. *-p-* > *-v-*
buddhapaś-yane (*-paśyani*, *-paśyana*, *-paśyati*, *paribuddhapaś-yane*)	*buddhapaś-yane*	*buddhapaś-yane*	佛[陀]駄波饘襧 *fo[tuo]tuoboshan-ni* (PB:but[da] da-pa-ɕian-nɛjʰ)	*Buddhapaśane*	"seeing the Buddha"	Pkt.

The conjunct -*śy*- is usually assimilated to -*ś*- in Gāndhārī and all the Prakrits.[55] It is not clear whether the -*i*- in the *ɕian* transliteration is meant to represent a glide or simply a diphthong. In the examples above (*śānte* = PB: ɕian-tɛjʰ), it certainly does not represent a glide and KG represents it phonetically as *śi̯än*, where -i̯- is defined as "the subordinate vowel in a diphthong".[56] It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that Kumārajīva's source document had -*paśane*, not -*paśyane*. Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta copy Kumārajīva. Dharmarakṣa has *jian zhufo* 見諸佛 "seeing all Buddhas".

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55 See GDhp 5-b, 106-b, 108-b, etc., *paśadi* < Skt. *paśyati*; see also Burrow 1937 §41 and Woolner 1928 [1996] §49.

56 Ulving 1997: 340, entry #6688 and p. 13 for the definition of -i̯-.

| *dhāraṇī āvartani* (*sarvadhāraṇī āvartani, dhāraṇī āvarttani, dhāriṇaṃ āvarttani, dhāriṇī āvarttani*) | *dhāraṇī āvartani* | *sarvadhāraṇī āvartane* | 薩婆陀羅尼阿婆多尼 *sapotuo-luoni'apoduoni* (PB: sat-ba- da-la-nri-ʔa-ba-ta-ni) | *sarvadhāraṇī āvatani* | "turning of all *dhāraṇī*s" | both for *sarvadhāraṇī*, Pkt. for *āvatani* |

Kumārajīva and previous translators use the character 薩 to represent the sound *sat-* in *bodhisattva* (*i.e.* 菩薩), but Kumārajīva also seems to use it for the sounds *sar-* as in *sarva* (*sapo* 薩婆, PB: sat-ba; see *arapacana* syllabary Appendix I, s.v. *sa*). Since the normal Gāndhārī reflex of this word is indeed *sarva* (with *sava* also used), this is probably the word in the source document and of course *-r* is not a permitted final in EMC, so he represented it this way. Later translators used three characters to capture the conjunct *-rv-* sound (e.g. Xuanzang's *saluofu* 薩囉縛 (PB. sat-la-buak, *sarva*; Shu-Fen Chen 2004: 129). The use of 薩 for the sound *sar-* suggests that the last word in the compound *āvatani* did not have the *-rt-* conjunct shown in the Indic versions, as Kumārajīva does not use a character ending in *-t* (a permitted EMC final) but the character 婆 (PB: *ba* = MI *va*).

| | | *sarvabhāṣyāvartane* | 薩婆婆沙阿婆多尼 *sapopo- sha'apoduoni* (PB: sat-ba-ba- ṣai/ ṣɛ:-ʔa-ba-ta-ni) | *sarvabhāṣāvatani* | "turning of all language" | Pkt. *-ṣy- > -ṣ-; -rt- > -t-* |

There are a few cases where Kumārajīva's source document agrees with the Central Asian manuscripts and not the Sanskrit (e.g. *bhaṣyabhaṣya-* in *dhāraṇī* #1). This is one such case, where there is also no Sanskrit reflex. Unfortunately many of the *dhāraṇīs* in the Central Asian Manuscripts are missing. Dharmarakṣa has *xing zhong zhu shuo* 行眾諸說 ("put these many teachings into practice"; Karashima 1992: 247).

saṃvartani (saṃvarttani, āvarttani; Tib. māvartani)	āvartani	su-āvartane[a]	修阿婆多尼 xiu'apoduoni (PB: suw:-ʔa-ba-ta-ni)	su-āvatani	"rolling up, destruction" < Skt. saṃvarta	Pkt. -rt- > -t-
saṃgha-parīkṣite	saṃgha-parīkṣite	saṃgha-parīkṣaṇi	僧伽婆履叉尼 seng jiapo-lüchaní (PB: səŋ-gia-ba-li'-tṣʰaiʰ/ tṣɛ:ʰ-ni)[b]	saṃgha-varikṣani or saṃgha-vari(c)chani	"weakening of the saṃgha"	Pkt. -p- > -v-; -kṣ- > -(c)ch-

a   See von Hinüber 2001 §§297 and 113 indicating a variation between *-u-* and *-aṃ-* in Prakrit. This is a feature of MI nasalisation.

b   Karashima 1992: 247: *saṃghaparīkṣaṇi* or **saṃghavarīkṣaṇi*; EMC səng-gja-bwâ-lji tṣha-ṇi.

This is another example of the character 婆 = Pkt. *-va-* intervocalically. The character 叉 represents a retroflex fricative sound, not the Sanskrit conjunct *-k-* and *-ṣ-* sound (*-kṣ-*), as discussed above in *dhāraṇī* #1 (s.v. *akṣaye*).

saṃgha-nirghātani (saṃgha-nirghoṣaṇe; Tib. saṅgha-nirghasate)	saṃgha-nirghātane	saṃgha-nirghātani	僧伽涅伽陀尼 sengjianieqie-tuoni (PB: səŋ-gia-nɛt-gia-da-ni)	saṃgha-nirghādani	"destruction of the saṃgha"	Pkt. -t- > -d-

Dharmarakṣa seems to translate these last two as "bring the assembly to an end", if we allow Karashima's (1992:247) proposed emendation of 蓋迴轉 to 善迴轉. The character 涅 (PB: nɛt) is used by Kumārajīva to represent a *nir-* or *nṛ-* sound (see *saṃghanirghoṣani* in *dhāraṇī* #1 or *nṛtye* above in *dhāraṇī* #2), as the character 薩 (PB: sat) is used to represent a *sar-* sound, which probably indicates a Sanskrit or Sanskrtised source document. Most Prakrits assimilate the *-r-* before a stop, but in Gāndhārī, it is more often the case that the *-r-* remains, so this case is ambiguous;[57] the lenition of *-t-* > *-d-*, however, occurs only in Prakrit.

57   Burrow, 1937 §37. See also GDhp 24-c, 254-c, 255-a, *artha* = Skt. *artha* where other Prakrits (e.g. P., AMg) have *attha* < Skt. *artha*.

dharma-parīkṣite (saddharma-parīkṣite; Tib dharma-parīkṣita, dharma-parikṣiti)	dharma-parīkṣite	saddharma-suparikṣite				
		asaṃge	阿僧祇 asengqi (PB: ʔa- səŋ-gjiə/gji)	asaṃgha or asaṃghya	"without calculation"	Pkt.

What does the character 祇 represent? KG transcribes it as g'jiẹ which suggests a -ghyi(a)- sound in Middle Indic (Ulving 1997: 213, entry 2607). In Gāndhārī saṃkhy- appears as sagh- with the voicing of the stop, dropping of the anusvāra and of the glide (GDhp 68-c sagha'i = Skt. saṃkhyāya = P. saṅkhāya "having examined" < Skt. saṃ+√khyā, "to reckon, calculate", nominal form saṃkhyā, "calculation, reckoning"). So the source document word is asaṃghya, which shows the Prakrit change of -kh- > -gh-, but appears to preserve the glide -y- after the stop which is not a feature of the Prakrits. Dharmarakṣa renders wuy-ang shu, ji zhu ju sanshi shu deng 無央數，計諸句三世數 等 ("infinite numbers; calculates phrases; is equal to the number of the three times").[58]

		saṃgāpagate	僧伽[婆]波伽地, sengjia[po]boqiedì (PB: səŋ-gia-[ba]pa-gia-diʰ)	saṃghāvagadi	"leaving the saṃgha"	Pkt. -p- > -v-; -t- > -d-
		tṛ-adhvasaṃga-tulyaprāpte	帝隸阿惰僧伽兜略 dili'aduosengjiadou- lüe (PB: tɛjʰ-lɛjʰ-ʔa-dwa'/ dwaʰ-səŋ-gia- təw-liak)	tṛadhvasaṃgha-tulya	"equal to the saṃgha's path to the stars"	Skt.

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58   Karashima 1992: 247. His notes: saṃga, *saṃghā < Pkt. saṃkhā < saṃkhyā ("numera-tion"); -ṃg- /-ṃgh- < -ṃkh- < -ṃkhy-.

In the word *ṭradhvasaṃghatulya*, Kumārajīva deliberately preserves the vocal-ic -*ṛ*- which drops out in all Prakrits, including Gāndhārī. Hurvitz transcribes this word as *tiryādhasaṃghātulya* (2009: 307), but a consonant + 隷 combi-nation has been used above in *dhāraṇī* #2 to represent the sound *nṛ*- sound (*nielidi* 涅隷第, for *nṛde*), so it is more likely he was representing the Sanskrit word *tṛ*- in the Central Asian document.

			阿羅帝[波]婆羅帝 *aluodi*[*bo*]*poluodi* (PB: ʔa-la-tɛjʰ--[ba] pa-la-tɛjʰ)	*arate parate*[a]	"dull" (*arata*); *parata* "absoluteness" = *paratā*	either

a   Karashima 1992: 391 leaves out 阿羅帝 and transcribes 婆羅帝 as part of the the last com-pound (-*prāpte*); however, the character 羅 is always used as a separate syllable, not as part of a conjunct in all the transcriptions above. Tsukamoto (1978: 34) transcribes -*pratte* and has a question mark for 阿羅帝.

This seems to be an echo of the pair from *dhāraṇī* #1 (*araḷe paraḷe*), but the last character in each is different, representing a -*t*- sound in every other tran-scription (e.g. 羶帝 = *śānte*). Hurvitz transcribes with a retroflex *araḍe paraḍe* (2009: 307), but Kumārajīva specified the character 茶 for -*ḍ*- in the syllabary (Appendix 1).

	sarvasaṃgha	薩婆僧[+地]伽 *saposeng*-[+*di*]*qie* (PB: sat-ba [+diʰ] səŋ-gia)	*sarvasaṃgha*	"the whole *saṃgha*"	either
	samatikrānte	三摩地伽蘭地 *sān mó dì qié lán dì* (PB: sam-ma-diʰ- gia- lan-diʰ)	*samadigrande*	"surpass"	Pkt. -*k*-> -*g*-; -*t*- > -*d*-

(cont.)

	sarvadharma-suparīkṣite	薩婆達[摩]磨修波利剎帝 *sapoda[mo]mo xiubolishadi* (PB: sat-ba-dat-[ma]/maʰ-suw-pa-liʰ- tʂʰait-tʂɛ:t -tɛjʰ)	*sarvadharma-suparīkṣite* or *-supari(c)chite*		Pkt. 剎 = retroflex fricative like 叉 (see *akṣaye* above; *-kṣ-* > *-(c)ch-*)
sarvasatvaruta-kauśalyānugate (*-rutakaśalye, sarvasarva-, sarvaruta-kauśalya-*)	*sarvasatvaruta-kauśalyānugate; -kośalyānugate.*	薩婆薩埵樓馱憍舍略阿[㲉]伽[陀]地 *saposaduolou-tuojiaoshelüeā[shao/tu]qie [tuo]di* (PB: sat-ba-sa-twa'-ləw-da-kiaw- ɕia'-liak-ʔa- nəu -ᵃ gia-diʰ)	*sarvasatvaruda-kauśalyānugada*	"follower of the well-being and sounds of all creatures" Dharmarakṣa: 曉眾生音, "Know the sounds of all creatures"	Pkt. *-t-* > *-d-*
siṃhavikrīḍite (*siṃhavikrīḍita, sihavikrīḍite*)	*siṃhavikrīḍite*	辛阿毘吉利地帝 *xinapijili-didi* (PB: sin-ʔa-bji-kjit-liʰ-diʰ- tɛjʰ)	*siṃhavikrīḍite*	"sport of the lion"	Either

a   See note 1 on page 171.

The *-kr-* conjunct is usually dropped in Prakrit (including Gāndhārī), but it also sometimes remains as in Sh *atikrataṃ* (RE 8 A).

anuvarte (*anuvartta*)	*anu-varti*				
vartini (*varttani*)	*varttini*				
vartāli (*varttāli, varttāni*; Tib. *vartali*)		*vartāri*			
svāhā	*svāhā*				

In *dhāraṇī* #6, there are eighteen items with a Prakrit source, seven with either and one with a Sanskritic source. The grand total[59] for all the *dhāraṇīs* is:

Dhāraṇī	Pkt.	S	Either	?
1–5	39	12	26	2
6	18	1	7	
Grand Total	57	13	33	2

5.7 *Reconstruction*

We may now with some confidence reconstruct the source document *dhāraṇīs* which Kumārajīva had in front of him when he transliterated into Chinese:

1) *a(ñ)ñe ma(ñ)ñe mane mamane cire caride śame śamitāvi śānte, mukte muktame same avisame samasame chaye a(c)chaye a(g)ghiṇe śānte śami dhāraṇī ālogabhāsa pac(c)ave(c)chaṇi nivi(ṭ)ṭhe abhyantaranivi(ṭ)ṭhe a(t)tantapāriśu(d)dhi u(k)kule mu(k)kule araḷe paraḷe śuka(c)chi asamasame buddhavikliṣṭe dhammapari(c)chite saṃghanirghoṣaṇi bhāṣyābhāṣyaśodhi mantra mantrā(c)chāyata uruta urutakauśalya akṣara akṣayatāya avala amanyanatāya*
2) *jale mahājale ukśe mukśe aḷe aḷavade nṛde nṛtavade i(ṭ)ṭini vi(ṭ)ṭini ci(ṭ)ṭini nṛ(ṭ)ṭini nṛ(ṭ)ṭivate*
3) *aḷe naḷe nunaḷe anaḷo nāḷi kunaḷi*
4) *agaṇe gaṇe gori kandhāri caṇḍāli mādaṅgi jaṅguli vrūsuni atte*
5) *idime idime idime idime idime, nime nime nime nime nime, ruhe ruhe ruhe ruhe, tahe tahe tahe tuhe thuhe*
6) *adaṇḍe daṇḍavati daṇḍavate daṇḍakuśale daṇḍasudhāre sudhāre sudhāravate buddhapaśane sarvadhāraṇī-āvatani sarvabhāṣāvatani su-āvatani saṃghavari(c)chani saṃghanirghādani asaṃghya saṃghāvagadi ṭradhvasaṃghatulya arate parate sarvasaṃgha samadigrandi sarva-dharmasupari(c)chite sarvasatvarudakauśalyānu-gada siṃhavikrīḍite.*

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59 These numbers count chart entries, not words, except in cases where one word of a compound can be demonstrated to show a different derivation than another as in *sarvadhāraṇī āvatani* where the first *karmadhāraya* (descriptive compound) could derive from either Skt. or Pkt., but the second derives from a Pkt. source.

6   Discussion

The numbers show that among the 105 items (words and compounds) analyzed, the *dhāraṇīs* had a Prakrit item in the source document in about 53% of the cases with a Sanskrit one in 12% of the cases (with the remainder being either or indeterminable). The Prakrit:Sanskrit ratio is approximately 4.38:1 (57:13), which is higher than the ratios Karashima found in his study of agreement/disagreement with Central Asian manuscripts (2.2:1 for Dharmarakṣa and 2.7:1 for Kumārajīva; 1992: 254, 257). While these ratios are comparing different things, they do show that Kumārajīva's source document had much more in common with a Prakrit source document, than a Sanskrit one and Karashima's conclusions—that Kumārajīva's translation is closer to the Central Asian manuscripts which are known to be more Prakritic in nature[60]—point in the same direction. The high Prakrit:Sanskrit ratio may also indicate that the *dhāraṇīs* received special attention in their transmission, in an attempt to guarantee their accuracy and efficacy. Since we know that the more Prakritisms a manuscript contains, the earlier it is, we may safely conclude that Kumārajīva's source document was earlier than the manuscripts of the Nepalese and Gilgit traditions, which are almost wholly Sanskritised. Heinrich Lüders (1916: 161), as mentioned above, believed that the "original" text of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* was written in a pure Prakrit dialect which was afterwards gradually put into Sanskrit. We have argued that an original text of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* is unrecoverable, because of the complexity of the transmission; however, that Kumārajīva had an earlier, more Prakritic text in front of him than the surviving Sanskrit witnesses is certain.

In addition to the large number of Prakritisms discernible in Kumārajīva's transliteration, the most striking phenomenon is the number of divergences from the existing manuscript traditions. There are several instances in which there are noticeable disagreements with the Nepalese/Gilgit recensions: in *dhāraṇī* #6, for example, there are several words which only correspond to the Central Asian recension and are lacking in the Nepalese/ Gilgit, i.e. *sarvabhāṣāvatani, asaṃgha, saṃghāvagadi, ṭradhvasaṃghatulya, sarvasaṃgha, sarvadharma-suparīkṣate*. There are also a number of words which correspond more closely with the Central Asian recension than the Sanskrit one:[61]

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60   For a partial list of Prakritisms in the Central Asian manuscripts, see K & N, vi f.; Dutt, xix f.

61   In the following groups of three words, the first word is the transliterated Ch., the second the Central Asian manuscript, and the third the Skt. from K & N.

> *su-āvatani su-āvartane ≠ saṃvartane*
> *sarvadhāraṇi sarvadhārani ≠ dhāraṇi* (*dhāraṇī* #6)
> *atte agasti ≠ sisi*
> *jaṅgali jāṃguli ≠ saṃkule* (*dhāraṇī* #4)
> *avala abale ≠ valoḍa*
> *bhāṣyābhāṣyasodhi/bhāṣyabhāṣyasoddhī ≠ bhayābhayāviśodhani*
> *niviṣṭe niviṣṭe ≠ nidhiru* (*dhāraṇī* #1)

However, since parts of the *dhāraṇīs* are missing in the Central Asian manuscripts, it is impossible to arrive at any general conclusions on the matter, except as already stated by Karashima, that the correspondence between Kumārajīva's translation and the Central Asian MSS is significantly higher than the correspondence with the Sanskrit versions.

Divergences are manifold in almost every entry. Sometimes these are minor, with a change in only one syllable or vowel (e.g. Skt. *śame* or *same* = Kumārajīva *śami*) and sometimes the words are barely recognizable (Skt. *buddha-vilokite* ≠ Kumārajīva *buddha-vikliṣṭe*) and clearly point to different manuscript traditions. Often within the two Sanskrit recensions (Nepalese and Gilgit) there are multiple versions of a word or compound (e.g. the second member of the compound *abhyantara-niviṣṭe* in *dhāraṇī* #1 where we find the variants *-niviṭhe, -niviṣṭhe, -niviṣṭa, -nirviṣṭa, -visiṣṭa, -viciṣṭa, -piviṣṭe, -praviṣṭe, -vivaṣṭe*). Many of the differences between Kumārajīva and the Sanskrit versions are because Kumārajīva was working with an earlier, more Prakritic version of the text, as the discussion above has tried to show.

Dharmarakṣa's *translation* (vs. Kumārajīva's *transliteration*) of the *dhāraṇīs* allows a fascinating glimpse into the Indian *nirukti* mind at work attempting to find meaning in the *dhāraṇī* sonic formulae.[62] Sometimes this is a simple one-to-one tracking: *ālogabhāsa* = 觀察光耀 "observe the splendour" = Skt. *āloka bhāsam*, or; 等無所等 "equal to the unequalled" for *asamasame, idem;* sometimes it seems to be a "mistranslation" based on phonologically similar

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62   For an excellent introduction to the Indian love of etymologizing and finding multiple meanings in words, see M. Deeg 1995: 33–73. For an example of "Die sprachwissenschaftliche Etymologie," practised by *vaidikas* and also by the Buddhist commentators, see *Paramatthajotikā* 2, 208[12–13], where Buddhaghosa tries to explain why the Buddha is called *nāga*, "snake," evidently an embarrassing epithet: *nāgan ti punabbhavaṃ n' eva gantāraṃ, atha vā āguṃ na karotī ti pi nāgo, balavā ti pi nāgo, taṃ nāgaṃ*, "he is called '*nāga*' since he does not go to a new birth [taking the *ga-* in *nāga* as derived from the MI verb *gam*, 'to go' with *na-* as the negative adverb], or he does not commit a fault [*na- -āgu*, 'no, fault'] and also since he is strong."

words: like 其目清淨 "their eyes are pure", taking the compound as derived from Skt. *śukra-akṣi*, while the Sanskrit suggests it is from *śukāṅkṣi*, "swift wish". Sometimes multiple nuances are expressed for a repeated word, as in 極甚無我無吾無身無所俱同 "no I, no self, no body, no object together" for the *nime, nime, nime, nime, nime* sequence of *dhāraṇī* #5, perhaps related to Skt. *nir me*; and sometimes the explanation seems to be invented to explain what on the surface appears to unexplainable, as in most of the explanations related to *dhāraṇī* #4 above. In Zhiyi's commentary on the *dhāraṇī* chapter he says that it is not necessary to understand the meaning of a *dhāraṇī* in order for it to work; but since it is the "secret word of the Buddhas" (是諸佛密語),[63] exegetes must have felt compelled to delve into the significance of the sonic formulae, and indeed most of them do have an OI/MI phonotactical structure which suggests a meaningful derivation. Nevertheless, without the contextual "semantic walking stick" a translation of the *dhāraṇīs* does not appear to be very tenable.[64]

6.1   *An Urtext?*

If it were possible to establish an Urtext, we would have to fully account for all the variants in the existing witnesses by understanding:

1) The very complex transmission process involving multiple recensions, each with perhaps hundreds or even thousands of manuscripts.
2) The scribal errors that have entered into the text because of the "normal" copying process of omission, incorrect word division, parablepsis (omission of words caused by repetition of one or more words in the same context), interchange of letters (metathesis), etc.
3) Errors that have entered into the text because of epigraphical considerations (misreading of scripts), due to unfamiliarty, similarity of letters, etc.
4) Errors that have entered into the text because of inaccurate translation practices, either between Prakrit and Sanskrit or Prakrit and Chinese. In the latter case especially, there are many phonetic forms in MI which can not be easily represented in EMC, as we have seen above.
5) The impact of the native dialect of the translators. Kumārajīva was a Kuchean who spoke a Tocharian language; how did this impact his perception and understanding of MI and EMC?

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63   T.34.1718: 146c21; for Zhi Yi's commentary, see 釋陀羅尼品 in 妙法蓮華經文句, T.34.1718: 146b29–146c26.

64   I thank Prof. Max Deeg for this useful expression (private communication).

This complex transmission tapestry becomes even more intractable when one adds in the component of time. The SDP is one of the oldest of the Mahāyana *sūtra*s, possibly dating from the first century BCE (Nakamura 1980: 186–87; Keown 2005: 158), which means that as much as four or five centuries had elapsed between its composition and its translation by Kumārajīva in 406 CE, probably with numerous other (now lost) copies and translations being made in between. If indeed the original version was composed in Prakrit, as Lüders has suggested, the source document that Kumārajīva had in front of him was at least in part already Sanskritised. But the process and timescale in which this took place is impossible to reconstruct. The complexity of this transmission scenario suggests that the establishment of an Urtext for the SDP is not a valid endeavour. However, we can learn quite a bit about the nature of the text that Kumārajīva and his translation team had in front of him in the early fifth century, namely, the *dhāraṇīs* reveal a lot about the underlying transmission dialect of the source document which Kumārajīva used. Here is a list of the principal Prakritisms found in Kumārajīva's source document, as reflected in his Chinese transliterations:

1) The *-e* ending to most of the nouns and adjectives in the *dhāraṇīs* is most likely a Prakritism. As is well known, it is the nom. sing. ending for the eastern Aśokan Prakrits (REs of Jaugaḍa and Kālsī) and Māgadhī. It also appears in the northwest edicts of Sh and M and historically in the Niya Documents of the Northwest China kingdom of Shan Shan. It can be interpreted as the fem. sing. vocative (where there are fem. nouns) or loc. sing. of masc. nouns, but this does not harmonize with the context or the meanings, nor is it consistent with the *sūtra*'s Prakrit heritage.

2) Intervocalic lenition. I have isolated all the instances where this has taken place (usually *-t-* > *-d-*, but also *-k-* > *-g-* and *-khy-* > *-ghy-*). This occurs quite a lot throughout the *dhāraṇī*s, but not universally, as in the case of Kumārajīva *su-āvatani*. Although intervocalic lenition is a standard feature in Gāndhārī and most Prakrits, it is not a consistent occurrence in all the dialects. In P., for example, voiceless intervocalics often remain, and sometimes voiced stops are subject to fortition (voiced > voiceless), which also happens in the case of the word *gāndhāri* which Kumārajīva represents as *kandhāri*; this, however, may simply be due to orthography in G.[65]

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65   For intervocalic lenition, see Pischel §186f. For P., see Geiger §§35, 38, 39. For the use of *-k-* for *-g-* in G., see GDhp 30.

3) In all but two cases (*akṣara, akṣayatāya*), Kumārajīva transliterates Skt. *-kṣ-* as a single retroflex fricative sound [ṣ], not as a conjunct. We know that this is close to how it was pronounced in G. In most other Prakrits the sound was notated by *-(c)cha-* or *-(k)kha-*.[66]

4) The *-ty-* conjunct is palatalized and changed to *-c(c)-* (as in *pac(c)ave(c) chaṇi*) or assimilated to *-t(t)-* (as in *at(t)antapāriśuddhi*).

5) Conjunct assimilations: The *-ṣṭ-* conjunct is assimilated to *-(ṭ)ṭ-*.

6) The conjunct *-jv-* has changed to *-j-*.

7) Conjunct *-śy-* > *-ś-*; *-sy-* > *-s-*.

8) Conjunct *-rt-* is assimilated to > *-t-*.

9) Retroflex *-ṭ-* and *-ḍ-* have changed to *-ḷ-*.

10) Labials *-p-* and *-b-* changes to *-v-* intervocalically.

11) The letter *s-* > Ø when before a consonant and the following consonant is usually aspirated.

None of these phonological changes are inconsistent with a Gāndhārī source document. But since they are also not inconsistent with many other Prakrits (except for the retention of the distinction between the sibilants: dental *-s-*, retroflex *-ṣ-*, and palatal *-ś-*, which is only preserved in Gāndhārī), we cannot make any final conclusions about the provenance of the source dialect, only noting the "probability" of Gāndhārī as the transmission dialect, along with Waldschmidt, Pulleyblank and other researchers.[67] However, recent discoveries

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66   See Pischel §317f. Generally *-ccha-* was used in the west and *-kkha-* in the east per Woolner 1924 [1996] §40; also Geiger §56. Pāli shows both notations. The sound *-(k)kha-* represents a voiceless velar stop + a velar aspirated stop; the sound *-(c)cha-* represents a voiceless palatal stop + an aspirated palatal stop. Also, *-kṣa-* can become *-(j)jha-* in Prakrit (Pischel §326). An interesting example of this occurs at DN 2, 161[21–22], where *jhāpenti* (< Skt. √*kṣai*, to "burn") is used: "they burn the body of the universal monarch" (*rañño cakkavattissa sarīraṃ jhāpenti*); in the corresponding MPS version (Waldschmidt 1950–1951 §46.7, p. 410 we find *dhyāpyate* ("it was burnt"), which is a hyperform, as Edgerton points out (BHSD, 288 s.v. **dhyāyati*)—the translator misunderstood P. *jhāpenti* as being dervied from *dhyāpenti* (< Skt. √*dhyai*, "to meditate," caus. *dhyāpayati*), when it was actually derived from Skt. √*kṣai*, "to burn," caus. *kṣāpayati*. He/she therefore wrongly Sanskritised the *jh-* > *dhy-*.

67   For example, Bernhard (1970: 57) argues that G. was the "medium in which Buddhism was first propagated in Central Asia, the medium through which Indian culture was transmitted from the northwest across Central Asia to China." See also Hiän-lin Dschi (1944: 141–142), who establishes the translation sequence from Alt-Ardhamāgadhī > northwestern dialects > Sanskritisation, a sequence he says applies not only to the *Lalitavistara* and the SDP but for all old Buddhist writings where the ending *-u* appears for *-aṃ* (in the nominative and accusative singular, which is also prevalent in the SDP Skt. recensions).

in Pakistan of Gāndhārī MSS of a *Prajñāpāramitā* and an *Akṣobhyavyūha* type text (in Kharoṣṭhī script) dated to the first or second centuries CE certainly make the "Gāndhārī hypothesis" even more plausible. It is quite possible that a Gāndhārī version of the *Lotus Sūtra*—or fragments thereof—will eventually be uncovered in the monastic ruins of ancient Gandhāra.[68]

7   Conclusions

From the above data, we can draw the following conclusions about the *dhāraṇīs* in Kumārajīva's source:

1) The source document was a Prakrit one with limited Sanskritisations: only 12% of the items (words and compounds) in the *dhāraṇīs* can be shown to have had a Sanskrit source.

2) Kumārajīva's source document cannot be said to match any of the three recensions, although it appears to be closest to the Central Asian recension in the examples shown above. Due to the absence of data, this is not fully conclusive.

3) Kumārajīva's Prakrit source document pre-dates the Nepalese and Gilgit recensions, probably by centuries, based on Edgerton's Sanskritisation ∝ (varies as) time rule (footnote 12). Whether it goes back to an "original" source is impossible to tell, but considering the vagaries of the transmission process, probably not.

4) The abundant variant forms in the different recensions point to divergent source texts. In addition, there appear to be numerous intra- and inter-recensional scribal errors or confusions, taking the form of incorrect word division (e.g. Skt. *samitā-viśānte* versus Kumārajīva *samitāvi-śānte*) and confusion of *-i* and *-e* endings throughout;[69] misspellings (e.g. Skt. *nāḍi vs.* Tib. *nāṭi*); metathesis (e.g. Skt. *kunaḍi/kuṭani*); intervocalic

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"Magadha was the homeland and Gandhāra, 'the second holy land of Buddhism' [here Waldschmidt 1925: 12 is quoted]. Numerous old Buddhist texts wandered through both lands and carried the traces of them" (author's translation, pp. 141–142). Norman (1976: 117–127) suggests that certain anomalous forms in P. (nom. sing. ending in *-e* and the gen. pl. ending in *-uno*) were taken over from a Northwestern Pkt., i.e. G. (pp. 125–126).

68   For the *Akṣobhya*-type text, see Strauch 2008: 47–60. For the *Prajñāpāramitā*, see Falk & Karashima 2012: 19–62, and Falk & Karashima 2013: 97–169.

69   This may simply reflect the fact that in G. an *-e* at the end of a word can be writtten either as *-e* or *-i*, as per Brough, GDhp 21.

consonantal confusion (Skt./Kumārajīva *citte/cire; akṣaya/akṣara; vrūsali/ vrūsuni*); omissions and additions of whole words (as in *dhāraṇī* #6 for the Central Asian recension above) or syllables (e.g. Skt./Kumārajīva *akṣayavanatāye/akṣayatāya* or *bhayābha-yāśviśodhani/bhāṣyābhāṣya-śodhī*); different words (Skt. *buddha-vilokite vs.* Kumārajīva *buddhavikliṣṭe* or Skt. *-nirghoṣani* vs. Skt. *-nisaṃghani*); etc. This may also be due to oral/ aural problems in the transmission process.

5) Many of the MSS show a scribal misunderstanding or confusion re: Prakrit dialects: e.g. *-dh- >< -v-*, Skt. *nidhiru* > Kumārajīva *nivi(ṭ)ṭe*; interchange of *-ś-* and *-s-* in words like Kumārajīva *śame ≠* Skt. *same;* interchange of *-ṛ-* and *-i-* (in Skt.: *nṛtyāvati vs. nityāvati*), omission of *anusvāra* (Kumārajīva *śuka(c)chi vs.* Skt. *sukāṅksi*), confusion on voicing (Skt. *gandhāri* vs. Kumārajīva *kandhāri*), etc.

6) Sanskritisation of the Nepalese & Gilgit MSS is almost one hundred per cent. Very few Prakrit forms survive (e.g. *iṭṭini, nityāvati* are two surviving Prakrit forms.)

7) Dharma transmission from MI to EMC is a highly complex process, with dozens of human, temporal, spatial, dialectal, scribal, perceptual, accentual, psychological, etc. variables, making it impossible to transmit something accurately and error free. The complicated dharma transmission process has several imporant cultural and religious ramifications, not the least of which is the impossibility of establishing an "original" text when the transmission takes place over centuries between phonologically disparate languages.

The reason why Kumārajīva's *dhāraṇī* transcriptions are so different from the Sanskrit versions should now be clear: Kumārajīva's source document was quite unlike the surviving Sanskrit exemplars, and based on an earlier MS tradition which was much more Prakritic. In addition, there are numerous transmission errors and confusions present, both within the MI recensions themselves and between the MI and Kumārajīva's Chinese transliteration. Given the long, almost two-millenium timescale involved, it is impossible to unravel the complex transmission tapestry. All the MI versions have undergone significant Sanskritisation (Gilgit & Nepalese the most), and while the Central Asian recension preserves many more Prakritisms and correlates better with Kumārajīva's translation overall, much of the *dhāraṇī* material is missing.

As well as uncovering the nature of Kumārajīva's underlying source, this study has also tried to demonstrate the complexity of the transmission and translation process, whether Indic to Indic, that is Prakrit > Sanskrit, or Indic to Chinese, and the many different temporal strata, linguistic and human factors

involved. It also provides a unique perspective on the interaction and exchange of Buddhist teachings in the early centuries of the common era. These teachings were all mediated by Indo-Aryan translators working from Prakrit sources, which like Pāli were themselves translations of an earlier, underlying transmission variously styled *une langue précanonique* (Lévi 1912), a *lingua franca* (Geiger 1916: 3–4), a *koine gangétique* (Smith 1952), a *Kanzleisprache* (the administrative language of the ruling government in Pāṭaliputra; Lüders 1954: 8), or Buddhist Middle Indic (von Hinüber 1983: 192–193). I have discussed this "language of early Buddhism" elsewhere (Levman 2014; Levman 2016) and it goes well beyond the scope of this article, except insofar as it illuminates the framework within which the Indian and Chinese cultures interacted, a framework which was at least in part determined by an ambiguous linguistic environment where various Prakritic homynyms could result in two meanings (Boucher 1998: 489–493). While the *dhāraṇī* meanings are not always clear, Kumārajīva's transliterations provide a clear snapshot of the phonological state of the Prakrit in the early fourth century CE.

Appendix 1: Kumārajīva's Syllabary

From *Dazhidu lun, Taishō* Volume 25, *Sūtra* 1509 (大智度論), p.408b15 and following.

These correspondences are phrased in the following form: 若聞羅字，即隨義知一切法離垢相。羅闍，秦言垢 *Ruo wen luo zi, ji sui yi zhi yiqie fa li gou xiang. Luo she, Qin yan gou*; "If one hears the character 羅, the meaning immediately follows that all *dharma* are apart from the characteristic of filth, *rajas* [the Sanskrit word], which is 'filth 垢' in the language of the Qin dynasty".

Arapacana syllabary	Headword	Comments
阿 a	阿提, 阿耨波陀 (PB: ʔa-nəwʰ-pa-da) (*anuppāda*)	初 = beginning; 不生 = unborn
羅 la (ra)	羅闍 (PB: la-dzia) *raja*	垢 = filth
波 pa	波羅[末]木陀 (PB: pa-la-[mat] məwk-da) (*paramatā*)	第一義 = ultimate truth
遮 ca	遮梨夜 (PB:tɕiaw-li-jiaʰ) *cariya* < Skt. *caryā*	行 = to practice
那 na	那 = "not" (PB: naʰ)	不 = not

(cont.)

Arapacana syllabary	Headword	Comments
[還]邏 la	[還]邏求 (PB: [ɣwain/ɣwɛːn] laʰ-guw) < *laghu*	輕 = light
陀 da	陀摩 (PB: da-ma) < *dama* ("taming")	善 = good
婆 ba	婆陀 (PB: ba-da) < *baddha*	縛 = tie up, bind
茶 ḍa	茶闍[陀]他 PB: dɔ- dzia [da]/ tʰa) < *ḍaj̄amaṇo*ᵃ (GDhp 75-d, 159-b) < Skt. *dahyamāna* ("burning")	不熱 = not hot
沙 ṣa	沙 (PB: ṣaɨ/ṣɛː) < P. *cha*, Skt. *ṣaṣ/ṣad*	六 = six
和 va	和(于波[切]反)波他 (PB:ɣwa-pa-tʰa) < *vappatha* < Skt. *vākpatha*	語言 = language, speech
多 ta	多他 (PB: ta-tʰa) < Skt. *tathā*	如 = thus
夜 ya	夜他跋 (PB: jiaʰ-tʰa-bat) < *yathāvat*	實 = true, real
[咤]吒 (PB: [traiʰ/trɛːʰ]) = ṣṭa?	吒婆 (PB: traiʰ/trɛːʰ-ba) < *ṭa(ṃ)bha*, Prakritic version of Skt. *stambha*?ᵇ	障礙 = obstacle
迦 ka	迦[邏]羅迦 (PB: kɨa-la-kɨa) < *kāraka*	作者 = doer
薩(婆)ᶜ sa	[婆]薩婆 (PB: [ba] sat-ba < *sabba* or Skt. *sarva*	一切 = all
魔 ma	[磨磨]魔迦羅 (PB: [ma-ma] ma-kɨa-la) < *mamakāra*	我所 = mine
伽 ga	伽陀 (PB: gɨa-da) < *gada*	底 = bottom
[他]陀 tha	多[他何]陀阿伽陀 (PB: ta-[tʰa-ɣa] da-ʔa-gɨa-da) < *tathāgata*	如去 = thus gone
闍 ja	闍提闍羅 (PB: dzia-dɛj- dzia-la) < Pkt. *jādi-jarā* < Skt. *jāti-jarā*	生老 = birth and age
濕波 sva	濕波 (PB: ɕip-pa)	無義 = has no meaning
馱 dha	馱[魔]摩 (PB: da-ma) < *dhamma/dharma*	法 = dharma

Arapacana syllabary	Headword	Comments
賒 śa	賒多(都餓[切]反) PB: ɕia-ta < *śa(n)ta*	寂滅 = extinction
呿 kha	呿伽 (PB: kʰiɤ'-gia) > *kha* = air, space sky; *khaga* = bird	虛空 = void
叉 kṣa	叉耶 (PB: tʂʰaɨ/tʂʰɛ:-jia) < *kṣaya*	盡 = use up, exhaust
哆ᵈ sta	[何]阿利迦哆度求那 (PB: [ɣa] ʔa-liʰ-kia-ta-dɔʰ-guw-naʰ) < *alakṣita-guṇa?* ("qualities with no characteristics")	是事邊得何利 = what benefit in grasping the limit of these matters?
若 ña	若那 (PB:ɲiak-naʰ)= *ñāna* < Skt. *jñāna*	智 = wisdom
他 rtha	[阿利他] 阿他 (PB: [ʔa-liʰ-tʰa] ʔa-tʰa < *attha* < Skt. *artha*ᵉ	義 = meaning
[波]婆 bha	婆伽 (PB: ba-gia) < *bha(ṅ)ga*	破 = broken
車 cha	伽車提 (PB: gia-tɕʰia-dɛj) < *gacchadi* (GDhp *gachadi*) < Skt. *gacchati*	去 = go
濕[麼]㘴 sma	阿濕㘴 (PB: ʔa-ɕip-ma) < *aśma*	石 = stone
火 hva	[火婆夜]火夜 (PB: [xwa'-ba-jiaʰ] xwa'-jiaʰ) *hvaya* < Skt. √*hve, hvayati*	喚來 = call to come
[嗟]蹉 tsa	末[嗟]蹉羅 (PB: mat [tsia]tsʰa-la) < *matsara* "selfish"	慳 = stingy
伽 gha	伽那 (PB: gia-naʰ) < *ghana,* "thick"	厚 = thick
[咃]他 ṭha	南天竺[咃]他那 (PB: nam/nəm-tʰɛn-truwk-[tʰa]ᶠ-tʰa-naʰ) "south India (tianzhu = India)ᵍ *thāna*"	處 = place
拏 ṇa	南天竺拏 (PB: south India nraɨ/nɛ)	不 = not
頗 pha	頗羅 (PB: pʰa'-la) < *phala*	果 = fruit
歌 ska	歌大 (PB: ka-da'/dajʰ) <*kha(n) dha, skandha*ʰ < GDhp 56-b *kanaṇa*	眾 = many (五眾 = 5 skandhas)

(cont.)

Arapacana syllabary	Headword	Comments
醛 ysa?	醛 *cuó* (not in PB or Karlgren) dza or tsʰa?	即知醛字空，諸法亦爾 "one knows it (醛) is an empty character; all phenomena are also thus"
遮 śca	遮羅地 (PB: tɕia- la-diʰ) (per Brough) < *caladi* < *cal/car,* to move GDhp 68-c, 256-b; *caradi* = Skt. *carati*, but *śārathi* ("charioteer") seems closer	動 = move 即知一切法不動相 = all dharmas have the characteristic of motion-lessnesss) = *niścala*
[多]吒 ṭa	[多]吒ⁱ羅 (PB: [ta]traiʰ/trɛːʰ-la) < Pkt. (AMg) *taḍa* < Skt. *taṭa* ("river bank")	岸 = shore
[茶]茶 ḍha	波[茶]茶 (PB: pa-[dɔ]- draɨ/drɛː) < *bāḍham* per Broughʲ	必 = must (certainly, positively, necessarily, etc.)

a   Letter *-j̄-* has a macron over it indicating *-jh-* per Brough GDHp §6.
b   Brough 1977: 89.
c   There seems to be some confusion about the headword. Here 婆 is given, not 薩, but since 婆 = *ba* above, it must be a mistake.
d   哆 is not in Pulleyblank or Karlgren; here 多 is the closest parallel. See page 157, note a, where Coblin gives it the value tâ.
e   Here both Prakrit forms of Skt. *artha* are given: *aritha* with epenthetic vowel and *attha* with conjuncts assimilated.
f   咃 is not in Pulleyblank; here 他 is the closest parallel.
g   Per PB 414, 天竺 = a transcription of Iranian Hinduka with 天 = 祆 [*xiān*] = xɛn.
h   Why does Kumārajīva leave out the *-n-* in *khanda*? Available to him were characters like 根 (*gen* = PB kən) if he wanted to capture this *-n-* + consonant sound. See Brough 1962 §48: "sporadic weakening or loss of the nasal before voiced consonants" in G. Also see Geiger §6.3 where short nasalized vowels are not infrequently replaced by a pure long vowel (so *khadha* = *khādha* above) and Fussman 1989 §33.5 where an open long syllable was automatically nasalized in G. Of course sometimes the *anusvāra* was simply omitted.
i   咤 alternate form.
j   Brough 1977: 94.

Appendix 2: Phonetic Abbreviations

' (apostrophe)	rising tone
ʰ (superscript h)	sign of aspiration, including aspiration in the departing tone
[ð]	a dental voiced fricative
e̯ i̯ ə̯, etc.	subordinate vowels in diphthong per Karlgren (in Ulving 1997, 13)
level tone	unmarked
entering tone	syllables ending in *-p, -t, -k*
ɲ	palatal nasal
ŋ	velar nasal
ə	schwa
ə̆	a schwa like off-glide found in combinations like iə̆; see Pulleyblank 1991, 5
ɔ	lower mid back rounded vowel like "long" in English
ɤ	closed mid back unrounded vowel
ɕ	a voiceless palatal fricative, *ś* in Sanskrit. Also found as tɕ which is an affricate form
ʂ	a voiceless retroflex fricative, *ṣ* in Sanskrit. Also found as tʂ which is an affrciate form
ɛ	lower mid-front vowel
j	high front glide like the consonant *y* in English
ɨ	high, central unrounded vowel
ː	long vowel
[ ]	alternate reading in the different Taisho editions or alternate phonetic spelling (depending on context)
ɣ̯	(vowel with subordinate marker in a diphthong, e.g. diphthong -i̯ä-)
ɣ	voiced velar fricative
ʔ	glottal stop
ʐ	voiced retroflex fricative

The Journey of Zhao Xian and the Exile of Royal Descendants in the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368)[1]

Kaiqi Hua

The Mongol Yuan Dynasty in China was known for its cultural and ethnic diversity, as well as for the ruler's policy of religious tolerance. Tibetan Buddhism was especially valued and favoured by the Mongol emperors. Qubilai Qan (1215–1294) had personally established the institutions of the *dishi* 帝師 (Imperial Preceptor) and *guoshi* 國師 (State Preceptor), and elevated the status of Tibetan Buddhism as the most powerful religious tradition in the Yuan Dynasty. The Sakya School (Tib. Sa skya) was the leading branch of Tibetan Buddhism throughout that period. A great wave of Tibetan Buddhist monks, many of them from the Sakya School, sojourned in politically significant Chinese and Mongolian cities for the sake of giving Buddhist teachings and governmental advice, including Dadu 大都 (today Beijing), Shangdu 上都 (Xanadu), and Qara Qorum. Besides these political centres, Hangzhou 杭州, the former Southern Song 南宋 (1127–1276) capital and a populous metropolis with spectacular views, attracted many Tibetan and Tangut monks. These Buddhist migrations were attracted by the city's cultural environment of Buddhism. They were appointed by the Mongol government at newly established Buddhist clergy offices. Through the *Jiangnan shijiao zongtongsuo* 江南釋教總統所 (Supervision Office for Buddhist Teachings in Jiangnan, later: *Jianghuai shijiao zongtong suo* 江淮釋教總統所, Supervision Office for Buddhist Teachings in Jianghuai) established in 1277, Tibetan and Tangut monks who held high official positions in the clergy offices had direct influence in both religious and

local affairs in Hangzhou as well as in the Jiangnan region as a whole. The most notable figure at the time was the Tangut monk and head of the Supervision Office, Yang Lianzhenjia 楊璉真伽 (Tib. Yang Rin chen skyabs, fl. 1277–1288), who had transformed Hangzhou's landscape through the destruction of the Song imperial palace and the construction of Buddhist temples, pagodas and sculptures. Thus, the Mongol regime and its Tibetan and Tangut religious employees had soon made Hangzhou a focal point for the flourishing of Tibetan-style Buddhism, which had never appeared in the city and the region before the Mongols' arrival in 1276.

Tibet, on the other hand, had fallen under Mongol control with regard to its political and religious systems. The Mongols had contacts with Tibetan monks as early as the Činggizid period in the early 13th century, when Tibetan monks went to attend the court of Činggiz Qan (1162–1227). In 1253, Qubilai Qan had confessed his personal belief and support for the Sakya School, when he met with the Pakpa Lama (Tib. Phags pa, 1235–1280) for the first time at Liupan Mountain 六盤山 in present-day Ningxia (the Hexi 河西 region) on his way to the campaign against the Dali 大理 Kingdom (937–1253).[2] In 1260, Pakpa was appointed the State Preceptor of the Yuan. He became the Minister of the *zongzhiyuan* 總制院 (Supreme Control Commission) in 1264. The department later turned into the *xuanzhengyuan* 宣政院 (Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs). Tibetan monks soon became the most powerful religious figures in the Yuan Empire. Though the Mongols had not occupied the Tibetan territory by military force, they held the power to bestow officials in charge of Tibetans' political and religious affairs in both Tibet and China. Many Sakya School leaders were appointed as Imperial and State Preceptors of the Yuan, and were required to reside in the capital.[3] Thus, the Sakya School was the most powerful Buddhist sect in both Tibet and China. In addition, the Mongols had controlled the Hexi region, which was a crucial region for Sino-Tibetan Buddhist contacts, including the territory of the former Tangut Kingdom (1038–1227), known in Chinese sources as Xixia 西夏. It was the most Eastern part of the Silk Road, and also the most common route that travellers used between Tibet and China, as well as between Central and East Asia.

The Mongols were sophisticated in mobilising not only themselves on horseback, but also in ruling their subjects. Therefore, sometimes they were called the "herders of human beings."[4] Thomas Allsen has recently studied the large-scale population movements in Eurasia during the Mongols' military

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2 Chen Dezhi 2004.

3 The Sakya School leader was also called the Sakya throne holder—Sakya Trizin.

4 Allsen 2015: 143.

expansion period (the early and mid 13th century), including different forms in "military deployment, retreat of defeated armies, migration of refugees, resettlement programs, political defections and trafficking in slaves."[5] Due to their military and agricultural needs, the Mongols were able to move huge groups of laborers across a wide range of geographically remote and disconnected regions. For example, the Mongols moved Central Asian men with skills from Bukhara and Samarkand to China and Qipchaq armies from North Caucasus to Mongolia. High quality military including infantry, artillery and cavalry; skilled men including craftsmen, artisans and engineers; religious clergy and educated personnel were all groups targeted in the Mongols' favoured migrations. In addition, slaves, hostages, refugees and surrounded armies were the objects of the Mongols' ruthless relocation. Allsen has interpreted the "demographic, cultural, military-political and ethno-religious consequences" of these population movements.[6]

Whereas Allsen's study mainly focuses on population movement by a group, community or large unit due to the Mongols' collective imperial policies, this paper focuses on individuals from royal houses, including Mongolian, Chinese, Korean and Tibetan royalty, that were sent to exile by the Mongol emperors directly, and the role Buddhism played throughout their lives in exile. Did the Mongol rulers recognise Buddhism as a means of self-cultivation and spiritual transformation, rather than simply a solution for individual relocation in exchange of loyalty and political stability? To what degree did Buddhism influence the Mongols' decision to displace, replace and relocate subjects? What was the pattern of exile punishment when it was done in the name of the Buddhist teachings? What were the ethnic, cultural, and religious indentity transformations of the exile subjects?

1   The Journey of the 'Royal Monk' Zhao Xian (1271–1323)

Zhao Xian 趙㬎 (1271–1323), the last emperor of the Chinese Song Dynasty (960–1276), travelled widely in China and Tibet during his life in exile after the Mongols' conquest of his capital city, Hangzhou, in 1276. Under Qubilai's approval, Zhao became a monk in the Tibetan Buddhist order, then becoming known as Master Lhatsün (Tib. Lha btsun, Ch. Hezun 合尊/Hazun 哈尊 which means 'Royal Monk', *wangseng* 王僧), or as Lhatsün Chökyi Rinchen (Tib. Lha btsun chos kyi rin chen, which means the 'Royal Monk of the Precious Dharma,'

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5   Ibid.

6   Ibid.

Ch. *hezun fabao* 合尊法寶).[7] He lived in the region of Sakya Monastery and the formerly Tangut Hexi region during his exile until his murder in the latter region in 1323, which was ordered by the Mongol Emperor, Shidebala 碩德八剌, also known as Gegeen Qan or Emperor Ying Zong 英宗 (1302–1323, r. 1320–1323).[8] He had translated important Buddhist scriptures, earned a high reputation as a Buddhist monk in Tibet, and left legendary stories in the writings of Chinese literati.

When the Mongol forces conquered Hangzhou, Zhao Xian was only five years old.[9] The Song state was under the regency of Grand Empress Dowager Xie Daoqing 謝道清 (1210–1280). There were some Song loyalists and remaining descendants of the imperial Zhao family, who were resisting along China's Southeast coast against the Mongols until 1279. But most Song imperial family members who remained in the Song palace in Hangzhou were escorted to the Yuan capital Dadu in the North. Instead, Zhao Xian arrived in the summer capital Shangdu (Xanadu) in 1276, along with his mother Empress Dowager Quan *taihou* 全太后, other members of the royal family, palace servants, court attendants and Song officials.[10] At that time, Qubilai was enjoying his summer time in Shangdu, which was approximately three hundred and fifty kilometers North of Dadu. He awarded Zhao Xian a series of honorary titles including

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7 Wang Yao 1981: 68. Zhao Xian (r. 1274–1276, in Hangzhou) was further known under the following names: Emperor Deyou (Deyoudi 德祐帝), Emperor Gong (Gongdi 恭帝), Young Emperor (Shaodi 少帝), Child Monarch (Youzhu 幼主), Monarch of the Song (Songzhu 宋主) and Duke of the Ying State (Yingguogong 瀛國公). In the official chronicle of the Song Dynasty, *Songshi* 宋史 (*History of the Song Dynasty*), edited by the Mongol-sponsored court historians, there were very limited accounts on the whereabouts of the emperor after 1276; also his biography in the *History of the Song Dynasty* did not mention anything after 1276 about his life in exile. For the biography, see *Songshi* 47.

8 Martin, Dan. "Tibetan Proper Name Index 1983–2012." Accessed December 12, 2014. https://sites.google.com/site/tiblical. "Lha btsun CHOS KYI RIN CHEN—The name of the deposed Emperor Gongdi of Song 宋恭帝 (1271–1323) of the Southern Song Dynasty. He lived in vicinity of Sa skya Monastery from the 1280's until his recall and execution in Hexi."

9 Zhao Xian was the second son of Emperor Du Zong 宋度宗 (1240–1274, r. 1264–1274), and his mother was Empress Quan 全太后 (dates unknown).

10 En route, they also encountered Song loyalists and rebels who tried to rescue them from Mongol soldiers and reestablish the monarchy. See *Yuanshi* 451: 13267–13269 in the Biography of Jiang Cai 薑才. It says that Jiang Cai (?–1276) and Li Tingzhi 李庭芝 (1219–1276) led a force of 40,000 soldiers in Guazhou 瓜洲 (near Yangzhou 揚州) in the Hexi region, and tried to capture Zhao Xian when the Mongol troops and the Song imperial family travelled by there.

Yingguogong 瀛國公 (Duke of the Ying State).[11] The Song royal family was treated by Qubilai and his wife Chabi with honor and respect.[12]

Between 1276 to 1283, Zhao Xian and his relatives most likely dwelled in Dadu. They were invited to many feasts with the Mongol rulers, and enjoyed an abundance of food and clothing supplies from Qubilai.[13] He grew up in a granted residence. By the age of ten he had met with Chinese intellectuals and scholars as his teachers. Some of them were Song loyalists and cultural elites, including the court zither player Wang Yuanliang 汪元量 (circa 1241–1317). Zhao also had interaction with an exceptional Song loyalist, the former Grand Councillor Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 (1236–1283), who was in prison in Dadu. For years he refused to serve office for the Mongols, but was not sentenced to death until his sudden execution in 1283. Overall, Qubilai exerted a rather lenient policy on Song hostages in Dadu, including those of the Song royal house.

From 1282, there were several incidents which made Qubilai suspicious of any activities that would challenge his rule.[14] The court was quite nervous

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11   For honorary titles, see *Yuanshi* 9: 182, *Yuanwenlei* 11: 4; also in Wang Yuanliang's 汪元量 poems, he called Zhao Xian as Duke of the Ying State, see *Zengding hushan leigao* 1984: 54, 69, 109. However, a state named Ying did not exist. Another prince who had the same title Duke of the Ying State 瀛國公 was Zhao Yue 趙樾 (1115–1131), the twenty-fourth son of Emperor Hui Zong 宋徽宗 Zhao Ji 趙佶 (1082–1135). Zhao Yue was awarded the title by his father in 1115 soon after his birth. See *Songshi* 21: 395. Zhao Yue had a similar life story to Zhao Xian. When Zhao Yue was thirteen, he was captured along with his father and brothers (altogether twenty-three Song princes) by the Jurchens, and was taken to the North in 1127 at the fall of the Northern Song. In 1131, Zhao Yue committed suicide while a hostage of the Jurchens in Wuguo City (today Yilan county 依蘭縣, Heilongjiang), aged seventeen. See *Song fu ji* 宋俘記 (*Records of the Song Hostages*) in Que'an 確庵 and Nai'an 耐庵, *Jingkang baishi jianzheng* 靖康稗史箋證 (*The Accounts of Jingkang*), 2010.

12   *Yuanshi* (hereafter see: Song 1976) 114: 2871–2872.

13   Wang Yuanliang recorded ten great feasts, and tremendous awards of food and clothes see *Zengding hushan leigao* 52–57, 66; Huang Liyue 2000: 106–108. For example, the Song imperial family members were allowed to interact with each other. Wang Yuanliang had written a poem in 1279, *Pingyuan jungong yeyan yuexia dai Yingguo gong gui yufu* 平原郡公夜宴月下待瀛國公歸寓府 (*The Evening Banquet of Duke Pingyuan* [Zhao Yurui 趙與芮 1207–1287], *Waiting For The Duke of Ying State* [Zhao Xian] *to Return to His Residence*); see *Zengding hushan leigao* 1984: 69.

14   *Songshi* 418 (hereafter see Tuotuo 1977), Biography of Wen Tianxiang, Huang Liyue 2000: 110. The incidents include: (1) a court Buddhist monk made the astrological observation that Saturn was approaching the emperor's constellation; (2) someone called himself the 'Lord of the Song' in Zhongshan 中山 (Zhong Mountain), and claimed to conduct a rescue mission for Wen Tianxiang with his thousand soldiers; (3) there was a letter circulating in Dadu which said that there would be two wings of troops that would burn the thatch laid on the capital's city wall and save Wen Tianxiang; (4) the Left Grand Councilor Ahmad Fanākatī (Ahema 阿合馬, 1242–1282) was assassinated, and Qubilai ordered an

about any changes or signs of unrest. So Qubilai soon ordered the execution of Wen Tianxiang, and at the same time Zhao Xian was sent to Shangdu in the beginning of 1283.[15] Zhao Xian was only twelve years old, and some of the companions who were sent with him to Shangdu were Zhao Yupiao 趙與票 (1242–1303), his mother Empress Quan, Wang Zhaoyi 王昭儀 (dates unknown) and Wang Yuanliang.[16] His grandfather Zhao Yurui 趙與芮 (1207–1287) was a senior, so he was allowed to stay in Dadu. Grand Empress Dowager Xie had already passed away in 1280.[17] A year after all of them moved to Shangdu, in the second month of the Zhiyuan 至元 year 21 (1284), the group along with some former Song officials were relocated to the further West, the area called *Neidi* 內地 ('Inner Land' or the 'Interior Area of Mongolia').[18] This might refer to the motherland of the Mongols, thus the steppe of Mongolia. From the poems written by Wang Yuanliang about their journey from 1283 to 1285, we are able to trace their travel route from Dadu to Shangdu in 1283, from Shangdu to the Inner Land in 1284, and back to Dadu in 1285. Current scholarship has not yet studied this first trip of Zhao Xian.

From Wang Yuanliang's thirteen poems which contain location names of the journey, we are able to trace the exile group's travel route.[19] These location

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investigation into his corruption, which caused a series of political purges in the court later on.

15   *Yuanshi* 12. In the nineteenth year of the Zhiyuan period, *zhiyuan shijiu nian* 至元十九年, on the ninth day of the twelfth month, *shier yue chujiu* 十二月初九 (1283.1.9) Wen Tianxiang was executed; on the *yiwei* day of the twelfth month, *shier yue yiwei* 十二月乙未 (1283.1), Zhao Xian was relocated to Shangdu. For Wen Tianxiang's execution, also see Wang Yuanliang's two poems: *Shengwan Wenchengxiang* 生挽文丞相 ("Funeral Ode to Grand Councilor Wen"), and *Fuqiu daoren zhaohunge* 浮丘道人招魂歌 ("Song of Fuqiu Daoren Conjuring Spirit").

16   Wang Zhaoyi, or Wang Qinghui 王清惠, was a concubine of Emperor Duzong. She had the title *Longguo furen* 隆國夫人 (Madam of Longguo); later she converted to Daoism and became a Daoist nun in Dadu, with the Daoist name Chonghua 沖華. Wang Yuanliang had some poems recording Wang Zhaoyi's singing and music performance with him. Some scholars believe that Wang Zhaoyi was Zhao Xian's birth mother. see Cheng Yijun 1984.

17   Huang Liyue 2000: 113.

18   *Yuanshi* 13; *Xu zizhitongjian* 186.

19   These thirteen poems are: (1) *Chu Juyongguan* 出居庸關 ("Exit from the Juyong Pass") (location today: outskirts of Beijing); (2) *Changcheng wai* 長城外 ("Outside of the Great Wall") (location today: North of the Great Wall); (3) *Huanzhou dao zhong* 寰州道中 ("On the Way through Huanzhou") (location today: Shuozhou 朔州, Shanxi); (4) *Liling tai* 李陵台 ("Platform of Li Ling") (location today: Heichengzi 黑城子, Zhenglan Banner 正藍旗, Inner Mongolia); (5) *Zhaojun mu* 昭君墓 ("Zhaojun's Tomb") (location today: South of Hohhot, Inner Mongolia); (6) *Kaiping xueji* 開平雪霽 ("After Snow in Kaiping (Shangdu)") (location today: Dolonnor 多倫淖爾, Inner Mongolia); (7) *Kaiping* 開平

names are Chinese ones, which indicate that Wang was not informed of the location names in Mongolian or other foreign languages. The poems describe various activities, such as reading, eating, chatting or just traveling on road. No poem mentions the presence of Mongol escort forces or soldiers. The common themes of these poems are the depiction of harsh climate along the way, old legends, references to historical figures who had a similar fate of exile and passed through the same place, and Wang's yearning for his past prosperous life in the Song motherland in South China. These works are Wang Yuanliang's catharsis of the difficult exile experience in addition to the trauma of the fall of the Song Dynasty. Some poems complain about the hard treatment and terrible living situation of the royal family. Such an experience was distinct from the beginning of their hostage lives, when the Mongol rulers treated them to feasts and showed great hospitality in the capital. For example,

> 母子鼻酸辛，依依自相守。[20]
> Mother and son had bitterness in nose [means almost cry out], and relied on each other, lonely.

> 窮荒六月天，地有一尺雪。孤兒可憐人，哀哀淚流血。
> [...] 萬里不同天，江南正炎熱。[21]
> One day of aridity in June, the snow is over one chi high on the ground. Orphans and miserable people were sadly crying and bleeding.
> [...] Ten thousand li distance [between Jiangnan and their whereabouts] the day is different; in Jiangnan now it is still hot.

("Kaiping") (Kaiping is the aforementioned Shangdu); (8) *Caodi* 草地 ("The Grassland") (location today: Inner Mongolia steppe); (9) *Caodi hanshen zhanzhang zhong du Du shi* 草地寒甚 氈帳中讀杜詩 ("Reading Du Fu's Poem 'Inside a Yurt on the Grassland in Extreme Cold'") (location today: Inner Mongolia steppe); (10) *Yinshan guanlie he Zhao daizhi huiwen* 陰山觀獵和趙待制回文 ("Watching Hunting on the Yin Mountain: A Letter Reply to Zhao Daizhi") (location today: Yin Mountain, Mongolian name *Dalan Qara* 達蘭喀喇, in Bayannor 巴彥淖爾, Inner Mongolia); Zhao *daizhi* here refers to Zhao Yupiao who had the appointment as *daizhi* 待制 (Academician Awaiting Instructions); (11) *Suwu zhou zhanfang yezuo* 蘇武洲氈房夜坐 ("Night Sitting in A Yurt in the Land of Suwu") (location today: Mongolia steppe); (12) *Juyan* 居延 ("Juyan") (location today: *Juyan ze* 居延澤 (Juyan Swamp) or 居延海 (Juyan Sea), a lake near Ejin 額濟納, Inner Mongolia); (13) *Tianshan guanxue Wang Zhaoyi xiangyao ge tuorou* 天山觀雪王昭儀相邀割駝肉 ("Snow View in Tian Mountain, and Invited to A Camel Feast by Wang Zhaoyi") (location today: Qilian 祁連 Mountain, border between Gansu and Qinghai).

20   *Kaiping* 開平 ("Kaiping"), *Zengding hushan leigao* (Wang 1984: 85).

21   *Huanzhou dao zhong* 寰州道中 ("On the Way Through Huanzhou"), *Zengding hushan leigao* (Wang 1984: 82).

齷齪復齷齪，昔聞今始見。一月不梳頭，一月不洗面。
饑則嚼乾糧，渴則啖雪片。[...]²²

Dirty and dirty again, I have heard of this but finally experienced it today.
One month no grooming the hair, one month no washing the face.
Eating dried food when hungry, and eating a piece of ice when thirsty.
[…]

In 1285, Wang Yuanliang returned to Dadu along with the Song royal family members. He commemorated the end of this trip, as he wrote in a poem while in Dadu:

十年旅食在天涯，到處身安只是家。²³

Ten years sojourn till the end of the world, wherever I stay is my home.

From Wang's three later poems, we know that by 1287, three key figures of the Song royal family had all passed away, including Grand Empress Dowager Xie, Wang Zhaoyi and Zhao Yurui.²⁴ Therefore, only Zhao Xian and his mother, Empress Dowager Quan, were the remaining significant figures from the former Song palace. In the winter tenth month of the year 1288, Zhao Xian and Empress Dowager Quan were both ordered to study Buddhism, the former to Tibet and the latter to become a nun in Dadu. Zhao Xian was awarded one hundred *ding* 錠 in cash. He departed for Tibet (*Tubo* 土番) and never came back.²⁵ Empress Dowager Quan became a Buddhist nun at Zhengzhi Monastery 正智寺 in Dadu and lived there for the rest of her life.²⁶ Their awarded land and properties remained in Dadu.²⁷ Wang Yuanliang composed two farewell poems to them, including *Quantaihou weini* 全太后為尼 ("Empress Dowager

22 *Caodi* 草地 ("The Grassland"), *Zengding hushan leigao* (Wang 1984: 85).

23 *Youzhou chuye* 幽州除夜 ("New Year Eve in Youzhou (Dadu)"), *Zengding hushan leigao* (Wang 1984: 88).

24 *Taihuang Xietaihou wanzhang* 太皇謝太后挽章 ("Condolence Message for Grand Empress Dowager Xie"), *Zengding hushanleigao* 106; *Nudaoshi Wang Zhaoyi xianyou ci* 女道士王昭儀仙遊詞 ("Words for the Daoist Nun Wang Zhaoyi's Immortal Travel"), *Zengding hushanleigao* 108; *Pingyuan jungong Zhao Fuwang wanzhang* 平原郡公趙福王挽章 ("Condolence Message for Duke of Pingyuanjun Zhao Fuwang"), *Zengding hushanleigao* (Wang 1984: 108–109).

25 *Yuanshi* 15.

26 *Songshi* 243: 8661.

27 At least, the land was still under their name in 1291. See *Yuanshi* 16: 至元二十八年 1291 十二月　己巳，宣政院臣言：「宋全太后、瀛國公母子以為僧、尼，有地三百六十頃，乞如例免徵其租。」從之。 "Officials of the Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs appealed to the court for tax exemption to be granted to the 360 *qin* of

Quan Became a Nun"), and *Yingguogong ru xiyu weiseng hao Mubo jiangshi* 瀛國公入西域為僧號木波講師 ("Duke of the Ying State Went to the Western Territory and Became a Monk Called Teacher Mubo").[28] The latter poem for Zhao Xian reads as follows:

> 木老西天去，袈裟說梵文。生前從此別，去後不相聞。
> 忍聽北方雁，愁看西域雲。永懷心未已，梁月白紛紛。
> Master Mu left for the Western world, [wearing] kāṣāya and speaking Sanskrit. In this life it is the farewell, there was no news since this separation. Bear to listen to geese in the North, and sadly watch clouds in the Western territory. Always remember that the heart is not fulfilled, the moon is white and bright.

Zhao Xian was seventeen years old at the time of departure. It is not clear whether the imperial order of the exile was based on Zhao's own request to pursue the study of the Buddhist teachings in Tibet. The official chronicle of the Yuan Dynasty, *Yuanshi* 元史 (*History of the Yuan Dynasty*), does not give the precise reason for this order, whether it was the decision made by Qubilai himself, or based on the petition of the recipient. According to a contemporaneous Buddhist chronicle (1341), *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 (*A Comprehensive Record of the Generations of Buddhist Patriarchs*), it was Zhao Xian who had started studying Buddhism, and inspired Qubilai to make the decision to send him to Tibet.

> 宋主以王位來歸。學佛修行。帝大悅。命削髮為僧寶焉。[...]
> 宋主毳衣圓頂。帝命往西土討究大乘明即佛理。[29]
> The monarch of the Song surrendered his throne. He studied Buddhism and practised [meditation]. The emperor was pleased by this. So he ordered (Zhao Xian) to become a Buddhist monk. [...]

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　　land owned by Duke of the Ying State and Empress Dowager Quan who were a monk and a nun. Approved."

28   Wang Yuanliang 1984 110: *Quantaihou weini* 全太后為尼, 109: *Yingguogong ru Xiyu weiseng hao Mubo jiangshi* 瀛國公入西域為僧號木波講師. In 1288, extinction of hope for a better life in Dadu and nostalgia for Hangzhou drove Wang Yuanliang to seek his release for Hangzhou. He pleaded with Qubilai three times and finally got permission to return home in the South.

29   Shi Nianchang, 1983: 22.

> The monarch of the Song wore a fur robe with a round collar. The em-
> peror ordered him to pursue Mahāyāna Buddhist philosophy in the
> Western Land.

Throughout Zhao Xian's first exile from 1283 to 1285, he and his mother had
been immersed in Buddhist culture and the surroundings of the regions they
travelled to: the Inner Land of Mongolia, including the Hexi region, which was
the homeland of the former Tangut Kingdom, known for the popularity of
Buddhism there.

As for his second exile trip starting in 1288, Chinese sources do not indicate
that the destination was Sakya Monastery. In the above mentioned entries the
locations *Tubo* 土番 ('Tibet'), *Xiyu* 西域 (the 'Western Territory') and *Xitu* 西土
(the 'Western Land') occur.[30] In another entry in *A Comprehensive Record of the
Generations of Buddhist Patriarchs*, a more precise destination is given:

> 敕令瀛國公往脫思麻路習學梵書西番字經。[31]
> The Duke was sent to the Do me [Tib. mDo smad] route to study Sanskrit
> *sūtra*s written in Tibetan script.

According to the geographic division of offices during the Yuan Dynasty, Do
me route could mean a Pacification Commission which controlled a broader
region, or a Myriarchy Office which controlled a smaller region in Amdo only.[32]
After Ögedei Qan's conquest of the Jurchen Jin 金 Dynasty (1115–1234), most
of Tibet and the Hexi region were under the jurisdiction of prince Köden (Ch.
Kuoduan 闊端, 1206–1251). The Yuan had established a *du yuanshuai fu* 都元帥
府 (Chief Military Command) combined with a *xuanwei si* 宣慰司 (Pacification
Commission) named Do me (Tib. mDo smad), and placed it under the direct
rule of the Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs. So the broad scope
of the Do me route includes the Northeast region of Amdo and a large por-
tion of the Hexi region. The area covers today Northeast Qinghai, South Gansu,

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30 *Yuanshi* 15; Wang Yuanliang, 1984 109: *Yingguogong ru Xiyu weiseng hao Mubo jiangshi*
    瀛國公入西域為僧號木波講師 ("The Duke of the Ying State Went to the West Territory
    to Become a Monk named Master Mubo"); *Fozu lidai tongzai* 22.

31 *Fozu lidai tongzai* (Shi 1983) 21; note: The fourteenth year of the Zhiyuan period, *zhiyuan
    shisi nian* 至元十四年 (1277), should be the twenty-fifth year of the Zhiyuan period, *zhi-
    yuan ershiwu nian* 至元二十五年 (1288).

32 Tuosima 脫思麻, or other characters for the same name, Duosima 朵思麻, Tuosima
    脫思馬, and Tusima 禿思馬. See Franke 1981: 296–297.

and Northwest Sichuan.[33] Under the Pacification Commission, there was also a special *junmin wanhu fu* 軍民萬戶府 (Do me Myriarchy Office) ruling the Northeastern part of Amdo. This was the Do me route in the narrow sense. We do not know exactly which Do me route was referred to in the text quoted from the edict in *A Comprehensive Record of the Generations of Buddhist Patriarchs*. But it is certain that Zhao Xian had lived in the region of the Sino-Tibetan borderland (modern day Qinghai and Gansu) during his second period of exile.

In the abovementioned poem of Wang Yuanliang, Zhao Xian's name as a Tibetan Buddhist teacher was Mubo 木波.[34] It was the name of a Tibetan tribe that resided in the Do me route. The approximate area includes today the parts south of the Yellow River in Eastern Qinghai and South Gansu.[35] So here Mubo refers to the area where the named tribe resided. The title Master Mubo or Teacher Mubo corresponded to a Chinese Buddhist tradition in the Song–Yuan period, according to which a place or monastery name was used as the first part of a Buddhist monk's name. The localization of Zhao Xian's Buddhist title, at least in Wang's poem, has a symbolic meaning related to his transformation from an exile subject to a Buddhist monk bound to his new home place. Mubo is used instead of the name of the Southern Song capital (Lin'an). It became Zhao Xian's new identity.

Due to the limited Chinese sources on Zhao Xian, there is no record mentioning Zhao's travel to Sakya in Tibet. The Tibetologist Wang Yao had discovered six available Tibetan sources that recorded Zhao Xian's life briefly.[36] As

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33   Sometimes the name Do me (Tib. mDo smad) is used for the entire Amdo region, since that time, Tibet was divided by three regions traditionally: Do Kham (Tib. mDo khams, Ch. Duogansi 朵甘思), Do me (Tib. mDo smad (or Amdo), Ch. Tusima 脫思麻), and Ü-Tsang (Tib. dBus gtsang, Ch. Usizang 烏斯藏).

34   Wang Yuanliang, 1984: 109: *Yingguogong ru Xiyu weiseng hao Mubo jiangshi* 瀛國公入西域為僧號木波講師.

35   Zhou Feng 周峰, "Luelun Jinchao dui Tubo Mubobu de jinglue". Primary sources mention the name of the Mubo tribe; see *Jinshi* 12, 84 and 91; *Yuanwenlei* 41. There are two other different arguments on the name of Mubo: Wang Yao, Chinese 1981: 76; Mubo 木波 in Chinese was a misspelling of Benbo 本波, which was from Tibetan name *dbon po*, which means chief or abbot of a monastery. According to Li Qingpu 1999: 38–40, Mubo 木波 is from the Tibetan word *dbon po* and means nephew. In the surrender letter of the Song to the Yuan in 1275, Zhao Xian offered to be the nephew of the Yuan emperor. See *Yuanshi* 8. But this claim contradicts Li's quite different argument that Zhao was also the son-in-law of Qubilai due to his marriage with one of Qubilai's daughters.

36   See Wang 1981. These Tibetan primary sources include:
       Deb ther dmar po (*gsar ma*) (Ch. *Hongshi* 紅史, *The Red Annals*), dated 1346; *Deb ther sngon po* (Ch. *Qingshi* 青史, *The Blue Annals*), 1476–78; *Deb dmar gsar ma* (Ch. *Xinhongshi* 新紅史, *The New Red Annals*), 1538; *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (Ch. *Jianzhe xiyan* 賢者喜宴,

mentioned above, Zhao Xian appears in Tibetan sources as Lhatsün (Tib. Lha btsun) or Lhatsün Chökyi rinchen (Tib. Lha btsun chos kyi rin chen). Interestingly, none of the sources Wang Yao cited mentioned Do me, and only half of them mentioned Sakya Monastery.³⁷ Sakya Monastery was a popular destination for exiling high-level political figures with Buddhist interests, due to its remote destination, Buddhist prestige, and the direct connection with the Mongol rulers. Compared to other Tibetan Buddhist schools and tribes, the Mongol ruler had more influence in the area of Sakya Monastery. Also, Sakya Monastery was both regarded as the holiest site and as the political centre in Tibet at that time, so its reputation made the exile seem not like a punishment, but a reward from the sage emperor. This will become clearer when we discuss further below the case of King Chungseon 충선왕 (Ch. Zhongxuan wang 忠宣王, Mong. Iǰirbuqa, 1275–1325, r. 1298 and 1308–1313) of Korea, who was exiled there in 1320. As for Do me, Zhao Xian probably had visited the region during his first trip to the West, and travelled there in his second exile period before reaching Sakya. Do me was indeed the key area that exiled people had to pass through en route to Tibet. In a late Yuan case, in 1362, Chief Counsellor Taiping 太平 (Mongolian name Tuoba Taiping 拓跋太平; Chinese name He Weiyi 贺惟一, 1301–1363), and his son Esen Qutug 也先忽都 (He Jun 贺均, style name Gongbing 公秉, 1319–1363), were both exiled to Sakya and ordered to take the route through Do me.

> 也先忽都當貶撒思嘉之地，道由朵思麻。³⁸
> Esen Qutug should be banished to the land of Sakya, and take the route of Do me.

Zhao Xian spent time in the region of Sakya Monastery, and had connection with the monastery. According to an entry in *The New Red Annals* it is said:

> Phyis sman rtse'i yul du rgyal rabs brgyad byung ste sman rtse lha btsun pa'i bar du'o ('dis sa skyar spyi 'dzin mdzad).

Happy Banquet of Scholars), 1564; *Chos 'byung dpag bsam ljon bzang* (Ch. *Ruyi baoshushi* 如意寶樹史, *A Good Luck Tree of History*), 1748; *Tshad ma rigs par 'jug pa'i sgo* (Ch. *Yinming ruzheng lilun* 因明入正理論, *On Mastering Logic*).

37   They are *The Red Annals, The New Red Annals,* and *On Mastering Logic*.

38   *Yuanshi* 140: Biography of Taiping 太平. The reason for their banishment was their alleged involvement in the court conflict with Cösgem 搠思監; see his biography in *Yuanshi* 250.

後，於蠻子地方，王統八傳，即至蠻子合尊之中間也（此人曾任薩斯迦總持）。**39**

Later, in the South, the dynasty passed to the eighth generation and was overthrown in the year of lhatsün (by a person who later became the chief of the Sakya Monastery).

Wang Yao claimed that Zhao served as the *zongchi* 總持 (head abbot) of the monastery, as the Tibetan word *spyi 'dzin* here means.**40** But Leonard van der Kujip had disagreed with this, and understood that this key term was actually spelled *spyil*. It is an abbreviation of Tibetan *spyil po* or *spyil bu* (Skt. *tṛṇakuṭi*), a thatched or grass hut used by a hermit. So according to van der Kuijp's translation, Zhao Xian had taken up residence in a thatched hut in the area of Sakya Monastery.**41** In other words, Zhao was attached to the monastery, but not affiliated with it directly, nor did he physically stay inside it. I accept van der Kujip's perspective, since there was no other record in Tibetan sources stating that Zhao Xian was the chief abbot of the Sakya Monastery. Also, in various chronicles and lineage books of the Sakya School there is no mention of Zhao Xian.**42**

Zhao Xian's second exile in Tibet lasted thirty-five years, between 1288 and 1323, about which we have very limited information. What we surely know is that he lived in both areas, the Sakya and Do me. In 1323, Zhao Xian was ordered to be executed in the Hexi region by Emperor Ying Zong Shidebala. Among Chinese primary sources, there is no record in the official chronicle *History of the Yuan Dynasty*; the only contemporaneous one (also the earliest Chinese record) is in the Buddhist chronicle *A Comprehensive Record of the Generations of Buddhist Patriarchs*:

至治三年，是年四月賜瀛國公合尊死於河西，詔僧儒金書藏經。八月四日上崩。**43**

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39   *The New Red Annals*: Tibetan *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* 1989: 45–46; Chinese *Xin hongshi* 新紅史 1984: 47; English translation according to Wang (English) 1981: 437.

40   Wang (Chinese) 1981: 69.

41   Van der Kuijp 1993: 533.

42   On Sakya lineage history, see Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams (2002) and Kun dga' blo gros (1992).

43   *Fozu lidai tongzai* (Shi 1983) 22. *Ci* [...] *si* [...] 賜[...]死[...] ('granted death') can be interpreted either as 'ordered to be executed' or 'allowed to commit suicide'. In any case, there was an edict direct from the emperor to take Zhao Xian's life.

In the fourth month of the third year of the Zhizhi period (1323), the Duke of the Ying State was granted death in Hexi, and Buddhists and Confucians were ordered to produce handwritten gilded-script *sūtra*s.[44] On the fourth day of the eighth month the emperor passed away.

As for the reason for this imperial edict, the traditional explanation given since the late fourteenth century is that Zhao Xian was executed due to a poem he wrote to Wang Yuanliang while they were together in Dadu before 1288. The short poem was to memorise by the famous Song intellectual Lin Bu 林逋 (967–1028) in Hangzhou.[45] It demonstrated the author's lamenting of the past Song dynasty and yearning to return to the South, which was understood by the Mongol emperor as a sign of political revival and loss of loyalty to his Mongol lord. Since there is no historical record of this poem near the time of execution, and most sources containing this poem are Chinese literati writings, scholars have remained suspicious of the incident's authenticity.[46] According to *The Red Annals*, Master Lhatsun was executed during Gegeen Qan's (Shidebala) reign, and that his blood turned into milk (or white blood), a sign of innocence in traditional Tibetan folklore.[47] But this source does not give the reason for the execution. According to another Tibetan source, *rGya Bod yig tshang chen mo* (*Historical Records of China and Tibet*, Ch. *Hanzang shiji* 漢藏史集), the missing part of the entire story may be added:

De'ang snga sor/ pho brang shang do/ sog pos me la sregs dus/ sman tshe'i rgyal bus/ hor rgyal po la/ gus btud byas par ma lo bar/ yul nas phud/ sa skyar yong/ chos byas pas/ mi'i 'du sa chen po byung 'dug de'i skabs su/ hor rgyal gyi rtsis pa na re/ nub phyogs kyi ban de ngo log nas/ rgyal sa

44 Wang Yao's translation; see Wang (English) 1981: 433–434: "In April of the year of Zhizhi 3 (1323), on an order from imperial court, the Duke of the Ying State was executed in the Hosi area, and later a number of distinguished monks and scholars were summoned together and asked to record this incident in the Tibetan Buddhist scripts by writing something in gold."

45 Lin Bu, posthumous title Mr. Hejing 和靖先生, was a Northern Song poet and native of Hangzhou. He was born to a Confucian family and trained as a scholar for the civil exam. But he refused civil service and stayed celibate all his life. He lived by himself on the Solitary Hill Island in the West Lake of Hangzhou. The legend of him says he called 'plum blossom trees his wife and cranes his sons', as he planted plum trees and raised cranes on the island alone.

46 For more information on the poem and its link to the execution order, see Wang (Chinese) 1981: 66–67, Wang (English) 1981: 434–435.

47 See Wang (Chinese) 1981: 67–68; Wang (English) 1981: 435–436.

'phrog pa 'dug zer ba byung nas/ ltar btang pas/ sman rtse'i lha btsun/ 'khor mang pos bskor ba mthong/ de hor rgyal po zhus pas/ gsod zer ba'i byungs nas/ gsod du phyin pas/ kho na re/ nga ngo log byed rtsis man pa la/ gsod na/ skye ba phyi ma la/ hor gyi rgyal sa 'phrog par shog/ zer ba'i smod pa bor bas/ rgya ta'i ming rgyal pos skyes nas hor gyi rgyal sa 'phrogs pa yin zer ro/ sman rtse lha btsun de bsad dus/ khrag yang 'o mar byung ces grags so/

先前，當杭州宮殿被蒙古人火燒之時，蠻子之皇子向蒙古皇帝歸順了，但不得信任，被放逐他鄉，到了薩迦地方，修習佛法，人群集聚在他周圍。此時，蒙古皇帝的卜算師們說：將有西方僧人反叛，奪取皇位。皇帝派人去看，見許多隨從簇擁此蠻子合尊，將此情向皇帝奏報，皇帝命將其斬首。赴殺場時，他發願說：我並未想反叛，竟然被殺，願我下一世奪此蒙古皇位。由此願力，他轉生爲漢人大明皇帝，奪取蒙古之皇位。又據說蠻子合尊被殺時，流出的不是血，而是奶汁。**48**

At first, when the palace in Hangzhou was burned down by the Mongols, the child emperor of Manzi surrendered to the Mongol emperor. But he was not trusted, so he was banished to exile in other places. He arrived in Sakya and studied Buddhist dharma; people gathered around him. At that time, the diviners of the Mongol emperor said: 'There will be Buddhist monk rebels in the West who wish to take your throne.' The emperor dispatched people to investigate this. The investigators saw many people were following the Manzi Lhatsün. So it was reported to the emperor. The emperor thus ordered the execution of Lhatsün. When on his way to the execution venue, [Lhatsün] vowed: 'I did not want to rebel, but now I am to be executed. I wish that my next generation will take over the imperial throne of the Mongols.' Because of the power of this wish, he had reincarnated as the emperor of the Great Ming, and took over the Mongol imperial throne. It is also said that when Manzi Lhatsun was killed, his body bled not blood, but milk.

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48   *rGya bod kyi yid tshang mkhas pa dga' byed chen mo 'dzam gling gsal ba'i me long* 1985: 259–260; *Hanzang shiji* 漢藏史集 1986: 158. The term *sman rtse* (Ch. Manzi 蠻子) refers to the Southern Song, South China or sometimes the Jiangnan region in Mongolian, Tibetan and Persian sources. See Boyle 1971: 287. Also, Marco Polo used the term Manzi with the same referent; see Pelliot 1959. Manzi in Tibetan spelling is *sman rtse, sman rtsi, sman tse*, or *dman tshe*.

This source gives information about the rumor of a rebellion, and the divination of the Mongol court astronomers. Since this is a solitary record, we cannot rely on it completely. However, we must see that Emperor Yingzong Shidebala's short reign (1320–1323) was the dramatic turning point from the mid to the late Yuan Dynasty, when the state became weak along with the emperor's power declining at the expense of highly influential officials rising at the court, and the fierce domestic conflict between Mongol princes for the imperial throne. Shidebala was assassinated in a coup, just four months after he had ordered the execution of Zhao Xian. He was known for his energetic and creative ways to push several new policies during his reign, which affected the interests of many powerful officials and even imperial family members. This so-called *zhizhi gaige* 至治改革 ('reform of the Zhizhi Period') included an anti-corruption campaign which soon provoked resistance. Rumors and accusations filled the court. So the emperor had to make harsh punishments for reports of any suspicious activities, in order to quickly pacify his people and reestablish his authority. On the other hand, although Confucian education and intellectuals had influenced the emperor, he had tremendous support for Buddhism. For instance, he ordered many big temple construction projects all over the empire during his reign and maintained close relations with the leaders of the Sakya School. As will be discussed later, the Korean King Chungseon was also ordered into exile in the Sakya region for the sake of studying Buddhist teachings, likewise during Shidebala's reign.

Zhao Xian died at the age of fifty-two, having been a hostage of the Mongols for forty-seven years under the reigns of five different Mongol emperors. His two exiles into the Inner Land, Do me and the region of Sakya Monastery, took thirty-seven years of his life. So he had only spent a total of ten years of his hostage life in Dadu and Shangdu without travelling. There were not many official records after his death, but we can still spot some clues in the official *History of the Yuan Dynasty*. There are three entries in it concerning (1) Buddhist monasteries performing large-scale Buddhist rituals, and (2) the government taking over the land properties of Zhao Xian and his mother Quan through confiscation:

1) Soon after the execution of Zhao Xian in 1323, still in the same month (the fourth summer month of the third year of the Zhizhi period), the emperor ordered all bureaucratic offices to organise Buddhist monks to recite 100,000 volumes of *sūtra*s, and he commanded six major monasteries in the empire to conduct the Buddhist 'Ritual of Water and Land' (*shuilu*

foshi 水陸佛事) for seven days and nights.[49] This might be a sign that the emperor regretted his decision and tried to redeem the soul (*chaodu* 超度) of Zhao Xian.

2) Six years later, during Tugh Temür's reign in 1329, an entry says that the farmland owned by the deceased Song Empress Dowager Quan was sold to Grand Chengtian Husheng Monastery (*Da Chengtian hushengsi* 大承 天護聖寺) in Dadu as its permanent property.[50] In 1330, the farmland owned by the deceased Duke of the Ying State was sold to Grand Longxiang Jiqing Monastery (*Da Longxiang jiqing si* 大龍翔集慶寺) in Nanjing as its permanent property. Regarding the land transfer, Emperor Tugh Temür insisted that the government should pay for the land purchase over some officials' objection, instead of the monasteries.[51]

There is also a Korean record showing that Zhao Xian's residence in Dadu was still under his property during his exile time. In the Yanyou 延祐 period (1314–1320), the Korean official Kwon Han-gong 권한공 (權漢功 ?–1349) visited Zhao Xian's residence in Dadu when he went to the capital with the Korean King Chungseon. He wrote a poem at Zhao Xian's residence: *Yingguogongdi pengmei* 瀛國公第盆梅 (The Pot of Plum Blossom at the Residence of the Duke of the Ying State).[52]

   Zhao Xian was survived by a son Zhao Wanpu 趙完普 (dates unknown), who was also a Buddhist monk.[53] Zhao Xian's real wife was probably a princess, one of Qubilai's daughters. According to the Persian historian Rashid al-Din (1247–1318),

> As for the sons-in-law of the Qan, those whose names are known are as follows. [...] Another is the son of the ruler of Manzi, who in former times

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49   *Yuanshi* 28: 630.

50   *Yuanshi* 33: 740. Grand Chengtian Husheng Monastery, also called Merit Monastery (Gonge si 功德寺), was built under Tugh Temür's order in 1329. It was a monastery of the Gelug School of Tibetan Buddhism. Its site was in the Northwest of the Qing Summer Palace. Most likely the land was paid off by the emperor or government, and then donated to the monastery, likewise in the case of Zhao Xian's land.

51   *Yuanshi* 34: 753. Grand Longxiang Jiqing Monastery was built under Tugh Temür's order in 1329. In 1368, the first year of the Ming Dynasty, its name changed to Tianjie Monastery (Tianjie si 天界寺). The Ming government established a publisher—the editorial bureau for the official *History of the Yuan Dynasty*—here. In 1388, the monastery was burned down, and later was relocated to the South side of the city.

52   Seo and Shin 1914: *juan* 21.

53   *Nansong shu* 6 (Qian 1997); *Shuanghuai suichao* (Huang 1999) 1.

was their ruler but [who] has now been deposed and resides with the Qan in the capacities of son-in-law and emir.[54]

As we have seen in the cases of Koryŏ Korean kings, marriage to a Mongol princess was a strategic way that the Mongols used to tie the ruler of the Yuan's subordinate states to the Mongol royal lineage. Probably due to Zhao Wanpu's half-Mongolian blood, he was not executed but exiled during a crisis in the unstable late Yuan period. In 1352, an Imperial Censor submitted a court proposal saying that Zhao Wanpu should be relocated, due to a new rebellion in Henan 河南 to resume the Song Dynasty. We do not know where Zhao Wanpu was at that moment. The Yuan court was deeply concerned about the risk of exposing him to any Chinese rebels. Thus the emperor approved this proposal by banishing Zhao Wanpu and his relatives to the remote frontier town Shazhou 沙州 (today Dunhuang), and by banning his contacts with outsiders.[55] One year after Zhao's relocation, in 1353, Chief Counselor Toqtoq 脱脱 (1314–1355) suggested transferring Zhao Wanpu's family property and farmland to the Administrator of the Bureau of Military Affairs, Sengge Siri 桑哥失里 (dates unknown).[56] We do not know whether Zhao Wanpu died or was still in Shazhou by then.

Zhao Xian was also a prominent translator of Sino-Tibetan Buddhist texts. Zhao Xian's translation accomplishment has not yet been well studied. His two primary translation works were *Yinming ruzheng lilun* 因明入正理論 (*Treatise on Mastering Logic*) and *Baifa mingmen lun* 百法明門論 (*Treatise on the Understanding of Buddhism*).[57] The *Treatise on Mastering Logic* (Skr. *Nyāya praveśatāka śāstra*, Tib. *Tshad ma rigs par 'jug pa'i sgo*, or *Tshad ma'i bstan bcos rigs pa la 'jug pa*) was a book written by Śaṅkarasvamin 商羯羅主 (dates unknown) in Sanskrit. It talks about the 'science of logic' (Skr. *hetuvidyā*), one of the five knowledges (Skr. *pañcavidyā*) of ancient India. It was translated

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54   Al-Din 1971: 287: "Of The Princes and Great Emirs in Attendance on the Qa'an and Dependent on Him". Boyle's footnote (p. 303) asserts that this is Zhao Xian. There was another entry in the book mentioning Zhao Xian as Suju (Songzhu 宋主, the Monarch of the Song), in the lineage of the Song rulers. According to Pelliot, Suju is a spelling mistake of Sonju (Chinese: Songzhu), see Pelliot 1959: 661, "Facfur."

55   *Yuanshi* 42: 900.

56   *Yuanshi* 43: 912.

57   Wang Yao (Chinese) 1981: 70. On the *Treatise on Mastering Logic*, also see Martin 2011:817: "Nyāyapraveśa-nāma- pramāṇaśāstra (*Tshad ma'i bstan bcos rigs pa la 'jug pa*). Tôh. no. 4208. Dergé Tanjur, vol. CE, folios 88v.5 93r.1. Tr. (from Chinese) by Sin gyang ju and Son gzhon. Revised by Chos kyi rin chen. Note the entry in Yisun Chang dictionary: [...] phyis rgya nag lha btsun chos kyi rin cheng yis bsgyur zhus byas pa'o."

into Chinese by Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) in 647.[58] Zhao Xian translated the text into Tibetan, probably from Chinese. The *Treatise on the Understanding of Buddhism* (Skr. *Mahāyāna-śatadharma- prakāśamukha-śāstra*) was a book written by Vasubandhu 世親 (fl. 4th c.). It talks about the five groups of the hundred dharmas (*wuwei baifa* 五位百法) of the Yogācāra school.[59] It was translated into Chinese by Xuanzang in 648. Zhao Xian translated this text into Tibetan, too. There is another work in Tibetan translated and revised by Lhatsün chökyi rinchen (probably Zhao Xian), *dGe ba dang mi dge ba'i las kyi rnam par smin pa bstan pa'i mdo* (Ch. *Jing yu bujing ye guobao lun* 淨與不淨業果報論, *Treatise on Karma and Vipāka of Purity and Impurity*).[60]

2   The Korean Royals Exiled to Tibet and China

Members of the Koryŏ Korean royal family were also exiled in the name of Buddhism, according to the Mongol ruler's will. The Mongol rulers controlled Korean government affairs and the Korean kingly lineage. Korean princes and kings were often hostages at the Yuan court in Dadu. They grew up in the Yuan capital, and some of them were married to Mongol princesses.[61] Among them, Ch'ungsŏn of Koryŏ was the Korean king that stayed in China the longest time. He was half Mongolian, and his maternal grandfather was Qubilai. Throughout his fifty-one year lifespan, he spent more time in China than in Korea. He spent part of his childhood in Dadu, and sojourned there since he was fourteen years

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58   The *Treatise on Mastering Logic*, Ch. *Yinming ruzheng lilun* 因明入正理論; the original Sanskrit title in Chinese translation is *Ruzheng lilun* 入正理論, Xuanzang added *Yinming* 因明 into the title. The *Treatise on the Understanding of Buddhism* (Ch. *Baifa mingmenlun* 百法明門論) is also called *Dacheng baifa mingmenlun* 大乘百法明門論.

59   The five groups of hundred dharmas are *citta-dharma* (*xinfa* 心法), *caitasika-dharma* (*xinsuofa* 心所法), *rūpa-dharma* (*sefa* 色法), *citta-viprayukta- saṃskāra-dharma* (*xin buxiang yingxingfa* 心不相應行法), and *asaṃskṛta-dharma* (*wuweifa* 無為法).

60   Martin, "Tibskrit Philology", 2011: 95, quotes: "*Dge ba dang mi dge ba'i las kyi rnam par smin pa bstan pa'i mdo.* Tôh. no. 355. Dergé Kanjur, vol. AḤ, folios 209r.1 216r.4. Eimer in: Paul Harrison and G. Schopen, eds., *Sūryacandrāya: Essays in Honour of Akira Yuyama* (Swisttal Odendorf 1998), p. 25. Here it says that it was translated into Chinese by Thang sam, then into Tibetan by Lha btsun Chos kyi rin chen at Sa skya. Eimer says, on p. 26, that there is nothing to correspond to this text in the Dergé and Cone, but in the case of the Dergé, this appears to be inaccurate. The Peking Kanjur, no. 1004, has the title Las kyi rnam par smin pa'i 'bras bu'i mdo. Here the translators are named as Lha btsun Chos kyi rin chen & Thang sam tsang."

61   Fan Yongcong 2009: 75–76.

old in 1289. He was reluctant to return to Korea, even during his five-year reign from 1308 to 1313.[62] He married the Mongolian princess Buddhašri 寶塔實憐 (?–1315) as his queen, and was favoured and protected by the Mongol rulers.[63] Chungseon was a zealous patron of Buddhism and Chinese culture. He built the *Wanjuan tang* 萬卷堂 (Hall of Thousand Scrolls) in his residence in Dadu, and invited famous Chinese literati friends to gather there to socialise. He had broadly travelled around China, especially the Jiangnan region, and made friends with renowned Chinese Buddhist masters such as Zhongfeng Mingben 中峰明本 (1263–1323).[64] In 1313, he abdicated his throne to his son and returned to China. After Shidebala (Gegeen Qan 1303–1323, r. 1320–1323) acceded to the Yuan throne in 1320, Chungseon lost favour. In a court conflict between Emperor Shidebala and the Empress Dowager Taji 答己 (?–1322), the former suspected that Chungseon was a member of Taji's faction after listening to Chungseon's Korean rival Wang Go's 왕고 (Ch. 王暠, ?–1345) advice. Thus, Shidebala ordered the exile of Chungseon to the region of Sakya Monastery in Tibet.

十二月戊申，帝以學佛經為名，流上王於吐蕃撒思結之地，去京師萬五千里。[65]

On the *wushen* day of the twelfth month, the emperor exiled the retired king (Chungseon) to the land of Sakya in Tibet, 10,050 *li* distance from the capital, in the name of studying Buddhist *sūtra*s.

He spent at least two years in the region of Sakya Monastery from 1320 to 1322, along with eighteen Korean government officials.[66] In 1323, before Emperor Shidebala was assassinated, Chungseon was ordered to be relocated to Do me (Tib. *mDo smad*, Ch. *Duosima* 朵思麻). He was called back to Dadu from exile in the ninth month of 1323, when his brother-in-law Yesün Temür 也孙铁木儿 (1293–1328) became the new Yuan emperor.

Another example of a Koryŏ Korean king exiled to South China was King Chunghye 충혜왕 (Ch. Zhonghui wang 忠惠王, 1315–1344, r. 1330–1331 and

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62   *Koryŏsa* (Chŏng 1955) 31: 489.

63   Buddhašri 卜答失里 or 寶塔實憐 (?–1315), Princess of Jiguo 薊国公主, was married to Chungseon in 1296. She was the daughter of Gammala, granddaughter of Jingim, and great granddaughter of Qubilai. Her brother was Yesün Temür (Taidingdi 泰定帝, 1293–1328, r.1323–1328).

64   Qu 2004.

65   *Koryŏsa* (Chŏng 1955) 35: 538.

66   Karsten 1996: 14–15.

TABLE 6.1   *Korean royals exiled to Tibet and China*

Name	Years of exile	Age	Location
Chungseon of Koryŏ (1275– 1325)	1320–1323 1323–1324	45–48 48–49	Do me, Sakya
Chunghye of Koryŏ (1315–1344)	1343–1344	28–29	Jieyang county, died in Yueyang county

1340–1344), though his exile was not related to Buddhism. In 1343, he was dismissed from the throne and abducted to Dadu by the Mongol soldiers. At the Yuan court, Chunghye was charged for his misdeed of abusing Korean people and disordering the society. He had a notorious reputation for adultery, cruelty and ignorance of Korean state affairs. Thus he was ordered by the Mongol emperor to be banished to Jieyang county 揭陽縣 in Guangdong in the twelfth month of that year. In the following month of the new year, he died en route in Yueyang county 岳陽縣.[67]

3   The Tibetan Royals Exiled to China

As for exile from Tibet to China, Qubilai frequently used the punishment of exiling Tibetan Buddhist leaders to South China, the former Southern Song territory known in Tibetan sources as *sman rtse* (Ch. *manzi* 蠻子).[68] The Khon family in Tibet was the central lineage of Sakya Monastery abbots and throne holders. Many of them held the position of Imperial Preceptor of the Yuan Dynasty. The Sakya prince Zangpo Pel (Tib. bDag nyid chen po bZang po dpal, 1262–1324) was the nephew of Pakpa Lama. He studied under Pakpa when he was sixteen years old. After Pakpa's death, another of his nephews, Dharmapālarakṣita (1268–1287, Imperial Preceptor 1282–1286), acceded to the throne of the Sakya Monastery abbot and the leadership of the Sakya School. Due to his different father, Zangpo Pel could not take the throne though he

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67   *Koryŏsa* (Chŏng 1955) 36: 563. Jieyang county was over 20,000 *li* from Dadu.
68   *sMan rtse* (Manzi) sometimes refers to South China, or the former Southern Song's territory.

was older than Dharmapālarakṣita.[69] In 1281, upon being invited to the court, he made a trip to the capital but did not earn Qubilai's trust. He was accused of poisoning Dharmapālarakṣita and not respecting the mourning period for Pakpa's death. Therefore, he was banished to *sman rtse* for sixteen years, such that he spent most of his 20s and 30s in the Jiangnan region.[70] He was first sent to Suzhou, which was a distance of over twenty coastal relay stations from Dadu, and then to Hangzhou, which was seven coastal relay stations from Suzhou. Eventually he ended up on Putuo 普陀 Island in the East China Sea, which was ten coastal relay stations from Hangzhou.[71] He practiced Yogācāra meditation there, married a Chinese woman, and had a son. He only had one Tibetan servant who was from Kham, Eastern Tibet. Due to the lack of a direct descendant of the Khon lineage in Tibet, no one could succeed the Sakya throne after Dharmapālarakṣita's death in 1287. Zangpo Pel was found again and recalled by the Yuan Emperor Temür to go back to Sakya from Jiangnan in 1297. He travelled back to Tibet through Dadu, Jingzhao prefecture 京兆府 (today Xi'an), and Chengdu prefecture 成都府. After he returned to Sakya Monastery in 1298, he was ordered by the Mongol emperor to marry six women in order to have more children to continue the Khon lineage. One of his wives was the Mongol emperor's sister.[72] He had many children, and later their households were divided to four branches (Tib. *la drang*, Ch. *lazhang* 拉章) by his son Künga Lödro Gyeltsen (Tib. Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mtshan, 1299–1327, Imperial Preceptor 1315–1327). Thus he maintained the prosperity of the royal Khon family for future generations.[73] Zangpo Pel was enthroned as the head of the Sakya School and oversaw the Sakya Monastery from 1305 until his death in 1324.

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69 Dharmapālarakṣita's father was Pakpa's brother with the same parents, and Zangpo Pel's father was Pakpa's brother with same father but different mother.

70 For the studies related to Zangpo Pal, see Petech 1983: 1, 73–203; Petech 1990: 71–72; Dhongthog Rinpoche 1968: 94. *Bod kyi lo rgyus deb ther khag lnga* 1990: 113; Vitali 2001: 41 n. 58; Yan, Jiang, and Zheng 2000: vol. III, 35: "Bzang po dpal 'bar"; bSod nams rgya mtsho 2009; *Historical Records of China and Tibet* 1986: 208; Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams 2002: 164–169.

71 Putuo Island is one of the four sacred mountains in Chinese Buddhism, considered to be the *bodhimaṇḍa* of Avalokiteśvara. Its name came from the Sanskrit term 'Potalaka', a sacred place in South India. It was famous among Buddhist pilgrims and attracted Buddhist intellectuals in the Song-Yuan period. The island received not only Chinese visitors, but also those from Korea and Japan. For more on Putuo Island, see Bingenheimer 2016.

72 Müdegen (Chinese: Mengdagan 門達干 or Budagan 布達干), younger sister of Emperor Chengzong Temür 元成宗 (Temür Öljeytü Khan 1265–1307, r. 1294–1307).

73 *The Red Annals* (Kun dga' rdo rje, tr. Chen 1988: 44–45).

A second banishing of significant Tibetan lamas to China also took place in Qubilai's reign, and they were from the Sakya School as well. The disciples of Sakya Paṇḍita (1182–1251) and Pakpa were divided into three sections, the East, the West, and the Upper. The West Section had the brothers Kunmön (Tib. Kun smon, dates unknown) and Künga (Tib. Kun dga', dates unknown), who supported the steward or viceroy (Tib. *dpon chen*, Ch. *benqin* 本勤/本欽) of the Sakya Monastery, named Künga Zangpo (Tib. Kun dga' bzang po, ?–1280).[74] The latter had an uneasy relation with the Sakya leader Pakpa, and he was executed according to Qubilai Qan's order. So in 1280, Qubilai also ordered the exile of the brothers to *sman rtse*, South China, and the older brother Kunmön died there.[75]

The third incident of lamas banished to China, however, happened to those of the Kagyü School, in the beginning of Qubilai's reign. Karma Pakshi (Tib. Kar ma Pak shi), the second Karmapa (1204–1283), had met with Qubilai in 1255 when the latter was a Mongol prince. But Karma Pakshi had closer connection with Möngke Qan (1209–1259), and received his generous patronage. Moreover, in 1253, Karma Pakshi declined an offer from Qubilai to move to his fief and serve as his advisor. So Qubilai had a negative impression of Karma Pakshi and the Kagyü School, relative to his favoured Pakpa and the Sakya School. In 1260, when Qubilai proclaimed himself the Great Qan, he dispatched thirty thousand Mongol soldiers to arrest Karma Pakshi. According to Tibetan legend, Karma Pakshi used his magic power to be unharmed from all kinds of tortures. So instead of trying to kill him, Qubilai banished Karma Pakshi to Chaozhou 潮州 (today in Guangdong). Karma Pakshi kept studying and teaching Buddhism there. Thus he maintained his high reputation as a Buddhist master during his exile years, which made Qubilai feel regret for sending him into exile. In 1264, he set Karma Pakshi free and accepted his teaching as well. The Kagyu master was then permitted to return back to Tibet.[76]

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74   The viceroy was established in 1267; the officer of this position was appointed by Qubilai and awarded the seal *Weizang sanlu junmin wanhu* 衛藏三路軍民萬戶 ('Myriarch of Military and Civilian in Three Routes of Ü-Tsang'). He was assigned to take charge of administrative affairs in Tibet under the supervision of the State Preceptor.

75   *The Red Annals* (Kun dga' rdo rje, tr. Chen 1988: 46–47); *Historical Records of China and Tibet* (Dpal 'byor bzang po et al, tr. Chen 1986: 221–222).

76   *The Red Annals* (Kun dga' rdo rje, tr. Chen 1988: 81–82).

TABLE 6.2   *Tibetan royals exiled to China*

Name	Years of exile	Age	Location
Zangpo Pel (1262–1324)	1281–1297	19–35	*sman rtse* (Suzhou, Hangzhou, and Putuo Island)
Brothers Kunmön and Künga	1280	N/A	*sman rtse*
Karma Pakshi (1204–1283)	1260–1264	56–60	Chaozhou

4   The Mongol Royals Exiled to China

During the Yuan Dynasty exile (*liu* 流) was still part of the Chinese traditional five punishments (*wuxing* 五刑). It was ranked the fourth most severe punishment, right after the death penalty (*si* 死). This severe punishment of long-distance banishment usually applied to felons and political dissidents. The period of exile could range from one to five years, and exile had three options of distance: 2000, 2500, and 3000 *li* 里.[77] The destinations for exile traditionally were that people from the South were sent to the North, and people from the North were sent to the South. The most common regions of exile were Manchuria and Siberia in the North, and Guangdong and Hainan in the South.

> 流則南人遷于遼陽迤北之地，北人遷于南方湖廣之鄉。[78]
> As for exile, people in the South to be relocated to the land of Liaoyang and its far North, people in the North to be relocated to the area of Huguang in the South.

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77   *Yuandianzhang* 元典章 (ed. Chen 2011) 39, *Xingbu* 刑部 1, *Xingfa* 刑法; there was also exile, *liupei* 流配, for bandits and robbers. See *Yuandianzhang* 元典章 (ed. Chen 2011), *Xingbu* 刑部 11, *Zhudao* 諸盜.

78   *Yuanshi* 103: 2634; exile destinations in Liaoyang province (Liaoyang Branch Secretariat) Liaoyang dengchu xing Zhongshusheng 遼陽等處行中書省, were usually beyond (?) the Amur River; exile destinations in Huguang province (Huguang Branch Secretariat) Huguang dengchu xing Zhongshusheng 湖廣等處行中書省, were usually the Guangdong (Canton) area and Hainan Island. See *Yuanshi* 30: 681: "Guanghai is the traditional exile destination, (we) plea to send corrupted officials (in this way), as the punishment." 廣海古流放之地，請以職官贓污者處之，以示懲戒。

諸流遠囚徒，惟女直、高麗二族流湖廣，餘并流奴兒干及取海青之
地 。**79**

All prisoners are to be exiled in far places; only Jurchens and Koreans are
to be exiled in the Huguang region, the others all together to be exiled in
Nurgan and the land of gyrfalcon hunting.

When it came to political purge, though it was not considered as an exile pun-
ishment according to the law code, the Yuan emperors often banished their
disfavoured relatives to these remote regions. For example, four Yuan em-
perors were in exile before they became the heir apparent or succeeded the
throne. Most of them were in their teen years. This kind of exile was only a
political consideration, and no religious elements were considered. From 1305
to 1307, Ayurbarwada, also known as Buyantu Qan or Emperor Ren Zong 仁宗
(1285–1320, r. 1311–1320) was banished to Huaizhou 懷州 (today Qinyang 沁陽),
until he mounted a collaborative coup with his brother Khayishan, also known
as Külüg Qan or Emperor Wu Zong 武宗 (1281–1311, r. 1307–1311) to regain im-
perial power in the capital in 1307. Tugh Temür, also known as Jayaatu Qan or
Emperor Wen Zong 文宗 (1304–1332, r. 1328–1332), was banished to Qiongzhou
瓊州 (today Hainan Island) in 1320, and later relocated to Jiankang 建康 (today
Nanjing) and Jiangling 江陵 (today Jingzhou 荊州), until he became emperor
in 1328.[80] His brother Kuśala, also known as Khutughtu Qan or Emperor Ming
Zong 明宗 (1300–1329, r. 1329), was banished to Yunnan 雲南 in 1316. He fo-
mented an unsuccessful revolt in Shaanxi, and later escaped to Central Asia
under the protection of the Chagatay Khanate. He stayed there until his return
to the capital in 1328. From 1330 to 1332, Toghon Temür, also known as Emperor
Hui Zong 惠宗 (1320–1370, r. 1333–1370) was in exile after his mother was killed
in the court conflict. He was first sent to Daecheong Island 大青島 in Koryŏ,
and then relocated to Jingjiang 靜江 (today Guilin 桂林).

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79   Nurgan 奴兒干 is the region near the estuary of the Amur River. *Haiqing* 海青 or *haid-
      ongqing* 海東青 refers to the gyrfalcon, a special falcon native to the area in Amur River
      and Ussuri River. The typical place to hunt *haiqing* was in the Jurchen city Wuguocheng
      五國城 (today Yilan county 依蘭縣, Heilongjiang). See *Qidan guozhi* 12.

80   *Yuanshi* 35: 387; *Qiongzhou fuzhi* 瓊州府志; *Zhengde qiongtai zhi* 正德瓊臺志 24 and 27.
      During his time in Jiankang, he had traveled in the city broadly and extended his social
      network with Chinese literati and Buddhist monks; see Chen Dezhi 2012.

TABLE 6.3   *Mongol royals exiled to China*

Name	Years of Exile	Age	Location
Ayurbarwada (1285–1320)	1305–1307	20–22	Huaizhou (Qinyang)
Tugh Temür (1304–1332)	1320–1328	16–24	Hainan Island; Jiankang; Jiangling
Kuśala (1300–1329)	1316–1328	16–28	Was banished to Yunnan, but fled to the Chagatay Khanate
Toghon Temür (1320–1370)	1330–1331 in Koryŏ 1331–1332 in Jingjiang	10–12	Daecheong Island, Koryŏ; Jingjiang (Guilin)

5   Conclusion

These inland travels to remote exile destinations were only made possible in the Mongol Empire thanks to the newly established road system and extended transportation networks with densely located relay stations. The distance of exile was measured by the number of relay stations from the capital to the destination, in the case of Zangpo Pel. In most cases, the relay stations were contacted in advance, so without permission the exile recipient could not change the route passing different stations. Also, the more accessible travel routes between Tibet and China through Qinghai and Gansu opened up after the large-scale military and civil migrations in the Mongol Empire period. Previously the land was split by different coexisting states, which blocked the flow of population and travellers. In Yuan China, there was an unprecedented presence of Tibetan and Tangut Buddhist monks who held strong political and religious power. Conversely, there was no equivalent amount of Chinese and Korean Buddhist immigrants in Tibet. Before the Mongols came, there were no Tibetan Buddhist monks in South China, including the coastal regions. Tibetan and Tangut monks developed a wide religious and political network through clergy official posts all over China during the Mongol period. The omnipresent network of Tibetan and Tangut monks provided religious support for the exile recipients and yet monitored their travel routes and sojourning places.

The exile orders of the royal descendants issued directly by the Mongol emperors were not criminal charges according to the Yuan law, but political persecutions. The usual sentences of exile under the Yuan law were accompanied with extra punishments including conscription into a border army (*chujun* 出軍), labor at a military colony farm (*duntian* 屯田), or simply slave labour (*kuyi* 苦役). Criminals were commonly tattooed (*cizi* 刺字). However, we do not see these extra punishments in our discussed cases of banished royal descendents. Mongol emperors sent them to remote lands in Tibet and China, but did not follow the legal punishment. The main goals were to cut off the royal descendents' political power and support bases in their homeland, and to remove their personal influence from the capital Dadu.

In terms of the Buddhist studies of these exiles, for example, in the cases of the Sakya Prince Zangpo Pal and the Koryŏ King Chungseon, the emperors had interests in reeducating the exile recipient through Buddhist teachings. Throughout the Yuan Dynasty, Tibetan Buddhism, especially the teachings of the Sakya School, received state support. The emperors, especially Qubilai Qan, viewed exile as an award for the recipient to study Tibetan Buddhism. In the cases of Chungseon and Zhao Xian, the emperors did not kill or torture them, but sent them off for a study opportunity. This deed of 'kindness' supposedly would benefit the emperor's *karma*. Most Tibetans, Koreans and Chinese royal exile recipients were expected to study Buddhism, which was the least harmful but most focused activity. The devoted lifestyle and hard study of theories and practices would naturally distract them from politics. The Yuan court was more zealous about sending Tibetan monks to South China than sending Chinese and Koreans to Tibet, because the Mongols intended to spread Tibetan Buddhism to South China, but not to introduce Chinese Buddhism to Tibet.

In the case of Zhao Xian, he was the only royal descendant who gave up his royal status and became a Buddhist monk. He experienced the identity transformation from a royalty to a monastic, from a ruler to a subject of foreign sovereignty, and from an insider to an outsider of the capital Dadu, both spatially and politically. The Mongols placed Zhao into the network of Buddhist monastics in Tibet. In turn, Zhao as Master Lhatsün, facilitated the intellectual and textual exchanges of Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism. As for his image in literature, there are discrepancies between Chinese and Tibetan records. In Chinese sources, especially Chinese literati writings, they depicted his dramatic life change but missed the records of his religious accomplishments in Tibet. His Chinese royal identity is the key metaphor of all Chinese literature on him. Literary imagination is always bound up with the author's assumption of Zhao Xian's yearning for the homeland in South China. In Tibetan sources, however,

Zhao as Master Lhatsün, was a renowned Buddhist monk and *sūtra* translator. His royal background still remained, but it contributed to his Buddhist merit and dharmic reputation. Textual reproduction in different literary traditions and languages offers us a more comprehensive picture of Zhao Xian's exile life, and political arena involved with Buddhist exile of royal descedents in Tibet and China under Mongol rule.

PART 2

Negotiating and Constructing Identities

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Wailing for Identity: Topical and Poetic Expressions of Cultural Belonging in Chinese Buddhist Literature

Max Deeg

1 Introduction

A lot of ink has been spilt over the question of Sinicisation/Sinification versus Indianization of Chinese Buddhism—and one could add of Chinese culture in general—and the broader question of the identity of Chinese Buddhism, which was first formulated in a well-known exchange of arguments between Daisetz Teitarō Suzuki 鈴木大拙貞太郎 (1870–1966) and Hu Shi 胡適 (1881–1962). The discourse clearly is not only an academic one, but reflects a dilemma in which Chinese Buddhists were at times presented as 'foreign' on the basis of the foreign-ness of their religion. This was from a traditionalist, i.e. mainly Confucian/Ruist standpoint, that is paradigmatically represented by the example of the Tang scholar Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824).[1] Such perspectives on Chinese Buddhism had an impact on the position, self-awareness, identity, and the level of acceptance of Chinese Buddhists in wider Chinese society. Robert Sharf[2] and, more recently, Chen Jinhua[3] have criticised the Sinicisation/Indianisiation dichotomy as too simplistic; I would agree and would furthermore claim that Chinese Buddhism, at least for the early period of approximately half a millennium, exhibited a 'double identity,' or a state of being 'between cultures,' i.e. between India and China. One could also render this, of course, in a negative way: Chinese Buddhists were "neither Chinese, nor Indian." As adherents of a religion originating in India and, indeed, perceived as an Indian or barbarian religion by Chinese conservatives,[4] Chinese Buddhists, at times, existed uneasily in a

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1 See the translation of Han Yu's famous "Memorial on the Bone of the Buddha" (*Jian ying fogu biao* 諫迎佛骨表) in de Bary, Chan and Watson 1960: 372ff. On Han Yu see Hartman 1986, on his relation with Buddhism especially pp. 84ff.

2 Sharf 2001.

3 Chen 2012.

4 These were not only Confucian literati but also Daoists trying to brand Buddhists as foreign, such as (and slightly counter-intuitively) in the notorious discourse of *Laozi huahu* 老子化

double context: their cultural identity was Chinese, but their religious self-understanding was shaped not only by Indian religious ideas and practices, but also by their encounters with India, either in the shape of the ideas and concepts contained in Buddhist texts, of Indian monks in China, or—in the case of my examples—the Chinese Buddhist traveller monks, usually but not always correctly called "pilgrims,"[5] who were directly *in situ*, in India.[6]

The double identity of Chinese Buddhists finds expression in the Chinese Buddhist travellers' experience of what has been called "borderland complex." This involves a basic tension between the driving impulse to undertake their journey and the homesickness that they feel when they are in India.[7] The term "borderland complex" was coined by the Italian Sinologist Antonino Forte.[8] What Forte and, after him, other scholars, such as Timothy Barrett,[9] Wang Bangwei,[10] Tansen Sen,[11] Chen Jinhua,[12] mean by this term is the notion amongst Chinese Buddhists that China, according to the Buddhist texts, was not the centre ("Middle Kingdom," Zhongguo 中國 or Zhonghua 中華) of the world, but rather was on the periphery. This fact made China, in her own terms, a barbarian country, a borderland or *biandi* 邊地[13] as opposed to *zhongguo*, which in translated Buddhist Chinese texts meant the lower and Eastern Gangetic plain, *madhyadeśa*, the ancient region of Magadha and adjacent areas and not the regions meant in the ancient Chinese classics. This idea of the cosmological and actual centrality of India and, as a consequence, of a changed position for "Middle Kingdom" China, was supported and highlighted by the

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胡, "Laozi converting the barbarians (identified as Indian Buddhists)": see Deeg 2003 and, particularly for the early period, Raz 2014 (I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer for drawing my attention at Raz's paper).

5   See my discussion in Deeg 2014.

6   I have discussed this recently from a slightly different angle in Deeg 2016.

7   A similar concept is that of the "cross-border commuter" ("Grenzgänger") used by Hu-von Hinüber 2010. It should be noted that the English translation of the German term does not (necessarily) contain and reflect the idea of someone who has a double belonging or a "neither-nor" belonging which the German definitely has.

8   Forte 1985.

9   Barrett 1990. It should be clear to the attentive reader that the basic tenet of my title draws to some extent on the approach of Barrett's article and could be taken as a complementation of some of its aspects.

10   Wang 2010.

11   Sen 2003.

12   Chen 2012.

13   On how this double reference of Zhongguo in relation to other geographical terms can create much complexity in one text see Hu-von Hinüber 2010: 429ff. & 2011: 231ff. (on Faxian).

fact that these regions of the Buddhist homeland claimed a higher degree of sacredness because they were linked with the life of the Buddha Śākyamuni.[14] The feeling of living on the periphery or even outside of the sacred realm stimulated an inferiority complex, exacerbated and enforced by the notion of a distant past or antiquity, in this case of the Buddha's lifetime, in which Chinese Buddhists could not take part directly.[15] It also instilled in some of the more audacious Chinese monks the wish not only to visit this very homeland of their religion, but to stay in the religious centre of the world permanently. Yijing's collection of biographies of monks that went to search for the dharma contains biographical sketches more than sixty monks, and more than three quarters of them did not return to China.[16]

This inferiority complex, which did not go unchallenged by Chinese Buddhists, is, in the case of the Chinese traveller-monks, counteracted by the longing to go back to their homeland once they were in India. Quite often this wish is combined with a religious agenda, the vow of the Buddhist monk to bring back the dharma to his homeland, China. In other cases this is, however, expressed more emotionally in the feeling of homesickness, as a longing for one's own cultural root. This wish to go back to China is, in some cases, combined with a disappointment about the present, debased, state of Buddhism in India, which is linked to the more general idea that one was living in the age of the decline of the dharma.

To be quite clear here: I am not claiming that all Chinese Buddhists and all monks travelling to India suffered the consequences of 'double identity', perceived inferiority and homesickness. One has to be very careful, in the light of topical formula (partly addressed and analyzed in this article) and genre patterns (in some cases not fully known to us because of the restricted number of texts), to draw conclusions about the psychological state and mindset of the travellers.[17] One can, however, identify the recurring themes, which can then be analyzed. These may reflect, if not the individual, then the general self-consciousness of Chinese Buddhists. It can also be shown that there were

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14   On different aspects of the Chinese projection of India see Kieschnick and Shahar 2014.

15   See Barrett 1990.

16   Interestingly enough Yijing does not directly use the borderland trope but rather emphasizes death through illness or the tasks the monks were still pursuing in India or Southeast Asia.

17   Attempts like Meisig's 2005 to read the "mind" (on p. 139 even the German term "Gefühlswelt" is used) of a traveller—in her case that of Faxian—and call him a "romantic" (p. 134) is to be called naïve at best and overestimates the interpretability and accessibility of the sources.

strategies to reclaim centrality and authority[18] amongst Chinese Buddhists. Even these claims could not, however, deny the existence of the Sacred Centre in India nor conciliate the two cultural 'spheres' in which Chinese Buddhists conceived themselves to be living, i.e. China and India.

In my opinion, this conflict of identity or belonging is nowhere better looked for than in the so-called Chinese pilgrim records written by Chinese monks who went to India in search of the dharma between the early fifth and the ninth century. The most famous of these "pilgrims" are Faxian 法顯 in the early 5th century, Xuanzang 玄奘 and Yijing 義經 in the early Tang 唐 period, the 7th century, but there are others such as the Sino-Korean Huichao 慧超, Wukong 武空, and also monks and laypeople that have not left their records, or whose records have, unfortunately, been lost.

I have, in another place, dealt with the question of how Chinese Buddhists, especially those that travelled, who were, often for a long time, in contact with Indian culture, came to terms with the tension between the 'borderland complex' and the consciousness of cultural superiority of their fellow Chinese (and sometimes their own sense of this).[19] In this paper, I would like to concentrate on the few poems left to us in the so-called pilgrim's records. They are not many but, in my opinion, interesting since they, on the one hand, are typical expressions of their authors' Chinese-ness, using Chinese poetic form, expressions and style.[20] They do, at the same time however, contain motifs which go beyond the "classical" or traditional pattern and tropes of Chinese poetry of previous or contemporary times. These poems, despite their stereotypical form and tropes, also are, to a certain extent, the expressions of the emotions of their authors especially when compared with the descriptive and prosaic passages. They represent and reflect the tensions in their identity: the borderland complex expressed as a longing for the centre, India, and for their homes in poems that were composed in India.[21] One more general observation: while the homesickness is expressed quite directly, the borderland complex as the push-factor for going to India is usually not directly mentioned, but only the pull-factor to go to the Buddhist heartland.

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18   Chen 2012; Deeg 2016.

19   Deeg 2016.

20   On Chinese Buddhist poems see e.g. Cartelli 2013.

21   This has been pointed out already by Meisig 2005: 134, in the context of Faxian's record, although the tension between "wanderlust" ("Fernweh") and homesickness ("Heimweh") certainly was not the main motif ("Triebfeder") for the journey, and I cannot follow her conclusion that the traveller was "undisputedly a romantic" ("Unbestreitbar war [Faxian] ein Romantiker.")

2   Poems in Chinese Buddhist Travelogues and Related Literature

No poems of the "pilgrims" themselves are preserved in the earlier travellers' accounts. In the earliest text of this kind, Faxian's travelogue *Foguo ji* 佛國記, *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms* (or *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳, *Biography of the Eminent Monk Faxian*), the motivation for the journey is clearly a search for authoritative text representing the dharma, in his case in the form of the *vinaya*. There are, however, some sentimental episodes which reflect the tension between both the pull of the monk's native land and the sacred lands of his religion. Such a feeling is expressed by Faxian in the context of his stay in Sri Lanka when he sees a Chinese fan in a Buddhist temple:

> [At that time] Faxian had been away from the land of the Han (i.e. China) for a number of years, [and all the people he] had communicated with were foreigners,[22] and the mountains, rivers, grasses and trees [he] had looked at were not [the ones he had beheld] before. Furthermore all his companions were already spread [in all directions], some had stayed [somewhere else], some had died. [He] pitied himself [because of his] loneliness, [and his] mind was always [full] of grief and sadness. [When he] then saw a merchant beside the jade statue who donated a white silk fan from the country of Jin[23] [he] suddenly became sad without noticing and tears ran down from [his] overflowing eyes.[24]

In the most extensive and detailed travel record, the rather prosaic *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記, *Records of the Western Regions of the Great Tang* [*Dynasty*], by Xuanzang himself, no such poems are included. And even in his Biography, the *Da Tang Daciensi sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳, *Biography of the Tripiṭaka Dharma-Master of the Great Cien Monastery of the Great Tang* [*Dynasty*], written by Huili 慧立 (fl.629–665) and extended and revised by Yancong 彥悰 (fl. 662–688) no poem is ascribed directly to the protagonist, to Xuanzang. There is, however, a *zan* 贊 (eulogy) by Yancong, the biographer who extended and revised Huili's previous and shorter version of Xuanzang's biography, written in the slightly antiquated form of four-syllable verses. While it maintains the original motivation to go to India in search of the dharma, it

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22   *yiyu ren* 異域人.

23   Jin-di 晉地, i.e.: China; *deest* in the Korean edition of the canon (T.).

24   T.51.2085: 864c.27ff. 法顯去漢地積年，所與交接悉異域人，山川草木，舉目無舊，又同行分披，或流或亡，顧影唯己，心常懷悲。忽於此玉像邊見商人以晉地一白絹扇供養，不覺悽然淚下滿目。

expresses a clear shift of authority from India to China in describing the person of Xuanzang as the paragon of Buddhism:

> The feelings of sentient beings are exhausted,
> [since] the Great Saint [Buddha] moved [his] spirit—
> the one able to succeed [him]
> only [can] be a sage!
> Aśvaghoṣa first praised [him],
> [Ārya]deva then expounded [about him],
> like when the sun has set
> the bright moon appears.
> Solemn indeed [was] the master [Xuanzang]!
> Honest as a man of integrity,
> [he] very much excelled gods and men,
> did not dwell in [wordly] dust.
> Having penetrated the profound mystery,
> having studied the principle of the scholars,[25]
> pure as a bright pearl,
> fragrant as an orchid,
> [he] wailed over the deficiencies of the *sūtra*s,
> suspected mistakes in meaning,
> devoted himself to look for [the true dharma],
> crossed dangerous mountains, walked through deep ravines.
> Magnanimous, with a powerful determination,
> spread [his] fame to the region of Xizhou,[26]
> brought back merit to the Eastern Pavilion,[27]
> At that time the Dao[28] was there,
> because our emperor

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25   I.e. the Confucian scholars.

26   Xizhou 西州 was established in 640 in the Turfan area after the king of Gaochang 高唱 had been defeated, but was still independent when Xuanzang left Tang territory in 629. The *Xiyu ji* starts in Gaochang (Turfan) and ends in Khotan, which was located at the extreme southwestern border of the Tang empire at the time when Xuanzang came back from India in 645.

27   Dongge 東閣 refers to the place where the state minister welcomed the visitors and embassies coming to the capital. This very probably refers to the welcome Xuanzang received when he came back to Chang'an.

28   道: the "Way", the most comprehensive Chinese metaphysical term, which in the Buddhist context could more specifically mean the dharma or enlightenment (*bodhi*).

had again suspended the mirror of jade[29]

[and] regulated the bag of pearls.[30]

Having elucidated the Three Vehicles,

[he] at the same time promoted the "[Treatise] of the Ten [Bodhisattva]
    Stages,"

so that the Sun of Wisdom

may shine even brighter in the darkness.

Oh, I am just a simple man,

happy to follow in [his traces] of dust,

[I] grew up in a poor house,

withered and without [any] pedigree.

[I] looked up to [him like] a high mountain,

longed for [him] like for a clear stream,

wished [I] could climb up and rely on [him]

like a vine.[31]

The first poems expressing a tension of identity with a direct reference to
India and China are found in Yijing's collection of monk biographies, the
Da Tang qiufa gaoseng zhuan 大唐求法高僧傳, *Biographies of Eminent Monks
of the Great Tang* [*Dynasty*] *Searching for the Dharma* (subsequently abbrevi-
ated as "Biographies").[32] Yijing used these poems on a regular basis to express

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29 *yujing* 玉鏡: metaphorically for the pure Dao. By this Yancong implies that the transcen-
    dent Dao, indirectly identified with Buddhism, had been reestablished by Taizong.

30 *zhu'nang* 珠囊. See the similar imagery in Zhang Yue's (667–730) 張說 poem *Fenghe
    shengzhi–qianqiu jieyan yingzhi* 奉和聖制千秋節宴應制, *Poem written on imperial
    order and presented* [*on occasion of*] *the festive banquet on behalf of His Majesty's birth-
    day*:珠囊含瑞露，金鏡抱仙輪 ("The bag of pearls contains auspicious dew, the golden
    mirror comprises the disks of the immortals"). Both metaphors, the bag of pearls and the
    golden mirror, stand for the just rule of the emperor, in this case the second Tang Emperor
    Taizong 太宗 (598–649, r. 626–649).

31 T.50.2053: 279c5ff.: 生靈感絕，大聖遷神，其能繼紹，唯乎哲人。馬鳴先唱，提
    婆後申，如日斯隱，朗月方陳。穆矣法師，諒為貞士，迥秀天人，不羈塵
    滓。窮玄之奧，究儒之理，潔若明珠，芬同蕙茞。悼經之闕，疑義之錯，委
    命詢求，綣危踐壑。恢恢器宇，赳赳誠恪，振美西州，歸功東閣。屬逢有
    道，時唯我　皇，重懸玉鏡，再理珠囊。三乘既闡，《十地》兼揚，俾夫慧
    日，幽而更光。粵余庸眇，幸參塵末，長自蓬門，靡彫靡括。高山斯仰，清
    流是渴，願得攀依，比之藤葛。

32 All translations of the poems are my own. I have, of course, consulted the earlier transla-
    tions by Chavannes 1894 (French) and Lahiri 1986 (English) where in most cases the old
    French rendering is much better than the English one. As can be seen through my notes,
    my own translations owe a lot to Wang's (2009) notes to the text.

the monks' longing both for India and, when they had arrived there, for their homeland China.

A clear reference of longing to go to the Buddhist heartland, to visit the sacred sites, is found in a poem, in the form of standard five-syllabic verses, ascribed to the otherwise unknown *vinaya*-master Xuankui 玄逵 who must have had a close relationship with Yijing and who, due to illness, had to abandon the idea of going to India:

> [I] expressed my wish [to go] to the Buddhist monasteries [in India],[33]
> directed [my] thought towards entering the Land of the Saints,[34]
> [but] the chronic disease of [my] childhood prevented [me from going]
>   with the ones that had the intention [to go];
> [my] deepest feelings were blocked as if [they] had been eradicated;
> as soon as leaves have fallen it is difficult to bring [them] together again,
> [and thus when] feelings are gone [they] cannot be retrieved again.
> What day [will I] enter the wooden vessel[35] [and] arrive [in India],
> view the flow of the dharma progressing [to the East]?[36]

The poems are written in the classical form of Chinese poems and are full of traditional images and metaphors, and as such they already convey the Chinese cultural background of their writers. A direct allusion to a classical model is made in the context of two poems inserted into Yijing's autobiographical passage in the *Biographies*, in which Yijing describes his determination to go to the Sacred Land. They follow just after Xuankui's poem:

> [Thus Yijing's] old friends in Shenzhou ("Divine Land", i.e. China) were
> scattered in all directions just like that, [and his] new friends in India
> were still obscured and not yet met. At that time [he] loitered around,

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33   *fanyu* 梵宇: normally refers to Buddhist monasteries in general, but here clearly to India; for a similar use see in Xuanzang's Biography (T.50.2053: 264c.29).

34   *xianzhou* 仙洲: in classical Chinese this is normally the Isles of the Immortals, but here means India and seems to be used in contrast to Shenzhou 神州, "Divine Land" (see below).

35   *cheng bei* 乘杯: the term is used quite often in Buddhist literature and in poetry, e.g. Li Bo's 李白 (701–762) poem *Zeng seng Yagong* 贈僧崖公 (*Quan Tangshi* 169.17, p.2425), "For the Monk Yagong". Yagong was an eccentric music and dance performer of the 8th century.

36   T.51.2066: 7b.29ff. 標心之梵宇，運想入仙洲。嬰痼乖同好，沈情阻若抽。葉落乍難聚，情離不可收。何日乘杯至，詳觀演法流。 See Chavannes 1894: 113f.; Lahiri 1986: 74; Wang 2009: 146ff.

[and he had] difficulties to express [his] feelings; [therefore he] drafted [a poem] based on the topic of the [ancient poem] *Four Sorrows*, omitting just two [characters of the original seven resulting in] five characters [pro stanza]:

"The ten thousand miles of my journey
[will be full] of hundreds of gloomy thoughts.
How [can I] order this shadow [of a body] of six feet
to pace off to the borders of the five Indias?"

[And more verses of] five words (to dissolve his sorrow even more):

A great general can maltreat a division [of soldiers],
but it is difficult to shake the will of a simple soldier.
If [one] discusses the sadness of [one's] short life—
how can one achieve a full period [of life]?[37]

What is interesting here is that Yijing refers to and draws on a "classical" model for his poem, although he completely changes the poetic form: the *Four Sorrows, Sichou* 四愁, refers to a poem ascribed to the influential Han poet and polymath Zhang Heng 張衡 (78–139 AD) as the classical example of a seven-syllable melancholic poem.[38] The poem is preserved in the famous and influential anthology *Wenxuan* 文選, compiled and commented on by Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531), a prince of the Liang 梁 dynasty (502–557). The poem goes:

The first thought is:
Oh, my longings are at Taishan, [I] want to go, but father Liang (i.e. Taishan) is [too] arduous to follow [my beloved one]. [I] twist my body to look eastward, [and] the wetness of [my] nose moistens [my] writing. The beautiful woman gave [me] a golden jade polishing knife—how can [I] repay [her] with a piece of exquisite jade? The way is too long to deliver [it] strolling leisurely. Why am [I] worried, [and my] heart is troubled?

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37   T.51.2066: 7c.8ff. 神州故友，索爾分飛，印度新知，冥焉未會。此時躑躅，難以為懷，戲擬《四愁》，聊題兩絕而已。五言："我行之數萬，愁緒百重思。那教六尺影，獨步五天陲？"五言(重自解憂曰)："上將可凌師，疋士志難移。如論惜短命，何得滿長祇！" See Chavannes 1894: 115; Lahiri 1986: 75f.; Wang 2009: 157f., note 8.

38   Chavannes 1894: 115, note 2. On Zhang Heng, see now Lien 2011.

The second thought is:

Oh, my longings are in Guilin, [I] want to go, [but] the river Xiang is [too deep] to follow [her]. [I] twist [my] body to look southward, [and] the wetness of [my] nose moistens [my] sleeves. The beautiful woman gave [me] a golden pearl-stone—how can [I] repay [her] with a pair of jade plates? The way is too long to deliver [it] in such melancholy. Why am [I] worried, [and my] heart is troubled?

The third thought is:

Oh, my longings are in [Luo]yang of the Han, [I] want to go, [but] the slopes of Long (Gansu) are [too] stretched to follow [her]. [I] twist [my] body westward, [and] the wetness of [my] nose moistens [my] skirt. The beautiful woman gave [me] a shirt with sleeves [embellished] with marten fur—how can [I] repay [her] with a moon-pearl? The way is too long to deliver [it] stumbling. Why am [I] worried, [and my] heart is troubled?

The fourth thought is:

Oh, my longings are in Yanmen (Shanxi), [I] want to go, [but] the snow is falling too heavenly. [I] twist [my] body northward, [and] the wetness of [my] nose moistens [the] cloth [on my head]. The beautiful woman gave [me] brocade—how can [I] repay [her] with a plate of nephrite? The way is too long to deliver [it] with more and more sighs. Why am [I] worried, [and my] heart is troubled?[39]

What is surprising is that despite the explicit mentioning of his "model" Yijing's reference to it is a very loose one. Neither the form—seven syllables versus five, eight verses versus four—nor structure—four couplets versus two—nor the content or metaphoric language—strict metaphorical parallelism versus no parallelism, stringency in metaphors versus no association—of the two poems have anything in common. So what is Yijing referring to then when he claims

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39   Xiao and Li 1991: 151f.: 其辭曰：一思曰：我所思兮在太山，欲往從之梁父艱，側身東望涕霑翰。美人贈我金錯刀，何以報之英瓊瑤？路遠莫致倚逍遙，何為懷憂心煩勞？二思曰：我所思兮在桂林，欲往從之湘水深。側身南望涕霑襟。美人贈我金琅玕，何以報之雙玉盤？路遠莫致倚惆悵，何為懷憂心煩傷？三思曰：我所思兮在漢陽，欲往從之隴阪長。側身西望涕霑裳。美人贈我貂襜褕，何以報之明月珠？路遠莫致倚踟躕，何為懷憂心煩紆？四思曰：我所思兮在雁門，欲往從之雪紛紛。側身北望涕霑巾。美人贈我錦繡緞，何以報之青玉案？路遠莫致倚增歎，何為懷憂心煩惋？

to have taken the *Four Sorrows* as his literary model? The prose preface (*xu* 序) to the poem in the *Wenxuan* helps to clarify the connection;[40] it states that Zhang Heng's poem is based on—that is, it takes over some of the atmosphere and imagery from—Qu Yuan's 屈遠 (343–278 BC) poem *Lisao* 離騷, *Departing in Sorrow*, in the anthology *Chuci* 楚辭.[41] The sorrows there address the poet's longing for a beautiful girl whom he cannot reach because of the hindrances of nature, and they represent an allegory of Zhang's sorrow at his separation from his feudal lord. And this is probably the point of comparison for Yijing, who is longing to go to India, but is still being hindered at the time when he composed the poem. In contrast to the resigned tone of its model, however, Yijing is clearly encouraging himself and displaying his firm will to reach his goal.

In another, quite unusual poem of mixed metre (*zayan shi* 雜言詩) consisting of couplets with increasing odd syllable numbers from one to seven[42]

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40   Xiao and Li 1991: 751 (without Li's commentary): 張衡不樂久處機密，陽嘉中出為河間相。時國王驕奢，不遵法度，又多豪右并兼之家。衡下車，治威嚴，能內察屬縣，姦猾行巧劫，皆密知名，下吏收捕，盡服擒。諸豪俠遊客，悉惶懼逃出境。郡中大治，爭訟息，獄無繫囚。時天下漸弊，鬱鬱不得志，為四愁詩。依屈原以美人為君子，以珍寶為仁義，以水深雪雰為小人，思以道術相報，貽於時君，而懼讒邪不得以通。("[Preface:] Zhang Heng found no pleasure in living in seclusion for a long time, [and in the period] Yangjia (132–135) [he] went to Hejian on a ministerial [mission]. At that time the king was indulging in extravagance and did not follow the law, and there were also many aristocratic clans involved [in corruption]. [When Zhang] Heng took office, [he] regulated [everything] severely, was able to scrutinize closely the affairs of the counties; [those] engaged in adultery and cunning, deceivingly stealing [from the state] were all known by name, the lower officials were arrested, [and the other] submitted [to the rules]. [He] caught all the [corrupt] nobles, [and] the ones roaming around were afraid and fled outside the region. The prefecture was in great order, quarrels had stopped, and there were no inmates in the prisons. At that time the realm gradually declined, [and Zhang Heng] became sad that [he] could not fulfil [his] ambitions, [and thus] composed the poem *Four Sorrows* based on Qu Yuan who represented the ruler by a beautiful woman, humanity and righteousness by precious jewels, the inferior humans by the depth of the water and the whirling snow; [he] thought of conveying a report about [correct] statesmanship to the present ruler, [but since he] feared that [he] was [too] treacherous [he] was not able to get through [to him].")

41   Knechtges 1984: 482.

42   In the collection *Sui quanshi* 隋全詩 10.12 (not the *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩, as He 1991 indicates) this poem is attributed to the Sui monk Shi Huiying 釋慧英. It became traditionally known as a *Baota shi* 寶塔詩, *Poem of the Bejewelled Stūpa*, the model for the poetic form of increasing syllable poems like the *san-wu-qi-yan shi* 三五七言詩, 'poems three-five-seven syllables', etc.: He 1991: 205f. In the light of the reference to the fulfilled vow to visit Gṛdhrakūṭa and the term Long-he for the Nairañjana river, which is not found before

Yijing expresses his longing for his homeland after having fulfilled his vow to visit the sacred Indian sites:

[A poem] in [verses] of one, three, five, seven [and] nine syllables: (made while yearning for the past in the city of Rājagṛha in the Western Kingdoms):

Travel [is] worry.
The "Red Country"[43] is far away,
the longing for the South[44] has shrunk.
The cold wind of the Vulture Peak floats [away],
the dashing water of the Nāga River[45] flows [off].
As [I] am happy to perceive [each] morning sun after sun,
[I] do not feel the decline of years harvest after harvest.
[Since I] have already sincerely but with difficulties fulfilled [my] vow
    [to visit] Mount Gṛdhra[kūṭa]
[I] finally will take up the *sūtra*s and set [my] monk's staff in motion
    towards the Divine Land.[46, 47]

The allusions in this poem, which suggest a feeling of temporal distance from the Buddha and of decay of the sacred sites, obviously reflect the topical idea of the decline of the dharma. It is also expressed in the first part of another long poem (verses of 5, 7, 3 syllables), which Yijing composed on Mount

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Yijing's work (*Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya, Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan, Qiufa gaoseng zhuan*), it is rather unlikely that this attribution to Huiying is correct.

43   *chixian* 赤縣: in the Tang period this either meant China in general (*chixian-shenzhou* 赤縣) or the capital area.

44   *dan* 丹, literally: "cinnabar," but here is traditionally referring to the South which in this context clearly means India.

45   Longhe 龍河, the Nairañjana river near Bodhgayā, also mentioned in the *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* (T.54.2125: 205a.1, 220b.18, 229c.23). According to Buddhist legend (see *Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya*, T.24.1450: 122c.2ff.) the *nāga* Kaliṅga / Jialingjia 伽陵伽 resided in the river, hence its name (Wang 2009: 205, note 36).

46   Shenzhou 神州 = China.

47   T.51.2066: 10a.10ff. 一三五七九言：(在西國王舍城懷舊之作。)遊，愁；赤縣遠，丹思抽。鷲嶺寒風駛，龍河激水流。既喜朝聞日復日，不覺頹年秋更秋。已畢耆[emm. T. 祇]山本願誠難遇，終望持經振錫往神州。) [T. and other editions invert 一三五七九言 and 在西國王舍城懷舊之作: Wang 2009: 195, note 31] Wang 2009: 193f. My translation differs considerably from Chavannes 1984: 156f.; Lahiri 1986: 101 is full of mistakes and does not grasp the structure of the poem.

Gṛdhrakūṭa on the occasion of a visit together with the monk Wuxing 無行 (Skt. name Prajñādeva/ Boretipo 般若提婆, translated also as Huitian 慧天), during which both are overwhelmed by homesickness when trying to spot their homeland in the distance:[48]

> Then [Yi]jing just expressed his feeling in a poem of irregular [numbers] of characters in the following way:

> [I] observe the changes on the summit of the Gṛ[dhrakūṭa][49] mountain, look askance at the old Royal City;[50]
> the ponds of ten thousand years are still clear,
> the parks of thousand years are still pure;[51]
> [what I see] looks like the traces of the road [constructed by king] Bimbisāra,[52]
> [but] widely destroyed on the flank of the [mountain] "Broad Side."[53]
> The Sacred Platform of the Seven Treasures is without ancient traces,
> the four-coloured heavenly flowers have stopped [their] sound of raining down.[54]

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48 T.51.2066: 9c.12f. [...] 瞻奉既訖，遐眺鄉關，無任殷憂，[...] ("[...] when the view presented itself to [them they tried] to look as far as [their eyes] could reach [to see] their homeland [and they] became full of sorrow; [...]").

49 Qishanding 祇山頂, the "Vulture Peak" near Rājagṛha.

50 The old city of Rājagṛha, according to Buddhist tradition built by king Bimbisāra, was close to the Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain and south of New Rājagṛha; it was abandoned when the new city had been built north of it.

51 This very likely refers to the Kālandaveṇuvana / Jialantuo zhuyuan 迦蘭陀竹苑; see Wang 2009: 197, note 4.

52 Jinggu 影堅 is a "translation" for Bimbisāra. The road refers to the famous road which Bimbisāra had constructed to be able to visit the Buddha easily by chariot when he was dwelling on Gṛdhrakūṭa.

53 Guangxie 廣脇 Skt. Vipārśvagiri, called Vipulagiri / Pibuluoshan 毘布羅山 in Xuanzang's description of the area (Xiyu ji 9); see Wang 2009: 41, note 3.

54 As Wang 2009: 197f., note 6, has shown, this refers to the famous episode in the Lotus Sūtra / Miaofa lianhua jing 妙法蓮華經 where, when the Buddha was preaching on Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa, a giant stūpa made of the seven treasures (qibao ta 七寶塔) appeared in the air in which the Buddha Prabhūtaratna was sitting and announced the Buddha's greatness—therefore in Yijing's poem a double connotation is implied by the word sheng 聲, "sound, voice"—and heaven rained mandārava, mahāmandārava, mañjūṣa and mahāmañjūṣa flowers.

The flowers and [their] sounds are distant—[55]
I regret so much that [I was] born that late!
But alas, now [I] am being damaged in the burning house [and am]
    dizzily [looking for] the Middle Gate,[56]
am still sighing for the treasure island[57] [and] am lost on the long slope.
[My] feet climb the flat suburbs in order to watch down [for signs],[58]
[my] mind floats on the seven oceans to go up,[59]
In trouble, the Three Worlds drown in the Ford of Evil,[60]
in the mud the ten thousand things have lost the Artisan of Truth.[61]

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55   The version preserved in the *Quan Tangshi* has *shenghua ri yi yuan* 聲華日以遠 ("the
      days of the sound and the flowers are so distant [that I …]"; Wang 2009: 194, critical appa-
      ratus 13) which mends the irregularity of the rhythm (3 : 5 vs. 5 : 5) of this stanza and may
      be preferable although not found in any other edition.

56   *zhongmen* 中門: this is one of the three "gates," i.e. Buddhist methods of striving for the
      final goal. Huiyuan 慧遠 (523–592) in his *Dasheng yizhang* 大乘義章, "Essay on the
      Meaning of the Mahāyāna", for instance, discerns the following three "gates of wisdom"
      (*zhihui men* 智慧門): the small one, consisting of the teaching of the *Prajñāpāramitā
      Sūtra* (*bore jing* 般若經), the middle one referring to the eighteen categories of empti-
      ness (*shiba kong* 十八空), and the great door which is the realization of the emptiness of
      wisdom (*bore-kong* 般若空) (T.44.1851: 555a.23ff.). In connection with the parable
      of the burning house from the respective chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra* this is also an allu-
      sion to the one door of the house through which one can escape the world of suffering
      and circle of rebirth, which is exactly the subject of a discussion of Xuanzang's famous
      student Kuiji 窺基 (632–682) in his commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Miaofa lianhua
      jing xuanzan* 妙法蓮華經玄贊 (T.34.1723: 745c.5ff.).

57   *baozhu* 寶渚: Wang 2009: 198, note 7, correctly points out that this corresponds to the
      term *baochu* 寶處, "place of treasures," where the band of merchants in the chapter on
      the magic city in the *Lotus Sūtra* want to go.

58   *Pingxiao wang* 平郊望: *xiao wang* is the expression for the ancient royal custom to go
      out to the suburbs of the capital and watch for ominous signs (see *Hanyu da cidian*,
      s.v.). When Yijing here adds *ping* 平, "flat, even," to *xiao* and states the effort of climbing
      (*zhi* 陟) he seems to express the Sisyphean aspect of his task of looking for signs that can-
      not be seen. This is taken up in the following phrase where the mind is said to float over
      the seven inner ring oceans.

59   *qihai* 七海: these are the seven inner ring oceans around Mount Meru. According to the
      tradition they are vast and impenetrable. The structural parallelism of the two phrases
      suggests that *shang* 上 here is more than a purely locative postposition; it is used to echo
      wang 望. Both activities—the bodily, of climbing on a flat surface, and the mental, of
      going upwards from a similarly flat ocean—seem to indicate the frustrating vanity of the
      task.

60   *xiejin* 邪津.

61   *zhenjiang* 真匠.

Only Śākyamuni[62] is fully enlightened
[and as] a Still Wave[63] in the extended dust [of the world] has opened
　　up the Mysterious [Bodhisattva] Path.[64]

From a Chinese standpoint it was generally expected that the "dharma-seekers"
would return to China to spread the dharma. This is expressed in a eulogy to
Yijing by an unknown author.[65] The eulogy is found at the end of Yijing's own
autobiographical section, and follows the syllabic scheme 4-4, 6-6, 4-4, 6-6:

Eulogy:

Excellent! When you were young
[you] devoted [yourself] to the dharma, [and this] inclination was firm;
[you] were already pious [when you were] in the Eastern Xia (i.e.
　　China),
[and] again [you] were looking for benefit in Western India.
Once more [you] directed [yourself] to the Divine Land (i.e. China)
having remained [in India] for the sake of the [living] beings;
[you] have spread the Great Dharma of the ten dharmas,[66]
have finished a thousand falls without withering.[67, 68]

The same "call of duty" is expressed in a quadrasyllabic *shang* 傷 (death poem)
which Yijing wrote in honour of the monk Xuanzhao 玄照 (Sanskrit name
Prakāśamati/Banjiashemodi 般伽舍末底/Ch. Zhaohui 昭慧). Xuanzhao had
gone to India after having studied with Xuanzang and was called back by the

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62　*Nengren* 能仁: a "translation" of Śākyamuni.

63　*jinglang* 静浪.

64　T.51.2066: 9c.13ff. 淨乃聊述所懷云爾。雜言詩曰[last two characters missing in T.]:
　　"觀化祇山頂，流睇古王城。萬載池猶潔，千年苑尚清；鬒髻影堅路，摧殘
　　廣脇滅[emm. T. 盈]。七寶仙臺亡舊迹，四彩天華絕雨聲。聲華遠，自恨生何
　　晚！既傷火宅眩中門，還嗟寶渚迷長坂。步陟平郊望，心遊七海上。擾擾三
　　界溺邪津，渾渾萬品亡真匠；唯有能仁獨圓悟，廓塵靜浪開玄路。…

65　This cannot have been written by Yijing himself since 1. one does not write eulogies for
　　oneself, and 2. the personal pronoun 2nd person singular (*er* 爾) is used.

66　*shifa* 十法, the ten perfect rules (*chengjiu* 成就) of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

67　The last two verses are playing stylistically on the double meaning of dharma / *fa* 法 (ten
　　perfect rules—Great Dharma) and *qiu* 秋 ("fall, harvest, year"—"to wither, to decay").

68　T.51.2066: 10b.10ff. 讚曰："嘉爾幼年，慕法情堅；既虔誠於東夏，復請益於西
　　天。重指神州，為物淹流；傳十法之弘法，竟千秋而不秋！" Wang 2009: 208;
　　Lahiri 1986: 104; Chavannes 1894: 160.

emperor Gaozong 高宗 (628–683, r. from 649), to whom the Chinese envoy to India, Wang Xuance 王玄策, had recommended the monk.[69] He died during his second stay in India in the Linde era (664–666) before he could return to China:

> [Xuanzhao's] death poem:
>
> Outstanding, indeed, was [his] ambition!
> [He was] an intelligent and excellent [man] in the field of living
>   [beings].[70]
> [He] frequently passed the Delicate Willows,
> [and] walked the Qi-Range a few times.[71]
> The Auspicious River flows purely,
> [and] the Bamboo Park shakes [its] foliage.[72]
> [For them he] longed with all [his] mind,
> [for them he] yearned deeply.
> [He] particularly hoped to spread the dharma,
> [and] was devoted to guiding the [living] beings.
> Alas, [he] was not successful!
> Sadly [he] did not accomplish [what he wanted to do]!
> [His] bones float in the two rivers,
> [but] the eight streams spread [his] fame.[73]

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69   See Sen 2001: 22 and 2003: 48.

70   The term *shengtian* 生田 is not fully clear. I have tentatively taken it as an abbreviated form of the frequent *zhongsheng tian* 眾生田, 'the field of living beings'. The syntax does not fully support this, but it seems to be preferable to Chavannes's interpretation: "[la fleur de l'épi] poussa dans le champs." (Lahiri does not translate this at all.) Yijing uses this expression in the *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* where Li 2000: 69 translates (obviously following Takakusu 1896: 72) "field of rebirth".

71   The "Delicate Willows" (*xiliu* 細柳) are referring to the region west of Chang'an (Chavannes 1894: 26, note 4), thus indicating, as it were, the Chinese part of the journey to the Western Regions. The Qi range (Qilian 祁連) is, as Chavannes 1894: 26, note 5, had already observed, a reference to the Tianshan 天山 range or the regions west of the Gansu corridor (see *Hanyu da cidian*, s.v. Qilianshan 祁連山). According to Yan Shigu's 顏師古 (581–645) commentary to the *Qian Hanshu* 前漢書, *History of the Former Han, qilian* is the Xiongnu 匈奴 word for "Heaven" (*tian* 天); the use of the term is therefore probably supposed to indicate the barbarian regions between China and India.

72   The "Auspicious River", Xianghe 祥河, is the river Nairañjana near Bodhgayā; see Wang 2009: 35, note 63. The Bamboo Grove, Zhuyuan 竹苑, is the Veṇuvana near Rājagṛha.

73   *lianghe* 兩河, "two rivers", here refers to the Nairañjanā-river near Bodhgayā and the Hiraṇyavatī-river near Kuśinagara, as Wang 2009: 35, note 64, states correctly (against

How perfectly [he] went on until death,
the sage, in harmony and truth!

(The two rivers are in the Western Kingdoms, and the eight streams belong to the [Chinese] capital.)[74]

Shortly after, Yijing, the Sino-Korean monk Hye-cho/Ch. Huichao 惠(慧)超 (ca. 700–780) expresses his feelings in several poems, included in his incomplete record, which was discovered by Paul Pelliot in the famous cave library in the Mogao caves near Dunhuang.

Huichao's sense of satisfaction, indeed almost triumph, at finally having reached the Holy Land is expressed on the occasion of a visit paid to the Mahābodhi monastery (*Moheputi si* 摩訶菩提寺) in Bodhgayā in the following poem:

[I] briefly expressed my humble thoughts in [a poem] of five characters:

[I] did not care about the [far] distance to the *Bodhi* [Tree],
[but] how did [I] go to the Deer Park,[75] [so] far away?
[I] just worried about the dangers of the Hanging Passages,[76]
[but] did not care about the whirling of the winds of karma.
It is difficult to really see the eight *stūpa*s,
[but I] stumbled through the fire of the *kalpa*.[77]

Chavannes interpretation as Gaṅgā and Yamunā). This is even more likely if one takes Huizhao's place of death, Amoluoba 菴摩羅跂, as an abbreviated form of Āmravana or similar (Āmravat) in Vaiśālī, which lies between Bodhgayā and Kuśinagara (on the different attempts at identifying Amouluoba, see Wang 2009: 23f., note 33).

74 T.51.2066: 2a.23ff. 傷曰：“卓矣壯志，穎秀生田。頻經細柳，幾步祁連。祥河濯流，竹苑搖芊。翹心念念，渴想玄玄。專希演法，志託提生。嗚呼不遂，愴矣無成。兩河沈骨，八水揚名。善乎守死，哲人利貞。” (兩河即在西國[emm. T. 河]，八水乃屬京都)。 Wang 2009: 11f.; Chavannes 1894: 26f.; Lahiri 1986: 16.

75 Luyuan 鹿苑: Skt. Mṛgadāva, the park in Sārnāth near Vārāṇasī where the Buddha preached his first sermon.

76 *xuanlu* 懸路: a term for the passage across the Karakorum range, particularly the upper Indus valley.

77 參差經劫燒: this is a difficult sentence, and I am not sure if I understood it correctly. Fuchs 1939: 10, translates: “Und die drei (Klassen der) Heiligen Schriften sind in den Katastrophenzeiten verbrannt.” I also cannot understand the first part of the translation in Kuwayama 1992: 30: こちらは賊に襲われてあちらは火事で燒け野原 (“Here being attacked by bandits, there the hell of fire.”)

How can this man (i.e. Huichao) fulfill [his] vow?
[But I] have seen [the places] with [my own] eyes today.[78]

In other poems, however, Huichao clearly expresses his homesickness. In one of them, which reminds us of Kālidāsa's poem *Cloud Messenger*, the *Meghadūta*, the homesick traveller wants to send a letter back home with the storm-driven clouds:

> In a moon-lit night [I] saw the way home;
> The clouds drifted homewards inmidst of the wuthering of the wind.
> An occasion to seal a letter and ask [the wind] to take [it] with it!
> [But] the wind is hurrying, does not hear [me] and does [not] return.
> My home [lies] north of the rim of the sky,
> Other countries [lie] to the west of the border [Jambudvīpa].
> There are no wild geese in the sun[-burnt Indian] south!
> Who will fly to [my home] forest [with my letter]?[79]

In Northwest India, Huichao writes a poem in memory of an anonymous Chinese monk who had died of illness on his way back to China, in which he expresses, taking up the same motif of the clouds as in the poem before, his longing for his home country:

> When [Huichao] heard [about the fate of the monk he] composed four couplets in five characters [to express his] grief about the way to the nether world:

> The lamp at home has no owner any more,
> the precious tree[80] has broken in a foreign land.
> Where has [his] spirit gone?
> [His] jade[-like] appearance has already become dust.

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78   T.51.2089: 975b.19ff. 略題述其愚志，五言：“不慮菩提遠，焉將鹿苑遙。只愁懸路險，非意業風飄。八塔難誠見，參差經劫燒。何其人願滿，目覩在今朝？” Kuwayama 1992: 16, line 18ff.; Fuchs 1939: 10; Yang et al. 1984: 40.

79   T.51.2089: 976a.24ff. 月夜瞻鄉路，浮雲颯々歸。緘書忝去便，風急不聽迴。我國天岸北，他邦地角西，日南無有雁；誰為向林飛？ (edition Kuwayama 1992: 18, line 57f.); see also the German translation by Fuchs 1939: 438, and English by Yang, et al. 1984: 43; Japanese: Kuwayama 1992: 33. For a discussion of this and other poems, see also Deeg 1998.

80   *baoshu* 寶樹.

[The] sorrow of remembering [him] is deep,
[and I] am grieving that the gentleman's vow [to return home could] not
    be accomplished.
Who knows the way home?
In vain [I] am watching the white clouds returning home.[81]

When he is on his way back to China, however, Huichao seems to express
the opposite longing—to go back to India—when he meets a *Han shi* 漢使
(Chinese delegation) in the Pamir mountains between Tokharestan (Tuhuoluo
吐火羅) and Wakhan (Humi 胡蜜),[82] who are on their way to the Western bar-
barians (Fan 蕃):

On the occasion [of this meeting Huichao] wrote a short [poem] in four
couplets [each] consisting of five characters:

You gentlemen dislike the long distance to the Western barbarians,
I sigh about the long way to the East.
The way is deserted, [and] the snow[-clad] mountain ridges [are] high;
in the perilous ravines robbers threaten [travellers] on [their] way.
Birds [fly] up from the high cliffs alarmed
[when] men struggle to get away from the wooden plank crossings.[83]
Normally [I] am not struck by tears,
[but] today [they] run down [my cheeks] in thousand lines.[84]

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81   T.51.2089: 976c.10ff. 于時聞說，莫不傷心，便題四韻，以悲冥路，五言：“故里燈
      無主，他方寶樹摧。神靈去何處？玉貌已成灰。憶想哀情切，悲君願不隨。
      孰知鄉國路，空見白雲歸。” See also Fuchs 1939: 441; Yang, et al. 1984: 46.

82   On the route Huichao took through the Hindukush/Pamir range area, see Kuwayama
      1992: 177, note 185.

83   This is a tentative translation of the text as given by Kuwayama. The Japanese transla-
      tion has (44): 飛ぶ鳥でさえけわしい山に驚き，人が行くにはよじ登るのも難
      しいほど。 "Even flying birds are afraid of the steep mountain, men when they travel,
      also have difficulties to climb them." T. has an impossible 人去偏樑。雖 instead of
      Kuwayama's reading 人去偏[手+梁]難 with the special character (*yitizi*) 手+梁 which I
      could not find in any font publicly available. I therefore still read T. 偏樑 which, according
      to an entry in the seventh century dictionary *Yiqie jing yinyi* 一切經音義, *Phonetic and
      Semantic Dictionary for all Buddhist Sūtras* (T.54.2128: 839a.24), s.v. 棧道, means a wooden
      passway across dangerous places.

84   T.51.2089: 978c.22ff. 略題四韻，取辭五言：“君恨西蕃遠，余嗟東路長。道荒宏
      雪嶺，險澗賊途倡。鳥飛驚峭嶷，人去偏[手+梁]難。平生不捫淚，今日灑

3   Change of the Concepts of Centre and Double Belonging

The double identity or the double belonging of Chinese Buddhists and the tension created by it is found expressed in many other passages and discourses as well, for instance in Buddhist apologetic literature. But it is probably in the poetic form that the personal feeling of double belonging could be best expressed because of the topical requirements and possibilities of the genre, which include the capacity to express individual feelings.

Although we only have preserved the poems from a relatively narrow time window between Yijing and Huichao, it may be assumed that more of these poems existed, maybe even from earlier periods. Perhaps some of them were *in situ* inscriptions, but they are lost to us now.[85] We know, for example, that the Chinese envoy Wang Xuance erected stone tablets with inscriptions[86] at Bodhgayā and on the Gṛdhrakūṭa in the year 645.[87] They are both preserved in the early Tang Buddhist encyclopaedia *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, *Grove of Pearls from the Garden of the Dharma*, and consist of standard verses of four syllables.[88] The poems reflect the strong Chinese self-consciousness of an official envoy, in which the dynastic influence of the Tang is even expanded to the sacred sites.[89] There is, and this is similar to the later inscriptions from Bodhgayā, no expression of borderland complex or double belonging but, in one instance, the concept of universality linked to Buddhism is esteemed more highly than the idea of China as centre in religious terms.[90]

千行。" (text according to Kuwayama 1992: 25, lines 194f.); also Fuchs 1939: 453f.; Yang, et al. 1984: 55.

85   See Chavannes 1896: 30.

86   On the function and style of Chinese Buddhist steles, see Wong 2004.

87   Lévi 1900: 319, 321.

88   T.53.2122: 504b.12ff. and 503b.11ff.; translation Lévi 1900: 333ff.

89   See the first half of the Bodhgayā poem, T.53.2122: 503b.12ff.: 大唐撫運，膺圖壽昌，化行六合，威稜八荒。身毒稽顙，道俗來王，爰發明使，瞻使道場。 ("The Great Tang reacted to [the change of] fortune, received the ominous chart and will prosper forever, [it] transformed and cultivated the six cardinal directions, awed the eight distant barbarian [regions]. India (Shendu) kowtowed, religious and laypeople came [to recognise their] rulership, whereupon illustrious envoys were sent to view the *bodhimaṇḍa* (place of awakening).")

90   T.53.2122: 504b.14f. 道法自然，儒宗隨世，安上作禮，移風樂制，發於中土，不同葉裔。釋教降此，運於無際。 ("The law of the Dao [is about] nature, the teaching of the Ru (Confucianists) is following [the matters of] the world; [their adherents] reside quietly in a high position [or] administer the rites, modify the [situation] of nature [or] rejoice in rules, [and although they] originated in the Middle Land [they] are not willing

It seems to be clear that from the time of Yijing, the custom of expressing one's feeling as a Chinese Buddhist traveller in poems had been established as a genre and probably persisted. The tone and content, however, seems to have changed, and the feeling of tension or double belonging was no longer so much of an issue. This was an indication of Chinese Buddhists managing, more and more, to come to terms with their borderland complex.[91] This is already reflected in a long poem (in couplets of 4 and 6 syllables) which Yijing dedicated to his collaborator Zhengu 貞固, who had accompanied and collaborated with him when he returned to Śrīvijaya after a brief return to China:

> Eulogy is [as follows]:
>
> The wise one planted [his] *karma*
> to receive [what he is now] from former causes.
> At a young age [he already] had pure thoughts
> [and] was only fond of [collecting] merit.
> [His] heart strove for excellence
> [and his] intentions were based on understanding and benevolence.
> [For him] fragrance was not in the benefit of [worldly] affairs,
> [but he] was firmly[92] devoted to the treasure of sainthood (first stanza).
>
> [He] received and upheld the true scriptures,[93]
> faithfully understood [their] determined meaning.
> For great goodness [strove his] sincere heart,
> [but even] from small flaws did [he] shy away.
> [He had] the feeling [to give up the world like] taking off an [old] shoe,
> did not hope for glory and position.
> [His condition] was like not losing hair and tail of a yak in the stable,
> [and] equal to not wasting colour and fragrance [of the flower] through
>   the roaming bee[94] (second stanza).

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to spread out [their] leaves. The teaching of the Śākya[muni] came down to this [realm] and moved without boundaries.")

91 See Deeg 2016.

92 *gu* 固 is here and later alluding to Zhengu's name.

93 *miaoce* 妙冊 in Wang's edition is a *hapax legomenon* in the canon; I therefore translate the T. version *miaodian* 妙典, in the sense of Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, which has, for instance, an almost identical parallel in Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Lotus Sūtra* (T.9.263: 124a.8).

94 These two similes are explained by Wang 2009: 237, notes 68 and 69. The yak metaphor refers to keeping a healthy and handsome body condition without taking pride in it, the example of the bee collecting honey without being impressed by the beauty

Alone [he] left the marshes of Ying,[95]

[he] solitarily marched on the south bank of the Han [river].

The wise man devoted himself to the most basic [teaching],

the teaching of the *vinaya* was what he searched for.

Since [he] understood the essential of the net [or Buddhist doctrine

he] had even more access to [its] secret and deep [meaning].

Focusing on the distant [places he] thought of the Tree of Awakening,

then took [his] staff [and] went[96] to Guilin (third stanza).

[His] spirit was pleased by the gorge of Xia,

[and] shaped people at the river [of] Guang[zhou].[97]

Later [he] pursued the old tradition in Eastern Xia (i.e. China)

[and] then also wanted to seek for the New Teaching on the swift
    [road][98] to the South.

[He] hoped to spread [the dharma] where it had not yet spread

[and] longed for transmitting [it] where [it] had not been transmitted
    to yet.

[I] celebrate the outstanding ambition of this man

[who] was able to give up himself for the sake of the [living] beings
    (stanza four).

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and fragrance of the flower expresses Zhengu's determination to achieve his goal without clinging to it. For the bee metaphor Wang points out a place of origin in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinayasaṃgraha* (T.24.1458: 616a.9f.) where the behavior of the bee is compared to the monks going on a begging tour into a village. But I think that there is more meaning here: the idea that the bee is not captured by the beauty of the flower, but always returns to its original place (an idea already found in a lot of texts translated before Yijing, such as T.11.310: 617a.3f. and T.12.347: 185c.13), is paralleled with Zhengu's determination to go back to China and spread the dharma. So these two phrases emphasize the homeland China (*zhu* 住) and the journey to India (*you* 遊) from which Zhengu does return despite the attraction India has as a sacred Buddhist land.

95   Yingze 滎澤, Zhengu's home region.

96   仗藜 (*zhang* 仗: "weapon") in the sense of 杖藜 (*zhang* 杖: "staff"); see the meaning of the term in *Hanyu da cidian*, s.v.

97   Yijing here plays with the appellative meaning of the terms *xiagu* 峽谷, "gorge," and *guangchuan* 廣川, "wide (or broad) river" which, at the same time, refer to concrete places in the Guangzhou region, the "gorges of Xia," and the "river of Guang[zhou]," the Pearl River, Zhujiang 珠江, in Zhengu's biography.

98   I take *chuan* 遄 here for an abbreviation of a term like *chuantu* 遄途 in the sense of "quick road" (see *Hanyu da cidian*, s.v.) which, as other binoms with *chuan* show, can refer to the swift way by sea.

[He] was an excellent companion for me
[when] together we went to the Golden Island.[99]
[We] were able to firmly practice pure conduct (*brahmacarya*)
because [we] were good friends [for each other] (*kalyāṇamitra*).
[We] successively crossed by boat or chariot,
helped each other's hands and feet.
If there is one chance to achieve [our] agreement to transmit the lamp
then there is no shame to live a hundred autumns (stanza five).

Then [we] came to Bhoja[100]
[and his] long-cherished ambition was fulfilled.
[He] could hear the dharma that [he] had not yet heard,
[and] also saw examples that [he] had not seen before.
[He] translated as much as [he] got hold of [new texts],
carefully checked [what was] coherent [and what was] difficult to
    understand.
[He] saw new things [and] knew new things,
[he] was intelligent [and] upheld the rules.
[He] was erudite [and] had much wisdom
[and] always fostered a mind of hearing [the dharma] in the morning,
[was full] of respectful modesty, [had] a diligent mind
[and] was not worried of the thought of dying in the evening.[101]
Even if only one flame follows the wind [of the dharma]
many thousands of lamps will not be blown out (stanza six).[102]

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99   Jinzhou 金洲: Suvarṇadvīpa, which must have been located on the way from Guangzhou
     to Śrīvijaya, and has been identified with a kingdom based in Sumatra with holdings on
     the Malayan peninsula: Coedès 1968: 92. It may be identical with Śrīvijaya; see Pelliot 1904:
     322 and 338.

100 Fozhe 佛逝 or Shili fozhe 室利佛逝, referring to the kingdom of Śrīvijaya in the area of
     modern Palembang in Southeast Sumatra; Pelliot 1904: 321ff.

101 Wang 2009: 238, note 74, points out that two sections of this part are modelled after
     Confucius' *Lunyu* 論語 4.7.8 (*Liren* 里仁): 子曰：“朝聞道，夕死可矣。” ("The master
     said: '[If one] listens to the Way in the morning [one] may well die in the evening.'").

102 T.51.2066: 11b.23ff.) 讚曰：“智者植業，稟自先因。童年潔想，唯福是親。情求
     勝己，意仗明仁。非馨香於事利，固寶愛於賢珍。(其一。)受持妙冊[emm. T.
     典]，貞明固意。大善敦心，小瑕興畏。有懷脫屣，無望榮貴。若住罟之毛尾
     弗虧，等遊蜂之色香靡費。(其二。)孤辭榮澤，隻步漢陰。哲人務本，律教
     是尋。既知網領，更進幽深。致遠懷於覺樹，遂仗藜於桂林。(其三。)怡神
     峽谷，匠物廣川。既而追舊聞於東夏，復欲請新教以南遄。希揚布於未布，
     冀流傳於未傳。慶斯人之壯志，能為物而身捐。(其四。)為我良伴，共[emm.

In a way, this is a counterexample of the double identity complex: here we have a monk who learned and studied in China and whose wish to hear the authentic dharma led him not to India, but to a new centre of Buddhist learning in Southeast Asia, in the kingdom of Śrīvijaya. The poem signifies a shift of paradigm while retaining a continuity of ideas: the longing for the sacred places is still expressed in the poem, which suggests that Zhengu originally wanted to go to India to see, for instance, the *bodhi* tree (*jueshu* 覺樹), while the preceding biography does not reflect such an intention at all. The juxtaposition of the two cultural spheres ("old tradition in Eastern Xia", *jiuwen yu Dongxia* 舊聞於東夏; "the New Teaching on the swift [road] to the South", *xinjiao yi nanchuan* 新教以南遄) is maintained, but there is no tension since the "South" here represents learning without any other religious goal, such as pilgrimage or veneration.

The longest of the five preserved Chinese inscriptions from the early Song dynasty (960–1279) which were found towards the end of the 19th century at Bodhgayā finally reflects this shift of worldview and centre, but also shows the continuity of the veneration of the sacred sites in India through pilgrimage and poems. Its author, a monk called Yunshu 蘊述, composed—one is tempted to say: in a classical style—the following eulogy (*zan* 讚) to the Buddha, his three bodies (*trikāya*/*sanshen* 三身) and the corresponding thrones (of enlightenment) (*zuo* 座):[103]

> The four [times] eight sights[104] do not vanish;
> The mass of the head is delicately [adorned] by [his] minor marks;[105]
> The coil of the mountain of [his head's] top is [like] green jade;
> The beauty of [his] eyes' ocean is [like] a blue lotus;

T. 其]屆金洲。能堅梵行，善友之由。船車遞濟，手足相求。儻得契傳燈之一望，亦是不慚生於百秋。(其五。)既至佛逝，宿心是契。得聽未聞之法，還觀不覿之例。隨譯隨受，詳檢通滯。新見新知，巧明開制。博識多智，每勵朝聞之心；恭儉勤懷，無憂夕死之計。恐眾多而事撓，且逐靜而兼濟。縱一焰之隨風，庶千燈[emm. T. 十登]而罔翳。(其六。) Wang 2009: 215f.; Lahiri 1986: 116f., clearly misses the fact that this is a poem (*zan yue* 讚曰); cf. Chavannes 1894: 180ff.

103   Chavannes 1896: 8ff.

104   These are the thirty-two main marks (*lakṣaṇa*, normally *xiang* 相 but here translated as *guan* 觀, from Skt. *lakṣ*-, "to see, to view") of a Buddha.

105   I take *hao* 好 here as the minor marks (*anulakṣaṇa*), following quite naturally on the primary marks (*lakṣaṇa*) mentioned in the first verse.

The breast [adorned with] the ominous character[106] is [like] a heap of
   gold;
The twist of hair [between his] two eyebrows are like a twined cloud;
Marvellous indeed are [his] unusual divine hands;
[His] delicate body is void of the vapour of dust.[107, 108]

In a way, the Buddha is described here in a divine form that is not limited to any
locality. This is followed by a eulogy of the three bodies (*nirmāṇakāya*/*huashen*
化身, *saṃbhogakāya*/*baoshen* 報身, and *dharmakāya*/*fashen* 法身) and then,
more interestingly in the present context, by eulogies of the three correspond-
ing diamond thrones (*vajrāsana* or *bodhyāsana*/*juezuo* 覺座). Although in the
first of these eulogies, on the phenomenal body (*nirmāṇakāya*), the centrality
of India and the importance of the sacred sites is recognised, it is, at the same
time, by what could be called a process of 'cosmologization,' shifted to a new
perspective that is without any concrete locality:

The Five [regions of] India have the miraculous traces [of the Buddha],
[the throne][109] originated in the centre of the six directions.
[It] penetrates deeply to the bottom of the golden wheel
[and] rises high above the flat surface of the earth.
[Wordly] dust and hardship do not affect [it] at all,
How could water and fire change [it]?
Once the armed forces of Māra were destroyed,
the Lion's Roar (Skt. *siṃhanāda*) was calmed [as well].[110]

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106   *wanzi* 萬字: this is, as Chavannes translates correctly, the *svastika* sign on the breast of the
     Buddha.

107   This may refer to the fourteenth mark which is a soft skin which repels dirt and dust (see
     e.g. *Dīrghāgama* / *Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經, *Mahāvadāna-sūtra*, T.1.1: 5b.8).

108   四八觀無盡。威顏眾好詳。頂山盤碧玉。目海秀青蓮。萬字匃金聚。雙眉毫
     雲纏。奇哉神異手。 I am following Chavannes' text (1896: 8); the original Bodhgayā
     stones with the inscriptions are stored in the Indian Museum in Calcutta and unfortu-
     nately not accessible. It would be worthwhile to study these inscriptions again after more
     than one hundred years after Chavannes. The missing character in the last verse, although
     Chavannes translates "(tes vêtements?)", may have been *miao* 妙.

109   The subject is unspecified and is, as given in the title of the eulogy, supposed to be the
     throne but then again rather the Buddha.

110   Chavannes 1896: 8: 五天有異跡。六合內中生。深透金輪底。高昇地面平。塵勞
     終不雜。水火豈能更。時殄魔軍力。安然獅子鳴。

From these inscriptions it becomes evident that Chinese Buddhists, although they recognized the centrality of the cosmologically perceived "diamond throne", did not necessarily consider themselves as living in a borderland, but were self-confident enough to go to the sacred places in India as a means of attaining merit for themselves or others.

4   Concluding Remarks

The change or expansion of Buddhist sacred geography, with places like Mt. Wutai 五臺山 as the home of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī/ Wenshushili 文殊室利 in China herself,[111] which marks the shift of centres and of Chinese Buddhist geographical and cultural self-consciousness from India to China (which, in turn, became sites of pilgrimage for Indian Buddhists), is probably best expressed in a poem from the Tang period, positioned as the first of five in a collection from Dunhuang, in which the Chinese site is praised for being visited by Indian pilgrims. This development brings us full circle and I will let it stand as the final word on the matter of the mutability of both borderlands and homelands:

> …
> The true monks of the Western lands,
> Come from afar to pay reverence.
> Below the cliffs, auspicious colours often rise,
> [There is] good fortune and happiness in the land of Tang,
> Lasting ten thousand years and thousands of autumns.[112]

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111 See Lin 2006 and Cartelli 2013. On the broader context of this shift in relation to the "emergence of China as a Central Buddhist Realm" visited by Indian monks, see Sen 2003: 76ff. and Cartelli 2013: 63ff.

112 … 西國真僧，遠遠來瞻禮。瑞彩時時巖下起。福祚唐川，萬古千秋歲。 (according to Cartelli 2013: 59); translation Cartelli 2004: 741 and 2013: 59.

How the Dharma Ended Up in the "Eastern Country": Korean Monks in the Chinese Buddhist Imaginaire during the Tang and Early Song

Sem Vermeersch

1   Introduction

Although the Korean peninsula and China have maintained close diplomatic, trade, and cultural contacts for the past two millennia, there has been surprisingly little concrete study on how those contacts were developed or what they constituted in reality. For a long time, the dominant perception was that the relationship was unequal: Korea was a vassal to China, and relations were conducted along the unequal tribute-investiture model. Post-liberation Korean scholarship has sought to challenge that model, pointing out that the reality was often very different from the tribute-investiture ideal. Many Western scholars are also very critical of the tribute-investiture model; some even claim that it has nothing to do with how relations were actually conducted. Yet in spite of this, detailed studies of cultural, trade, or religious exchanges, and how these affected each side in the exchange, are still hard to find.

The written records on exchanges indeed make it difficult to move beyond this model, because most sources focus on the 'ought to' aspect of relations rather than the 'as it is' aspect. The study of Buddhist exchanges may offer a way out of this Sinocentric paradigm. Although Buddhist exchanges often took place as part of official tribute missions, Buddhists framed these exchanges according to their own criteria. For example, the record of the Japanese monk Ennin (794–864) of his pilgrimage to China bears testimony to an alternative space, in which monks used their own channels of exchange (using temple networks for travelling).[1] Also, we know that Buddhism lent both Korea and Japan a very different vision, one not of inferiority in a Sinitic world order, but rather one in which they were centres of a (Buddhist) universe.[2] Moreover,

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[1] See Sørensen 1986 for Ennin's contacts with Korean monks during his travels, and how he made use of their networks.

[2] See Rhi 1988 for the case of Silla as a Buddha land, and Dolce 2007 on how the so-called Gyōki maps identified Japan as a Buddhist country.

recent research on Korean Buddhism has suggested that the cultural flow was not unilateral, but that there were also counterflows, i.e. examples of the periphery (Korea) impacting the centre (China).[3]

All this suffices to warrant a new perspective on the process of Buddhist contacts. In particular, by taking a global view over the long term, we should try to establish whether Buddhism indeed provided an alternative "worldview of exchange" that was more equitable, or whether the examples cited above are mere "exceptions". As is well known, the data is very thin in the case of Korea, so it is really a question of finding new approaches rather than unexplored sources. In this perspective, the theory of "interface" can be useful: in the sense of a contact zone, this concept is much broader than merely "exchange". It allows for example the consideration of "virtual interfaces"—in other words, imagined contacts, or representations of the other. Such virtual contacts with the other are by no means unimportant in terms of identity formation and hence constitute a legitimate area of research (Gelézeau et al. 2013). Also, the concept of interface allows us to study Buddhist interaction as a sphere in its own right rather than something part of distinct (proto-) national traditions.

The period under consideration stretches from just before the Sui unification of China (589; late Three Kingdoms period for Korea) to the early Song, right after its foundation (960; early Koryŏ). The reason for that is quite simple: Before the second half of the sixth century we only have the sketchiest outline of a few disparate facts concerning the transmission of Buddhism to Korea, but from then onwards we have the beginnings of biographies and other sources that at least allow us to reconstruct a few key characteristics of the exchanges, their impact and intensity. After the founding of the Song dynasty in 960, relations seem to have entered a new paradigm, in which the free flow of Korean monks into China quickly was reduced to a trickle. This sea-change forms a convenient watershed to end the narrative.

While a detailed study of the actual exchanges that took place over a longer period of time would be a very worthwhile project, it is beyond the scope of the present study.[4] Thus, rather than studying the actual channels of exchange or the quality and nature of the exchanges in detail, this chapter will instead study how the exchanges were represented in the Chinese Buddhist

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3   See Buswell 2005. There is also more awareness of the need to distinguish between lofty rhetoric and reality in the balance of power in these relations, but as yet there are few convincing studies that really move beyond this rhetoric.

4   The only studies that seem to take general stock of Buddhist exchanges between Korea and China have been undertaken by Chinese scholars; see notably Huang and Chen 1993. For a good attempt at summarizing the main flow of events in English, see Jorgensen 2005a: 73–91.

imaginaire.[5] I will argue that before we can actually understand the meaning of these exchanges, we have to understand first of all how these exchanges were represented in the sources. Since the overwhelming majority of sources are biographical materials compiled in China, we therefore have to question how the Chinese biographers looked at the Korean "other," and what function they assigned them in these compilations. Although the biographic compilations by Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) and Zanning 贊寧 (919–1001), and the *Patriarch's Hall Record*, contain often substantial biographies of Korean monks, full of fascinating details, we have to question why the Korean monks were included here as the only "foreign" monks deemed worthy of inclusion.[6] All too often this has been taken simply as evidence of the high esteem Korean Buddhism enjoyed in China, yet as we will see, there were undoubtedly other motivations at play. Rather than a direct and accurate representation of a Korean Buddhist identity, it is better to treat this material as the result of the needs and projections of Chinese monks; until we deconstruct this imaginary representation, it is impossible to talk about the formation of distinct Buddhist identities through the intensive exchanges that took place between Korea and China in the second half of the first millennium.

2   Buddhist Relations between China and Korea: An Overview

Before looking at the compilations of monastic biographies that form the main source material of this study, it is useful to take a step back and try to sketch the general background against which Buddhist exchanges between China and Korea took place. First of all, it is necessary to bracket the use of the names of modern countries: in the sixth century these names were utterly meaningless. The Korean peninsula was divided into the Three Kingdoms known as Silla 新羅, Koguryǒ 高句麗 and Paekche 百濟. Silla conquered the other states between 660–668, thus establishing what has been called in scholarship Unified Silla, which lasted until 935. As the predecessor in terms of culture, language,

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5   I use this term here very much in the same sense as Kieschnick's "monastic ideals," "representations of the image of the monk, of what monks were supposed to be" (Kieschnick 1997: 1). Thus, I will look especially at how Chinese biographers imagined and represented their Korean counterparts.

6   Of course, there are many non-Han monks appearing in Chinese monastic biographies, but they are almost exclusively of foreign monks who had settled in China. To my knowledge, the biographies of Korean monks are the only ones that include monks who returned to their home country or even never travelled to China.

and ethnicity of the modern Korean states, it is certainly justifiable to refer to Silla or Unified Silla as Korea. For the other two kingdoms, however, although I will put them under the same rubric, it should be understood that they may have been quite different societies from Silla. Similarly, what we refer to as China was until the Sui unification in 589 in fact a patchwork of different states, generally divided into northern "barbarian" and southern "Chinese" dynasties, yet the actual situation was infinitely more complicated.

The complexity of using modern state labels projected back in time can be made clear through the example of the monk Senglang 僧郎 (Kor. Sŭngnang; fl. 476–512). Since he is identified as being from Koguryŏ in the sources, he is usually claimed as a Korean, and hence Korean influence on the early Sanlun 三論 school is claimed. Yet it is important to understand that Koguryŏ was a multi-ethnic state, which moreover comprised vast territories in what is now called Manchuria. Since he moreover seems to have been active in central China (Mt. She, near Nanjing) (Plassen 2005: 169), there really is no way of knowing whether he was Koguryŏ, Han Chinese, or belonging to one of the other ethnicities absorbed into Koguryŏ, such as Ye 濊, Maek 貊, Xianbei 鮮卑 or Puyŏ 夫餘 (Jorgensen 2012: 60).

What is certain, however, is that there existed a Sinitic culture, exemplified by the Chinese script and a number of classics, that acted as a common reference point for East Asia. Not only was classical Chinese adopted as the canonical language for Buddhist texts, some of the Sinitic cultural models also imposed themselves on the East Asian Buddhist networks. The first transmission of Buddhism to the Korean peninsula serves to illustrate this point. In the cases of both Koguryŏ and Paekche, which are thought to have received Buddhism in 372 and 384 respectively, embassy ships delivered the monks. Moreover, in the case of Koguryŏ, it is clear that Buddhism was something that was granted by a state claiming the authority of a suzerain, Later Qin (384–417). Many scholars have argued that the Emperor of Later Qin bestowed Buddhism as a favour. Thus the "tribute state" model was adopted as a universal scheme to justify the transmission of culture. Buddhism was part of a "superior culture" and the recipient culture was supposed to accept it lock, stock and barrel. What brings home just how strong this sense of Buddhism as an instrument of rule was—efficacious and powerful—can be seen when the ruler of Paekche advised his colleague on the Japanese archipelago to adopt it too. The *Nihon shoki* (*Chronicles of Japan*, ca. 720) preserves this missive dated 552: "This doctrine is the most excellent of all doctrines, but it is hard to explain and hard to comprehend … but it can create limitless religious merit and retribution … every prayer [to the Buddha] will be fulfilled without fail" (*Nihon shoki* 19.34–35, adapted from Aston 1972: II, 66). Buddhism was thus seen as a

civilising mission: granted from a higher to a lower state in emulation of the tribute model, it became part and parcel of the civilising and state building process in both the peninsula and the archipelago, transmitting both Chinese ideas about civilization and Buddhist ones.[7]

Although in the case of Paekche it was a monk with an Indian name (Mālānanda 摩羅難陀) who is thought to have first delivered Buddhism, he too was part of a diplomatic mission, in this case sent from the southern state of Eastern Jin (317–420) in 384. Even though he may have indeed come from India and thus transmitted Indian forms of Buddhism, it is clear that the Sinitic texts and schools of Buddhism were the primary forms transmitted to Korea. We know very little of what kind of Buddhist knowledge or practice was transmitted in the fourth century, but whenever this kind of data is available, it is clear that Sinicized forms of Buddhism were passed on. Whatever texts were created, schools or doctrines formed, or new art produced, almost immediately these productions were relayed from China to the peninsula. A remarkable fact, and something that remains valid throughout this period, is that virtually all new Chinese translations ended up in Korea sometimes in less than a year after their creation. Even though we cannot of course verify this immediacy for all cases, the evidence very clearly points to an almost unbroken flow of Buddhist information (Huang and Chen 1993: 47–49). Of course this does not necessarily mean that Korea actually followed Chinese Buddhism to the letter, only that it was in very close touch with what happened in the states to its west.

Although monks would use tribute ships to travel throughout this period (and beyond), it should be noted that as Buddhism matured in Korea, it dissociated itself more and more from the tribute model, the ships becoming mere modes of transport rather than symbols of an unequal relationship. This maturation seems to have taken place after 500; in the first century or so after the transmission of Buddhism to Koguryŏ and Paekche, there is virtually no information about how it developed. Jonathan Best, through a thorough analysis of textual and archeological materials, shows that even though Buddhism may have been accepted by Paekche in 384, it hardly made an impact. His research reveals that it is only after 500 that we see a gradual expansion in temple building and in the spread of Buddhist art forms (Best 2002; Best 1987: 480). Similarly, for Silla we have only unreliable mentions of underground proselytizing before

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7 Since the story of how Buddhism was introduced to Korea has been well studied, I do not provide primary source references. For good general introductions, see Best 2003 and Vermeersch 2014.

the fifth century, the official recognition taking place in 527. Before that date, there was almost certainly no sophisticated knowledge about Buddhism.[8]

Another clear sign of maturation in the sixth century is the growing evidence of Korean monks travelling abroad. Notable in particular is the fact that Paekche monks were very active in proselytising to Japan in the second half of the sixth century (Best 1991: 144), suggesting that there was already a sound basis for the dharma in their own country. Indeed, for the first half of the sixth century, we see firm evidence of Paekche and Silla monks travelling to China for study. When the first Korean monks travelled to China is actually difficult to establish. As we have seen for the case of Senglang/Sŭngnang, in Koguryŏ's case in particular it is almost impossible to establish whether "Korean" monks travelled to "China". This is compounded by the lack of authoritative early sources. The oldest Korean source to document the earliest centuries of Buddhist activity, Iryŏn's *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (*Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*), was composed in the 13th century. Although Iryŏn in many respects is an exemplary historian, reproducing now lost sources and comparing them to establish the most reliable facts, for events predating the sixth century he often admits that it is impossible to establish the truth of the matter; he quotes for example a source claiming that a monk called Ado 阿道 was active in the third century, but rejects this because it antedates the official introduction of Buddhism.[9]

Thus the first reliable record of a Silla monk travelling to China is surely that of Kaktŏk 覺德; according to the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 (*Historian's Records of the Three Kingdoms*, submitted to the throne by Kim Pusik 金富軾 in 1145) he returned from Liang China in 549.[10] Furthermore, on the basis of Jonathan Best's analysis of available sources on Paekche, it appears that the monk Palchŏng 發正 is the first from that country who can be ascertained to have studied in Liang China during the Tianjian era (502–520) (Best 1991: 148, 152). In other words, the Chinese Liang dynasty (502–554), during which these first contacts took place, was something of a watershed, as its emphatic support of Buddhism not only inspired states on the Korean peninsula, it also proved something of a magnet for ambitious monks who wanted to deepen their

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8   For Koguryŏ, as mentioned above, the situation is complicated by the difficulty of assigning ethnic labels to monks active in Koguryŏ. Also, there is a case to be made that Koguryŏ Buddhism never took off: see Jorgensen 2012: 101.

9   See *Samguk yusa*, T.49.2039: 986c17–26, for some of Iryŏn's personal reflections on the stories about Ado. For a good introduction of the *Samguk yusa* as a historical source, see McBride 2006.

10   See Kim Pusik 1983 vol. 1: 81. For an analysis of some problems in the sources concerning Kaktŏk, see Best 1987: 486, n. 36.

knowledge or training. From then on the *kubŏpsŭng* 求法僧, literally "monks in search of the dharma", became a common phenomenon: arguably a majority of the most talented Korean monks sought to visit China, and some even travelled all the way to India. It is impossible to calculate just how many Koguryŏ, Paekche or Silla monks travelled to Chinese states. As can be seen in the tables included in the works of Huang Youfu and Huang Xinchuan, which present a digest of the names of monks known to have travelled to Korea between ca. 500 and 1000, the number is impressive; most likely it is just a fraction of the actual number (Huang Youfu and Chen Jingfu 1993: 436–475; Huang Xinchuan 1991: 108–139).[11]

What exactly these monks learned in China, and how they were perceived in their home countries, is difficult to assess. The oldest remaining writings by Korean monks date to the seventh century, and show a mastery of practically the whole range of Sinitic Buddhism of the time. We may therefore surmise that the roots for advanced study of Buddhism were already present in the sixth century. However, there does not seem to have been a wide societal acceptance of sophisticated Buddhist learning: the evidence from arguably the first full biography of a Korean monk, Wŏngwang, suggests that monks were employed as royal advisors. At one point Wŏngwang was even forced to write correspondence requesting military assistance (Vermeersch 2008: 208). Arguably this lack of differentiation between the political and religious realms was due to the lingering effects of the so-called northern Buddhism, i.e. the Buddhist model as it had developed in northern dynasties such as the Northern Wei (386–534). We know that this was introduced to Silla via Koguryŏ in 551, when the northern system of Buddhist officials was implemented (Vermeersch 2008: 205–206). With the unification of China in 589, the influence of this system most likely waned, and after that date Silla Buddhism must have gradually asserted its independence from the state.

As for the Chinese material, as we will see in the next section, knowledge about Korean monks increased commensurate with the increase in Korean monks travelling to China. The Southern Chen dynasty (557–589) seems to be the first for which clear memories about Korean monks remained; after that, during the Sui and particularly the Tang, these would multiply considerably.

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11   Huang and Chen have counted about 200 instances of Korean monks travelling to China, although in many cases we do not know the monks' names. Jonathan Best points to an entry in the *Nihon shoki* about a Paekche ship that on the way to China had drifted off course and landed in Japan; on board were ten monks, all otherwise unknown to history. Therefore the monks we know of are probably only the tip of the iceberg. See Best 1991: 146–147.

While it is impossible to speak of a clear prototype of the "Korean monk," as will be shown they played distinct roles in the creation of monastic identity in China.

3 The Place of Korean Monks in Chinese Buddhist Biographies

Given the lack of sophisticated development of Buddhism on the peninsula before the sixth century, it is hardly surprising that the first major biographic compilation, Huijiao's 慧皎 (497–554) *Liang gaoseng zhuan* (*Biographies of Eminent Monks, Compiled in the Liang Dynasty*), compiled around 530,[12] contains no biographies of Korean monks. It does however make reference to Koguryŏ twice: once in the biography of Zhi Dun 支遁 (314–366), who is said to have corresponded with a Koguryŏ monk, and once in the biography of Tanshi 曇始 (fl. 396–450), who is said to have been the first to proselytize in Koguryŏ.[13] It is especially in the two successors to this work, Daoxuan's *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (*Continued Lives of Eminent Monks*, ca. 667) and Zanning's *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (*Biographies of Eminent Monks, Compiled in the Song Dynasty*, ca. 988) that we see the emergence of biographies dedicated to Korean monks. However, in between them a new genre of monastic biography emerged among Chan monks. These so-called transmission records emerged in the eighth century (Welter 2006: 45–50), and also contain frequent reference to Korean monks. The early transmission records, most having a strong sectarian bent, culminate in the earliest collection to embrace all Chan lineages—including Korean branches: the *Zutang ji* (*Patriarch's Hall Collection*).

3.1 *The Continued Lives of Eminent Monks*
Daoxuan first completed his masterpiece in 645, but continued to expand on it probably until the last years of his life. It contains 485 main biographies, as well as 219 supplementary biographies (Wagner 1995: 78–79). Among these, there are only three full biographies of Korean monks, together with another six Korean monks whose life is described briefly as a supplement to another biography. This is of course a very tiny amount,[14] yet two of the biographies are

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12   See Wright 1990: 89 for the dating of this work; Wright infers it was compiled sometime between 519 and 533, but probably finalized closer to the last date.

13   See *Liang Gaoseng zhuan*, T.50.2059: 348a12, 392b5. For Tanshi, see also the translations provided in McBride 2006: 167–169.

14   Given that the names of 705 monks can be found in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (Welter 2006: 42), this is slightly more than 1 per cent of the total.

very detailed, and there is evidence that Daoxuan attached great importance to them. In the discussion below, I will focus mainly on these two biographies, those of the Silla monks Wŏngwang 圓光 and Chajang 慈藏. The third biography is of the Paekche monk Hyehyŏn 慧顯 (570–627), but it falls far short in length and substance compared to the other two. In fact, it is little more than a stub, included merely to illustrate the miraculous power of the *Lotus Sūtra*. Hyehyŏn is said to have been so adept at reciting this *sūtra* that his tongue continued to look in perfect state up to three weeks after his death. In fact, Hyehyŏn's biography is even shorter than the one of the Koguryŏ monk P'ayak 波若 (562–613).[15] Formally, P'ayak's biography is not an independent entry but is attached as a supplementary biography to that of the Tiantai monk Zhiyue 智越. It emphasizes his sixteen years of solitary *dhūta* practice as the main theme.[16]

Regarding the two main biographies of Korean monks, it is perhaps best to look first at the one of Chajang (fl. ca. 600–650). It is slightly longer than the one of Wŏngwang, but is important especially because it shows most clearly Daoxuan's personal interest. As is well known, Daoxuan attached great importance to the study of *vinaya*, and is therefore remembered as the founder of the Vinaya (Lüzong 律宗) or Nanshan 南山 school; as we will see in the biography of Wŏngwang, there is more to Daoxuan than *vinaya*, but it is nevertheless very important to him. Daoxuan describes how Chajang belonged to a prominent family of Silla, and takes pains to explain the rank of his family in the political system of his time. He also describes how he became a monk, and how he practiced arduously in solitude.[17] However, at one point he was summoned by the court, and was threatened with execution if he ignored the summons. Chajang, however, refused adamantly, and when the king of Silla threatened to kill him, he is said to have exclaimed "I would rather observe the precepts for

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15   *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T.50.2060: 570c21–571a20. Although P'ayak's biography is slightly longer than that of Hyehyŏn, it is also not a real biography, but merely a short anecdote about P'ayak's exemplary practice of Tiantai asceticism.

16   *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T.50.2060: 687c9–c19. The Korean material from the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* has been conveniently excerpted by the Korean scholar Kim Yŏngt'ae in the journal *Pulgyo hakpo* 13 (1976). Citations are however taken from the Taishō canon. As far as I can tell, all Korean monks mentioned in this work have been tracked down by Kim Yŏngt'ae. The remaining supplementary biographies are those of Wŏn'an 圓安 (T.50.2060: 524a, attached to the biography of Wŏngwang), Sil pŏpsa 實法師 (ibid.: 537c), In pŏpsa 印法師 (ibid.: 539c), Chihwang 智晃 (ibid.: 572a), and Wŏnsŭng 圓勝 (ibid.: 640a; attached to the biography of Chajang).

17   For the original biography, see T.50.2060: 639a8–640a8. For an English translation, see Mohan 2005 and Vermeersch 1996.

one day and die, than live a full life having broken them".[18] Although the passage is very famous and oft repeated in scholarship on Chajang, it most likely has to be taken with a pinch of salt. Since the reign of King Pŏphŭng 法興王 (514–540), Silla kings are known to have been devout Buddhists, so it is not very likely that they would have been so antagonistic to someone who preferred to practice Buddhism in solitude.

Regardless of whether this episode actually took place or not, the fact remains that it served Daoxuan well in setting an exemplar of how *vinaya* ought to be practiced as a matter of life and death. As Chen Huaiyu has argued, one of the key motivations in Daoxuan's interest in *vinaya* was the perceived shortcomings in the ritual and ascetic practices of the Chinese *saṅgha* of his day; in other words, he was keen to strengthen observance of monastic decorum and morality (Chen 2007: 2; McRae 2005: 78). If we read the biography in this light, it becomes clear that the monk from a distant country outside the reach of civilization is held up as a mirror for Chinese monks. This is made explicit by Daoxuan himself, who concludes the biography by saying that in this case the "center (China) is turbid but the periphery (Korea) is clear".[19]

In other words, Chajang is represented as a successful case of the civilising influence of Buddhism, and an exemplar of *vinaya* practice. Upon receiving the king's permission to practice as a monk, he continued his arduous practice in the hope of receiving a personal sign as confirmation of his vocation. This he finally got in the form of two deities from the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven who bestowed upon him the five precepts. He in turn successfully bestowed the precepts on the rest of the populace of his country, yet felt frustrated by the lack of development of Buddhism in his country so decided to travel to China in 638.[20] According to Daoxuan, following his return to his country in 643, he not only managed to bring Buddhism to a higher level, he also persuaded his countrymen to follow the Chinese calendar and manner of clothing.

A few problems need to be discussed in greater detail to make the hypothesis that Daoxuan uses Chajang as an exemplar convincing. First, there is the direct transmission of the precepts from gods. Even though Chajang is said to have visited Zhongnan-shan during his sojourn in China, the very place where Daoxuan resided, no mention is made of his study of *vinaya* or

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18   T.50.2060: 639a29.

19   T.50.2060: 640a8.

20   According to *Samguk yusa*, he left in 636 (T.49.2039: 1005a29). Nam Tongsin has shown however that this is a mistake, and that 638 is the correct date (Nam 1992: 10). This article remains a good introduction to the biography of Chajang. In English, one can also consult Kim 1995.

precepts tradition, or of his meeting with Daoxuan. Instead, in China too he is said to have lived as a hermit for three years, during which he conferred the precepts on spirits and people.[21] Since "precepts" here clearly refers to the five precepts for laypeople, one cannot help but wonder why no mention is made of Chajang's full ordination; in other words, one would expect that for a monk of such exemplary conduct, mention would be made of his receiving the full precepts at ordination. In contrast, in Wŏngwang's biography, it is mentioned that Wŏngwang "petitioned the ruler of Chen, asking to seek refuge in the dharma … he took the tonsure, and was fully ordained,"[22] Daoxuan thus perhaps felt he could leave out this information for Chajang; Wŏngwang had received, according to him, full ordination in China almost 50 years before, so it could be assumed that the tradition had been passed on to Silla or that Chajang had received proper ordination in China. More likely, in my view, is the following explanation: Although proper ordination was of central concern to Daoxuan, he only finalized his work on the construction of the ideal ordination platform in the last year of his life; thus, he may not have wanted to discuss the ordination problem in the case of Chajang. Since Daoxuan's ideal ordination platform had not yet been constructed, Chajang could not have received ordination on it, even though there is strong indication that Chajang may have learned of Daoxuan's plans during his sojourn in China.[23]

Second, there is the marked emphasis on the strict observance of *vinaya* that Chajang implemented. It is worth quoting the relevant passage *in toto*:

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21 See Wagner 1995: 204–205 for other conversions of spirits in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*.

22 T.50.2060: 523c.

23 The problem of whether Daoxuan knew Chajang has long intrigued scholars; we know that Daoxuan was active in the area of Zhongnan-shan between 638 and 643, so it is certainly a possibility. The fact that he inserts so many of the themes that are close to his heart in the biography is also a strong indication; leaving his own input out of the story does not diminish this possibility, since it would have been considered immodest to mention his own role. Interestingly, the *Samguk yusa* contains a story about how Ŭisang, while studying with the Huayan master Zhiyan at Zhixiang Temple on Mt. Zhongnan, went to visit Daoxuan, who lived nearby (*Samguk yusa*, T.49.2039: 993c1–6). One can also point to the fact that the titles of commentaries written by Chajang strongly resemble those by Daoxuan (Nam 1992: 36–37) and that Chajang is credited by the *Samguk yusa* as having established the first ordination platform (T.49.2039.1005c5–7), most likely in imitation of Daoxuan's famous ordination platform. Korean scholars have pointed out that Chajang's foundation of an ordination platform seems to have preceded that of Daoxuan. However, since the 13th century *Samguk yusa* is the only source for this, it is not certain whether this is a later interpolation by Iryŏn or something that actually goes back to Chajang. For another possible interpretation of this problem, see Kim 2008: 149–150.

> [...] Chajang made all the monks and nuns practice the ancient tradi-
> tion of each of the Five [Hīnayāna] *vinaya*s. He improved oversight
> by inspecting whether or not [*vinaya*] was adhered to. Every fortnight
> the *saṅgha* had to recite the precepts, in accordance with *vinaya* they
> had to repent and expel [sin]. In spring and winter general examina-
> tions were permitted to determine those who complied and those who
> did not. Moreover, he appointed inspectors who toured all temples to
> admonish and adjust the preaching of the dharma, the adornment of
> Buddha statues, the management of *saṅgha* affairs etc. Never did he let
> his guard drop. Therefore it is said that he is really a dharma-protecting
> bodhisattva![24]

We know from Korean sources that Chajang was indeed given extensive power
as a kind of national Buddhist prelate, so that he indeed had the power to re-
form. Yet, the picture somehow seems to be too perfect; when Daoxuan more-
over adds that "he donated all his robes and possessions; the only things that
served him were some garments of cast-off rags," one cannot but get suspi-
cious. We have here very much an ideal type of a monk according to Daoxuan's
vision, conforming in virtually every respect to the ideals and themes he out-
lines throughout his work.[25]

   A third problem concerns his assessment of the state of Buddhism in Silla,
which gives somewhat contradictory impressions. On the one hand, Daoxuan
makes Chajang exclaim that "in this frontier region [Silla], the Buddhadharma
is underdeveloped," yet further on writes that "it was exactly a hundred years
since the Buddhadharma had spread to the east,"[26] indicating that it had al-
ready had quite some time to develop. Also, there are many signs in the biog-
raphy that Buddhism was well entrenched in society: for example, Chajang's
parents prayed devotedly to Avalokiteśvara to obtain a son, who was finally
born on the eighth day of the fourth month, the Buddha's birthday. Most
likely, the motifs that suggest the backwardness of the dharma in Silla serve

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24   T.50.2060: 639.c19–22. Chajang's biography is found in fasc. 24, the second on "protectors
     of the dharma".

25   In particular, the need for putting *vinaya* into practice was a recurrent topic in his work.
     See Chen 2007: 33.

26   It is not certain what, if any, event Daoxuan regarded as the beginning of Buddhism in
     Silla. This is usually taken to be the martyrdom of Ich'adon in 527 (following his behead-
     ing for disregarding the ban on constructing Buddhist structures, white blood spouted
     from his neck; the nobility, convinced of the power of Buddhism, henceforth allowed
     its practice). This indeed happened somewhat more than a century before the events
     described.

to contrast with the brilliant effect obtained by Chajang's implementation of the *vinaya*—the first strict implementation of the correct *vinaya* tradition in a foreign country. Simultaneously, Chinese culture—in terms of dress and customs—was adopted, which led to Silla's increased standing at the Tang court. Thus, Daoxuan links the "correct tradition" of *vinaya* (in fact his own interpretation of it) to highbrow Chinese culture, suggesting they are part and parcel of a single culture.

In the concluding part of the biography, Daoxuan harkens back to Wŏngwang, introduced earlier in fascicle 13, the ninth to deal with exegetes (*yijie* 義解): "Wŏngwang had initiated [Buddhism]; long ago he had come from the east to study in the west. Although he was famous for his proficiency in the *sūtra*s, he did not implement the precepts nor their inspection…. But now the Three Learnings [of morality, wisdom, and meditation] are established there, thanks to those who know how to communicate and protect the dharma". By linking back to the earlier biography of another Korean monk, we can see that their inclusion here is not random, but aimed at proving a point.

In the case of Wŏngwang, however, there are no such clear signposts about Daoxuan's intentions in including it. Yet recent research by Chen Huaiyu on Daoxuan's life and work may offer a clue. Daoxuan's parents as well as his Buddhist teachers hailed from the southern state of Chen (Chen 2007: 40), and the reconciling of northern and southern Buddhism was one of his life's chief concerns. Now the biography of Wŏngwang describes in detail some events in the life of Wŏngwang after he arrived in China. According to Daoxuan he arrived during the Chen period (557–589),[27] and after a period of studying there found himself in trouble as the Sui troops, in their conquest of Chen, attacked and burned the temple where he was staying. However, he was miraculously untouched by the fire even though tied to a burning *stūpa*, impressing the Sui general who set him free.[28] On the one hand, this may be seen as simply one of the many stories of miracles that clearly fascinated Daoxuan. But on the other hand, knowing that he believed in the superiority of the southern tradition of Buddhism (Chen 2007: 34–39, 43), one can also read it as an illustration of the failure of northern invaders to harm a monk—albeit a Korean one—who is steeped in the superior southern tradition.

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27   This is a moot point; according to Korean sources, he travelled to China in 589, the very year the Chen dynasty ended, yet Daoxuan's biography makes it clear that he must have spent several years of study in Chen. As Ch'oe Yŏnsik points out, Wŏngwang almost certainly travelled to China well before 589. He proposes that Wŏngwang was born ca. 550, went to China in 575, and died between 630 and 640 (Ch'oe 1995: 16).

28   T. 50.2060: 523c25–28.

Besides this miracle, the narrative is fairly conventional, emphasizing Wŏngwang's erudition and study of various texts. There are parallels with Chajang's story in so far as Wŏngwang also left because he felt learning in his country was inadequate, and returned to a hero's welcome; the Korean king is said to have taken personal care of the monk, granting him the rare privilege of entering the palace in a carriage. Perhaps Daoxuan, who seems to have never received such privilege, again included this as a kind of wishful representation of an idealized country. What is interesting, however, is that his vision of Wŏngwang has been taken over in Korean scholarship. When Iryŏn composed his *Samguk yusa*, he made good use of Daoxuan's biographies. He reproduced Wŏngwang's verbatim together with other sources from Silla, and reworked the material from Chajang's biography together with native sources into a new biography. He entitled the former "Wŏngwang studies in the west" and the latter "Chajang establishes *vinaya*".[29] Thus, his assessment of these two Silla monks was substantially influenced by Daoxuan.

There are many studies that critically compare the Chinese and Korean sources, but most focus on factual discrepancies such as differences in the monks' recorded ages or dates of travel. What seems to have been ignored so far is the fact that Daoxuan shaped the biographies to conform to his own vision, and that this vision has in turn been refracted on the Korean material. Thus Wŏngwang and Chajang are still unquestionably regarded as the founders of doctrinal studies and *vinaya*, respectively. But was this really the case? Can we really be sure—without any of his works having survived—that Wŏngwang was a better scholar than, say Kaktŏk or Chimyŏng 智明?[30] And while we may be certain that Chajang was a specialist in *vinaya* and did much to boost its importance, was he really as successful as Daoxuan claims? Did the ordination platform he is said to have founded really change the Silla *saṅgha* into a model of *vinaya* observance?

Of course, unless some new sources come to light, it is impossible to answer most of these questions. The important thing is to point out that our understanding of early Silla Buddhism is to a large extent shaped by Chinese elite monastic predilections. In other words, not only has Silla Buddhism developed in close interaction with Chinese Buddhism, and arisen from intellectual

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29   圓光西學, 慈藏定律.

30   As seen above, Kaktŏk returned to Silla in 549. Chimyŏng is known to have returned to Silla in 602, two years after Wŏngwang. See Kim Pusik 1983 vol. 1: 84. We have no biographies of either of these monks, but since the author of the *Samguk sagi,* Kim Pusik, thought that their names merited inclusion, they obviously were highly regarded in their time.

exchanges with Chinese monks; our knowledge of these exchanges themselves is also heavily coloured by elite Chinese monastic concerns. It is only after we have recognised these that we can try to deconstruct them, and then pose again the question of what early Silla monastic identity was like. For example, returning to the question of Silla *vinaya*, once we recognize that Daoxuan is painting an idealized picture, it becomes easier to discern other possible interpretations. One of the differences between Chajang's biography in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* and its derivative in the *Samguk yusa* is that the latter weaves in many additional narrative threads. In particular, Iryŏn gives a much more detailed account of Chajang's travels in China, claiming that he went to Mt. Wutai where he encountered the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in a vision.

The crux of the story is of course, as is well known, Mañjuśrī's conferral of a magical formula upon Chajang. While this is usually interpreted in state-protection terms (Kim 1995: 25), it is important to note that the figure of Mañjuśrī or some other bodhisattva often appears to monks seeking a sign that they had sufficiently purified themselves to be ready to receive the precepts. Nobuyoshi Yamabe points out that "visionary repentance"—in other words, penitential practices carried out to induce a vision of a bodhisattva, a sign that sins have been expiated and the practitioner is ready to accept ordination—became prevalent in China in the fifth century (Yamabe 2005:17–18). We also clearly see its influence in Korea after Chajang; for example, the biography of Chinp'yo 眞表 features prominently his ascetic practices to obtain a vision of Maitreya.[31] Interestingly, though Daoxuan made use of visions to obtain information about his ordination platform, and also argued that the Buddhas were present at ordination, he makes no mention of the need to induce a vision prior to ordination. The reason for this is most likely that visionary repentance also led to the practice of self-ordination; if your practice has been validated by a bodhisattva, then what need is there for a formal ordination by the *saṅgha*? I would speculate that Daoxuan preferred the orderly conferral of precepts through a procedure validated by tradition rather than ecstatic experiences that were more difficult to control. Which practice ultimately prevailed is difficult to ascertain, but it seems that many Korean monks during Unified Silla practiced the visionary repentance to obtain the ordination precepts. Perhaps this may even explain the odd ending to Iryŏn's biography of Chajang: towards the end of his life, he fails to recognize that a beggar coming to his door is Mañjuśrī. Only after chasing him away does he realize his mistake, but when

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31   See *Samguk yusa*, T.49.2039: 1007b18–1008a22. According to one source his visionary repentance took place in 740 at age 23, but according to another in 760 at age 27. See Vermeersch 2012: 550.

running after the apparition—now Mañjuśrī on a lion rather than a beggar with a puppy—he stumbles and dies.[32] Perhaps this constitutes Iryŏn's critique of Chajang; arguably he is implying that as Chajang preferred the non-visionary ordination tradition, he was "backsliding" later in life and hence unable to perceive truth presenting itself at his doorstep.[33] It shows, in short, that Daoxuan's vision of Silla as a country where an orderly ordination tradition was supervised by the *saṅgha* does not correspond to historical reality.

3.2   *Culmination: Zutang ji*

Ironically, the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* seems to have been finalized about the time that Silla Buddhism entered its heyday: its three greatest philosophers, Wŏnch'ŭk, Ŭisang and Wŏnhyo, were all still alive in 667, the year Daoxuan died, and although they already had written some of their most famous works, their careers were still far from over. However, their lives would only be written down in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, which appeared about three centuries after they died. As we will see in the next section, in many ways this work offers but a pale reflection of their achievements. Thus it is more fruitful to look first at what is arguably the Chinese work with the richest vein of Korean material, the *Zutang ji* or Patriarch's Hall collection. It seems to have been published before the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, and in this light it makes sense to treat it first. But more importantly, like the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, it seems to include Korean material for a purpose, and this is what we will focus on in this section.

   As pointed out above, Korean monks frequently travelled to China on extended study trips, sometimes lasting ten years or more. Many monks also settled in China, never to return to their homeland. Wŏnch'ŭk 圓測 (613–696) is a famous example of this. Some even travelled to India; the travel diary of Hyech'o 慧超, discovered by Paul Pelliot in Dunhuang in 1908, shows us that a Silla monk travelled to China, and from there all the way to India in 723. After his visit to India he returned to China in 728 and remained there for the rest of his life, studying with famous esoteric masters such as Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra (Yang et al. 1984: 14–15). While most of them travelled to study with famous Buddhist masters, it is perhaps too one-sided to see this as a mere passive learning process. Not only did someone like Wŏnch'ŭk become one of

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32   *Samguk yusa*, T.49.2039: 1005c19–c27.

33   Of course this is speculative; for Iryŏn's own use of Mañjuśrī in a vision, see his stele inscription, Yi Chigwan 1993–1997, Volume 5: 191. See also Kim 1995: 32, who argues that Iryŏn simply inserted stories about Mañjuśrī into the biography of Chajang because of his own "special veneration" of this bodhisattva.

Xuanzang's foremost disciples, assisting in the translation of the new texts he had brought with him, he took an active part in formulating the doctrine so as to answer vexing questions in the Yogacāra school (see Cho 2005). And some monks even seem to have become the focus of a following, such as Monk Kim 金和尙 at Jiuhua-shan 九華山, or to have started their own school, such as Musang 無相. They were therefore active shapers of the Sinitic Buddhist tradition rather than passive recipients.

Musang in particular seems to have played an important role in the nascent Chan school. Although we have scant information about his background or when he came to China, Musang (684–762) is generally regarded as the founder of the Jingzhong 淨衆 school, based in Chengdu, Sichuan province (Adamek 2007: 6). One of his disciples, Wuzhu 無住 (714–774), founded another school, known as the Bao Tang 保唐 school; it is in the context of this school that one of the earliest "transmission records," the *Lidai fabao ji* 曆代法寶記 (*Record of the Dharma Jewel Through the Generations*), emerged. Transmission records aim to show the unbroken lineage of patriarchs stretching all the way back to the Buddha, and thus contain a lot of biographic materials on monks in the lineage. The earliest such transmission records emerged in the early eighth century, each presenting somewhat different versions of the "orthodox lineage" to favour their own interpretation of the correct transmission of the dharma. Thus the *Lidai fabao ji*, composed between 774 and 780, presents as the correct lineage one going from Hongren 弘忍 as the fifth Chinese patriarch to Zhishen 智詵 (sixth), Chuji 處寂 (seventh), Musang (eighth), and Wuzhu (ninth) (Welter 2006: 53).

This is rather different from the "orthodox" view that was firmly established in the Song dynasty, in which Huineng 慧能 is the undisputed sixth patriarch and the Zhishen branch no longer features. Instrumental in shaping an ecumenical image of all Zen lineages as branches on a single tree is the *Zutang ji* (Kor. *Chodang chip*) 祖堂集, or *Patriarch's Hall Collection*, compiled in the southern Chinese state of Min 閩 (907–947) ca. 952.[34] This work also contains ample information on Korean monks. Before we can treat the characteristics of these biographies, however, it is necessary to understand the structure of this work. Since the preface of the *Zutang ji* contains a lucid explanation of its structure, it is useful to quote it directly:

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34   Although the Min state had largely been absorbed by Later Tang by 945, after 947 Wu-Yue repelled Later Tang forces and allowed a few prefectures of Min to exist as a kind of buffer state.

In these [20 chapters], we first describe the seven Buddhas, next the twenty-seven Indian patriarchs, and finally the six generations in China. Each generation has branch and direct patriarch places and their succeeding disciples. All the above are recorded according to their lineage (lit. 'blood-veins'), in relationships of first and later, and according to the *zhaomu* 召穆 procedures [ranking] grandsons and spouses. This compilation [principle] allows for a host of long and scattered stories to be perused at a glance, so that all the exquisite words can be easily referenced in these chapters. Now, what the *śramana* Sŏk Kwangjun 釋匡儁[35] hopes is that what was compiled by the Chinese will never be jealously guarded by just a few.[36]

Thus the first chapter treats the seven Buddhas of the past and the first sixteen Indian patriarchs; the second chapter starts with the seventeenth Indian patriarch and concludes with the thirty-third patriarch of Chan, Huineng, who is also the sixth Chinese patriarch. The third chapter deals with the collateral branches of the fourth patriarch Daoxin 道信 (starting with Farong 法融) and the fifth patriarch Hongren (starting with Shenxiu 神秀), and with the main heirs to Huineng, including Xingsi 行思, Shenhui 神會 (Heze 荷澤), and finally Huairang 懷讓. Chapters four to thirteen deal with the influential lineage created by Qingyuan Xingsi (Shitou 石頭 school) as well as lesser lineages such as the Heze (including Zongmi 宗密) branch.[37] The introduction, which gives an overview of the contents of all the chapters, clearly sets these chapters apart, with an interlineary comment after chapter 13 stating "the above 96 people are the dharma heirs of Shitou; now follows the discussion of the Jiangxi [school]".[38]

The remaining chapters 14 to 20, which are thus set apart, deal with the disciples of Nanyue Huairang, what is known as the Hongzhou 洪州 (or Jiangxi 江西) line, with Mazu 馬祖 (709–788) as its main exponent. It is in this part of

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35   Not identified.

36   *Zutang ji xu*.1. The edition I used is the reproduction of the original text that can be accessed at http://kb.sutra.re.kr/ritk/index.do, Koryŏ taejanggyŏng classification no. K. 1503.

37   The main branches after Huineng were traced to his disciples Nanyue Huairang and Qingyuan Xingsi, who gave their names to these two branches, although the latter was also known by the name of its most famous exponent, Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 (710–790). The Heze school, initiated by the 'seventh patriarch' Shenhui, was much less influential. This dominant paradigm, with a bifurcation in two main branches, is set out here for the first time.

38   According to the preface, there are 253 biographies in the *Zutang ji*; in fact, 259 names are listed, although ten of those give no further details besides name and title. See Demiéville 1970: 270.

the *Zutang ji*[39] that we find most of the biographies of Korean monks, who are thus mainly part of the Hongzhou school.

Thus a very neat structure emerges, a deceptively simple genealogy, in which the generations are clearly differentiated; each of the two main parts discussed above is further subdivided according to generations: e.g. chapter 3 covers the forty-first generation (excluding the Northern and Dongshan schools), chapter 4 the forty-second generation, chapter 5 the forty-third and so on. In the second part, chapter 14 picks up again at the forty-first generation and then works its way up to the forty-seventh.[40] The problems with this genealogical mode have been adequately described elsewhere; in sum, the transmission from one 'patriarch' to the next was never so neat and exclusive, and moreover such schemes are basically anachronistic, in that among the earlier Chan practitioners, especially, there was probably not yet the notion of an exclusive transmission (McRae 2003). It is noteworthy that the *Zutang ji* is the first work to outline this system so comprehensively; and though it appears to foreground the Xingsi school (Welter 2006: 110–112), it is done more implicitly, as all the lineages of the family are included. Thus although this is the first work to exploit the well-known Chan verse of 'separate transmission' this has not been taken to extreme polemical levels yet.[41]

Altogether, the names of twelve Korean monks can be found here; two appear in chapter 11, Yŏngjo 靈照 and Hyŏnnul 玄訥, as they belong to the Shitou branch, although they never returned to their home country. Yŏngjo became an abbot in Hangzhou (Wu-Yue kingdom)[42] while Hyŏnnul remained

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39 Despite the later prominence of the Hongzhou school, the *Zutang ji* does not seem to privilege the Huairang branch. Most of the chapters (ten) deal with the Xingsi school, and these are ranked, moreover, before the chapters on the Huairang school (seven). Also, the abbot who wrote the initial preface to the *Zutang ji*, Wendeng 文僜, belonged to the Xingsi branch (see his biography in fasc. 13.11–15, where he is identified as Shengdeng 省澄). He was a generation below the Korean monks Yŏngjo and Hyŏnnul (see below), both of whom he may have known. He became a monk at Longhuasi, maybe the same Longhuasi in Hangzhou were Yŏngjo was abbot, while he originated from and later settled in Quanzhou, where Hyŏnnul also lived. Albert Welter makes a convincing case for the *Zutang ji* as the product of Wendeng and his circle, which aimed to prioritize the Xingsi branch, and more specifically Xuefeng Yicun (822–908), to whose lineage Wendeng belonged (Welter 2006, chapter 4).

40 On this structure of lineages and "generations" and how they interact with the fascicle division, see Anderl 2004, vol. 1: 53–63.

41 Foulk 1999: 240. For an early Korean expression of the supposedly anti-scriptural bias of Chan, see *Ssanggye-sa Chingam sŏnsa pi* (887), Yi Chigwan 1993–1997, Volume 1: 133.

42 *Zutang ji* 11.10–13. Most of the biographies focus on the patriarch's dialogues rather than biographic details, as is also the case here. Yŏngjo is said to have settled in Zhejiang, after receiving transmission from Xuefeng. He was patronized by the king of Wu-Yue, who

in Quanzhou, probably at the time of the Min kingdom.[43] The other monks all returned to their home countries after studying with a Chan master, all of them in the Huairang lineage, which has Mazu as its main exponent. Most biographies of Korean monks are placed in chapter 17, devoted to the forty-forth generation (Mazu being the 42nd). These are Tŏŭi 道義 (d. 825), Hyech'ŏl 慧徹 (785–861), and Hongch'ŏk 洪陟 (fl. 826),[44] disciples of Xitang Zhizang 西堂智藏 (735–814); Hyŏnuk 玄昱 (787–869), a disciple of Zhangjing Huaihui 章敬懷暉 (754–815); Pŏmil 梵日 (810–889), a disciple of Yanguan Qi'an 鹽官齊安 (750?–842); Muyŏm 無染 (799–888), a disciple of Magu Baoche 麻谷寶徹 (b. 720?); and Toyun 道允 (797–868), disciple of Nanquan Puyuan 南泉普願 (748–835). Though technically 'grandsons' of Mazu, they all studied with illustrious masters, most of whom are famous as they feature prominently in some of the most well-known *gong'an*, meditation cases, of the Chan/Zen/Sŏn tradition. The Korean monks themselves are also famous as the patriarchs of the so-called Nine Mountain schools (Kusan sŏnmun 九山禪門): no less than seven of these schools are represented here.[45] Finally, chapter 18 contains a short story about the Silla monk Kim Taebi 金大悲, who tried to steal the head of sixth patriarch Huineng's mummy,[46] and mentions the Silla monk Chŏngyuk 亭育.[47] The bulk of chapter twenty is taken up by the biography of Sunji 順之 (fl. 858–893), a disciple of Yangshan Huiji 仰山慧寂 (807–883), and who is thus considered part of the Guiyang 潙仰 school, which takes its name from the combination of the names of Yangshan Huiji and Guishan Lingyou 潙山靈祐 (771–853). This is not just a biography, but also a lengthy treatise using circles as symbols illustrating the teachings (Buswell 1993).

Although the entries for two Korean monks consist of nothing more than their name, lineage, and title, most of the others get very detailed biographies; actually, some are more extensive than most biographies of Chinese monks. This was first of all due to the fact that from the mid-ninth century onwards,

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granted him a purple robe, and served as abbot of Jingqing, Baoci, and Longhua temples. According to *Jingde chuandeng lu* (T.51.2076: 252 a–c), he died in 947, aged 78.

43   *Zutang ji* 11.13–14. Also a disciple of Xuefeng (see notes 39 and 42), he was sponsored by a "commander Wang" (王太尉) in Quanzhou. This most likely refers to Wang Shenzhi (862–925), who ruled over the Min (Fujian) region from 897 to 925, and who was known as an ardent sponsor of Chan monks, notably Xuefeng. See Welter 2006: 94–101.

44   Identified in *Zutang ji* as Hongjik 洪直; for the Korean source see *Pongam-sa Chijŭng taesa pimyŏng*, Yi Chigwan 1993–1997, Volume 1: 282–283.

45   For more biographic details on these masters see chapter 1 of Vermeersch 2008.

46   See Faure 1991: 163–164 for more on this interesting episode.

47   Chŏngyuk does not get a separate entry, but is mentioned in a dialogue with Yangshan Huiji. *Zutang ji* 18.21.

elaborate stele inscriptions had been erected for these monks in their native country, Silla. While most biographies of Chinese monks were based on epitaphs written by local scholar-officials sympathetic to Buddhism, the inscriptions for Silla monks were carved on large, elaborate stone monuments, and are thus more detailed and more formal, as large steles were invariably erected by royal decree and constructed under royal supervision. In fact, two of these steles have been preserved, so it is possible to ascertain that they were indeed the main source for the biographies of Korean monks in the *Zutang ji*. This is the case for Muyŏm, whose stele was erected in 890,[48] and for Sunji, whose stele dates to 937.[49] In fact, only small parts of the stele inscriptions have been copied by the compilers of the *Zutang ji*, mainly dealing with the biographic details. In the case of Sunji's biography, the main details have been copied nearly verbatim, but for Muyŏm the wording has been changed considerably; undoubtedly this is because the original, by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn 崔致遠 (858–after 900), was written in a highly idiosyncratic, parallel prose (*pianwen* 駢文) style.

What does the relationship between the stele inscriptions and the *Zutang ji* tell us? First of all, it would seem to confirm a steady exchange of information between Silla and later Koryŏ on the one hand and various Chinese states on the other—if the *Zutang ji* was indeed compiled wholly in China, a problem to be discussed below. In this case either rubbings or hand-written copies had to be made of the inscriptions. Yet although the Korean inscriptions served as an important source, other material was added: in the case of Muyŏm's biography, the addition is a short encounter dialogue with a questioner, who asks about the purpose of patriarchs in a 'tongueless realm'. Although the inscription contains a segment where Muyŏm expounds his final teaching, this was eschewed in favor of this dialogue which is typical of recorded Chan instructions through dialogue of the time.[50] In the case of Sunji's biography, an extensive treatise is added, which is not relevant for the present discussion. The other biographies, however, do not seem to contain such additional material illustrating their teaching strategies, so they are presumably based on Silla inscriptions, now lost.[51]

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48 *Sŏngjusa Nanghye hwasang pi*, Yi Chigwan 1993–1997, Volume 1: 154–166.

49 *Sŏun-sa Yo'o hwasang pi*, Han'guk yŏksa yŏn'guhoe 1996, vol. 1: 41–46.

50 See McRae 2003: 80 ff. for a description of the dialogue style in the *Zutang ji* as a preliminary step in the development of 'Chan encounter dialogue'. It would be interesting to compare the dialogue material found in the Late Silla inscriptions more systematically with the developing encounter dialogue.

51 Most biographies end by giving the name of the deceased master's pagoda, except Toŭi's, which simply notes "the rest is as the stele inscription". This suggests that the contents of

Besides the information on how Korean monks travelled to China to study with eminent Chan monks, and returned to their homeland to found "mountain schools," a few narrative themes clearly emerge. One of the most striking is that in the key encounters between Chinese patriarchs and Korean students, the Chinese patriarchs often praise their student by saying "the dharma will be secure in the Eastern Country [Korea]". For example, after Toŭi received transmission from Xitang Zhizang ("If I cannot transmit to this person then to whom?") he practiced austerities and went to see Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (749–814); Baizhang is said to have exclaimed "now the Jiangxi (Mazu) lineage is completely controlled by Korean monks!"[52] Similarly, after making Toyun his disciple, Nanquan Puyuan is said to have sighed "now the dharma seal of my lineage ends up in the eastern country!"[53] These statements seem to have been borrowed from the Korean inscriptions. Thus the inscription for Muyŏm, written by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, claims that Muyŏm first went to a certain Man 滿,[54] a disciple of Mazu, who told him, somewhat crestfallen, "I have inspected many people, yet few were like this son of Silla. If some day Chan disappears from China, we can ask for it to the Eastern Barbarians".[55] Then he went to Magu Baoche, who urged him to transmit the dharma further in Silla, invoking Mazu's prophecy that the dharma would flow east: "Once I was an elder son of Jiangxi [Mazu], and later I may become the father of [disciples in] Korea".[56] These exchanges have been incorporated, albeit in a somewhat edited version, in the *Zutang ji* version of this biography.

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the inscription were severely edited, and also that the text of the inscription must have circulated, otherwise it would not make sense to refer to it.

52　*Zutang ji* 17: 5.

53　*Zutang ji* 17: 17–18.

54　A monk named Man also appears in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, where he is identified as a "Bao Tang Chan Master" (T.50.2061: 785b8). While "Bao Tang" here may refer to the school founded by Wuzhu, it is also a common temple name in late Tang. See Adamek 2007: 284–285.

55　*Sŏngju-sa Nanghye Hwasang pi*, Yi Chigwan 1993–1997: 158.

56　Ibid., pp. 158–9. Yi Chigwan links this passage on the eastward spread of Chan to a prophecy in Huineng's biography in *Jingde chuandeng lu*, predicting first the theft of his skull and later the spread of his lineage to the east. Yi Chigwan 1993–1997, Volume 1: 185, note 165. Interestingly, the person entrusted with this theft is one Zhang Jingman 張淨滿, perhaps the same 'Man' Muyŏm encountered? However, the theft is said to have occurred in 722, nearly a century before Muyŏm's visit. Since Toŭi first came to study in the late eighth century, it is unlikely that there was such an early interest in Huineng on the part of the Sillans. Perhaps there is a core to the story, but dating from a century later. According to the *Zutang ji* biography of Kim Taebi, who ordered the skull to be stolen, it was later placed in Ssanggye-sa. According to the stele for Hyeso, who settled in Ssanggye-sa, there was indeed a shrine to Huineng there, though no mention is made of a skull.

This material has been studied extensively by John Jorgensen, who places it in the tradition of a "regeneration" narrative. He points to a passage in the *Analects*, in which Confucius threatens that if (his) Way is not put into practice, he will take a raft to cross the sea. From at least the Han dynasty this has been interpreted as "crossing the sea to Korea," and hence Korea has been seen as a place to retrieve the way should it get lost in China; in other words, a place from which to regenerate the way and reintroduce it to China (Jorgensen 2005a: 91). Clearly, this theme was also taken up by Korean intellectuals, who took pride in this Chinese recognition of their country as a source of cultural regeneration. Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn in particular is known to have taken up this theme in his writings, likening the east to the virtue of humanity (*ren* 仁), and by extension also to Buddhism: in Buddhist apologetics, the five Confucian virtues are linked to the five precepts of Buddhism. Humanity in particular is linked to "non-killing" as the most representative Buddhist virtue (Jorgensen 2005a: 92).

Thus one could argue that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, the author of most stele inscriptions for Korean Sŏn monks, had embellished narratives of encounters between Mazu's heirs and Korean monks to suit his own agenda, which had then found its way back into the Chinese *Zutang ji*, in a kind of reversal of what we have seen in the previous section, when the work by Daoxuan influenced the Korean *Samguk yusa*. Unfortunately, however, the situation is a good deal more complex than this. A careful reading of the preface to the *Zutang ji* clearly reveals that it consists of two parts: The first part, consisting of a mere 11 lines, was written by the abbot Wendeng (or Shengdeng; see note 39) of Zhaoqing 招慶 monastery in Quanzhou (Fujian), and notes that the work was compiled in one fascicle by his disciples, identified only as Jing 靜 and Yun 筠, in 952.[57] Immediately following this preface, and clearly set apart from it through a line break, follows the second preface, which is anonymous and starts as follows:

> The above preface and one-fascicle *Zutang ji* first circulated in this world, and later ten fascicles were added. Sincerely, based on the extant fascicles we wanted to make a new printing; so as to spread it far and wide, [the book] was divided into twenty fascicles.[58]

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57   Neither the preface nor the work carries any explicit date of completion; the year 952 was determined by Yanagida Seizan on the basis of an entry in the *Zutang ji* that refers to the year 952 as the "present" (Welter 2006: 63). Wendeng not only wrote the preface but also added verses to the sections of the patriarchs and some Chinese masters. See Anderl 2004, vol. 1: 14.

58   The part cited above follows immediately after this segment. There has been a good deal of controversy regarding this preface, since until recently most editions of the text seem to have "one fascicle" rather than "ten fascicles". This is probably due to the fact that in

This second preface was clearly drafted in Korea, since at the end, right before the start of the first fascicle, it says explicitly that this new edition was printed in Korea (Haedong 海東). This has led some scholars to argue that at the time of printing, a lot of material was added by the Koreans, notably the material in praise of their own tradition. It is impossible here to deal with all the arguments for or against such an argumentation; one can find very good overviews in the research by John Jorgensen, Albert Welter, and Christoph Anderl.[59]

What I would like to point out, though, is that it should not be automatically assumed that sections that praise Korea must have been inserted in Korea.[60] They were not even necessarily inserted at the instigation of the many Korean monks who were active in the Fujian and Zhejiang regions in the late Tang and Five Dynasties period. Although they must have played the role of transmitters in relaying the Korean material, the editorial decision to insert them should not be seen in chauvinistic terms only. There are many reasons why a Han Chinese editor may have approved of them. First of all, as with Daoxuan, depicting an idealized other may be seen as a spur for greater diligence to his own audience. Already in the *Lidai fabao ji* we see the Korean monk Musang held up as an example, who is allowed to scold his Chinese brethren in the dharma for their lack of diligence (Adamek 2007: 350). Second, given the importance of the transmission narrative, in which the dharma is passed on from India to China, it is only logical to take the next step, i.e. passing on the dharma to Korea. And a third possible motive is a genuine fear over the disappearance of the dharma: the background to the compilation of the *Zutang ji* is one of political chaos, with many polities changing rapidly, and a Buddhist persecution about to take place in the Northern Zhou dynasty, which eventually happened during the reign of Emperor Shizong in 955. Until we find more conclusive evidence as to where the final redaction of the *Zutang ji* took place, and what kind of material was added at each stage and where, these are factors that should not be ignored.

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prints from the Haein-sa woodblocks, the character for 十 (ten) was somehow misprinted, showing up as 一 (one). See Welter 2006: 64 for the ongoing confusion. The version put online by the Koryŏ Taejanggyŏng Yŏn'guso clearly has 十. See http://kb.sutra.re.kr/ritk/index.do (accessed Feb. 20, 2015). See also Anderl 2004, vol. 1: 35, note 207, for more evidence and references to other research on this problem.

59   See Welter 2006: 63–70; Jorgensen 2005a: 101–109; Anderl 2004, Vol. 1: 31, 36. I concur with these authors that the last word about this problem has not yet been said. A key element in determining where most of the material was redacted will likely be the language. The way in which the texts by Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn have been edited may provide valuable clues as to where this happened.

60   For evidence that the Korean biographies are different from the rest of the *Zutang ji*, and hence probably inserted in Korea, see Anderl 2004, Vol. 1: 31.

3.3 *Song China's Reassertion of the Center: Song Gaoseng zhuan*

Shortly after the first draft of the *Zutang ji* was completed, the Song dynasty was founded in 960. The quest for reunification and a new vision for Chinese culture left its distinct traces in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, the last major biographic compilation, finalized in 988. Later Buddhist critics have taken it to task for omitting major Chan figures and other perceived defects.[61] The fact is that its author, Zanning, had to tread a very careful line in trying to sell Buddhism to his new overlords, the Song dynasty. Born and raised in the southern Wu-Yue kingdom, he played a role in the negotiations to annex this kingdom, which was very Buddhist in outlook, to Song, which finally happened in 978. Honored by the Song court for his erudition, he also tried very hard to tailor Buddhism to their desire for a new cultural order, which was decidedly more Sinocentric. He tried very hard to present Buddhism as an integral part of Chinese *wen* 文, but the mere fact that he had to do so implies that there were strong voices to exclude it.[62]

This new vision of culture comes clearly to the fore in the treatment of Korean Buddhist monks. While the *Song gaoseng zhuan* contains in fact more such biographies than the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, the tenor is decidedly different. First of all, while the material is often substantial, there does not seem to be any particular editorial role assigned to Silla monks, as in the previous works. Second, the biographies vary considerably in their approach; but although some are rather substantial, we do not see the same attention to detail. While Daoxuan took great pains in sketching the family background of Chajang, explaining in the process something about Silla culture, Zanning does not bother to inquire about his subjects' background a lot. In the case of Sungyŏng 順璟, for example, he merely states "since his family belongs to the Eastern Barbarians, it is difficult to unravel [his family background]"[63] and leaves it at that. Third, in most cases the biographies hinge on a particular story; thus, rather than attempting a full biography of a monk's career, in many cases it is but an excuse to tell a particular story. And finally, the biographies do not shy away from painting their subject in a not so favourable light.

This can best be illustrated with the biography of Wŏnch'ŭk. In fact, it is not really a biography; Zanning does not even discuss his origin, simply saying "there are no details about his family"; he does not even indicate that Wŏnch'ŭk originally came from Silla. The short text merely narrates the famous story about how Wŏnch'ŭk listened secretly to a private lecture on the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 (*Treatise on the Perfection of Consciousness Only*) that the famous

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61   See Huihong's comments in the *Linjian lu*, cited in Kieschnick 1997: 13.

62   See Welter 1999 and Dalia 1987.

63   T.50.2061: 728a.

monk Xuanzang 玄奘 (602?–664) gave to his disciple and eventual successor, Kuiji 窺基 (632–682). Thus Wŏnch'ŭk could actually expound its teachings before Kuiji.[64] This act of deceit is not condoned nor condemned, but simply recounted matter-of-factly. Following this story Zanning simply recounts how Wŏnch'ŭk also became a member of the translation bureau of Buddhist texts.

In the same fascicle (4, on exegetes), a few biographies after Wŏnch'ŭk's, Zanning includes the biography of another Silla monk, Sungyŏng. Having obtained some of Xuanzang's essays, Sungyŏng wrote his own commentaries on them and entrusted them with an envoy to China, hoping that Xuanzang himself would give his opinion on them; he himself never seems to have travelled to China. Since this took place in the Qianfeng era (666–667), Xuanzang had already died, so his disciple Kuiji took it upon himself to comment on the texts. He praises them, expressing admiration that someone from the border region reaches this level of knowledge; yet at the same time Zanning writes how Kuiji "perceived [from the texts] what Sungyŏng did not know". The biography concludes with the story that Sungyŏng, after slandering the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* for saying that one could become Buddha from the initial dedication of the mind toward Buddhahood, sank into hell! Although Zanning defends his action in an added commentary, saying it is the act of a bodhisattva, he does not deny that the ground opened up to swallow Sungyŏng, landing him in hell.[65]

Thus the stories barely rise above the anecdotal, and (probably unintentionally) relegate Korean Buddhism to a marginal position rather than one of potential regeneration. A final example to make this clear is the famous biography of Wŏnhyo that is also contained here. As Robert Buswell has pointed out in his analysis of the biography, "so little of Wŏnhyo himself emerges from this hagiography that Zanning clearly appears to have used Wŏnhyo primarily as a stratagem for discussing the legend about the recovery of the *Book of Adamantine Absorption*" (Buswell 1995: 554). Indeed, the bulk of the biography is taken up by explaining how the *Jingang sanmei jing* 金剛三昧經 was discovered in the palace of the Dragon King and brought to Korea, where Wŏnhyo wrote his commentary on the text. Despite mentioning stories about Wŏnhyo's unconventional behaviour, this actually puts him in the category of "unfathomable" monks who have access to antinomian strategies; it is clearly

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64   See Cho 2005: 173–179 for a good overview of this controversy; see also Jorgensen 2002: 89, who argues that this is a *liezhuan* 列傳 or "connected biography," in other words, it is part of all the people connected to Xuanzang. Yet, *liezhuan* is not necessarily so narrowly defined. Jorgensen also gives a translation of the biography on p. 91.

65   T.50.2061: 728a28. Also, Zanning describes the monk Kim Chijang 金地藏 (aka Monk Kim 金和尚) as being very tall and ugly; T.50.2061: 738c17.

not condemned by Zanning. Also, he reserves considerable praise for Wŏnhyo, writing that his commentary is "elegant, elucidated disputed points, and could serve as an exemplar [for commentarial writings]" (Buswell 1995: 558).

At the same time, one of the most interesting stories about Wŏnhyo is actually found in the biography of his friend and colleague, Ŭisang. Although he set out on a journey together with Ŭisang, Wŏnhyo never reached the intended destination, China. The generally accepted reason for this is that on the road, he had an enlightenment experience that made him realize there was no more reason for him to go to China. This is the paradigmatic story of Korean Buddhism "coming of age," so it is usually taken as a declaration of Korea's maturity as a Buddhist country, in that it had no longer anything to learn from China and could now go its own way; in other words, that it had become self-sufficient (Buswell 1998: 80). Wŏnhyo for all we know indeed did not make it to China and became one of the greatest Buddhist philosophers of all time. Interestingly, however, in the oldest recorded version of this story, by Zanning's older contemporary and fellow Wu-Yue native Yongming Yanshou (904–975), we find a somewhat different version of the same story: according to Yongming "The two [Ŭisang and Wŏnhyo] came to Tang together in search of a master".[66]

Thus the story was most likely common knowledge in Wu-Yue; perhaps both authors had picked it up from the community of Korean monks that was residing in the country.[67] So perhaps they simply embellished an existing story. For Yongming, the point he wanted to make was about the nature of the mind, as the

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66   *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄; see T. 48.2016: 477a22–28: "… Formerly there were the dharma masters Wŏnhyo and Ŭisang from the Eastern Country. The two came to Tang together in search of a master. Surprised by nightfall they had to spend the night in the wild, and stayed inside a tomb. Wŏnhyo, feeling thirsty, wanted to scoop some water; next to the place where he was sitting he saw some water, and ladled to drink it; it tasted delicious. The next day he saw that it was pus from a dead corpse; immediately he was deeply revulsed, and threw up. Suddenly he had a great realization, and said 'I heard the Buddhas words to the effect that the three worlds are only mind, the myriad dharmas only consciousness. Therefore I know that good and bad reside in me, but not in the water!' Then he returned to his home country and widely spread the supreme teaching."

67   As I pointed out in a previous study, the monk Chijong studied with both Zanning and Yongming. Chijong came to Wu-Yue in 959 and returned to his home country in 971 (Vermeersch 2007: 136). In 969, perhaps at the instigation of Chijong or other monks, King Kwangjong of Koryŏ sent 36 monks to study the dharma; as a result the Fayan (Dharma eye) school flourished overseas (*Fozu tongji*, T.49.2035: 396b). According to Yanshou's biography (*Song gaoseng zhuan*, T.50.2061: 887b), the king was impressed after reading Yanshou's *Zongjing lu*, and sent envoys to present him with a gold brocade *kāṣāya*, crystal pearls and golden washing basins. For a brief overview of some of the most salient features of the exchanges between Wu-Yue and Koryŏ, see Jorgensen 2005a: 86–87.

story appears in a discussion on this topic, so he was probably not interested in where the story happened. For Zanning, the story is woven into the biography of Ŭisang. One of the main motifs in this biography, besides the story concerning Wŏnhyo, is Ŭisang's encounter with the Chinese girl Shanmiao 善妙, who falls in love with him. Ŭisang refuses to break his precepts, so Shanmiao finally turns into a protective deity, who helps him in his quest to establish Huayan Buddhism in Korea, for example by ridding his temple of bandits.[68] Thus the story is about how Huayan was transferred from China to Korea, where a firm basis was established thanks to the intervention of Shanmiao. In a story about the nativization of a Chinese tradition, it is perhaps fitting that Wŏnhyo is seen as the other side of the coin: someone who had already grasped the Sinitic tradition of Buddhism and thus stayed in his country, while Ŭisang—being, one can imagine, less perspicacious—had to travel for personal instruction.

Interestingly, in terms of personal instruction, the *Song gaoseng zhuan* seems to minimize the contact with Chinese masters: Wŏnch'ŭk was prevented from hearing the key teaching of Xuanzang, Sungyŏng sought contact via letter, Ŭisang's meeting with and study under Zhiyan is barely mentioned,[69] Wŏnhyo turned back before reaching China, etc. The only monk in this collection who had substantial contact with his master is Hyŏngwang 玄光, but that was still under the sixth-century Chen dynasty.[70] Perhaps this reflects the situation at the time: despite the intensity of contacts up until the Five Dynasties period (907–960), following the founding of the Song dynasty, the regular flow of monks from Korea simply dries up. Since we know that the Koryŏ dynasty after its founding in 918 kept up very intensive Buddhist exchanges with the Wu-Yue kingdom and other states in southern China, the reason must have surely lain with the Song, which tried to reassert its cultural superiority.[71] Following the return of the monk Yŏngjun 英俊 (932–1014) to Koryŏ in 972 (Vermeersch 2008: 388), we have no more information about any Korean monks travelling to China until Ŭich'ŏn 義天 (1055–1101), who visited briefly in 1085–1086. It is only during the Yuan period, following the subjugation of Koryŏ, that we see a gradual flow of Korean monks resuming ca. 1275.

This very different state of affairs is again reflected in monastic biographies. The *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (*Record of the Transmission of the Lamp from the Jingde Era*), finalized in 1009, contains the names of about forty

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68   See T.50.2061: 729a3–c3 for the biography; for a translation see Durt 1969.

69   Ŭisang studied Huayan Buddhism with the school's second patriarch, Zhiyan, before returning to his native country in 671. He maintained cordial relations with his fellow student and third patriarch, Fazang.

70   T.50.2061: 820.c13–821a26.

71   See Jorgensen 2005a: 107, and especially Welter 2006: 13.

Korean monks, the most of any Chinese biographic collection; yet in almost all cases, it completely eschews biographic information. The majority, 24, are simply listed by name, while for 16, only a very brief Zen dialogue is recorded. In only one case, the monk Yŏngjo, is the dialogue more than a few lines long and a modicum of biographic information offered.[72] Of course this lack of biographic information is partly caused by a different emphasis: as the title "transmission of the lamp" implies, it foregrounds stories of mind transmission and lineage connections over biographic details. It perhaps symbolizes the shift in Song cultural perceptions in general rather than a particular shift in attitudes towards Korean monks. The Buddhist world had been shrunk to a few very narrowly defined areas acceptable to mainstream literati. In such a world, any Buddhist claims to agency, including the shaping of their own tradition through exchanges and contacts with the outside world, had no place.

4   Conclusion

The sources analyzed in this chapter have in fact been extensively studied, yet almost exclusively in order to cull information about Korean Buddhism; thus, the texts have been taken out of context. What I have tried to achieve here is simply to put them back in the context of the works they appear in, and ask how they functioned for the author. In other words, while the biographies of Korean monks in Chinese works have always been analyzed for their information on Korean Buddhist identity, I hope to have made clear that they also helped to shape Chinese Buddhist identity. Identity is always shaped with reference to a real or imagined other; thus the image of Korean monks in Chinese biographic compilations often served to make a point about Chinese Buddhism. By using the term *imaginaire* I am not suggesting that Daoxuan made up stories out of whole cloth. Undoubtedly he did in some cases, but he also based himself on solid information obtained from Silla monks—we have enough information from Korean sources such as the *Samguk sagi* to know that the basic outline of facts is true. Thus in a certain sense it is correct to say that he was impressed by them, and aware of their achievements back home. Yet at the same time, he chose to represent these facts in a certain light and embellished them to further his own views and impress his own desired version upon his audience. Thus Wŏngwang and Chajang become ideal types that reflect his own desires for the implementation of *vinaya* and the superiority of the Southern

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72   Here I rely on the edition of the Korean material from the *Jingde chuandeng lu* in Kim Yŏngt'ae 1977: 283–289.

tradition of Buddhism; in the process he most likely exaggerated Silla's adherence to *vinaya* and perhaps also Wŏngwang's importance as an exegete.

While a lot of this is peculiar to Daoxuan, undoubtedly it is also part of a wider trend of perceiving Korean monks in China. Given the sheer number of monks who travelled there, the "Silla monk" must have been a familiar figure. It is therefore hardly surprising that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, who travelled to China in the late Tang dynasty to take the state examination, took this theme even further. After returning to his home country following a brief career in the service of a Tang governor, he wrote several stele inscriptions for Sŏn monks, and notes in them how their Chinese masters were full of praise, assuring them that Silla would become a bastion of Chan/Sŏn Buddhism, from where one day the Chinese could come to retrieve it. Since we know that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn was addressing not just a Korean but also a Chinese audience, he probably took an existing trope of Korea as an ideal Buddhist country to a new level of sophistication. And it is quite possible that this was positively received in China, notably in a small southern state such as Wu-Yue or Min, whose people were very Buddhist in outlook and at the same time threatened in their existence by the "legitimate" northern dynasties that were much cooler towards Buddhism. Thus it is entirely likely that the *Zutang ji*, composed in the remnants of the Min state, would welcome this theme of retrieval of Chan Buddhism from Silla.

In terms of the Buddhist exchanges that took place between the early sixth and late tenth centuries, this chapter has confirmed that not only did Korean monks play a role in Chinese Buddhism, they also played a role in the Chinese Buddhist imaginaire. This suggests that in Buddhist terms, international relations could be perceived as a two-way street, with different centers able to communicate on (more or less) equal terms—at least, the contribution of a barbarian "other" could be acknowledged. In the Song dynasty, however, this was no longer the case. While the *Song gaoseng zhuan* still contains clear traces of the influence of Korean monks, this seems to be more a legacy of the past; Zanning is clearly no longer interested in any concrete contribution of Korea to the Buddhist world. In such a climate, it is hardly surprising that Korean monks stopped travelling to China: they seem to have considered they had learned all there was to learn (Vermeersch 2008: 126), and probably were not willing to be relegated to the role of mere pilgrims. Buddhist contacts were certainly not forbidden, as is evident in the cases of Japanese monks travelling to China, such as Jōjin 成尋, who travelled in 1072–1073. While he may have, as Robert Borgen argues, imagined himself "as a participant in a two-way intellectual exchange" (Borgen 2009: 44), this was certainly no longer the way the Chinese perceived it.

Buddhist Pilgrimage and Spiritual Identity: Korean Sŏn Monks Journeying to Tang China in Search of the Dharma

Henrik H. Sørensen

1   Introduction

This essay is devoted to a specific phenomenon in the history of East Asian Buddhism, namely the quest for the Buddhist teaching (*qiufa* 求法) conducted by Buddhist monks in countries other than their own—in other words, journeys abroad undertaken by religious professionals for primarily religious reasons.[1] In what follows I shall focus on experiences associated with Korean Sŏn 禪 (Ch. Chan) Buddhist monks journeying to Tang China during the latter part of that dynasty, i.e. during the 8–9th centuries, and chiefly base my findings on contemporary records, most of which are in the form of epigraphical writings.

What sets the cases of Sŏn monks from the Unified Silla 新羅 kingdom (668–935) somewhat apart from other pilgrim-monks from Korea and Japan, including luminaries such as Ŭisang 義湘 (625–702) and Hyech'o 慧超 (fl. 8th cent.) from Silla, and Kūkai 空海 (774–835), Saichō 最澄 (767–822), and Ennin 圓仁 (794–864) from Heian Japan, has partly to do with soteriological issues and partly with the significance played by religious geography within the Chan/Sŏn Buddhist traditions themselves. In other words, it has to do with fundamental doctrines and concepts of religious transmission within this particular

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1   For an interesting and useful survey of the various issues and agendas relating to Buddhist pilgrimage in late medieval China, see Huang Yangxing, "Lüelun Tang Song shidai de 'Suiqiu' xinyang, 1 (An Abbreviated Discussion of Belief in 'Pilgrimage' during the Tang and Song Periods (1))," *Pumen xuebao* (*Research Journal of the Vast Gate*) 34 (2006), pp. 125–154, (2), *Pumen xuebao* 35 (2006), pp. 1–15. The material used by Huang represents both Chinese and especially Japanese records, but none from Korea. Of course the primary source on Buddhist pilgrimage to Tang China is Ennin's 圓仁 (794–864), *Nittō guhō junrei kōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記 (*Record of a Pilgrimage to Tang China in Search for the Dharma*); cf. Nittō guhō junrei gyōki-*xiaozhu* (*An Annotated Translation of the* Nittō guhō junrei gyōki), trans. Li Dingxia et. al. on the basis of Ōno Katsutoshi, Shijiazhuang (Hebei): Huashan wenyi chubanshe, 1992. See also Edwin O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Travels*, 2 vols., New York: Ronald Press, 1955.

East Asian Buddhist tradition. While the need for spiritual recognition from a famous master and the acquisition of new teachings are common agendas of most of the East Asian pilgrim-monks, it so happens that a special spiritual transmission from master to disciple, the so-called 'mind to mind transmission' (*chuanxin* 傳心) conceived of as a concrete and distinct spiritual event, played and still plays a primary, if not all-dominant role in Sŏn/Chan Buddhist identity and power structure. This is so because its very foundation is conceptualized as a 'separate transmission outside the established teaching' (*waijiao biechuan* 外教別傳).[2] In practical terms this necessitated the undertaking of a spiritual journey to China, the motherland of the tradition, for all aspiring Sŏn adepts, not only as part of the process towards the obligatory attainment of enlightenment, but in order to achieve formal, spiritual recognition and authorization from a living master within a respected and time-honored lineage of orthodox Chan transmission.

The so-called 'transmission' of the Buddhist teaching from Chinese Chan masters to Korean Sŏn monks was conceptualized by the Chan/Sŏn tradition in accordance with the above outlined belief that spiritual authorization took place in accordance with what can be termed 'a meeting of minds.' This event has been formulated, and indeed canonized in the relevant literature as a precise and delineated point in time where the two sides of the exchange, master and disciple/requesting monk, meet through an exchange of words steeped in Chan rhetoric, the so-called 'encounter dialogue' (Ch. *wenda*, Kor. *mundap* 問答). Although not always resulting in the sought-after experience of sudden enlightenment (*dunwu* 頓悟), many of the cases we find in the relevant literature actually claim to have done so—something which is especially pronounced in the cases involving Korean Sŏn monks. Said encounters, which usually take on a somewhat formalistic, if not artificial character, have been used to cement not only the historical relationship between the two persons involved, but more importantly, have also served as proof that a given monk had become a master in his own right, and was thereby capable of initiating his own lineage of transmission—in a sense establishing his own sub-branch on the proverbial ancestral tree of Chan/Sŏn Buddhism.[3] This made the meeting with a recognized master, subsequent experience of enlightenment and

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2 For a discussion of this central, doctrinal issue in Chan, see Foulk 1999: 220–294. Although the focus of this article primarily concerns developments during the Song, the beliefs and concerns involved were already in vogue during the Tang and Silla as documented in numerous primary sources from the 8th to early 10th centuries.

3 The Chan Buddhist mimicking of Confucian ancestral thinking and social structure has been explored in Jorgensen 1987.

formal recognition absolutely central features in establishing spiritual identity. Moreover, they were central in the transmission of Tang Chan Buddhism to the Korean Peninsula.

Since this essay to a large extent deals with the issue of Buddhist practice and beliefs across cultural boundaries, i.e. cultural crossings in the real sense of the word, in the following I shall present an analysis of the salient features involved in this process. This involves a discussion of the Chan/Sŏn transmission as it was conceptualized in the primary literature, i.e. as a literary topic and structural element, in a number of formal accounts of Korean Sŏn monks going to China for spiritual experiences and confirmation. Since most of the relevant material is in the form of commemorative stele inscriptions, which represent a highly formalized and rigid form of literature, an analysis of what this particular category of Buddhist writing entails will also be presented in the following. Before doing so, let us first take a look at the ideas, beliefs and special character of the pilgrimages undertaken by Korean Sŏn monks going to China during the second half of the Tang.

2   On the Background and Sources for Korean Sŏn Pilgrimages to Tang China

Before discussing the experiences of the Korean Sŏn monks in Tang China, it is necessary to point out some of the specific conditions that made the undertaking of a spiritual trip abroad both necessary as well as mandatory. Sŏn Buddhism in Silla rose during the first half of the eighth century and gradually grew into one of the most important Buddhist traditions in the Korean kingdom.[4] At the time it began to assert itself as a distinct tradition with a specific history and concepts of lineage, something which eventually caused the formation of proper schools. Institutionally speaking, Korean Buddhism was dominated by a combination of doctrinal schools, each of which focused on scriptural studies combined with pious beliefs. These formations of doctrinal Buddhism were predominantly represented by the Hwaŏm 華嚴 and Pŏpsŏng 法性 schools[5] as well as by various cults devoted to Maitreya, Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara and

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4   For a brief and easy-to access introduction to early Korean Sŏn Buddhism, see Sørensen 2011: 192–219. An important compilation of various articles on early Sŏn is Chŏng 1995.

5   In Korea of the Silla period the Hwaŏm and Pŏpsŏng represent two different traditions. One is mainly associated with Ŭisang, and the other with the celebrated Wŏnhyŏ 元曉 (617–686). Cf. Yi Chi-kuan 1994: 71–89.

Bhaiṣajyaguru.[6] In this active religious climate the followers of nascent Sŏn Buddhism, a tradition which primarily focused its spiritual endeavors on the practice of meditation and immediate spiritual apprehension, were in need of concrete religious props, i.e. markers and symbols of authority other than scriptures, as means to distinguish themselves and their rising tradition from mainstream Buddhism. One obvious way of achieving this was to journey to China, the birthplace of Chan Buddhism, in order to 'drink directly from the source' and then to return with the proper, spiritual credentials.

By the time Korean Sŏn monks began in earnest to arrive in China in search of spiritual authorities, the Chan Buddhist tradition had existed as an independent form of Chinese Buddhism for close to two centuries. It had even branched out into two competing, main traditions, so-called Northern and Southern Chan (*beichan* 北禪, *nanchan* 南禪), following the teachings of two alleged disciples of the Fifth Patriarch Hongren 宏仁 (601–674), namely Shenxiu 神秀 (606?–706) and Huineng 慧能 (638–713), the latter primarily bolstered by his successor Shenhui 神會 (684–758).[7] In the course of the eighth century the lineages of Northern Chan gradually died out in Silla, leaving the scene to a number of vital representatives of Southern Chan, most notably the sub-schools and/or transmission-lineages associated with the monks Mazu 馬祖 (709–788)[8] and Shitou 石頭 (700–790).[9] In the first phase of Sŏn monks coming to China on spiritual quests, it was primarily to these Chan masters and their immediate followers that they flocked (cf. Table 9.1).

The standard Chan histories and 'recorded sayings' (*yulu* 語錄) literature contain a number of accounts of interviews between masters and disciples involving Korean monks.[10] However, very few of these reveal anything specific to Korean culture. In fact, beyond the standard encounter dialogues, the master-disciple interviews rarely go beyond the immediacy of a given encounter

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6   For an overview of doctrinal Buddhism in Silla, see Ko 1989: 138–381. For a study of the devotional Buddhist cults under the Silla, see O 1987: 61–99; Ch'ae 1985: 51–116; and Cheong 2011: 93–104.

7   For important studies on Northern and Southern Chan, see McRae 1986 and 1987. For a recent overview of these developments, see also Sørensen 2012: 53–76.

8   Cf. ZGDJ: 907ab.

9   Cf. ZGDJ: 201b.

10   See for instance those found in the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 (*Collection of the Patriarchs' Halls*; hereafter ZTJ). For the reprint of the original Korean version from the 13th century, see Yanagida Seizan 1974; and the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景得傳燈錄 (*The Transmission of the Lamp from the Jingde Period*). Cf. T.2076.

situation. Even so, there are a few cases, such as the one we shall see below, where the Korean monk's cultural identity plays into the dialogue.

Only when we turn to the epigraphical material, mainly constituted by memorial steles raised over important Sŏn masters, as well as a few proper narratives from other sources, do we find sufficient data with which we may begin to reconstruct and understand the importance and significance of a given Chinese Chan transmission to Korea and the further establishment of orthodoxy once a given Korean Sŏn monk had returned to his native country. In other words, we may identify formal attempts at establishing spiritual history and hegemonic context through applied discourse analysis. As far as literature goes the stele inscriptions are with few exceptions generic and adhere to a more or less rigid compositional template. They are meant to glorify a given master, in particular his lineage, and are therefore filled with hyperbolic statements and flowery language. As such they are strictly panegyric in nature, even if they for the most part also feature *bona fide* historical data. Moreover, these inscriptions are formulaic and are constituted of a more or less fixed structure and formalized type of narration.[11] One may therefore speak of them as following a prefabricated textual template. Such a template usually consists of the following parts:

- Opening section of praise.
- Birth of the master under miraculous circumstances.
- Ordination and training.
- Journey to Tang China and meeting with a Chinese master of Chan.
- Pilgrimage inside China and return to Silla.
- Rise to fame and connection with local authorities in some cases including the royalty of Silla.
- Establishment of religious centre and formal recognition of the lineage.
- Death and cremation.
- Bestowal of posthumous name and erection of funerary *stūpa*.
- List of important monastic and lay disciples—especially if the latter are members of the Silla nobility.

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11   There are several collections of Korean epigraphical material available to the specialist, but for the present purpose I shall be referring to texts found in the classic Japanese collection, *Chōsen kinseki soran* 朝鮮金石總覽 (*A Comprehensive View of Korean Epigraphies on Metal and Stone*; hereafter CKS).

From this list of themes in the memorial epigraphs we are able to understand that the political aspects they carry are indeed as important as the more directly religious ones. Moreover, it is obvious that spiritual pedigree was essential for official recognition by the government of Silla and for thereby providing the possibility and right to set up a temple of one's own on the part of the involved monks. Without such recognition, no one could hope to set up the framework for a lineage of successors. In other words, establishing a new ancestral lineage required both religious as well as official recognition, and of course powerful, local sponsors. Interestingly, among the vast majority of those Sŏn monks who rose to prominence, less than one in ten did *not* journey to China in search for a master and formal recognition. This tells us something about the importance of the travel to China and subsequent sojourn there for the medieval Sŏn monks of Silla.

As far as the trip to China itself goes—as recorded in the formal accounts—we may break it down into the following components:

- The Korean monk yearns to go to China to further his studies of Buddhism.
- The journey—usually by sea—on a diplomatic or merchant vessel (in some cases the journey is only realized after certain obstacles—such as parents' objections or problems with authorities—have been overcome).
- Meeting with a Chinese master of Chan (in some cases presaged by visits to holy sites).
- Receiving the seal of approval (sometimes on the spot, sometimes after years of training, which could also involve full ordination as a monk).
- Visits to other masters of Chan and pilgrimage to holy places (in some cases including extended periods in seclusion).
- Return to Korea and embarking on a local career as a master of Sŏn.

3   Meeting the Master and Associated Cultural Issues

It is not the place here to enter into a lengthy presentation or discussion of the various surviving encounter dialogues between Chinese Chan masters and their Korean followers. What I will do, however, is to focus on a few representative cases which highlight cultural issues, i.e. those which play directly on perceived differences between Chinese and Korean culture, how they manifest in the accounts and dialogues, and how they were utilized in the formal Korean accounts of said encounters. The reason for this is that the manner in which they were conceptualized and applied to local discourses of power and self-presentation reveals something interesting about the parameters in the cultural transmission of Chan/Sŏn.

When it comes to eliciting praise from his Chinese peers, Tŏŭi 道義 (d. 825),[12] the founder of the Mt. Kaiji School 迦智山門[13] of early Sŏn, stands out among the many Korean Sŏn monks who studied in China. The account we find in the ZTJ[14] is especially noteworthy for its penchant for underscoring the master's high spiritual standard, and the degree of respect he commanded from his Chinese Chan teachers. The account reads:

> He left home and received the dharma-name Myŏngjŏk together with the Buddhist commandments.[15] In 784 CE he went with the envoys Han Ch'an (n.d.) and Kim Yanggong (n.d.) across the sea to Tang.[16] He forthwith proceeded to [Mt. Wu]tai[17] to pray to Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva. [On the mountain] he heard the sound of a holy bell ringing in the air and saw divine birds sport in the air. In Baotan Temple 寶壇寺[18] in Guangfu 廣府[19] he received the complete ordination. Following this he went to Caoqi.[20]

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12 In many ways the image of this monk as conveyed by the Korean Sŏn tradition makes him into the exemplary pilgrim-monk and trailblazer connecting Korean Buddhism with Southern Chan. For his position as the founder of the Hŭiyang School see CKS I, pp. 62–63.

13 Early Korean Sŏn Buddhism has traditionally been presented as having been constituted by the so-called 'Nine Mountain Schools' (Kusan Sŏnmun 九山禪門), a designation which, as far as we can tell, did not come about until well into the Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392). In reality there were at least twelve separate lineages during the Unified Silla (668–935), of which some were relatively small, being little more than a single string lineage of transmission, while others were schools (*chong* 宗) in the proper, institutional sense of the word. For a study of this tradition, see Sørensen 1987.

14 ZTJ: 317b–318a. There are strong indications that the version of the ZTJ that has come down to us today was either compiled in Korea or at the very least was re-edited there. For a discussion of the issues surrounding the ZTJ's history, see the lengthy, second appendix in Jorgensen 2005: 729–752.

15 This indicates his novice or *śrāmaṇera* ordination, not the taking of the full vows of a *bhikṣu*.

16 During the Silla period it was a common practice for monks to accompany diplomatic missions going to Tang. According to Ennin's diary the same held true for the monks from Heian Japan. Sinhaeng is the first Sŏn monk, whom we know went to China together with a diplomatic mission. See CKS I, p. 114.

17 The text only reads *tai* 臺 (i.e. platform); however, in light of the fact that Tŏŭi's purpose to go there was to pray to the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, we must conclude that the mountain in question is Mt. Wutai in northern Shanxi province.

18 This is the same temple that Huineng was ordained in according to the tradition. It still stands within the center of modern Guangzhou, but is now called Guangxiao Temple. See Duan 1997: 506–512.

19 I.e. modern Guangzhou in Guangdong province.

20 Caoqi here means Baolin Temple in Caoqi, the monastery of Huineng, Sixth Patriarch of Southern Chan.

When he went to pay his respects, the doors of the Patriarch's hall opened of themselves, and when he had prostrated three times and gone out of the doors, they closed after him.

Later he went to Kaiyuan Temple 開元寺 in Hongzhou 洪州 and immediately completed (?) [his training] with Xitang Zhizang, the great master. Toŭi greatly moved the Master with his visit. Elucidating the doubts and untying the knots, the Great Master likened him to finding a piece of beautiful jade among pebbles, or finding in a clam a true pearl. Speaking about him, he said: "To whom but this man should I transmit the dharma?" He then gave him the name Daoyi 道義 (i.e. Toŭi). Following this he became a wandering monk and went to Mt. Baizhang 百丈山 to follow master Huaihai, who like Master Xitang expressed his admiration of him saying: "All the Jiangxi Chan lines [of transmission] go with this Korean monk!" [The above] tallies with the text of the stele inscription.[21]

This account has virtually all the primary elements concerning the transference of spiritual authority and formal recognition of the spiritual zeal of the Korean Sŏn adherents journeying to Tang China. It is hardly a coincidence that we find this sort of praise and appreciation extended to one of the founding fathers of Korean Sŏn Buddhism. After all, the section on Toŭi in the ZTJ openly states that the text was largely based on his (now lost) memorial stele, which we must assume consisted of one long praise in which his Korean background was particularly stressed.

There are also cases in which a Korean monk was already part of an established Sŏn lineage in Silla, but still felt the need to go to China to seek further instructions in the practice of Chan. One such case concerns Ch'amyu Togwang 璨幽道光 (869–958),[22] a leading disciple of Simhŭi 審希 (855–923), a second generation master of the Pongnim School 福林山門.[23] Evidently, Togwang was not satisfied with the training he had received under his teacher, and cherished the desire to go to China to further his Chan studies. In 892 he set sail for Tang, and once he had arrived there, immediately set out on a pilgrimage which was to take him to several of the important Chan

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21   ZTJ: 317b–328a.

22   Stele inscription in CKS, Vol. I: 207–215.

23   Stele inscription in CKS, Vol. I: 97–101.

centers of the time. Finally arriving in Tongcheng county in Shuzhou 舒州,[24] he met the Chan master Touzi Datong 投子大同 (845–914),[25] who was to become his new master. Master Touzi was a disciple of Wuxue (n.d.),[26] a second generation follower of Shitou in the Qingyuan lineage of Southern Chan. The text of Ch'amyu's memorial stele records the dialogues which took place between the two at their first and last meetings:

> When he (i.e. Touzi) saw the great master (i.e. Ch'amyu) he said: "Among those who have come from Korea and who seek to study what is taught here in China, it is only with you that one can talk about the Way!" When hearing this, the great master was enlightened to the true Buddha in the body. Why should it only be that the true teaching consists of receiving the secret transmission from one's *kalyāṇamitra* through the silent answer of pure names and nothing else?[27]

According to this passage, Ch'amyu was instantly enlightened just by meeting with Touzi and hearing his praise. Although cases like this are not unknown in the history of Chan, it is nevertheless unusual in the traditional accounts that a monk is awakened in this way. Possibly a *mundap* took place between the two, but all the text of the stele mentions is the above exchange. As in many other cases, the intent of the stele inscription was evidently to show that Ch'amyu already was a master of Sŏn *before* arriving at Touzi's place. This is further borne out in the following:

> When the great master was about to leave, he came to say goodbye [to Touzi]. The master then addressed him saying: "There is neither departing nor arriving!" The Great Master answered: "Although it may well be that neither leaving nor arrival are necessary,[28] there should not be any

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24 This is present-day Shucheng, some fifty kilometres southwest of Lake Chao in the province of Anhui.

25 Cf. ZGDJ: 201b. Biography in ZTJ: 111a–112b; and T.51.2076: 319a–320b. This work does not mention any Korean disciples of this Chan master.

26 Biography in ZTJ: 96b–97a; and T.51.2076; 313c.

27 CKS I: 209.

28 The meaning is that in the realm of the Absolute, i.e. in the Way, there is no coming or going. Everything is from the very beginning in the state of suchness (Kor. *chinnyo* 真如). Touzi's statement is an expression of absolute truth or essence (Kor. *ch'e* 體).

delay!"[29] The Master (i.e. Touzi) said: "Since I have already verified the Mind Transmission, why should we bother about words!"[30]

Staying in China for altogether thirty years, Ch'amyu returned to Silla in 921 CE after having visited the temples of many Chan masters. However, no details are given in the epitaph on his subsequent experiences in China after joining the community of Touzi. Clearly the the Touzi connection was considered most important.

4   The Importance of Holy Sites in Establishing Identity

The significances of pilgrimage and by extension religious geography are also important to address in relation to the activities of the Korean Sŏn monks journeying to Tang (see table 9.2.). Having received confirmation of spiritual attainment and thereby been recognized as a worthy vessel for transmission by the Chinese master(s), the Sŏn monk would then leave his master's temple, sometimes after an extended stay. The subsequent journey would take him on a combined spiritual journey to interview other masters as well to visit important sites associated with Buddhism as such and some specifically related to the history of Chan/Sŏn. Primary goals were temples such as Shaolin 少林, associated with Bodhidharma (d. ca. 530), and Caoqi 曹溪, the monastery where Huineng lived and died.[31] Other holy sites associated with the history of Chan Buddhism, even entire areas or regions, could be desired destinations for the Korean Sŏn monks such as the area around Hongzhou in modern Jiangxi, the home of Mazu's Kaiyuan Temple, or the region to the north of Chengdu (Yizhou 益州), where the Korean monk Musang 無相, also known as Ven. Kim 金和尚 (684–762),[32] as well as his Chinese successor Wuzhu 無住 (714–774), had their bases.[33] However, the average Sŏn pilgrim was in many cases not

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29   That is, although everything is already in the state of suchness, things still operate on the relative level. Hence the activity of the Bodhisattva, who is—despite having already transcended relativity—nevertheless forced to operate in the world of cause and effect. Ch'amyu's statement may therefore be understood as an expression of the relative truth or function (Kor. *yong* 用).

30   CKS I: 209.

31   For a thorough study of Huineng and the complex of myths surrounding him, see Jorgensen 2005.

32   Biographical entry in the *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記 (*Record of the Historical Transmission of the Dharma Treasure*); cf. T.51.2075: 184c–85b. See also Adamek 2007: 204–213, 335–339.

33   The life and times of Wuzhu are eloquently covered in Adamek 2007: 204–213, 343–352.

satisfied with visiting sites connected with the history of Chan Buddhism alone. The sources indicate that the lure of holy places common to Buddhism beyond sectarian concerns, such as Mt. Wutai 五臺山, the abode of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, appears to have been equally captivating to the Korean pilgrim monks, as it was also to Ennin, and there are several accounts of Korean monks visiting that mountain.[34] Like other pilgrims to this famous site, the visit appears to have been undertaken in the hope of having a vision of Mañjuśrī on one of the five summits of the mountain. From the account of Toŭi, whom we have already encountered, it is recorded that he also visited Mt. Wutai prior to seeking out his teacher. Although not recorded as having met the Bodhisattva in person, Toŭi is nevertheless credited with having experienced the manifestation of auspicious signs while on the mountain—all testimony to his saintly qualities as well as the numinous power of the place.

A visit to Mt. Wutai is also recorded in the memorial stele of the monk Haengjŏk 行寂 (832–915),[35] a second generation Sŏn master of the Mt. Sagul 闍崛山 lineage. In the account of his pilgrimage to holy sites China we read the following:

> […] Later he reached Mt. Wutai where he lodged at Huayan Temple 花嚴寺. Seeking a response from the Great Holy One Mañjuśrī, he first ascended the Central Peak 中臺. Suddenly he encountered a divine person (*shenren* 神人), whose hair and eyebrows were all white. Accordingly he (i.e. Haengjŏk) bowed his head, prostrating in worship while beseeching him for his grace. Addressing the Great Master (i.e. Haengjŏk) the other said: "It is not easy to come [here] from afar. Very good, son of the Buddha! Do not dwell in this place, but make haste to go south." Realizing [that he had met Mañjuśrī in disguise] from the five-coloured frost [on the ground], he then knew that he had certainly been showered by Dharma Rain.[36]

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34   Accounts of famous monks meeting Mañjuśrī manifesting as a boy or an old man abound in Chinese Buddhist literature, and may be considered an enduring stereotype in the narrative tradition of this Bodhisattva, the most important undoubtedly being that of Indian pilgrim-monk Buddhapālita, who encounters the Bodhisattva in the form of an old man. A developed version of this story can be found in the Liao compilation, *Sanbao ganying yaolü lu* 三寶感應要略錄 (*Abbreviated Record of the Three Jewels Moved to Response*). Cf. T.51.2084: 826a–856c. For a presentation of later accounts of Buddhist miracles at Mt. Wutai (and elsewhere), see Berger 2001: 145–169.

35   For the text of his stele inscription, see CKS, vol. 1, pp. 181–186.

36   CKS: 183.

The 'divine person' in the account is of course meant to indicate that it was a manifestation of Mañjuśrī whom Haengjŏk had met. Moreover, the bodhisattva also graced him with a prediction, urging him to journey south in order to fulfill his spiritual destiny.

These accounts of divine or miraculous apparitions at celebrated pilgrim sites, as we have seen above, constitute further signs, both symbolic as well as concretely, that the monks in question were spiritually worthy as well as extraordinary themselves. The conveyance of these markers of distinction, despite their function as salient literary tropes, actually serves as an important element in the process of building up the spiritual pedigree of the Korean Sŏn monks under discussion. Together with the other fantastic occurrences in the formal accounts of their lives, including miraculous birth, extraordinary intelligence, etc. they underline the divine numinosity associated with prodigious persons.

5   The Case of Pŏmil

In order for this account not to descend into pure descriptive narration, let us stop for a short while to reflect on an illustrative case concerning the Sŏn master Pŏmil 梵日 (810–889), also known as Ven. T'onghyo 通曉, the founder of the Mt. Sagul Line, which makes him a leading figure in the nascent Korean Sŏn Buddhist tradition.[37] The account of this master is particularly important from the point of view of the journey to Tang he undertook, as it is both highly detailed and informative. As Pŏmil's stele inscription is no longer extant, the main source on his life and teaching is the lengthy biographical entry found in the *Zutang ji*,[38] together with an additional note in the celebrated Chan history from the early Northern Song, the *Jingde chuandeng lu*.[39] Because of the ZTJ's special importance for our understanding of what the spiritual journey and

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37   For a study of the early Korean Sŏn tradition of the Silla, see Sørensen 1987.

38   For the reprint of the original Korean version from the 13th century, see *Zutang ji* (*Sodōshu*), ed. Yanagida 1974. There are strong indications that the version of the ZTJ that has come down to us today was either compiled in Korea or at the very least was re-edited there. For a discussion of the issues surrounding the ZTJ's history, see the lengthy, second appendix in Jorgensen 2005: 729–752.

39   T.51.2076: 273b. His name is here given as 'P'ŭmil 品日.' Although this source does not provide any information on Pŏmil's life *per se*, it does corroborate the information on his lineage as found in the fifty years earlier ZTJ.

religious identify meant to the early Sŏn monks, this account merits our attention. Below follows a full translation of the section in question:

> In the middle of the Taihe 太和 era (i.e. 827–835 CE) he (i.e. Pŏmil) wished to travel to China, and [accordingly] wrote to the royal prince Kim Ŭich'ong 金義宗 (n.d.), making his wish known. The prince approved of his intentions and allowed him to accompany him on his ship bound for Tang. Because of previous karmic relations he set out on a journey throughout the realm [as soon as he had arrived] in search of a spiritual advisor. [Eventually] he met Yan'guan Ji'an 鹽官齊安 (750?–842).[40]

The first encounter between master and disciple has been transmitted in the typical fashion of a *wenda*/*mundap* encounter of the type encountered previously. It reads as follows:

> The Great Master (i.e. Ji'an) said: "Where do you come from?" He (i.e. Pŏmil) answered saying: "I come from Korea (lit. Haedong 海東)." The great master pressed him further saying: "Did you come by sea or over land (lit. by road)?" He answered: "I did not come either way!" [Ji'an said:] "If you did not come either way, then how did you manage to arrive here?" [Pŏmil] answered: "The sun and the moon go from east to west. What could possibly stand in their way?" The great master said: "You surely are a bodhisattva from Silla!" [Then] Pŏmil asked: "How does one attain Buddhahood?" The great master laughingly said: "The Way can not be attained through cultivation! Only in this manner will one avoid defiling it! One should not entertain ideas about buddhas or bodhisattvas, for the ordinary mind is the Way!" When Pŏmil heard these words, he had a great enlightenment. [Subsequently] he waited upon Ji'an for six years.[41]

In this exchange Pŏmil's status as a Korean is at the heart of the dialogue between master and disciple, in effect the 'theme' or pivot around which the entire exchange evolves. Whether a true recording of a *wenda* that took place or one constructed for sect-political purposes is irrelevant. No one can misunderstand the significance or importance placed on the issue of ethnicity in regard to the image presented by the Korean Sŏn of its illustrious sons, and one cannot accuse the Korean monks of suffering from complexes of inferiority.

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40   Cf. *ZGDJ*, p. 108cd. Biographical entry in ZTJ: 283b–284a. See also T.50.2061: 776c.

41   ZTJ: 319b–320a.

Having attained enlightenment and repaid his teacher's kindness, Pŏmil set out on the customary spiritual journey to visit other masters of Chan in order to deepen his own experience. This phase in Pŏmil's life is represented by an encounter with Yaoshan Weiyan 藥山惟儼 (745–828),[42] a direct dharma descendant of the famous master Shitou 石頭 (700–790), considered to be a second-generation descendant of Huineng. In other words Pŏmil went directly to another important master in a mainline transmission of Southern Chan. The passage reads:

> Yaoshan asked: "Where do you come from?" The Master (i.e. Pŏmil) answered: "I come from Jiangxi!" Yaoshan said: "For what reason have you come?" The master said: "I have come to meet you!" Yaoshan said: "There is no road leading to this house, so how did the Venerable Sir manage to come here?" The Master said: "If you go one step further, then I shall not be able to see you!" Yaoshan said: "Wonderful, wonderful! The cold wind outside freezes the man to death.[43] Wanting to visit from distant places you have come here to the Emperor's land."[44]

Apart from serving as yet another praise of Pŏmil's outstanding qualities, and thereby underscoring the Korean need for recognition and approval *vis-á-vis* an inheritor of mainstream Chinese Chan Buddhism, this interview—despite its profound nature—is otherwise a classical example of standard Chan Buddhist rhetoric found in similar encounter dialogues. The last sentence of the exchange serves of course to underline Pŏmil's Korean origin.

Having met Yaoshan and received his approval, Pŏmil's travels in China were roughly interrupted by the outbreak of the Huichang Suppression of Buddhism which began in earnest in 844 CE.[45] Due to the precarious situation he was forced to hide in the mountains of Shaanxi for almost two years, where he endured deprivations and hunger. Finally the worst effects of the persecution eased in 846 CE and accordingly Pŏmil was able to resume his travels, this time with the Sixth Patriarch Huineng's temple in Southern China as his goal:

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42   Cf. ZGDJ: 22d–23a. Biographical entry in the ZTJ: 84b–92b. This entry features another short exchange between Yaoshan and an unidentified Korean monk; perhaps Pŏmil?

43   A phrase indicating Yaoshan's formal admission of defeat.

44   ZTJ: 320a.

45   Pŏmil's experiences during this time are described in the ZTJ: 320b.

> [Next] he vowed to proceed [on a pilgrimage] to Shaozhou 韶州 to wor-
> ship the [Sixth] Patriarch's *stūpa*. Not being more than one thousand
> *li* distant, he eventually reached Caoqi. [When he arrived] a fragrant
> cloud suddenly rose, curling around the *stūpa*, and in front of the tem-
> ple a wonderful crane suddenly settled on the top of it and crowed. The
> crowd in the temple was surprised and said to each other: "A good omen
> such as this has certainly not occurred [here] before. It must be a sign
> indicating that a master of Chan has arrived."
>
> After this, Pŏmil decided to return to his home country to spread the
> Buddha-dharma. On the eight month of the 6th year of Huichang (i.e.
> 846 CE) he returned across the sea back to Silla.[46]

Here in this last section of the account of Pŏmil's sojourn in Tang China, we may
notice two significant features, both of which pertain to the issues of spiritual
legitimation and identity. The visit to Caoqi with its burial stūpa of Huineng
is in itself an event which cements the Korean monk's formal connection to
Southern Chan as it effectively reads as a visit to the tomb of one's mainline
ancestor. In other words it establishes his formal association with orthodoxy
as transmitted by the mainstream Southern Chan Buddhist tradition. Secondly,
the miracles said to take place in connection with his arrival at Caoqi under-
score Pŏmil's status as an enlightened master within that tradition.

6   Conclusion

As I have hoped to show here, the spiritual quests or pilgrimages to Tang China
undertaken by Korean Sŏn monks during the eighth to ninth centuries (and
later) were not just displays of Buddhist piety and the wish to learn new forms
of Buddhism. Clearly these journeys had very calculated purposes and took the
form of scheduled travel programs for very specific reasons. Certainly much
was at stake for the monks who undertook these travels. Spiritual sanction
involving official recognition from a master of an important lineage of trans-
mission, establishing oneself as a member of such lineage—in other words,
becoming a 'lineage-holder' with the vested authority to transmit the inher-
ited teaching. While these qualities were significant for all monks of relevance
within Chan Buddhism, they were especially important for the Korean Sŏn
monks, because many of them aspired to transplant Chinese Chan to Korean

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46   ZTJ, fasc.17: 320b.

soil, undoubtedly with the underlying hope of receiving formal approval from the Silla court.

In addition to achieving the goals just outlined, these journeys also inform us of the importance of spiritual identity, something which was of course important to all formations of Buddhism, as well as to followers of other religions, but which nevertheless held special significance for foreign monks seeking to inherit a special form of Buddhism in China and to subsequently transmit it to and establish it in their own countries. When seen from this perspective, the religious identity of a given pilgrim monk may therefore be understood as having three primary features, all equally important: a) first of all his identity as a Buddhist ('trans-cultural identity'), b) as a follower and inheritor of a special form of Buddhism (sectarian identity), and c) as a person with special cultural roots (cultural identity). In regard to the latter point, it is interesting that there are number of cases where Korean Sŏn monks on pilgrimage in China never returned to Silla, but instead chose to stay for various reasons. In some cases they are known to have become masters of their own Chinese communities, thereby completely transcending the cultural boundaries between China and Korea.

Lastly, and perhaps most significantly, the evident closeness, the existence of 'family bonds' which can be seen to have persisted between the Korean pilgrim monks and their Chinese masters, indicate something very interesting about East Asian Buddhism during the medieval period—something which may not have been particular to Chan/Sŏn Buddhism, although it certainly found a very clear-cut expression there: that is, the presence of an evident sense of trans-cultural communality and identity as Buddhists that persisted over an extended period of time. As far as the sources allow us to see, the fact that both Chinese and Korean monks shared the same spiritual tradition(s), which would also have included Buddhist monks from Heian Japan, meant that cultural and political boundaries in the majority of cases were of little or no significance to the religious exchanges that took place. Of course, the fact that written Chinese was a common language to all greatly facilitated communication and the transfer of teachings. However, as we have seen here, entire institutions including their histories, modes of teaching, scriptures— in short all their formal structures—were being transferred, meaning that a given Buddhist teaching and its actualization were being transplanted to a new culture with all its distinct parameters. All this was achieved through extended travels between points of common interest, loci invested with power and significance recognized and revered by all members of a given movement or school of thought.

7   Appendix

TABLE 9.1

Sŏn monk's name	Period of travel	Teacher(s)	Chinese	Mountain school 山門
Hyeso 慧昭 (774–850)	804–830	Shenjian 神鑒 (d. 844)	Mazu 馬祖	Mt. Chiri 智異山
Toŭi 道義 (d. 825)	784–c. 810		Mazu	Mt. Kaiji 迦智山
Hyech'ŏl 慧徹 (785–861)	814–839	Xitang 西堂 (735–814)	Mazu	Mt. Tongni 桐裡山
Hyŏnuk 玄昱 (787–)	824–839	Huaiyun 懷惲 (754–815)	Mazu	Mt. Pongnim 鳳林寺
Toyŭn 道允 (797–868)	825–847	Puyuan 普願 (748–835)	Mazu	Mt. Saja 獅子山
Muyŏm 無染 (799–888)	?–845	Ruman 如滿 (n.d.) and Baoche 寶徹 (n.d.)	Mazu	Mt. Sŏngju 聖住山
Ch'ejing 體澄 (804–880)	837–c. 841	Fatang 法堂 (752–839)	Mazu	Mt. Kaiji
Pŏmil 梵日 (810–889)	c. 830–846	Ji'an 齊安 (750–842)	Mazu	Mt. Sagul 闍崛山
Haengjŏk 行寂 (832–915)	870–885	Shishuang 石霜 (807–888)	Shitou 石頭	Mt. Sagul
Yŏŏm 麗嚴 (862–930)	c. 890–902	Daoying 道膺 (835–902)	Caodong 曹洞	Mt. Sŏngju
Kyŏngbo 慶甫 (868–948)	891–921	Guangren 光仁 (837–909)	Caodong	Mt. Tongni
Ch'amyu 璨幽 (869–958)	892–921	Datong 大同 (845–914)	Shitou	Mt. Pongnim
Kŭngyang 兢讓 (878–956)	900–c. 925	Ven. Toyon 道緣和尚 (n.d.)	Shitou	Mt. Hŭiyang 曦陽山
Hyŏnyŏng 玄影 (879–941)	903–924	Daoqian 道虔 (n.d.)	Shitou	Mt. Sŏngju

TABLE 9.2

Sŏn monk's name	Period of travel	Sites for pilgrimage
Hyeso (774–850)	804–830	Shaolin Temple 少林寺, Mt. Zhongnan 終南山
Toŭi (d. 825)	784–c. 810	Kaiyuan Temple 開元寺 in Hongzhou 洪州, Caoqi 曹溪.
Hyech'ŏl (785–861)	814–839	Fuxia Temple 浮沙寺 (where a copy of the *tripiṭaka* was kept), Mt. Tiantai 天台山, Guoqing Temple 國情寺.
Pŏmil (810–889)	c. 830–846	Mt. Wutai 五臺山, Caoqi 曹溪
Haengjŏk (832–)	870–885	Mt. Wutai, Jingzhong Temple in Yizhou 益州 (Musang's old temple), Caoqi.
Kŭngyang (878–956)	900–c. 925	Mt. Wutai, Chan historical sites

The Rebirth Legend of Prince Shōtoku: Buddhist Networks in Ninth Century China and Japan

Pei-ying Lin

1 Introduction: Lineage and Authority

Shōtoku Taishi's 聖徳太子 reputation as the earliest major figure associated with Buddhism in Japan makes him a starting point for historical discussions on Japanese Buddhism, as well as on Sino-Japanese cultural interaction.[1] His reincarnation story is just one element in the extensive cult centred on this figure. In particular, the current paper focuses on the belief that he was the reincarnation of Nanyue Huisi (J. Nangaku Eshi) 南岳慧思 (515–577), who was the master of Tiantai Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597), the alleged founder of the Tiantai School. Hence, we will be shedding light, without regard to later sectarian boundaries, on the connections between the Japanese Prince and the legend cycles of the Chinese Tiantai patriarch Huisi.[2] This reincarnation story has been conspicuously put to use by Tendai followers in Japan from the eighth

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1 Discussions on this figure, especially in Japanese scholarship, have mainly centred on his historicity. For instance, Ōyama Seiichi大山誠一 has argued that the very existence of Shōtoku Taishi as a historical figure was fabricated (Ōyama 2003). More recent discussions on the historicity and his "mirror-image" (*kyōzō* 鏡像) can be found in the special volume of *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū* 仏教史学研究 50.1 (2007) resulting from a symposium; see in particular Ishii's article (Ishii 2007: 77–91). Ishii later published another paper on the state of the art of studies on Shōtoku Taishi based on his talk in Osaka, 2011 (translated by Jamie Hubbard, 2015). Discussions about other Japanese Buddhist schools may also begin from Shōtoku Taishi (see for example Rhodes 2006: 1–22, especially the literature review in pp. 1–8). Furthermore, for updated studies on Buddhism under the patronage of Shōtoku Taishi, see Sone 2007, Bowring 2005: 20–22, Oom 2009, McCallum 2009, Kamstra 1967 and Piggot 1997; regarding the story of the prince's encounter with a beggar in Kataoka, see Nishimura 1985. For a study of the complicated process of the construction of the Shōtoku Taishi legend in relation to Korean immigrants, see Como 2008. For the continuing development of the cult during the 13th century, see Quinter 2014; for its extended development in the context of the women's circles, see Meeks 2007.

2 According to Huisi's biography in Daoxuan's 道宣 (596–667) *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (*Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks*), he was at first inspired by the *Zuimiao shengding jing* 最妙勝定經 (*Sūtra of the Most Wonderful Meditation*), and then joined the group led by

century onwards, and yet it illuminates the understated connection between this prince and Chan/Zen Buddhism.

Amongst the texts that have come down to us, it is rather interesting that the authors of these texts, including both Japanese and Chinese ones, had subtle but sturdy connections between each other. These connections, when aligned with the historical context, can be seen to manifest a continuing and developing agenda on the part of Buddhist monks, especially in connection with lineage invention. In the reincarnation legend, since a trans-historical connection is made between two major figures, the reincarnation connection is in a way equivalent to a lineage. The purpose of the construction of the reincarnation is to provide legitimacy and authority in Buddhist transmission, which is otherwise difficult to receive. For this reason, we will first look into the narratives to find out their underlying logic and the mechanism of lineage invention. The mechanism of lineage making includes various methods; the most straightforward one is the master–disciple transmission narrated in Buddhist hagiographies. With such texts as a basis, the reincarnation stories centred on Shōtoku Taishi were incorporated into a lineage making process. The lineage was centred on the Chinese patriarch Huisi more than the Japanese Prince, because the figure of Huisi could be presented as a foreign patriarch. A patriarch from across the sea in China was necessary in this process because of the concept of the movement of the Dharma, shifting from west to east. What I argue in this paper is that it illustrates a logic similar to the need for the promotion of the Indian Patriarch Bodhidharma (c. 530) in China. In this aspect alone, the invention of this legend shared much ground with lineage invention in eighth century China, in which the importance of Bodhidharma increased within the centre–periphery framework of the Buddhist worldview.

The motif of the foreignness of patriarchs has at least one root in Sino-Indian relations. Chinese Buddhists suffered from a "borderland complex" towards India in the context of the centre–periphery framework.[3] For instance, Daoxuan (596–667), as a leading Chinese monk of his time, was puzzling about whether the Buddhist centre should be China or India.[4] However, Chinese clergy seem to have overcome their feeling of uneasiness and their state of dilemma during the seventh to eighth centuries (Sen 2003: 11–12). The Tang period saw a straightforward declaration of China as the centre of the Buddhist world.

Huiwen 慧文 in Northern Qi (T.50. 2060: 563c). For a study of Huisi's life, see Magnin 1979. On Huisi's image and works, see Stevenson and Kanno 2006: 1–44.

3   The concept of a "borderland complex" was proposed by Antonino Forte in the 1980s and received much attention by Jinhua Chen (2010).

4   Cf. Sen 2003: 9.

In examining the ways in which the prophecies of the demise of Buddhist doctrines went through modifications in China and were employed to legitimise the usurpation of Empress Wu Zetian, Tansen Sen (2003: 87) concludes:

> While the demise of Buddhism in India seemed apparent, in China the doctrine had gained a strong foothold and thrived under rulers such as Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty, Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty, and Wu Zetian in the seventh century. [...] Within the context of the blossoming of Buddhism in China, the prophecies of the imminent decline of the doctrine were also a concern for the Chinese clergy. At the same time, however, they found an opportunity to link the prophecies to the declining state of the doctrine in India and argue for its renaissance in China.

This process of appropriation and reinvention of theories of the Buddhist centre developed first in China and then in Japan, and is a continuous theme in the reincarnation story. During this period, characterised by large-scale cultural exchange, the sense of legitimacy of Japanese Buddhists was intensified by the cultural and diplomatic interactions between China and Japan. According to Bruce Batten, a sense of Japanese cultural identity emerged among the central and regional elites around 700 AD.[5] Thus the general political environment at the international level dominated the underlying logic of the legend of Shōtoku Taishi and Huisi, just as it had done, with a similar rationale, in the case of the stories of Bodhidharma in China during the seventh to eighth centuries. In this respect, the reincarnation story displays the intrigue of Sino-Japanese relations within the Buddhist tradition. In the early eighth century, Japanese monks were preoccupied with their own position in relation to the Buddhist "motherland" of either China or India, which were to some extent competing foci of prestige.

The construction of lineage and authority in the creation of tradition relied on the textuality of Buddhist tradition in general.[6] I argue here that the mechanism for the invention of this particular reincarnation story has its origin in the early Chan tradition. Shōtoku Taishi's image as a culture hero served to redefine Japanese Buddhist traditions, and as a result, prominent monks such as Dōji 道慈 (?–774), Jianzhen 鑑真 (688–763) and Saichō 最澄 (767–822)

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5 Batten 2003: 91. Como (2008: 9) basically follows Batten's argument. In another article, Batten argues that the external threat from Tang China in the seventh century was a direct cause of the emergence of the *Ritsuryō* state. See Batten 1986: 93–112.

6 Even the narrative of *Nihon shoki* drew on Buddhist sources. See Como 2008: 17.

all had to claim a connection with Shōtoku Taishi.[7] Since precisely analogous things happened to the images of both Huisi and Shōtoku Taishi in China and Japan, we are talking about a process which functioned over a wide geographical and chronological range. The relations between transformation and continuity during the process of acculturation of Buddhism led to a more balanced view.[8] The legends associated with Shōtoku Taishi had a stronger potency in Japan than in China, but it is argued here that their conception of lineage was very definitely in accordance with the early Chan traditions.[9] Japanese writers adopted innovative ways to supersede or even overthrow the central position of China, but they took up the Chinese conception of lineage and authority in Buddhist transmission. Continuity may be seen in the motif of the domestication or acculturation of Buddhism during the eighth and ninth centuries across East Asia. Politics within Buddhism dominated the process of legend invention, whereas, at the same time, the new discourse may have altered or reshaped the self-definition of the Tendai sect from Saichō onwards. Japanese monks' self-definition relates to how they located themselves within the broader context of East Asian Buddhism; their claims in the reincarnation legend reveal the authors' motives to have been to rearrange Sino-Japanese relationships through the incorporation of Tiantai and Chan patriarchs—a progress which began in China itself.

Finally, it should be clearly understood that the presentation provided here is based on a cross-sectarian approach to Buddhist history. The intention is to bring out a particular genealogy which transcends spatial limits and sectarian boundaries. It is widely accepted that the Buddhist sectarian history of China and Japan, largely boosted by hagiographical writing and lineage making, began from around the seventh century.[10] Yet the sectarian identity of medieval Buddhists, such as the authors of the stories of Shōtoku Taishi, demands better definition.[11] The ideological use of the reincarnation story is an important

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7   For Dōji's connection with the legend, with a brief mention of Saichō, see Como 2008, Chapter 7.

8   Even though in most cases it is helpful to be familiar with the sectarian roots in China for understanding the transplantation of Buddhism to Japan, it is not always appropriate to regard Japanese Buddhists as mere imitators and receivers of their Chinese fellows. Jinhua Chen's (2008) study on the Japanese Tendai sect argues that the Japanese Tendai Esoteric literature could be the origin of some Tiantai scriptures on the Chinese side.

9   For an exquisite study on the formation of transmission legacy in early Chan Buddhism, see Adamek 2007, Chapter Two. See also Morrison 2010, Introductory Chapter.

10   See Chen 1999.

11   James Robson's (2009) approach overcomes sectarian limitations in his research on the mountain where Huisi dwelled.

source for disclosing the agendas of medieval Buddhist monks in China and Japan, and these agendas went beyond any sectarian framework. After a brief account of the plot of the reincarnation story of Shōtoku Taishi itself, the main part of the paper below turns to an analysis of the authors and their mutual relationships. The conclusion will bring out the connections between the authors taking part in the development of the legend, and the continuing agendas of the Chinese and Japanese authors selected will thereby become intelligible.

2   The Reincarnation Story

Shōtoku Taishi, also known as Prince Umayado 厩戸皇子, was the earliest Japanese ruler who provided major patronage for Buddhism introduced from China. The official introduction of Buddhism started during the rule of his father, Emperor Yōmei 用明 (r. 585–587), but the substantial introduction of Buddhism, together with Confucianism and Chinese culture, was put forward by Shōtoku Taishi. According to the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (*Chronicles of Japan*), the introduction of Buddhism to Japan occurred first in the significant year 552. However, the *Nihon shoki* account is now generally regarded to be a later fabrication by someone writing during the early eighth century, possibly by a Japanese monk in 720 (Hayami 1986: 18–19). According to several texts written prior to the *Nihon shoki*, such as the *Jōgū Shōtoku Taishi hōō teisetsu* 上宮聖徳太子法王帝説 (*Exposition of Dharma King Shōtoku of the Upper Palace*) and the *Gangō-ji garan engi* 元興寺伽藍縁起 (*Origins of the Gangō-ji Temple*), it is now generally accepted that Buddhism was formally transmitted to Japan in 538, or the seventh year of Kimmei. Even this, however, is a formal date, and it is quite possible that continental immigrants to Japan had been worshipping Buddhism privately before this year.[12] The year 552 chosen by the compiler of the *Nihon shoki* was ideologically significant because this year was considered to mark the first year of the Latter Dharma (*mappō*) (Tamura 1959: 277–308). By locating the introduction of Buddhism in this year, the author was in effect attempting to show the superiority of Japan over China.[13] Japan could provide the location for the continued transmission of Dharma even at the time of *mappō* when its original light might be thought to be fading. It paved the way for the beginning of the rhetoric of the 'theory of eastward flow [of Dharma]' (*tōryū setsu* 東流説). This mobility of Dharma paved the way for the possibility of the authority of Buddhism shifting. It built up the sense of

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12   Tamura 1972: 53–86, especially p. 53.

13   Tamura 1963: 2–8, especially p. 6.

legitimacy of Japanese Buddhists, drawing their model for legitimation from China. Specifically, the legend of Shōtoku Taishi incorporated the main characteristics of lineage narratives that were current in China.

It is said that Shōtoku Taishi wrote commentaries to three important Buddhist *sūtra*s, namely the *Śrīmālā-sūtra* 勝鬘經, the *Lotus Sūtra* 法華經, and the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* 維摩經. These commentaries are collectively known in Japan as the *Sangyō gisho* 三経義疏. Taken as a group, the *Śrīmālā-sūtra* (about Queen Śrīmālā) focuses on political monarchy, the *Lotus Sūtra* is the foundation of the Tendai School and the *Vimalakīrti* represents the importance of lay Buddhists. Thus the combination of these three *sūtra*s seems to represent an attempt to solidify political authority in governing Buddhism. However, beginning with Tsuda Sōkichi 津田左右吉 (1873–1961), scholars have questioned the traditional authorship of the *Sangyō gisho* (Tsuda 1963: 134–137). Ogura Toyofumi argued that, with the growing Shōtoku cult in the mid-700's, these commentaries were attributed to Shōtoku Taishi by monks such as Gyōshin 行信 (fl. 738) in order to increase the popularity of their own temple, the Hōryū-ji (Ogura 1985: 144–167). Since he was such an important figure in Buddhism, more and more mythical components were added to the biographies of Shōtoku Taishi from the early eighth century onwards, and the reincarnation story studied here is just a small part of this complex cult. In the relevant accounts (to be listed in the next section), Huisi is described as being reborn as Shōtoku Taishi, and admired for having the compassion to spread Buddhism to a non-Buddhist land.

In the biography of Nanyue Huisi written by Daoxuan, Huisi is presented as having knowledge of his former lives spent at Mount Nanyue (T.50. 2060: 562c21). It is noteworthy that in this regard, Huisi's influence was regarded as reaching non-Buddhists as well. Thus, Huisi's past lives are mentioned in non-Buddhist texts. For example, in the *Nanyue zongsheng ji* 南嶽總勝集 (*Record of the Collected Highlights of Nanyue*) by Chen Tianfu 陳田夫 (fl. mid-twelfth century; T 2097), there is a mention of the "three-life stone" (*sansheng shi* 三生石) that is proof of Huisi's previous lives.[14] The narrative was meant to emphasise the power of meditation practice. Huisi's supernatural power is further emphasised by the author of *Huisi's Vows*, in which it is stated that Huisi will replace Maitreya as a future saviour of the world (T.46: 767c–788b). Hence the image of Huisi is a very important theme in the Chinese notion of meditation patriarchs. As Como (2008: 149–150) puts it:

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14   For a survey of relevant documents concerning Huisi, see Wang Yong (1994: 144–115). See Robson (2009).

> The legend of Shōtoku as the reincarnation of Hui-ssu [= Huisi] was far more than a similar illustration of Shōtoku's supernatural powers. Rather, the legend built upon a long tradition of hagiography concerning Hui-ssu in order to create an image of Shōtoku as a millennial savior. [...] The result was a legend in which Shōtoku the World Savior was shown in possession of Hui-ssu's *sūtra*, ready to assist all sentient beings in search of salvation.

The legend that Shōtoku Taishi was the reincarnation of Huisi seemed to be widely accepted by Chinese and Japanese Buddhists, and it took effect in the Sino-Japanese Buddhist transmission.[15] However, there was obvious counter-evidence to this legend, namely in the years of birth and death of these two figures. Shōtoku Taishi was born in 573, three years earlier than Huisi's death in 577, as recorded in Daoxuan's *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*. Considering the existence of such contradictory evidence, it might seem curious that this story was still widely accepted by medieval Buddhists; there must have been a strong motivation in making up and continuing to maintain the story. The use of this legend is therefore extremely pertinent for understanding the propaganda positions of the authors. Moreover, various additions were gradually made to the legend as a result of these positions.

As to sources, the relevant texts may be listed as follows:

A   *Nanyue Si chanshi famen zhuan* 南岳思禪師法門傳 (*Account of the Dharma-Gate of Meditation Master Nanyue Huisi*) by Du Fei 杜朏, probably written during 716–732. Now lost.[16]

B   *Shichidaiki* (Ch. *Qidai ji*) 七代記 (*Story of Seven Lives*) (Also known as the *Hiroshima Daihon Taishi den* 廣島大本太子傳), compiled in 771. At the end of this text, there are quotations from the lost *Da Tang guo Hengzhou Hengshan daochang Shi Huisi chanshi qidai ji* 大唐國衡州衡

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[15]   It is possible that this is partly due to the spread of this story from the eighth century onwards, that Chinese monks were generally willing to transmit teachings to Japanese monks (Groner 1984: 291). One example is Chinese Tiantai monks' zealous welcome of the visit of Enshū 圓修, a Tendai *zazu* (BZ 65: 207–208).

[16]   This title appears in Ennin's catalogue, *Jikaku Daishi zaitō sōshinroku* (Ch. *Cijue Dashi zai Tang songjin lu*) 慈覚大師在唐送進録, T.55. 2166: 1075b; 1077c. Some quotations survived in Saichō's writings and in other texts listed below, eg. the *Jōgū Taishi shūi ki* 上宮太子拾遺記, BZ 112: 249, 361.

山道場釋慧思禪師七代記 (*Story of the Seven Lives of Dhyāna Master Shi Huisi of Mount Heng, Hengzhou, Great Tang*).[17]

C   *Dai Tō denkai shisō myōki daioshō Ganjin den* 大唐伝戒師僧名記大和上鑑真伝 (*Biography of Great Master Jianzhen in a Collection of Names for Vinaya Masters from the Great Tang*; hereafter: *Ganjin den*) by Situo (Jp. Shitaku) 思託 (722–809) and Fajin (Jp. Hōshin) 法進 (709–778).[18]

D   *Tō daioshō tōseiden* 唐大和上東征伝 (*The Account of the Great Tang Master's Eastward Conquest*; hereafter: *Tōseiden*) by Aomi-no-Mabito Genkai 真人元開 (722–785) in 779.[19]

E   *Jōgū Kōtaishi bosatsu den* 上宮皇太子菩薩伝 (*The Biography of the Prince Bodhisattva*; hereafter: *Bosatsu den*) by Situo during 786–794.[20]

F   *Kenkairon* 顕戒論 and the prefatory poem to the *Nyu Sitennōji Shōtoku Taishibyō Guden Hokkeshū* 入四天王寺聖徳太子廟求伝法華宗 by Saichō.[21]

G   *Denjutsu isshin kaimon* 伝述一心戒文 (*Concerning the Essay on the One Mind Precepts*) by Kōjō 光定 (779–858) in 834.[22]

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17   The Hiroshima University manuscript can be found conveniently in the *Nara ibun* 寧樂遺文, vol. 3: 893a10–894a5, along with other fragments in *Shintei zōho kokusho itsubun* 新訂増補国書逸文 24: 497–498, 502–509. For various theories regarding whether it was originally a single text or three distinct texts copied together, see Oguchi 1979. For English translation and a basic study on its textual history, see Borgen 2006. For research on this text in relation to the Zen school, see Sueki 1997: 77–108, especially pp. 98–103. On its authorship, see Barrett 2009. Based on two odd phrases, "below his epitaph" (*beixia ti* 碑下題) and "Emperor Li the Third Gentleman" (Li Sanlang di 李三郎帝), appearing in the colophon, Barrett suggests that the *Shichidaiki* was fabricated by a Japanese author, instead of being of Chinese origin as widely accepted. Taking Como's (2008) study on the role of Monk Dōji (?–744) into consideration, Barrett furthers his proposition that the author is very likely to be Dōji or his Japanese fellows.

18   It is collected in the *Shōtoku Taishi heishiden zōkanmon* 聖徳太子平氏伝雑勘文 (hereafter: *Zōkanmon*), in BZ 112 (the volume of *Shōtoku Taishi den sōsho*): 227–228. *Zōkanmon* is a collection of writings about the life of Shōtoku Taishi.

19   T.51. 2089: 988a. For French and English translations of this text, see Takakusu 1928, 1929; Bingenheimer 2003 & 2004. For some analysis of the appearance of this biography, see Andō 1960: 113–114.

20   See BZ 112: 1.

21   For the *Kenkairon*, see DZ 1, *Eizan daishiden* 叡山大師伝, the end of the seventh section in *Kenkairon* fascicle 1; also see annotations in Andō and Sonoda 1991: 46. For the poem, see DZ 3: 447.

22   For the story of Shōtoku Taishi and his encounter with Bodhidharma, see T.74. 2379: 653a–654c. See especially the mention of the quotation from the *Datang guo Hengzhou Hengshan daochang Shi Huisi chanshi qidai ji*, ibid.: 653b23.

H   *Shōtoku Taishi denryaku* 聖徳太子伝暦 (written during the tenth century); as the original text indicates "written by someone whose surname is Hei" (*Heishi sen* 平氏撰), the authorship cannot be known.[23]

I   *Jōgū Taishi shūi ki* 上宮太子拾遺記 (*A Record of Gleanings of Jōgū Shōtoku*) by Hōkū 法空 (c. 1314).[24]

According to Sueki Fumihiko (1997: 98–99), the origin of the legend probably came from an indication that "Huisi was reborn in a place where there were no Buddhist teachings yet", as quoted from the lost text by Du Fei, which is the earliest source for the legend. Judging from the dates of all the texts, Sueki deduced that it is very likely that the story of Huisi's seven lives had already been widely known in Tang China before it was written down. Even so, some Buddhists advocated Huisi's story more than the others, so the question is as to who would benefit from it.[25] After Du Fei, there are different agendas on the part of the various authors. The political implications of the story are discernible in an expanded version in a biography of Jianzhen, the *Ganjin den* (C). The authors of the *Ganjin den*, namely Situo and Fajin, were Jianzhen's most influential disciples in Japan. In the *Tōseiden*, a relatively later edition of Jianzhen's biography, the reincarnation story also plays an important part. Later on in Japan, it occurs in Tendai literature by Saichō and his disciples, being mentioned in Saichō's *Kenkairon* (F) and Kōjō's *Denjutsu isshin kaimon* (G). From Du Fei to Kōjō, the author names listed above represent a variety of Buddhist sects, including Zen, Tendai and *vinaya* monks. As the network of the authors shows, a strong, cross-sectarian connection between them is rather obvious. Tracing the network of these authors, we now seek to illustrate their mechanism of lineage invention and idolisation of patriarchs.

3   Du Fei 杜朏 (c.710–720) and Huisi

Du Fei, who composed the earliest text of the reincarnation story, was also the author of the *Chuan fabao ji* 傳法寶記 (*Record of the Transmission of the*

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23   BZ 112.

24   BZ 112: 2, 6, 8, 115, 225.

25   In the biographies of Zhiyi written by the Chinese literatus Yan Zhenqing 顔真卿 (written in 784), the monk Guanding 灌頂 (561–632) and others, the story is not mentioned. See DZ 4: 175–178, 206–207. It is possible that Chinese writers were not in favour of this story themselves.

Dharma-Jewel, ca. 713), a Chan lineage account discovered at Dunhuang.[26] Du Fei was a disciple of Faru 法如 (638–689). The *Chuan fabao ji* claims that the monk Faru received the orthodox lineage coming down from Bodhidharma: it shows that Du Fei had a keen sense of what a lineage stood for. Hence, his biography for Huisi provides an interesting contrast with his ideas of Meditator patriarchs.

Another work by Du Fei, *Nanyue Si chanshi famen zhuan* (A̱), is lost, but fortunately quotations from it can be found in the *Shichidaiki* (B) and Kōjō's *Denjutsu isshin kaimon*. Du Fei's text, as quoted, is important because it appears to be the earliest occurrence of the rebirth stories of Huisi. Its mention of a 'non-Buddhist country' brings forward the possibility of a Japanese connection. Huisi's sympathy for the non-Buddhist land is along the lines of the compassion of a bodhisattva. It also hints at the supernatural power of knowing one's destination in the next life, which was much valued by meditation practitioners.

The fact that Du Fei was the author of both Huisi's story and a Chan lineage account indicates a shared readership in Chan and Tiantai circles. Historical evidence also shows the connection between Du Fei and Chan groups. Du Fei once gave lectures to Puji 普寂 (651–739) at the Dafuxiansi 大福先寺 in the capital Luoyang 洛陽 (Yanagida 1967: 48). Puji was Shenxiu's 神秀 (606?–706) disciple and later became the mentor of Dōsen (Ch. Daoxuan) 道璿 (702–760), who transmitted Chan teachings to Gyōhyō 行表 (722–797). Gyōhyō then became the direct supervisor of Saichō. This transmission line facilitated the passage of Du Fei's perception of Bodhidharma and Huisi to Saichō and his disciples. A common feature of Puji, Dōsen and Gyōhyō is that they all learnt Tiantai, Chan and *vinaya* and that they all transmitted the meditation associated with the Bodhidharma strand of tradition.[27]

Furthermore, the images of Huisi and Bodhidharma are very similar in Du Fei's *Chuan fabao ji* and Daoxuan's *Xu gaoseng zhuan* in terms of their response to the suppression by contemporary monks (Sueki 1997: 102–3). The similarity between the images of these two figures may be part of the reason for the confusion between the *Bodhidharma Edition* and *Huisi Edition* of the *Bodhisattva Precepts Conferral Manual*, which are probably not two separate editions at all (Sueki 1997: 102). It shows that Du Fei regarded the two masters

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26   According to this text, the transmission line runs as follows: Bodhidharma, Daoyu 道育, Huike 慧可 (487?–593), Sengcan 僧璨 (d.606), Daoxin 道信 (580–651), Hongren 弘忍 (601–674), Faru 法如 (638–689) and Shenxiu 神秀 (606?–706). For Du Fei and the *Chuan fabao ji*, see Yanagida 1967: 47–50.

27   For Saichō's teachings of the Bodhidharma system, see Sueki 1997: 83, 96.

as a similar type of meditation practitioner. It is very likely that the similarity between Huisi and Bodhidharma's images was also widely perceived in the eighth century. The direct link between Huisi and Bodhidharma developed continuously in the story of Huisi's rebirth. The encounter of these two figures in the *Nanyue Si chanshi famen zhuan* quoted in the *Shichidaiki* intensifies the similar elements of these two patriarchs: meditation practitioner, supernatural powers of awareness of past lives, and rebirth in a different country. According to the *Shichidaiki*, Huisi was said to have met Bodhidharma, who encouraged Huisi to be reborn in Japan for his next life. Other versions even go so far as to proclaim that Shōtoku Taishi himself met Bodhidharma on a mountain, when Bodhidharma pretended to be a poor and hungry old man. It is quite clear that the authors of these stories tried to build a connection between Huisi, Bodhidharma and Shōtoku Taishi. The meeting between Bodhidharma and Shōtoku Taishi was strongly promoted by Kōjō in the *Denjutsu isshinkaimon*, where both the *Shichidaiki* and the lost *Nanyue Si chanshi famen zhuan* are quoted. Kōjō asserted this connection to demonstrate that Bodhidharma was close to the Tendai School. The close relationship between the Chan and Tiantai traditions can be seen in the borrowing, combining and inventing between these two patriarchs.

4   Jianzhen 鑑真 (688–763) and Huisi

The link between Huisi and Jianzhen is evident both in their doctrinal consistency and in the geographical facts. First of all, Jianzhen and Huisi were both active in southern China. The Yangzhou Longxingsi 揚州龍興寺, where Jianzhen was ordained and spent all his teenage years, was a famous temple in that region (Andō 1958: 22–25). According to the description of Yangzhou Longxingsi in Ennin's diary, there was a portrait of Huisi inside the Lotus Hall of this temple, while inside its Eastern Tower Hall, there was a statue of and a biographical inscription concerning Jianzhen.[28] It is said that after making the decision to depart for Japan, in order to physically demonstrate his reverence to Huisi, Jianzhen then took a pilgrimage to Mount Heng (*Nanyue*) where Huisi resided.[29] It seems Jianzhen had realised the importance of closer Sino-Japanese ties and so began to build up his connection with Huisi as a role model

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28   Ennin's *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki* (Ch. *Ru Tang qiufa xunli xingji*) 入唐求法巡礼行記, vol. 1 (BZ 113: 183b).

29   Jianzhen also went to Zhiyi's monastery in Mount Tiantai and the Sixth Chan Patriarch Huineng's Faquansi in Shaozhou as a pilgrim. (Andō 1958: 130).

before departing for Japan. He could then claim himself to be Huisi's successor in promoting meditation and precepts in Japan. Furthermore, as cited in sources including the *Shichidaiki* and a stele found near River Qiantangjiang 錢塘江, Huisi had six lives before being reborn in Japan in his seventh life. It is said that the stele was erected in the year 718, which is 30 years before Jianzhen's departure for Japan.[30]

Jianzhen's education indicates a syncretic approach in that he learnt Tiantai, Chan, and precepts. According to the *Tōseiden* (D) (T.51. 2089: 988b), Jianzhen first learnt precepts and Chan (*Chanmen* 禪門) from Master Zhiman 智滿 at Yangzhou Dayunsi 揚州大雲寺. Later he studied precepts from the fourth Tiantai Patriarch Hongjing 弘景 (634–712) at the Yuquansi 玉泉寺. The Yuquansi was a monastery famous for syncretic teachings, including Tiantai, Chan, *vinaya* and Esoteric Buddhism. For example, Esoteric Master Yixing 一行 (683–727), Hongjing's student, and Shenxiu resided at Yuquansi for some time. Moreover, Puji, who was Shenxiu's disciple and once studied under Du Fei, also came to the Yuquansi to learn from Hongjing. Hence, it is obvious that Jianzhen had an adequate connection with the Chan circle. This fact corresponds to a long-lasting trend in southern China—a cross-transmission between Chan and *vinaya* (*Chan Lü hu chuan* 禪律互傳).[31]

Judging from an extant list of the texts he brought to Japan with him, the large number of Tiantai scriptures indicates his preference for the teachings of that tradition.[32] Meanwhile, the Tang aristocrats during his time were fairly well aware of his study of the Tiantai teachings. This hypothesis is supported by the occurrence of the *Guohai heshang taming* 過海和尚塔銘 (Inscription for the Tower of the Monk who Crossed the Seas) written by Liang Su 梁肅 (753–793).[33] Liang Su was an outstanding writer in the Tang and has been known for his close relationship with some famous Tiantai monks.[34] Thus the fact that Liang Su wrote an inscription for Jianzhen implies that the Tiantai circle was quite familiar with Jianzhen as well. One may therefore draw the

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30   See Wang Yong 2007: 118–119. In Wang Yong's opinion, when Jianzhen replied to the Japanese envoys that "I have heard before that […]" he perhaps refers to his having seen this stele.

31   For instance, it was said that *vinaya* master Dao'an 道岸 (654–712) dreamed of Mahākāśyapa 摩訶迦葉 giving instructions (Yanagida 1967: 198).

32   For a list of the items and scriptures Jianzhen brought to Japan, see *Tōseiden*, T.51. 2089: 993a.

33   The original has been lost. A relevant citation can be found in the *Quan Tang wen* 480. The "Monk who Crossed the Seas" refers to Jianzhen.

34   For Liang Su's thought in relation to Buddhism, see Guo Zhonghan 1998.

conclusion that it was quite common for Buddhist followers during that time to train themselves in both *vinaya* and Tiantai teachings.

5   Situo 思託 (722–809) and Jianzhen

Among the texts listed in this paper, Situo is the author of two biographies, the *Ganjin den* and the *Bosatsu den* (E), concerned with Jianzhen and Shōtoku Taishi respectively. Situo mentions the reincarnation legend in both of them, and the way he depicts Jianzhen, Huisi and Shōtoku Taishi reveals his own agenda. Accompanying Jianzhen, Situo came to Japan in 753 and from that time on became Jianzhen's most reliable disciple.[35] While dwelling first in the Tōdaiji 東大寺 and later Tōshōdaiji 唐招提寺 in order to establish an ordination platform, Jianzhen encountered criticism and oppression from other Japanese Buddhists.[36] Tsuji Zennosuke argues that Situo invented the reincarnation story as a political strategy to compete with other Buddhist groups (Tsuji 1929). Nevertheless, Wang Yong takes issue with Tsuji's view and argued that this reincarnation story had been widely known by the time when the stele was erected in Hangzhou in 718 (Wang Yong 2007: 120). Although it is unlikely that Situo fully invented the reincarnation story, it is reasonable to assume that Situo promoted this legend in order to assure the legitimacy of his master.

According to Situo's *Bosatsu den*, firstly, Huisi was depicted as mastering four kinds of meditation and practising asceticism (Chin. *toutuo xing* 頭陀行) on Mount Nanyue. Huisi once said that both he and Zhiyi were in attendance at Śākyamuni Buddha's preaching of the *Lotus Sūtra* on Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa.[37] Then it goes on to state that Huisi erected a "three-life stone" on the mountain, which served to prove that he knew his past lives clearly and had ability to decide his location of rebirth. By comparison, Daoxuan's *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* has no mention of Huisi's rebirth. According to what Situo laid out, the image of Shōtoku Taishi and Huisi highlights their supernatural ability in the knowledge of former lives, and at the same time their persistence in meditation

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35   Situo and Fajin were the most important disciples of Jianzhen. For their roles and works, see Wang Yong 1994: 156–166.

36   For further details about Jianzhen's ordination platform, see Bowring 2005: 86–87.

37   Huisi's biography in Daoxuan's *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* mentions that Huisi told Zhiyi that he himself and Zhiyi were both on Mount Gṛdhrakūta when Śākyamuni was preaching the *Lotus Sūtra*. Presumably Situo did not take this literally, but is emphasising that, since Huisi was saying that he had such a past life, this "recollection" was a proof of Huisi's supernatural abilities.

practice. In the same text, it says that Shōtoku Taishi often lent a hand to common people with expedient methods, just as a bodhisattva would do. Through the prince, the *Lotus Sūtra* was propagated for the first time. More interestingly, Situo emphasised that Shōtoku Taishi practised meditation regularly and achieved a fairly advanced stage in meditation, because he often entered *samādhi* (*ruding* 入定) for one, three or even five days. The people of the time did not understand what meditation (*chan ding* 禪定) was and simply thought of him as having "entered the hall of dreams".[38] It is also emphasised that Shōtoku Taishi did not lose the memory of his past life as a Chinese patriarch, and he therefore asked his younger sister to visit the Tang in order to bring back a *sūtra* and other items left over from his previous life.

Situo's depiction of both Huisi and Shōtoku Taishi is often quoted in later editions of stories of Shōtoku Taishi. His narrative was accepted and then expanded into other versions of the story. The writings on Shōtoku Taishi seem to develop so freely that connections were built up between Shōtoku Taishi, Huisi, Bodhidharma, Lady Śrīmālā and even Kōbō Daishi in the *Zōkanmon* and the *Taishi den kokon mokuroku shō.* Thus, in the *Zōkanmon* (BZ 112: 229) and the *Taishi den kokon mokuroku shō* 太子傳古今目錄鈔 (BZ 112: 71), the story is elaborated in the assertions that Shōtoku Taishi (and Huisi) was the reincarnation of the Lady Śrīmālā in an earlier time and reincarnated as Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師 (Kūkai 空海, 774–835) at a later time. The reincarnation story comprised of these big names has provided convenient approaches for Buddhist followers to convince others of a distinct origin for their lineage. The fact that the story was so well absorbed and expanded by later Buddhists is proof that the connection between Shōtoku Taishi and Huisi corresponded to the needs of medieval Buddhists. To understand Situo's strategy in combining the Chinese patriarch and Japanese prince in order to honour his own master Jianzhen, it is instructive to compare the *Bosatsu den* to Jianzhen's biography by Situo.

As quoted in Jianzhen's biography, the reincarnation story appears in the section with Jianzhen's speech about his decision to depart for Japan. The conversation occurred during the time when sea transportation was fairly dangerous and only a few Chinese masters dared to travel to Japan at the risk of their own lives.[39] When Japanese monks, namely Eiei 榮叡 and Fushō 普照, invited

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38   "Entering the hall of dreams": *ru mengdian* 入夢殿. The 'hall of dreams' (Jp. *yumedono* 夢殿), incorporated in the architecture of Hōryūji, can be visited to this day.

39   Master Jianzhen from the Yangzhou region was regarded as the earliest monk who bravely travelled across the dangerous sea to Japan, so his contemporaries called him "The monk who crossed the sea" (*Guohai heshang* 過海和尚). See the section "Fofa guo haidong" 佛法過海東 in Li Zhao's 李肇 (fl. 806–20) *Tang guoshi bu* 唐國史補, vol. 1: 23.

Jianzhen to go to Japan with them in 742, Eiei and Fushō began their petition
by saying that

> The teachings of the Buddha have flowed east and reached Japan. But
> although these teachings are there, nobody has [properly] transmitted
> them. In Japan there was once Shōtoku Taishi, who said that after 200
> years, the holy teachings would prosper in Japan. Now the hour has come.
> We beseech the Great Master to venture to the East and take charge of
> the advancement [of Buddhism].[40]

On hearing that, meeting the expectation of all the other people in attendance,
Jianzhen gave a positive reply to the invitation. He said that

> A long time ago I heard that the Meditation Master Huisi from Nanyue
> after his demise was reincarnated as a prince in Japan to promulgate
> Buddhism and enlighten the people [there]. I have also heard that
> in Japan there was Nagayaō 長屋王 (684–729) who deeply revered
> Buddhism. I understand this to imply that [Japan] is a good country in
> which to propagate Buddhism.[41]

It is significant that Jianzhen mentioned Huisi on this special occasion.
In this way, Jianzhen claimed an inheritance from Huisi, who was himself
equivalent to the respected Japanese prince. To make the Chinese patriarch
a more subatantial role model, Situo went on to refer to the anecdote about
Huisi's first meeting with his successor, Zhiyi. Huisi recognised Zhiyi's past
life and told Zhiyi that they had received Śākyamuni Buddha's preaching of
the *Lotus Sūtra* on Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa. At that moment, Zhiyi immediately
attained the one-vehicle sudden enlightenment.[42] Following this anecdote,
Situo concludes that,

> Hence, we know that Dhyāna Master [Hui]Si, in terms of his earlier prac-
> tice, recited the *Lotus Sūtra* as well as contemplating deeply in *dhyāna*.
> [One day,] all of a sudden, his views instantly cleared up and he achieved
> enlightenment by attaining the Lotus *samādhi*. [...] Zhiyi relentlessly

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40   *Tōseiden*, T.51. 2089: 988b. The translation is from Bingenheimer 2003: 171.

41   T.51. 2089: 988b. The translation is adapted from Bingenheimer 2003: 171–172. Compare
       with the *Ganjin den*, BZ 112: 228.

42   This may be identified with the Lotus *samādhi* (*Hokke zanmai* 法華三昧), which is men-
       tioned later in the same passage.

> devoted himself to his Buddhist career in the Tang country; and likewise Dhyāna Master [Hui]Si cultivated and transformed sentient beings to the east of the sea.
>
> BZ 112: 228B

Situo brings out Huisi and Zhiyi as a pair of Buddhist sages who devoted themselves to helping sentient beings in the spirit of Mahāyāna bodhisattvas. By claiming that one of them remained in China and the other was reborn in Japan, China and Japan become 'twin' countries in terms of Buddhist transmission. It also implied that Japan was an important place that urgently needed Chinese masters to transmit Buddhism. It is not difficult to see that it was necessary for Jianzhen's disciple to provide a strong reason for travelling overseas from China to Japan. By pairing the two sages Huisi and Zhiyi, Japan and China become a pair, too. Then, by admiring Huisi's decision to be reborn in Japan, Situo meant to imply that his master Jianzhen, in choosing to travel to Japan, was as great as Huisi. In this regard, it is understandable that Situo spent more than half of the biography dedicated to his master, the *Ganjin den*, on Huisi. The fact that Huisi was singled out for particular respect in this way indicates that Situo valued the Tiantai tradition, even if Situo and his associates referred to themselves as *vinaya* masters who had the intention of transmitting proper monastic codes to Japan. Situo's respect for Tiantai is in accordance with Jianzhen's connection with the Chinese Tiantai circle, which will be discussed below.

6   Saichō and Huisi

Saichō was not an author of any versions of the reincarnation story, but his mention of this story illustrates his view of Huisi. After Saichō, the appropriation of the legend by his disciples is ultimately related to the reshaping of Tendai's self-definition in Japan.[43] It is interesting to note Saichō's reverent attitude to Huisi in medieval times, because compared with modern Tendai/Tiantai scholars, the emphasis on Zhiyi is out of balance—Saichō refers to Huisi's teachings more than modern scholars do.

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43   Como also notices that Japanese Buddhist apologists up to Saichō have put Shōtoku Taishi at the centre in building up the Tendai tradition and its self-definition. Through a survey of the efforts done by several Japanese monks, namely Dōji, Ganjin (Jianzhen), Huisi and Saichō, he argues that the Shōtoku cult eventually brought about the Nara-Heian Buddhist transition (Como 2008: 133–153).

Since Saichō quoted and emphasised this story many times in his writings, writers on Prince Shōtoku like to quote Saichō as well. For example, it is written in the *Shōtoku Taishi den kokon mokuroku shō* 聖徳太子伝古今目録抄 that Saichō eulogised Huisi's seven lives in China before his eighth life as Shōtoku Taishi.[44] This is also mentioned in Saichō's *Kenkairon* and the prefatory poem to the *Nyū Shitennōji Shōtoku Taishibyō Guden Hokkeshū*.[45] Later on, Saichō's disciple Kōjō spent a remarkable amount of space in the *Denjutsu isshin kaimon* on expounding this legend in detail. In this regard, the reincarnation story quite definitely expedited the promotion of the Tendai School by Saichō and his followers. It is not difficult to fathom because the story vindicates the argument that Tendai should occupy the central place in Japanese Buddhism. Saichō and his followers adopted this strategy out of political considerations due to the ferocious competition between Buddhist groups in the Heian Period (794–1185).

The competition between the Sanron 三論 and the Hossō 法相 groups was fierce during early Heian, and Emperor Kammu 桓武 (737–806, r. 782–806) attempted to balance the two sects by encouraging Buddhist monks to learn Sanron teachings. With an apparent view to resolving the competition between the Nara sects, Saichō mounted a criticism of all six sects in his proposal to study in Tang China, the *Shōnittō shōyakuhyō* 請入唐請益表.[46] Saichō first denigrated the *śāstra*-centred Sanron and Hossō, and then praised the value of the *Lotus Sūtra* and the Tendai School. By asserting the higher status of *sūtra*s over *śāstra*s, the Tendai School was elevated over both Sanron and Hossō.[47] Saichō probably realised that Huisi was in a similar situation in China, in that they both faced opponents from exegetical traditions. As to Huisi's need to resist the dominance of exegetical Buddhism, his strategy of overcoming it by championing meditation may also have influenced Saichō in reflecting on the Japanese Buddhist environment.

Saichō began to be interested in the Chinese Tiantai School while in Japan, but among the Tiantai masters, Saichō seemed to find Huisi particularly appealing. Some other schools were also based on *sūtra*s instead of *śāstra*s in China, so the *Lotus Sūtra*'s attractiveness cannot have been the only factor

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44   BZ 112: 50, also DZ 4: 747. The original text reads: 傳教大師讚云, 刱七生於大唐, 現一生 於日本, 位登初信, 妙解圓融 云云.

45   For an analysis of these writings of Saichō, see Sonoda 1991: 462–470.

46   DZ 1, *Eizan daishiden* 叡山大師伝: 11–12. For an analysis of this text in relation to state Buddhism, see Sone 2000: 171–184.

47   Jinhua Chen also shows convincingly that the *Ehyō Tendai shū* 依憑天臺集 was a product of Saichō's attempt to fight with Hossō (Chen 1999: 121–126).

in Saichō's interest in the Tiantai. In addition, given that Huisi was one of the earliest masters advocating meditation practice against the one-sided exegetical tradition, one finds many parallels between Huisi's background and Saichō's circumstances. Since Saichō had first been attracted to the meditation component of the Tiantai teachings brought by Jianzhen, it is safe to conclude that Huisi's teachings and stories greatly inspired Saichō and became part of his motivation to learn Tiantai from China.

Through the scriptures brought by Jianzhen, Saichō had a chance to read the texts of the Chinese Tiantai School. As discussed above, among the Tiantai teachers, Jianzhen was particularly interested in Huisi. Saichō learnt about Huisi through the media of Jianzhen's collection of Tiantai books, perhaps together with the latter's comments and references to Huisi. Taken together, Jianzhen and Saichō seem to have inherited the same transmission, almost a 'lineage', centred on Huisi.

It is noteworthy that the reincarnation legend brings Sino-Japanese Buddhist relations closer together. Saichō's reinterpretation of the legend presents a new apprehension of Japan's position within the Buddhist world. As Como and Barrett have both suggested, narratives of an "otherworldly communion of saints" (in Barrett's words) are not uncommon during this period; they serve to create a direct link to the Buddhist origin of India (Como 2008: 151; Barrett 2009). By stating that Japan's Tendai originated from Master Huisi, who was even earlier than the celebrated Master Zhiyi, the Tendai School could assert its own interest in maintaining that Japan was not inferior to China.[48]

7   Concluding Remarks

The current paper provides a cross-sectarian account of the connections between the legend cycles of the Chinese patriarch Huisi and the Japanese prince Shōtoku. The reincarnation story arose at a time when issues concerning sectarian lineages were increasing in significance. Reincarnation represents doctrinal continuation as well as transmission of authority. In this way reincarnation fulfils the same function as the construction of a lineage, and has equal significance at a time when a tradition is being created. In the meantime, images of patriarchs were being fabricated in order to solidify

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[48]   It should be noted that some scholars have different views about the position of Japan in Saichō's mind. Como notices Saichō's concern to place Tendai at the centre of Japanese Buddhism by linking it to India. In Jinhua Chen's study on the *Ehyō Tendai shū*, he argues that Saichō attempted to argue that China had superseded India in terms of Buddhist development (Chen 1999: 137, 140).

the lineages. As a source for the ideal meditation practitioner, the image of Huisi conveys the notion of a patriarch in both Chan and Tiantai circles in China and Japan. Huisi's image was idolised by Du Fei, who also wrote one of the earliest accounts of Bodhidharma's lineage. Likewise, the story of Prince Shōtoku, closely connected to the authors of the *Nihon shoki*, was composed to explain the introduction of Buddhism. It is therefore apparent that in both China and Japan, the founder of a new tradition must be a foreign patriarch. As a result, Bodhidharma, Huisi and Shōtoku Taishi were shaped as patriarchs coming from a Buddhist motherland. This narrative implies the logic of a centre–periphery framework, and the corresponding 'Dharma moving East' belief in the Latter Dharma period. Read in this light, these narratives of the eighth and ninth centuries shed light on the formation of Chinese and Japanese monks' religious identity. Japanese monks' self-definition matured as the reincarnation story developed into a completed form. Their self-definition involves location in a broader context of East Asian Buddhism. Hence it is argued that the Huisi reincarnation legend reveals its authors' intent to rearrange the association between China and Japan.

The authors, and their inventions, all represent a network in the form of an invented lineage. The mechanism of patriarch creation in this reincarnation story was interwoven in China and Japan through masters and disciples. The Chinese writer Du Fei had an important role in conveying similar images of Huisi and Bodhidharma, and he showed an inclination to bring these two figures closer by means of an encounter. Besides representing the image of a meditation practitioner, Huisi was also a key figure in the transmission of Chinese Buddhism across the ocean. Jianzhen and Situo shared the same motivation of a closer Sino-Japanese tie, as is seen through their connecting of themselves to Shōtoku Taishi through Huisi. Jianzhen seems to have been building up his connection with the role model Huisi before departing for Japan. He could then claim himself as Huisi's successor in promoting meditation and precepts in Japan. This story was particularly valued by the Tendai School in the ninth century. To Saichō and his followers, it brings China–Japan Buddhist relations into closer contact, and, meanwhile, through stating that Japan had acquired the personality of Master Huisi, who was even earlier than the celebrated patriarch Zhiyi, it was implied that Japan was not inferior to China. This was the underlying logic of a sustainable ideology which was able to locate Japan in general, and Tendai in particular, at the centre of the Buddhist world, so as to prevail in the fierce competition between various Buddhist groups within the country. Taking all these authors together, the reincarnation story illustrates a mechanism of patriarch invention which links Chinese and Japanese authors. At the same time their creativity contributes to the richness of imagination in the storyline and to a multiplex scheme for promoting Buddhism.

Because They Entrusted to Them a Part of Their Buddhist Selves—Imagined Communities, Layered Identities, and Networking

Bart Dessein

1 Buddhist History and the Development of Layered Identities

Legend has it that after Prince Siddhārtha had lived out his joyful youth within the seclusion of his father's palace, divine interaction brought him into contact with an old man, a diseased man, and a corpse. When he, on a fourth tour through the country, saw a mendicant holy man, the contrast of this sight with the three previous encounters is then said to have made him realize that only renunciation of worldly life could lead to spiritual enlightenment. Legend goes on that he summoned his charioteer Channa to saddle his horse Kaṇṭhaka and to secretly flee from the palace. Having reached the bank of a river, he is then said to have cut off his hair, changed his marvellous outfit for monk's robes, and, having sent his charioteer and horse back to the palace, set forth to start his life as a seeker of truth. It is here that the life story of Prince Siddhārtha is likely to cross from legend into history, as from this point on his life is connected to figures whom we may regard as historical persons.[1]

The historical Buddha is recorded to have first studied meditative techniques under the yoga masters Āḷāra Kāḷāma (Arāḍa Kāḷāma) and Udraka Rāmaputra and, dissatisfied with what he had learned, to have set out to seek enlightenment on his own. Having practiced severe self-mortification and starvation for some six years, he realized that this did not bring him to the desired goal of enlightenment. He hereupon left the five followers who had accompanied him in his practices, and started his life as a mendicant. According to tradition, he reached spiritual enlightenment at the age of thirty-five and preached his doctrine for the next forty-five years. A growing group of Buddhist adherents soon followed him in his teaching practice. They spread the Buddha's teachings through sermons and by example.[2]

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1   On the latter, see Ross Reat 1996: 12.

2   For scriptural references with respect to the life of the Buddha, see Harvey 2013: 14–25. For an overview of works devoted to the biography of the historical Buddha, see Lamotte 1958: 16, note 14.

The importance of the partially legendary Buddha story is that it connects—as is the case for all religious traditions in the world—the origins of the Buddhist doctrine with divine intervention, and portrays the Buddhist adepts as inheritors and, therefore, as protectors of this divine tradition. The identity of the Buddhist adepts as inheritors of the doctrine and members of a divine tradition preached by the Buddha is alluded to in some *vinaya* texts that state that the Buddha-word (*Buddhavacana*) was also spoken by, among others, gods (*deva*) and—on an equal footing—his disciples (*śrāvaka*).[3] Also, the persisting tradition of the disappearance of the Buddhist doctrine at the end of time reminds the Buddhist adepts of their divine function as protectors of the doctrine. The *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra* (*Apidamo da piposha lun*) concludes the description of the disappearance of the doctrine as follows:

> When seven days and nights will have passed, heaven and earth will grow dark, but the world will still not know that the good doctrine (*saddharma*) has disappeared. [...] When seven days will have passed, the earth will quake and a rain of meteors will scorch all regions and sub-regions. In the air, the drums of the gods will beat their extremely frightening sound. The god Māra and his retinue will be very joyful. A great white veil will be spread in the air, and the sound of chanting will again fill the air: 'As from today, the good doctrine of the great *Ṛṣi* of the Śākyas will have disappeared forever.'[4]

After the Buddhist doctrine will have disappeared from the surface of the earth, a new Buddha will have to be awaited. In the same way that the origin of the Buddhist doctrine is connected to the realm of the divine, its disappearance (and re-emergence) is thus also accompanied by divine intervention.[5]

That legend and the divine are interwoven in the life story of the Buddha and the history of the Buddhist faith is important in the sense that legend and the divine—as is religion *an sich*—are important identity markers and dynamic elements in the creation of 'imagined communities,' i.e., identity groups

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3 According to the Pāli Vinaya (*Pācittiya* IV) and to the *Sifen lü* (*Dharmaguptakavinaya*), T.22.1428: 639a16–17, the word of the Buddha was also spoken, apart from by the Buddha himself, by gods, by disciples, and by *ṛṣis*. For the Pāli Vinaya, see Oldenberg 1964a: 15. According to the *Shisong lü* (*Sarvāstivādavinaya*), T.23.1435: 71b1–2, it was also spoken, apart from by the Buddha, by gods, and by disciples, by *ṛṣis* and by apparitional beings (*upapāduka*). See also Davidson 1990: 300.

4 T.27.1545: 918c14–21.

5 See Lamotte 1958: 218–220.

that share overall subjective feelings of belonging.[6] For the creation of such identity groups, myths, memories, heritage and symbols are important instruments, as these have the ability to trace an identity group back to an imagined or unimagined, albeit specific, place, time, and ancestor. Such an ideological lineage also is the premise on which future actions and events—such as the disappearance of the 'good doctrine' just mentioned—are justified.[7]

Group identities take shape in interaction with other groups. Likewise Buddhist self-identification, the result of a dynamic process, was from the outset determined by the relationship of the early Buddhist followers with members of the society of the time of the historical Buddha in general, and with members of other religious groups in particular. In the region of Magadha, i.e. the region where the first Buddhist community was active, both the Jainas and Ājīvakas, especially, were present.[8] As the Jaina and Ājīvaka traditions were, just as the Buddhist tradition was, primarily concerned with release from rebirth, the Jainas and, to a lesser extent, the Ājīvakas, were important religious competitors of the Buddhists, and the Buddhists had to, from the outset, convince their opponents of their truth.[9]

The time of the Buddha was a time of important religious developments in India. The absence of yogic doctrines in the *Ṛg Veda* suggests that the Jaina, Ājīvaka, and Buddhist yogic traditions must originally have been independent from the Vedic tradition.[10] This is important with respect to the following: as group identities take shape in interaction with other groups, they are subject to changes brought about by changing relations with such other groups. When during the Aśokan reign Brahmans could freely travel through the countries ruled by the latter ruler, the early Buddhists must have "participated in a critical and creative movement to synthesize ancient, traditional worldviews

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6   See Kinnvall 2004: 747–748.

7   Kinnvall 2004: 756.

8   Ross Reat 1996: 7.

9   For some reflections on the Buddhist-Jain encounter, see Bronkhorst 2011: 130–142. For the different religious groups who were active contemporaneous with the Buddha, see Hirakawa 1990: 16–18.

10   According to Ross Reat (1996: 6), the fact that "[h]istory records two apparently indigenous religious traditions in India which claim to predate and to be independent of the *Ṛg Veda*, namely the Jainas and the Ājīvakas," implies that most of classical Hinduism has to be the result of a gradual merging of Vedic and yogic elements that started in the first millennium BCE and was assembled in the *Upaniṣad*s, composed between 800 and 300 BCE. For reflections on a Brahmanical influence in the Buddhists' self-identification as belonging to a yogic tradition, see Bronkhorst 2011: 165–167.

which vied for the collective heart of India".[11] It therefore must have been in the Aśokan period that Brahmans began to be the major opponents of the Buddhists,[12] and that the perception of an unchanging (Buddhist) identity— the result of a constructed (hi)story, a 'narrative about the self'—must have started to take shape.[13]

The importance of the relation between Buddhists, Jainas, and Brahmans definitely involves the issues of philosophical, religious, and ritual borrowings, but of undoubtedly equal importance, however, is the issue of transmittance of the doctrine and the impact that the way the doctrine was transmitted has had on the creation of a Buddhist 'canon' as identity-marker. When some *vinaya*s state that not only did the Buddha proclaim the doctrine, but also his disciples, this relates to the originally overall oral/aural literary tradition that characterizes the period of major cultural and religious developments in which Buddhism originated.[14] In this context of oral transmission, the correctness of the transmitted Buddha-word was secured by large meetings of monks—the so-called Buddhist synods (*saṃgīti*). As these meetings were intra-Buddhist meetings, the oral recitation of Buddhist texts within the context of these synods must have served a self-identifying function. In contrast to the oral transmission of the Vedic texts that was primarily aimed at delivering a message to the realm of the gods, and of the Brāhmaṇa prose texts and the *Upaniṣads* that were aimed at people of equal religious belief, preaching the Buddha-word was, in a wider context, also aimed at convincing opponents of the Buddhist truth—one is, after all, not born a Buddhist. That is to say, contrary to the Vedic texts and to the Brāhmaṇa prose texts and the *Upaniṣads* that render revealed truth, Buddhist texts also have the purpose of revealing the (Buddhist) truth.[15] Both with respect to their function of self-identification and with respect to their function of converting others, it is important that texts can be claimed to be of undisputable origin. This explains why the first recitation of Buddhist texts is projected back in time to the moment just after the demise of the Master, and is connected to two direct disciples of

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11 Quoted from Ross Reat (1996: 7), who refers to the activities of the historical Buddha in this respect.

12 See Bronkhorst 2011: 2–4 and 8–11.

13 For the process of such an identity construction, see Hall 1992: 227.

14 Writing was most probably used starting from the 4th century BCE. This first use of script was limited to secular purposes (see Salomon 1995: 278). The use of script in a religious context most probably started in the 3rd century BCE (see von Hinüber 1989: 54).

15 See von Simson 1965: 139–141 and Dessein 2012: 121–122. This trait is reflected in the explanatory character of the Buddhist texts.

the Buddha—Ānanda and Upāli—who could thus be credited with having heard the Buddhist doctrine and monastic code from the Buddha himself.[16] Here, we can also refer the redactional rules that are evident from a section of the *Kṣudrakavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin tradition and that, according to Gregory Schopen (1997a: 573–579) may be as late as the 4th or 5th century CE. These rules prescribe that place and person names that may have become blurred or forgotten over time were to be restored to place and person names that are connected to the historical Buddha.[17] Also the formula 'Thus have I heard' that abounds in *sūtra* texts is a testimony of this 'claim to authenticity,' as is the following claim that can be read in the *Sarvāstivādavinayavibhāṣā* (*Sapoduo pini piposha*) that alludes to the divine character of the *sūtra* literature, its audience and purpose, and its legitimisation as instrument to convert non-Buddhists:

> The sermons which were delivered according to occasions for the sake of gods and people were compiled in the *Ekottarāgama*. This is what preachers esteem. For intelligent persons profound doctrines were set forth. They were compiled in the *Madhyamāgama*. This is what scholars esteem. Various kinds of meditation were set forth. They were compiled in the *Saṃyuktāgama*. This is what meditation-practitioners esteem. To refute various heterodoxies is the purpose of the *Dīrghāgama*.[18]

It is with the tradition of the first synod, supposedly held in Rājagṛha (contemporary Rajgir), ancient capital of Magadha, and with Ānanda and Upāli, that we touch upon the issue of the adept's 'multi-layered Buddhist identity.' As mentioned, during the first synod Ānanda is said to have recited the *sūtra* texts and Upāli is said to have recited the *vinaya* texts as they had heard them from the Buddha himself. Even a cursory reading of the extant *vinaya* texts shows, however, that at the time of the Buddha no *vinaya* of the complexity, casuistic variety, and preciseness of which the extant *vinaya*s witness can have existed. The extant *vinaya* texts also reveal that they are part of a more

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16   On the historicity of the first synod, see Bareau 1955: 4 and Prebish 1974a: 245–246. For accounts of the first synod, see de La Vallée Poussin 1908: 2–6; Przyluski 1926: 133–235; Lamotte 1958: 136–138. For a study of the first synod, see Nattier and Prebish 1976/1977.

17   Schopen 1997c: 579 further remarks that "The shape of all our collections would, moreover, seem to suggest that redactional rules very similar to those in the *Ksudrakavastu* operated in all traditions or monastic groups, even if the Mulasarvastivadin version is the only one so far discovered."

18   T.23.1440: 503c22–504a1.

advanced social organisation than can have existed at the time of the historical Buddha.[19] In-depth research into the canonization process of the *vinaya*s thus shows that these texts must be the result of a longer developmental period, and their finalisation has, to all probability, to be dated in the first centuries of the Common Era.[20] Also the extant *sūtra* collections—the Pāli *Nikāya*s and the Chinese *Āgama*s—are the result of a longer editorial process that is, moreover, connected to later school formation.[21] It is therefore unclear what the precise content of the 'original' *sūtra* and *vinaya* texts may have been,[22] and the first synod most probably has to be assigned to the realm of legend. It is very likely that the synod of Rājagṛha was invented to legitimate the occurrence of the second Buddhist synod that took place in Vaiśālī (contemporary Besarh) under the reign of the already mentioned king Aśoka, 100/110 years after the demise of the historical Buddha. When the legend of the first synod became established around the time of the synod of Vaiśālī, the "ritual exclamation of authenticity by which a teacher or local Saṃgha declared a certain body of material to be valid: 'This is the Dharma, this is the Vinaya, this is the teaching of the teacher '*eṣa dharma eṣa vinaya idaṃ śāstuḥ śāsanam*'," must also have become codified.[23]

Descriptions of the synod of Vaiśāli narrate the events that have led to the first schism in the Buddhist community. Two Buddhist groups—the later Sthaviravādins and Mahāsāṃghikas—are said to have argued over matters of

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19   See Schopen 1994: 74 and 2000: 1–2. See also Clarke 2014: 20–21.

20   See Clarke 2014: 21, who also suggests that the Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka, Mahāsāṃghika, and Sarvāstivāda *vinaya*s may have been composed shortly before their translation into Chinese in the early 5th century. For the specific case of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, see Heirman 1999 and Schopen 2004b: 20.

21   The four *Āgama*s are not all from the same Buddhist school: the *Dīrghāgama, Chang ahan jing* (T.1.1) is of the Dharmaguptaka school; the *Madhyamāgama, Zhong ahan jing* (T.1.26) and the *Saṃyuktāgama, Za ahan jing* (T.2.99) are of the (Mūla)sarvāstivāda school; and the *Ekottarāgama, Zengyi ahan jing* (T.2.125) is of the Mahāsāṃghika school. See Waldschmidt 1980: 136; Mayeda 1985: 97–103.

22   According to Schopen (1997b: 30), nothing definite can be known about the actual doctrinal content of the *Nikāya/Āgama* literature much before the fourth century CE. Frauwallner (1956: 52–53) claims that the precepts or rules of the *vinaya* were compiled into a list called the *prātimokṣa*, the nucleus around which the other parts of the *vinaya* have grown, early in Buddhist history.

23   Davidson 1990: 299. De La Vallée Poussin 1908: 18: "The account of the First Synod has a double historical value: as containing an ancient nucleus of authentic tradition, that is, discussions on points of discipline; and as resuming, under the symbolical aspect of a 'synod,' the compilation and arrangement of the canon, work which much have occupied the first centuries of Buddhist history and of which Rajagrha forms the starting point".

religious conduct.[24] As the two groups tenaciously held to their respective sets of monastic rules, king Aśoka is said to have been asked to settle the matter. He decided in favour of the majority—whence the name Mahāsāṃghika ('large *saṃgha*')—after which the two groups continued to exist as separate Buddhist communities. As noticed by Heinz Bechert (1982: 67), king Aśoka's decision was not meant to unite the community on dogmatic questions, but only concerned monastic matters. This shows that, as the Buddhist communities shared their identity as followers of the Buddha-word, it indeed were practical, i.e., *vinaya* matters, that could lead to a schism.[25] The *vinaya* forms a normative identity within the divine Buddhist faith, and following a different *vinaya* cannot and does not infringe on the adept's identity as a Buddhist, i.e., one who believes in the divine word of the Buddha. Étienne Lamotte (1958: 179) phrased this as follows: while the *vinaya* section of what was to become the Buddhist *tripiṭaka* is only a convention (*saṃvṛti*) adopted as a code of conduct, the Dharma as propounded in the *sūtra*s is the absolute truth. A remarkable textual passage that corroborates the preeminence of the Buddha-word over monastic rules is the following: In the Mahāyāna *Mahāsaṃnipātasūtra* (Dafangdeng daji jing), a text translated between 414 and 421, we read the following prediction by the Buddha:

> After I will have reached Nirvāṇa, all my disciples will receive and retain the Tathāgata's scriptures in twelve categories.[26] They will recite and copy them. They will interpret them completely and extensively, into five collections of scriptures. [...] Although these five collections will differ, none of them will hinder the world of the Buddhist doctrine (*dharmadhātu*) or the great Nirvāṇa.[27]

In their commentaries on this passage, Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518), Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554), and Fayun 法雲 (1088–1158) claim that the leaders of these five groups are *vinaya* masters who thus formed the Dharmaguptaka, Sarvāstivāda, Kāśyapīya, Mahīśāsaka, Vātsīputrīya, and Mahāsāṃghika schools.[28]

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24   *Cullavagga* of the Pāli Vinaya: Oldenberg 1964a: 294–308; T.22.1421: 192a27–194b20; T.22.1428: 968c19971c2; T.23.1435: 450a28–456b8; T.24.1451: 411c4–412a12.

25   See also Bechert 1982: 65.

26   The twelve parts are *sūtra, geya, vyākaraṇa, gāthā, udāna, itivṛtaka, jātaka, vaipulya, adbhūtadharma, nidāna, avadāna*, and *upadeśa*. For the development of the formalisation of the teachings of the Buddha in nine and, later, in twelve categories, see Nakamura 1980: 28.

27   T.13.397: 159a29–b3.

28   Sengyou: T.55.2145: 20c23–21a10; Huijiao: T.50.2059: 403a3–b1; Fayun: T.54.2131: 1113a22–c6. See also Lamotte 1958: 193.

The accepting of the Buddha-word over adhering to a particular *vinaya* reveals two layers of Buddhist identity. But this is not the end of the story. After the initial schisms had occurred on grounds of *vinaya* difference, different interpretations of the doctrine developed within these *vinaya* schools,[29] whereby monks and nuns who were ordained according to a peculiar *vinaya* could easily disagree on specific interpretations of the doctrine with some of their fellow *vinaya* monastics. Also, these scholastic *abhidharma* discussions did not infringe on the Buddha-word as such.[30] Some *abhidharma* texts even claim that they merely expound what was not clearly explained in the *sūtra*s. This can be illustrated with the following passage of the *Sanlun xuanyi jianyou ji*, Paramārtha's (499–569) commentary on Vasumitra's *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* (*Yibuzong lun lun*) that explains how different scholastic groups developed within the earlier mentioned Mahāsāṃghika monastic community:

> In the course of the second two hundred years [after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha], three schools issued from within the Mahāsāṃghikas [...] The [Mahāsāṃghika] school recited [...] Mahāyāna *sūtra*s. In this school, there were some who believed these *sūtra*s and some who did not. Those who did not believe them said that such *sūtra*s are made by man and are not proclaimed by the Buddha [...] that the disciples of the Lesser Vehicle only believe in the *tripiṭaka*, because they did not personally hear the Buddha proclaim the Greater Vehicle. Among those who believed these *sūtra*s, there were some who did so because they had personally heard the Buddha proclaim the Greater Vehicle and therefore believed these *sūtra*s; others believed them because it can be known through logical analysis that there is this principle [of the Greater Vehicle]; and some believed them because they believed their masters. Those who did not believe [them] did so because these *sūtra*s were self-made and because they were not included in the five *Āgama*s [...].[31]

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29   See Bechert 1961.

30   The *Majjhimanikāya* contains an interesting passage in this respect. In Chalmers (1960, vol. III: 9–12) we read that when Vassakāra asked Ānanda to explain the cause for continued unity (*samaggiyā*) among the members of the Order, the latter replied that the basis for this unity is the fact that all take refuge in Dhamma (*dhammappaṭisaraṇa*). Asked to elaborate, Ānanda then identified this as the maintenance of the rules or order, the *Prātimokṣa*.

31   T.70.2300: 459b9–22. See also Dessein 2009: 30–31; Davidson 1990: 300; de La Vallée Poussin 1938; Lamotte 1947: 218–222.

This passage not only refers to the fact of "having heard the scriptures from the mouth of the Buddha himself"—which further corroborates what was claimed above—but also shows that it is the possibility to differ on scholastic matters that is at the basis of the development of the Mahāyāna movement from within Śrāvakayāna schools. The primacy of the acceptance of the Buddha-word and the adherence to a particular monastic code over scholastic issues also explains the possible coexistence of Śrāvakayāna and Mahāyāna monks in one and the same monastery, a matter witnessed by, among others, Xuanzang 玄奘 in his account of his travels in the 'Western regions.'³² These so-called *abhidharma*—including Mahāyāna—developments can therefore be regarded as a third layer of Buddhist identity: where a Buddhist adherent's core identity is his acceptance of the Buddha-word, the precise *vinaya* according to which he is ordained and that is the guideline for his daily life as a Buddhist forms a first layer around this core identity, and the abhidharmic interpretation is the outer layer of his Buddhist identity. It is also this layer—as we will show further—that contains the possibility for 'networking.' This is also corroborated by the following: Above, I have mentioned the issue of the decline of the doctrine. The passage of the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra* (*Apidamo da piposha lun*) on this topic, quoted above, is preceded by the story of how a certain *tripiṭaka* master, Śiṣyaka, is invited by the *karmadāna* of the same assembly to recite the *prātimokṣa* in public. Śiṣyaka accepts, but when he declares that he will only recite it in brief, the following happens:

> At that moment, the *arhat* Surata rose from his seat. He threw his cloak over one shoulder, prostrated himself before the *tripiṭaka* master [Śiṣyaka], brought the palms of his hands together, and said: "I only

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32   In the *Da Tang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記, the co-habitation of monastics who adhere to the Śrāvakayāna with monks who adhere to the Mahāyāna is mentioned with respect to Udyāna (T.51.2087: 882b18–21), Jālaṇdhara (T.889c17, 890a3), Kulūta (T.51.2087: 890b4), Mathurā (T.51.2087: 890b17), Kanyākubja (T.51.2087: 893c17), Ayodhyā (T.51.287: 896b7), Vṛji (T.51.2087: 910a5), Nepāl (T.51.2087: 910b19), Magadha (T.51.2087: 910c13, 913b25), Puṇḍravarddhana (T.51.2087: 927a22), Koṅkanāpura (T.51.2087: 934c15), Mahārāṣṭra (T.51.2087: 935a28–29), Kaccha (T.51.2087: 936b13), Ujjayanī (T.51.2087: 937a4), Parvata (T.51.2087: 937c8), Laṅgala (T.51.2087: 938a6), and Kunduz (T.51.2087: 940a16–17). See also Beal 1884, vol.1: 120–121, 176, 177, 180–181, 207, 225; vol.2: 78, 81, 82, 103, 195, 254, 257, 266, 270, 275, 277, 288, resp. Xuanzang also mentions Sthavira monks who study the Mahāyāna in Magadha (T.51.2087: 918b14–15), Kalinga (T.51.2087: 929a4), Siṃhala (T51.2087: 934a15), Bharukachha (T.51.2087: 935c2), and Suraṣṭra (T.51.2087: 936c16). See also Beal 1884, vol.2: 133, 208, 247, 260, 269 resp. When mentioning Sthavira monks who study the Mahāyāna in Magadha, Xuanzang even mentions that they observe the *vinaya* carefully (T.51.2087: 918b15).

wish that the elder (*sthavira*) would explain the *tripiṭaka* in full for the community." [The *tripiṭaka* master Śiṣyaka] replied: "I invite that [monk] in this assembly who is capable of observing all the precepts of the *prātimokṣa* to request me to explain it in full." The *arhat* said: "I am able to observe the fine details (*prāntakoṭi*) of the rules (*śikṣāpada*) observed by all *bhikṣu*s when the Buddha was in the world. If this is what you mean by 'observing [the *prātimokṣa*] completely,' then [I am the one who] wants [you] to explain [the *tripiṭaka*] completely." When he had thus spoken, the disciples of the *trepiṭaka* were angry, and thereupon they reviled him, saying: "Who is the *bhikṣu* who opposes our master in front of the assembly and who does not accept his teaching?" Hereupon they beat the *arhat* to death. From that moment on, the good doctrine in the absolute sense (*paramārthasaddharma*) had disappeared. Then, the gods (*deva*), *nāga*s and *yakṣa*s who respected the *arhat* got angry, and they killed that *trepiṭaka*. [...] From that moment on, the good doctrine in the conventional sense (*saṃvṛtisaddharma*) had disappeared.[33]

This passage not only corroborates that the *prātimokṣa* is the nucleus around which the *vinaya*s gradually developed,[34] but also testifies the preeminence of *vinaya* over scholasticism: the death of the Arhat Surata is the end of the Good Doctrine in absolute sense, the death of the *tripiṭaka* master Śiṣyaka is the end of the Good Doctrine in conventional sense. This order is also confirmed in the fact that Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) advocated that a restoration of the Buddha's doctrine could only be achieved through rigorous practice of monastic discipline, i.e., the establishment of the Disciplinary School (*Lüzong*).[35]

2   Layered Identities and the Development of a Buddhist Canon

Above, I have mentioned the uncertainty of the precise content and format of the earliest Buddhist texts used for oral recitation and preaching. Elsewhere, I have argued that also the use of numerical lists—called *mātikā* in Pāli and *mātṛkā* in Sanskrit—must have started as a mnemotechnic aid in oral transmission, and that these lists "have served to structure and expound the doctrine" and "have become the vehicle of doctrinal development and the matrix for the

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33   T.27.1545: 918b27–c13. See also Lamotte 1958: 218–220.

34   See Prebish 1974b: 170 and note # 22.

35   See Takao 1937: 12–16; Lewis 1990: 211–212.

textual format in which the doctrine is outlined."[36] The oral origin of what was to become the third section of the *tripiṭaka*, the *abhidharma*, is referred to in the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, more precisely in a passage that mentions the 'recitation' of the *sūtra*, the *vinaya* and the *mātṛkā*.[37] The importance of this is that a separate authoritative collection of *mātṛkā*s—a Mātṛkāpiṭaka—must have existed prior to the moment when orally transmitted texts were submitted to writing. The 'recitation' of the *sūtra*, the *vinaya* and the *mātṛkā* as authoritative collections of texts brings us to the issue of the development of the Buddhist canon. Although, as remarked by Oliver Freiberger (2000: 20), only very little is known about the composition of texts into a canon before the (Pāli) Aluvihāra redaction of the 1st century BCE—he therefore suggests that the early canon should be considered as of anonymous authorship[38]—we do know that the *abhidharma* texts developed from the earlier *mātṛkā*s as they were contained in the *sūtra* and the *vinaya* texts.[39] This naturally makes the canonisation of *abhidharma* texts posterior to the canonization of the *sūtra* and the *vinaya* texts. Since, further, *abhidharma* texts are developments of the *mātṛkā*s that preceded them, *abhidharma* texts can easily be seen as an example of what Oliver Freiberger has called 'Sinnpflege' (treatment of meaning) as opposed to 'Textpflege' (textual treatment), i.e. literary orthopraxis in transmission of the Buddha-word.[40]

Discussing the relation between *sūtra* and *vinaya*, Charles Prebish (1974b: 170) has drawn our attention to it that in usages that seem to be very old, the *prātimokṣa* rules—the nucleus around which the other parts of the *vinaya* have grown—were called *sūtras*, and that the explanation of these rules was called *sūtravibhaṅga*. In the sense that *sūtras* are rules of behaviour,[41] they

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36   Dessein 2013: 29–30; see also Gombrich 1990: 21–24; von Hinüber 1989: 68; Freiberger 2000: 20.

37   T.22.1425: 334c20–22. Other references to this oral origin are in *Saṅgitisutta* 3, *Dīghanikāya* 33 (Estlin Carpenter 1970: 207 ff.) = T.1.1, no.1: 49b27 ff. See also Hoernle [1916] 1970: 16–24 and Waldschmidt [1955] 1967: 258–278.

38   See also Schopen 1997b: 23–30.

39   See Dessein 2013.

40   See Freiberger 2000: 24. For the Pāli canon, this would refer to the word *pāli* as opposed to *aṭṭhakathā* (see Collins 1990: 91–94). It is illustrative for this that, according to later texts, one is to have recourse (1) to dharma but not to the individual, (2) to the meaning but not to the letter, (3) to the *sūtra*s of definitive meaning (*nītārtha*) but not to those of provisional meaning (*neyārtha*), and (4) to gnosis (*jñāna*) but not to perceptual consciousness (*vijñāna*). See Lamotte 1949; Davidson 1990: 301–302.

41   *Sūtra*, as explained by Sir Monier Monier-Williams (1956: 1241) is "a short sentence or aphoristic rule, and *any work or manual* consisting of strings of such rules hanging together like threads" (Emphasis mine BD).

serve to differentiate the Buddhist community from other religious communities, but also to differentiate one Buddhist community from another. *Vinaya*s thus have a 'canonizing' function,[42] or, as suggested by Oliver Freiberger (2000: 24), a canon attains authority through censorship, that is, isolation from what is alien, unreal or false. From this, it is an easy step to also apply the term *sūtra* to the true word of the Buddha. This also conforms to what Aleida and Jan Assmann (1987: 26) called "censorship in order to profile the canon against what is apocryphal."[43] When the *sūtra*s and the *vinaya*s were, at some point in time, finalized, the *abhidharma* literature and with that, the Mahāyāna literature, kept on developing. 'Canonisation' as defined by Aleida and Jan Assmann thus primarily applies to the *vinaya* and the *sūtra* collections of the *tripiṭaka*, not to the *abhidharma* section.[44] Although, as remarked by Étienne Lamotte (1947: 303–304), the Sarvāstivādins sought to legitimize the seven works of their *Abhidharmapiṭaka* as Śākyamuni's own statements and in order to do so claimed that these texts had been recited at the first Buddhist council, it is, given the very nature of the *abhidharma*, highly improbable that these texts could be 'canonised' in the true sense of the word.[45] The above, again, implies that the Buddhist identity is a layered one, and that it is precisely because of its layered structure that Buddhist 'networking' becomes possible.

Literature, it has to be remarked, is an important identity marker, and the value of canonisation therefore must have increased tremendously when texts were committed to writing. It therefore appears to be very plausible that the motive to commit oral texts to writing may have been the rise of the Mahāyāna,[46] and that it was when Buddhist texts were committed to writing

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42 It may here be remarked that the English word 'canon' is derived from the Latin adjective 'canonicus': living according to the rules of a religious order.

43 See also Aleida and Jan Assmann 1987: 26, note 11, in which censorship in order to preserve power against what is subversive and censorship in order to preserve what is meaningful against what is heretical are also differentiated.

44 Noting the overwhelming preponderance of Śrāvastī as the setting of the Buddha's sermons, Rhys Davids (1925, vol. IV: vi) suggests that rather than referring to the actual place the Buddha delivered his sermons, Śrāvastī may well be the place of the earliest emporium for the collection and preservation of them (see also note # 17).

45 Canonisation of the *abhidharma*, with sets of texts that are recognized by one group of Buddhist followers as against another group thus rather conforms to what Aleida and Jan Assmann defined as "censorship in order to preserve what is meaningful against what is heretical". See note # 43.

46 Collins (1990: 98) attributes the beginning of a written tradition of Buddhism to the rivalry between the Abhayagirivihārins and the Mahāvihārins and the attempt of the Mahāvihārins to dissociate themselves from the Abhayagirivihārins, who would have accepted Mahāyāna texts. Norman (1993: 280) suggests the 2nd century BCE for the

that the idea of a closed canon was established. Heinz Bechert (1992: 52) in this respect indicated that writing down texts may not have had the purpose of preserving old texts and can even have raised opposition by conservative monks. This also explains why the Mahāyāna was from the outset a written tradition.[47] That the rise of the Mahāyāna may have provided the motive to commit oral texts to writing further corroborates the fact that it is especially in times of perceived insecurity that "going back to an imagined past by using reconstructed symbols and cultural reference points" gains extra value.[48] With the gradual decrease of the importance of orality, the value of a closed written corpus of texts may have further come to the fore.[49] It is thus no surprise that the extant *abhidharma* texts appear to be the product of an increasingly written tradition.

Canonical texts are normative and are seen as authoritative in the sense that they depict the idealized image of an 'imagined community'.[50] Canonization forms one's self-identity, and informs one's relations with other individuals and groups. Also seen from this angle, we can discern a layered Buddhist identity, with the *sūtra* collection of the *tripiṭaka* as the most authoritative word of the Buddha, followed by the *vinaya* collection that identifies oneself as a Buddhist vis-à-vis the outside world and as a member of one particular Buddhist group vis-à-vis other Buddhist groups, and the *abhidharma* collection that is the most recent and most volatile part of one's Buddhist identity.

3   Layered Identities and Networking

History not only knows Buddhist kings allegedly modelled after king Aśoka and the creation of state monasteries, but also, and more significantly, scholarmonks who worked in the service of government.[51] It is to this phenomenon

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beginning of the use of script in a Buddhist context. See also Takakusu 1956: 49; Falk 1993: 200; Norman 1993: 279; Allon 1997: 1. On writing down canonical texts as a process rather than as an event, see Bechert 1992: 45–53. The value attributed to 'canonical books' also explains the 'cult of the book' that became peculiar for the Mahāyāna (for the latter, see Buswell 1990: 17). Lamotte (1947: 217) remarks that no Buddhist sect, as long as it remained vital and alive with the inspiration of the teaching, completely closed its canon, and that (1947: 303) for the duration of a sect's appearance in Buddhist India, it continued to include later material in its canon as the "teaching of the teacher".

47   See McMahan 1998: 251.

48   Kinnvall 2004: 744.

49   Freiberger 2000: 25–26.

50   Kieffer-Pülz 2000: 283.

51   For the creation and significance of state monasteries, see Forte 1983.

of political networking that we turn our attention in the last section of this contribution.

Given the layered nature of one's Buddhist identity, 'networking'—an act in which part of one's identity is entrusted to another individual or group in order to make relations possible—is particularly restricted to the 'scholastic layer,' i.e., the layer of philosophical Buddhist debate which is also the least 'canonised' part of one's Buddhist identity. It is the scholastic and philosophical layer that is, by its very nature, also the layer that is most adaptable for political discussion and networking. In the Indian case, this makes an approach of Buddhists to Brahmans possible, and in the Chinese case a connection of Buddhists with Confucian officialdom.

As much as the time of the Buddha may, as mentioned above, have been a time of important religious developments in India, in the few centuries postdating the demise of the Buddha, India also knew major political developments. Concomitant with the installation of the Aśokan Empire, the Brahmans installed their caste-class system as social structure, and they attributed to each of these caste-classes their own function. This development was of major importance for upholding state order.[52] The Aśokan period has thus been of unprecedented importance for the organization of Indian society and for the position of Brahmanism on the subcontinent. When, during the Aśokan period, the Brahmans began to be the major opponents of the Buddhists, the Buddhists appear to have left state matters to the Brahmans. This attitude was most likely given in by their conviction that there was not only no class difference between human beings, but also that being a true 'Dharma-king' (*dharmarāja*) who ruled without using violence—the *ahiṃsā* concept that can be found in Buddhist texts—was thought to be impossible.[53]

With the development of the Śrāvakayāna attitude regarding life—that implied that one had to withdraw from society—towards the Mahāyāna, major changes in the possibility for Buddhists to engage in worldly affairs were brought along. This opened the way for Buddhists to move away from their previous attitude of adjusting themselves to the Brahmanical social order, and to start to also take up a role as political advisors. They saw themselves legitimized in this new undertaking through the birth stories (*jātaka*) of the Buddha according to which also the Buddha, before being reborn as Śākyamuni, went

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52   Kinnvall (2004: 759) noted that: "Noninstitutionalized religion may be a matter of personal faith, piety, and inner experience, but once institutionalized it becomes interested in maintaining its hold on the populace and social institutions."

53   Such a concept of 'Dharma-king' is referred to in, e.g., Nāgārjuna's *Precious Garland* (*Ratnāvalī*); see Hopkins 1998: 118. See also Bronkhorst 2011: 99–104, 230, 236.

through different 'ordinary' lives. The conviction thus grew that also ordinary beings can earn merit while living profane lives and, in the end, become a Buddha in their own turn.[54]

This attitude gained particular importance in the Chinese cultural sphere. Confucians could not only, in the same way as some Brahmans had become Buddhists, become Buddhist converts,[55] but, more importantly, while it may have been impossible for Buddhists to become Brahmans, they could become Confucians in the sense and to the degree that their Buddhist scholastic identity was and could be merged with Confucian state orthodoxy. This process that pertains to what can be identified as a fourth layer of Buddhist identity, did not require them to cast off the fundaments of their Buddhist identity as it was formulated in the threefold refuge (*triśaraṇa*) in Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha (expressed in *sūtra* and *vinaya* literature). This development became especially important after the fall of the Han dynasty in 220 CE. In this way, the period following the Han Dynasty saw a gradual sinicisation of Buddhism, to the extent that Buddhist scriptures also were, as stated by Mark Edward Lewis (1990: 209), "drawn into the political realm through the received idea that the definition and defence of 'scripture' was a fundamental role of the state." In China, the Buddhist scriptural tradition became linked to political authority and the secular government tried to create an 'official' Buddhism.[56] The use of the Chinese word '*jing*' 經, the term that was also used to denote texts of the Confucian canon, is more than telling in this respect.[57] That secular governments— be they imperial or local—were instrumental in the canonisation of particular Buddhist texts in the same way Confucian texts were canonized, and that these texts were thought to be instruments that could uphold society, led to the peculiar situation, as described by Hubert Seiwert (1994: 532), that:

> Chinese history […] is full of examples of attempts to ideologically control society, to eliminate 'false' (heterodox) doctrines and scriptures, and to bestow universal value to the correct interpretation of the world. The

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54   See Bronkhorst 2011: 155. See also Joshi 1977: 21; Sanderson 2009: 115 f.

55   It should, for the Indian case, be remarked that while Buddhists could never become Brahmins, the reverse was perfectly possible: being a Brahmin was considered compatible with being a Buddhist. For some examples of Brahmins who became Buddhists, see Bronkhorst 2011: 174.

56   See Zürcher 1982: 163–164; Lewis 1990: 207.

57   Note that the word *jing* 經, which has 'silk' as radical, stands close to the original meaning of the word *sūtra* (see note # 41). For some reflections on the ramifications of the word *jing*, see Lewis 1990: 208. See also note # 43.

elite culture did not only comprise Confucians, but also Buddhists and Daoists. Orthodoxy [...] did not exclusively pertain to one of these three traditions, but was shared by all of them—in any case, in so far as they were integrated in elite culture.[58]

When the country was reunified under the Sui dynasty in 581/589 CE, Buddhism had become an integral part of Chinese political culture. After, in the Sui dynasty Tiantai 天臺 Buddhism had gained importance and the Sui emperors had been devoted to Buddhism, Taizong 太宗 (r.627–650) and Gaozong 高宗 (r.650–684), the second and third emperors of the Tang dynasty (618–907), favoured Faxiang 法相 Buddhism.[59] Empress Wu Zetian 武則天, who took over the Tang throne in 690, associated herself with Huayan 華嚴Buddhism.[60] Two famous examples of scholar-monks in the service of Wu Zetian were Bodhiruci and Fazang. The latter especially lived in close contact with the imperial court and became one of the leading ideologists of Tang China.[61] When Wu Zetian died in 705, her son restored the Tang dynasty as the Zhongzong 中宗 Emperor (r.705–710). Also he supported Huayan Buddhism, besides Esoteric Buddhism. The degree of connection of Buddhism to Confucian officialdom was such that when the so-called Three Stages Sect (*Sanjie jiao* 三階教) proclaimed the end of the Buddha-dharma, this was interpreted as a menace to the imperial government.[62]

In the Chinese cultural context in which the literary tradition had such a prominent place, the early *geyi* 格義 technique to 'translate' Buddhist texts attained a new function in this Buddho-Confucian encounter. After a period in which the earliest Central Asian and Chinese translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese had equated Buddhist with traditional Chinese concepts—the technique that is usually referred to as '*geyi*' and is translated as 'matching meanings' or 'matching concepts' by modern scholarship[63]—in the 4th and 5th centuries, this technique must have developed as a peculiar type of *abhidharma* exegesis practiced in circles of learned monks who had enjoyed a

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58   My translation from the German. See also Buswell 1990: 7; Forte 1990: 239–240.

59   See Wright 1973: 241–242.

60   See Weinstein 1973: 302.

61   See Forte 2000: 9–10, 51. For the role of Bodhiruci at the court of Wu Zetian, see Forte 1990.

62   See Lewis 1990: 207, 210. This also explains why a new imperial canon which appeared in 730 CE excluded the works of this sect (see Lewis 1990: 231). Also see note # 56.

63   Other translators such as the Yuezhi Lokakṣema (2nd century CE) and Zhi Qian (3rd century CE), and the Sogdian Kang Senghui (end of the 2nd century CE) preferred to transliterate Indian technical terms instead of translating them. See Zürcher, 1991: 279–283; Harrison, 1993: 140, note # 5; Nattier, 2008: 75; Mair, 2012: 55.

traditional Confucian schooling and were well-versed in the Chinese classics. The technique more precisely served to explain the *shishu* 事數 (numerical categories) that abound in such texts.[64] As I have discussed elsewhere, when the technique became criticized in Buddhist circles as not being appropriate to explain the Buddhist doctrine, it is likely to have been adopted by those few 'conservative' Confucian literati who wanted to redefine Chinese culture in a context of growing influence of Daoism and Buddhism.[65] *Geyi* literature may thus be seen as an instrument to reaffirm the traditional inner-Confucian network.

The Indian Buddhists must also have textually redefined themselves when the road to political participation became open to them with the rise of the Mahāyāna. This may explain why they adopted Sanskrit as 'sacred' language, the language that had up to that moment been used by the Brahmins in their state affairs, and that also they had used to plead their cause (disagreements concerning proprietorship of monasteries, hermitages and temples) at the royal court—occasions where their own disciplinary tradition and/or philosophical position may have been called into question.[66] When the Brahmins and Buddhists started to use the same instrument in their political endeavours, the Brahmins continued to have one major skill that was their prerogative: the use of magic formulas and incantations, derived from the Vedic tradition.[67] It was therefore only logical that once the Buddhists had gained a position as political advisor similar to the one performed by the Brahmans, the Buddhists, too, enhanced their skills in this respect. They could, for this purpose, build on the existence of the practice in the Mahāyāna.[68] It is especially with the rise of tantric Buddhism starting from the 7th century that the use of rites and spells became prominent and that also Indian Buddhists developed a fourth identity layer of political practice.[69] Such practice was also of major importance in Chinese esoteric Buddhism from the 8th century onwards, when such major figures as Amoghavajra (705–774) were active. His address to the

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64   Mair, 2012: 37 remarks that *shishu* may be equated with *fashu* "which is linked to the Sanskrit *dharmaparyāya*: 'discourse on dharma'; or with *mingshu*: 'numerical groups of related items.'" He thus suggests (2012: 40) that the term '*shishu*' designates "enumerative categories (or categorized enumeration) of things/items, i.e., (technical) terms."

65   See Dessein 2016.

66   See Bronkhorst 2011: 122–128.

67   See Bronkhorst 2011: 108, 182, 237. For an example from Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti*, see Huber 1908: 6f.

68   See Bronkhorst 2011: 238 with reference to von Hinüber 1981 and Schopen 2009 for the early *dhāraṇī*s.

69   See Bronkhorst 2011: 239, 242–243.

Tang Emperor Zhongzong that "Your Majesty has received the mandate of the Buddha to serve as King of the Dharma; it is Your Majesty who satisfies the aspirations of the people and holds the secret seal of Samantabhadra,"[70] at once shows the presence of the Dharma-king concept in China and the activities of scholar-monks in the political realm. Judging the activities of Amoghavajra, Raoul Birnbaum (1983: 30) states that "[…] it seems clear that a major goal of the public teachings and activities of the last decades of Amoghavajra's life was the vigorous propagation of the cult of Mañjuśrī […] Amoghavajra sought to establish Mañjuśrī as the national deity of T'ang China." Taking into account that Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra had since early times been closely connected, the identification of Samantabhadra with Mañjuśrī becomes even more meaningful.[71] In 741, Amoghavajra is reported to have presided over the first mass esoteric ordinations in China, and in 746 he is said to have erected an altar for esoteric rites upon which the Xuanzong Emperor 玄宗 (r.713–756) was consecrated (*abhiṣeka*).[72] Xuanzong became deeply interested in the use of the magical techniques of esoteric Buddhism to secure and expand his power and that of his state.[73] After the death of Xuanzong, Amoghavajra also stayed in official service under Emperors Suzong 肅宗 (r.756–762) and Daizong 代宗 (r.763–779). Moreover, Emperor Suzong was consecrated as Universal Monarch.[74] In 756, on the occasion of the An Lushan 安祿山 rebellion, Emperor Suzong even asked Amoghavajra to pray for victory of the imperial army.[75] Amoghavajra ended his career as 'Lord Specially Advanced' (*Tejin* 特進), and 'Official of Probationary Director of the State Ceremonial' (*Shi hongluqing* 史鴻臚卿).[76] Not long before his death in 774 CE, he was granted the title 'Commander Unequalled in Honor' (*Kaifu yitong sansi* 開府儀同三司)[77] and 'Duke of Su' (*Suguo gong* 肅國公).[78]

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70   T.52.2120: 840b26. See also Weinstein 1987: 82.

71   For the importance of this identification in its relation to the *Samanta-bhadrācāryapraṇidhānarāja* (*Puxian Pusa xing yuan zan*) (T.10.297), see Dessein 2003: 330–332.

72   T.50.2061: 712c12–13. See also Weinstein 1987: 57.

73   See Lewis 1990: 231.

74   T.50.2061: 713a2–3. See also Weinstein 1987: 57–58.

75   See Birnbaum 1983: 37. Bronkhorst 2011: 242 remarks that "Buddhist monks in China were exempted from military service, but were expected to execute tantric Buddhist rites that would provide protection against natural and other disasters."

76   T.50.2061: 713a10–11.

77   T.50.2061: 713b21.

78   T.50.2061.713b21–22.

4   Conclusion

An investigation into the monastic and philosophical development of the Indian and Chinese Buddhist communities shows that all Buddhist monastics accepted the mythical/historical figure of the Buddha as founder of the doctrine, and, from the outset, portrayed themselves as inheritors and as protectors of a divine tradition. The figure of the Buddha that is an unalienable part of their core identity was, later, textually, laid down in the *sūtra* literature.

A second layer of monastics' Buddhist identity regards their ordination lineage. Adherence to a specific monastic code defined one's Buddhist identity vis-à-vis other monastic schools and the surrounding non-Buddhist world. The latter especially gained importance as Buddhists had, from the outset, to define themselves as distinct from other religious groups—the Jainas and Ājīvakas. This perceived difference must have informed the creation of (a) peculiar monastic code(s) that, at some point in time, became canonized in different *vinaya*s.

While adhering to a certain monastic code, Buddhist adherents may, however, have disagreed on doctrinal interpretations. This explains why their 'abhidharmic' identity was the most volatile, why the *abhidharma* collection of the *tripiṭaka* kept on developing and expanding, and why different abhidharmic sub-groups—albeit adhering to the same monastic code—selected a different set of *abhidharma* texts as 'canonical.' It is also from within the *abhidharma* that the Mahāyāna philosophy developed. The importance of the Buddhists' identification with the mythical/ historical Buddha figure—their core identity— explains why even *abhidharma* and Mahāyāna texts were laid in the mouth of the historical Buddha.

The ascent of the Brahmans in the Aśokan period had major ramifications for the position of the Buddhists in Indian society. After an initial period in which the Buddhists had left state matters to the Brahmins, the development of the Mahāyāna opened new perspectives for Buddhists to engage in secular—including political—activities. A similar development also occurred in China. Buddhist adherents saw themselves legitimized in their new roles as political advisors—a role which they could take up through, among others, their knowledge of Sanskrit, the language that was used by the Brahmins in state affairs—through the birth stories (*jātaka*) of the Buddha according to which also the Buddha, before being reborn as Śākyamuni, went through different 'ordinary' lives. It was from within the 'philosophical' abhidharmic layer, i.e., the layer that is, by its very nature, the layer that is most adaptable for political discussion and networking, that the ability to, in the Indian case, take

over Brahmanic concepts and political instruments, and, in the Chinese case, to connect with the Confucians, developed. Once the Buddhists had gained a political advisor position similar to the one performed by the Brahmans, they—as the Brahmins had done before them—also took over the use of magic formulas and incantations, derived from the Vedic tradition. This practice is evident from the activities of esoteric masters in political networks.

Bodily Care Identity in Buddhist Monastic Life of Ancient India and China: An Advancing Purity Threshold

Ann Heirman

1   Introduction

Monastic life is usually studied in the context of philosophical debates, monastic treatises, artistic productions, or political events. Daily life is more difficult to pin down, due to a shortage of obvious sources or even a complete lack of sources. Still, through its objects and practices, it can tell us a great deal about the values of the monastic community and how these values develop over time and from region to region. In this paper, I focus on one particular aspect of daily life—bodily practices—and more specifically on the daily issues of bodily care that a monastic community has to face. Bodily care practices are intimately linked to the ideal image to which the monastic community aspires, and thus to the way in which it wants to be perceived. This self-representation gives the community a sense of continuity across time and space. In this paper, I concentrate on one of the most far-reaching geographical and cultural transmissions: Buddhist monastic life from India to China.

The significance of a new setting, in this case along the paths leading from India to China, should not be underestimated. What is involved when practices and concepts are transferred from one society to another? According to Pierre Bourdieu, practices are generated as a result of 'systems of durable, transposable dispositions', which he defines as habitus: 'structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures'.[1] When they move through space and time, practices generated in specific conditions are reconsidered in new historical, geographical and social situations. In this sense, the past is always present in contemporary as well as in future conditions. Or, as Bourdieu puts it, 'a present past that tends to perpetuate itself into the future by reactivation in similarly structured practices [...] is the principle of [...] continuity and regularity'.[2] Although practices are constantly adapted to suit new conditions, it is this sense of their continuity and regularity that has the

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1   Bourdieu 1980: 88 (transl. 1990: 53).
2   Ibid. 1980: 91 (transl. 1990: 54).

potential to provide communities with a long-lasting identity, even when they are separated by wide cultural borders.[3] Indeed, as we will see, the notion of 'permanence in change',[4] which is linked to a Buddhist identity, remains a prominent feature of bodily practices adopted by the Buddhist communities of both India and China.

In this constant process, the body plays a most visible role. It is thus not surprising that monastic institutes tend to attach major importance to bodily behaviour. Moreover, monastics are expected to externalize what the community represents. At each moment, they should evoke the community to which they belong, if not spontaneously then at least through their monastic training. Monastic members will ideally represent Buddhist values in even their most seemingly trivial bodily practices—values that, as we will see, their masters endeavour to pass down from generation to generation. As Bourdieu says, 'the cunning of pedagogic reason lies precisely in the fact that it manages to extort what is essential while seeming to demand the insignificant'.[5] Still, the body is not a stand-alone artefact. It moves in context, within an external, physical world, and is thus inevitably forced to deviate from the ideal. It gets dirty; it needs to go to the toilet; its hair and nails continue to grow; and it falls asleep. Moreover, it often needs to communicate with other bodies in a social network.

When Buddhist monastic institutes started to develop in China as well as India, commentaries and manuals unsurprisingly established guidelines for bodily care practices. In addition to these texts, each member of the monastic community was sure to be exposed to social control as the Buddhist community struggled to establish itself as a role model in Chinese society. This is reminiscent of what Norbert Elias, in his fascinating work on changing manners in sixteenth–eighteenth-century Europe, describes as follows:

> People, forced to live with one another in a new way, become more sensitive to the impulses of others. Not abruptly, but very gradually the code of behaviour becomes stricter and the degree of consideration expected of others becomes greater. The sense of what to do in order not to offend or shock others becomes subtler, and in conjunction with the new power relations the social imperative not to offend others becomes more binding, as compared to the preceding phase.[6]

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3   On adaptation and identity, see also Pinxten 2000: 241–246.

4   Bourdieu 1980: 94 (transl. 1990: 56).

5   Ibid. 1980: 117 (transl. 1990: 69).

6   Elias 1939: 103–104 (transl. 1978: 80).

Individual members of the monastic community are constantly confronted by this social aspect of their monastic life, and their behaviour is inevitably influenced by 'a continuous interplay of relationships to other people'.[7] This process becomes very visible whenever the issue of bodily care arises. This is underscored by Elias, who concludes that bodily care practices—where the 'scope for individual variation within the social standard is relatively small'—reveal a gradual transformation of behaviour and emotions that is characterized by an 'expanding threshold of aversion'.[8]

Although the European context is far removed from the one described in the present article (and one should be cautious about employing concepts that have resulted from research in a specific historical and regional framework), there was certainly an 'expanding threshold of aversion' in the Chinese monastic community as the major monasteries became more institutionalized. As we will see, though, in China, this process was strongly linked to a growing focus on purity. Hence, in the Chinese context, I prefer to adapt Elias's concept slightly to an 'advancing threshold of *purity*'. In Chinese monastic institutions, bodily care practices—which were closely associated with concepts such as cleanliness, decency, decorum and respect, as well as to karmic return—became ever more defined as aspects of purity, representing the identity of the monastic community.[9] Simultaneously, ritual practices gradually became an essential part of daily bodily care.

2   Sources

Monastic guidelines are major sources on standard bodily practices for members of the monastic community. These sources extend from Indian *vinaya*s, mostly known in Chinese translation, to Chinese commentaries, manuals, and new monastic codes, such as the so-called *qing gui* 清規, 'rules of purity'. Four full *vinaya*s were translated into Chinese in the early fifth century CE.[10] Only much later, at the beginning of the eighth century, did the monk

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7   Elias 2003 [1987]: 47 (trans. 2001: 26).

8   Elias 1939: 108 (transl. 1978: 83).

9   In this sense, bodily practices belong to a 'social habitus', defined by Roger Chartier as that which each individual—no matter how different he is—shares with the other members of his society (Chartier 1991: 12).

10   In chronological order, these *vinaya*s were: *Shisong lü* 十誦律 (T.1435), *Sarvāstivādavinaya*; *Sifen lü* 四分律 (T.1428), *Dharmaguptakavinaya*; *Mohesengqi lü* 摩訶僧祇律 (T.1425), *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*; and *Mishasai bu hexi wufen lü* 彌沙塞部和醯五分律 (T.1421), *Mahīśāsakavinaya*.

Yijing 義淨 (635–713) translate large parts of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (*Genbenshuoyiqieyou bu pinaiye* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶, T.1442–T.1451),[11], as well as other *vinaya* texts belonging to the same school. In the interim, however, the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* (*Sifen lü* 四分律) had been strongly encouraged by influential Buddhist masters, and from the eighth century CE on, it became the principal reference point for monastic discipline in China.[12] Although *vinaya* texts might not always express what monastics actually did or even what they believed (so one must be careful not to interpret them as direct reflections of historical reality), 'they provide us with rich insights into how the canonical authors/redactors, the monastic lawmakers, envisaged the Indian Buddhist experience'.[13]

In China, numerous Buddhist masters made great efforts to illuminate *vinaya* regulations in the hope of using them in their monasteries. Again, their writings outline the ideal way in which they wanted practitioners to behave, so they shed light on the normative ideal imposed on members of the Chinese monastic community. The so-called 'rules of purity', *qing gui*, were developed from the eighth century CE onwards, and they proved particularly popular among Chan monks. While still relying on the earlier *vinaya* texts,[14] these new rules focus on the practical organization of the large public monasteries that emerged in the Song dynasty (960–1279).[15] The Buddhist tradition attributes

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The Chinese titles of the *vinaya* texts show considerable variety in the way they are composed. Some traditions have a specific Chinese title. This is the case of *Shisong lü* 十誦律, *Ten-Recitation Vinaya* (*vinaya* of the Sarvāstivāda school) and *Sifen lü* 四分律, *Four-Part Vinaya* (*vinaya* of the Dharmaguptaka School). The title *Mohesengqi lü* 摩訶僧祇律 is based on a transliteration of the name Mahāsāṃghika followed by *lü* 律, *vinaya. Mishasai bu hexi wufen lü* 彌沙塞部和醯五分律 (the *vinaya* of the Mahīśāsaka school) is composed of *Mishasai* (in all probability, a transliteration of Mahīśāsaka), *bu* (school), *hexi* (exact meaning unclear), *wufen* ('in five parts', a Chinese reference to the *vinaya* of the Mahīśāsakas), and *lü, vinaya*. Finally, the title *Genbenshuoyiqieyou bu pinaiye* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶 is a translation of the title *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*. For the sake of clarity and consistency, I have chosen to follow the convention to refer to the *vinaya*s by the name of their tradition. It remains important though to note that these titles cannot be seen as reconstructions of original Indic titles. For details, see Yuyama 1979; Clarke 2015.

11   A Tibetan translation, as well as large sections written in Sanskrit, of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* are extant. For details, see Yuyama 1979: 12–33; Clarke 2015: 73–81.

12   See, among others, Heirman 2007: 192–195.

13   Clarke 2009: 36.

14   See, in particular, Yifa 2002: 3–98.

15   Public monasteries are monasteries in which the abbacy is not passed down in a tonsure family. The tonsure disciples of the abbot were not even allowed to succeed him to the abbacy, so that a hereditary transmission was excluded. This kind of public monastery was

the start of *qing gui* to the monk Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (749–814), although none of the rules that were later ascribed to him was in fact unique. The rules of purity—of which the oldest extant code dates from the twelfth century CE—eventually acquired a central position in Chinese Buddhism and set a benchmark for large, active monasteries.[16] Consequently, in much the same way as the earlier Chinese commentaries and manuals, they provide insights into practices and attitudes that aspired to meet a normative ideal in medieval and early modern China.[17]

3   Development of Bodily Care

3.1   *Cleanliness, Decency, Respect and Decorum*

In *vinaya* texts that discuss bodily care practices, the focus is on cleanliness, decency, respect and decorum. Healthcare is mentioned, too, although it is usually not linked to removing dirt, but rather to the beneficial side-effects of washing and cleaning. The construction of bathing places, for instance, is said to have been allowed by the Buddha to help monks with digestion problems (*Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.22.1428: 958b26–c9). Similarly, in the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*, when *bhikṣu*s fall ill, the famous doctor Jīvaka says that only bathing will cure them:[18]

> 諸比丘以是事白佛。佛言。聽入浴室洗。洗有五功德。一者除垢。二者身清淨。三者除去身中寒冷病。四者除風。五者得安隱。(T.23.1435: 270b12–15)
>
> The *bhikṣu*s told the Buddha about this matter. The Buddha said: 'I allow you to enter a bathhouse. There are five virtues with respect to washing: one, it removes dirt; two, it makes the body clean/pure; three, it removes the disease of cold; four, it removes "wind"; five, it allows one to attain peace of mind.'[19]

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favoured by the Song government in its policy towards monastic Buddhism. As a result, the abbacies operated under quite strict supervision of the state. Many of these monasteries belong to the Chan tradition. See, among others, Schlütter 2005.

16   See, for instance, Yifa 2002: 108–110.

17   See Kieschnick 2010: 545–549, 573–574.

18   For details, see Heirman and Torck 2012: 28–35.

19   'Diseases of cold' are linked to cold weather or to 'cold' in the body. Diseases linked to 'wind' can generally be defined as problems relating to anything that circulates in the body. See Heirman and Torck 2012: 57–58, notes 44 and 46.

The eminent *vinaya* master Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) also refers to this focus on cleanliness and beneficial health effects in his most renowned commentary, the *Sifen lü shanfan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔, *A Transcription of Abridged Revisions in the Dharmaguptakavinaya* (T.1804). As usual, he expresses his opinion through a selection of passages from other Buddhist texts. With respect to the first passage quoted below, he underlines that bathing helps to combat disease. At the same time, dirt is washed away and one obtains a good-looking body. When commenting on the second passage, however, Daoxuan cautions that vanity is not permitted. Moreover, he states that one should not become too attached to one's own body, to the extent that cleanliness should not even be considered a priority, an opinion which in disciplinary texts is rather unusual:

增一云。告諸四眾。造浴室五功德。除風。差病。去塵垢。身輕便。得肥白。

The *Ekottarāgama* says: '[The Buddha] told the four assemblies (monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen): "Five virtues accrue from making bathhouses: it extirpates 'wind'; it cures illness; it removes dust and dirt; it makes the body feel light and easy; and it makes one soft and white."' (T.40.1804: 126c21–23)[20]

毘尼母浴室中上座應為浴僧說淨因緣。不為嚴身淨潔故。但令除身中風冷得安隱行道。當為厭患身法調伏心法。應生慈心。為令得少欲知足故。

The *Pinimu* [*jing*] says that, on bathing houses, seniors should explain to the bathing monks the reasons of cleaning (*jing* 淨). Cleaning is not for the sake of making the body beautiful or clean. But it is to free the body from 'wind' and cold', and to obtain the path of calm and peace. They should preach the doctrines that teach that the body is to be detested, and convey the doctrines on how to calm the mind. They should have compassion. They should make sure that the monks reduce their desires and are happy with little. (T.40.1804: 126c25–28) [21]

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20   Based on the *Zengyi ahan jing* 增壹阿含經 (*Ekottarāgama*), T.2.125: 703a3–5. For a detailed discussion of this passage, see Kieschnick 2013: 105–107.

21   Based on a commentary on the *prātimokṣasūtra* by an unknown school (*Pinimu jing* 毘尼母經, Skt. *Vinayamātṛkā*?, T.24.1463: 835b5–11). On this passage, see also Kieschnick 2013: 114–115.

In addition to being beneficial to the body, bathing is linked to decency, respect and decorum in both the *vinaya* texts and the Chinese manuals and commentaries. The *Mahīśāsakavinaya*, for instance, warns monks against letting laywomen learn about their physical features (via laymen who might bathe alongside the monks). This would arouse desire, and as a result some monks might even leave the monastic order because they allowed contact to become too intimate. Similarly, the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* explicitly bans bathing alongside laypeople, and cautions that it is particularly embarrassing when laypeople see the genitalia of male members of the monastic community. Allowing this to happen reveals their sexuality, and might damage the image of the *saṅgha*. The *Sarvāstivādavinaya* is somewhat more flexible, but it still warns strongly against potential loss of decorum and fame.

時諸比丘共白衣浴室中浴。白衣取其形相語諸女人。又身相觸生染著心。遂致反俗作外道者。諸比丘以是白佛。佛言。不應爾。若共白衣浴室中浴偷羅遮。(*Mahīśāsakavinaya*, T.22.1421: 182b23–27)
At that time *bhikṣu*s bathed together with laypeople in the bathing house. The laypeople told several women of their bodily features. And these bodily features gave rise to feelings of attachment. As a result, it happened that [monks] returned to lay life or became non-Buddhist ascetics. The *bhikṣu*s told the Buddha of this and the Buddha said: 'It should not be like this. If one bathes together with laypeople in the bathing house, one commits a *sthūlātyaya* [lit. "grave offence"].'[22]

彼共白衣浴。更相看尾。某甲長某甲麤。諸比丘白佛。佛言。不應共白衣浴。若稱歎佛法僧者聽浴。(*Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.22.1428: 942a16–18)
They bathed together with laypeople. They saw each other's male organ. For some, it was long; for others, thick. The *bhikṣu*s told the Buddha. The Buddha said: 'You should not bathe with laypeople. Only those who recite "Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha" are allowed to bathe.'

有比丘。共白衣浴室中洗。有下座比丘沙彌揩上座。是白衣共相謂言。但揩是耶。更作如是如是事。諸比丘聞已心不喜。以是事白佛。佛言。從今不得共白衣浴室中洗。犯者得突吉羅罪。有優婆塞病。欲入浴室中洗。佛言。應白比丘已入洗。時白比丘。比丘不聽。佛言。諸比丘若知是優婆塞善好無口過者聽入。有比丘浴室中揩白衣。佛言。浴室中不得揩白衣。犯者得突吉羅。(*Sarvāstivādavinaya*, T.23.1435: 350b8–17)

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22   On the interpretation of *sthūlātyaya*, see, among others, Heirman 2002: part I, 158–160.

Some *bhikṣu*s bathed together with laypeople in the bathhouse. *Bhikṣu*s of lower seniority and *śrāmaṇera*s [novices] massaged *bhikṣu*s of higher seniority. The laypeople said to each other: 'What is this massage? Moreover, they do such and such things.' When the *bhikṣu*s heard this, they were not happy. They told the Buddha. The Buddha said: 'From now on, one cannot bathe together with laypeople in a bathhouse. If one goes against this, one commits a *duṣkṛta* [lit. "bad deed"].' Then an *upāsaka* [householder] was taken ill. He wanted to enter the bathhouse to bathe. The Buddha said: 'Once you have told the *bhikṣu*s, you can enter and bathe.' The *bhikṣu*s did not allow him. The Buddha said: 'If the *bhikṣu*s know that this *upāsaka* is a good man, without any slips of the tongue, then he is allowed to enter.' Some *bhikṣu*s massaged laypersons in the bathhouse. The Buddha said: 'One should not give a massage to laypersons in the bathhouse. If one goes against this, one commits a *duṣkṛta*.'

Bathing could be embarrassing inside the monastic community, too, especially when this involved nakedness. Therefore, monks are advised that nudity should be kept to a minimum. It is presented as an undesirable, even shameful, state as it can lead to a loss of respect or self-respect. Hence, the Buddha stipulates that a naked man should never greet anyone or receive a greeting:

彼露形者禮露形者。佛言不應爾。彼露形者禮不露形者。佛言不應爾。彼不露形者禮露形者。佛言不應爾。(*Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.22.1428: 942b1–3)
[A monk] who was naked greeted [a monk] who was naked. The Buddha said: 'It should not be like this.' [A monk] who was naked greeted [a monk] who was not naked. The Buddha said: 'It should not be like this.' [A monk] who was not naked greeted [a monk] who was naked. The Buddha said: 'It should not be like this.'

Clearly, similar issues arise when bathing with either laypersons or fellow monks. Decency, decorum, respect and self-respect all go hand in hand, and shameful desire is never far away, as is indicated in a fragment of the *Sapoduo pini piposha* 薩婆多毘尼毘婆沙, a commentary on the *Sarvāstivādavinaya*, which offers guidance on bathing clothes:

云今凡比丘浴。若露覆室。要不共白衣。及覆上身。要當著竭支。一當有羞媿。二喜生他欲想故。(T.23.1440: 561a4–6)
Now, when *bhikṣu*s bathe, whether in an open or a covered building, it should not be together with laypeople. And one should cover the body with a *saṃkakṣikā*. This is because, on the one hand, one should have a

feeling of shame, and, on the other hand, [nakedness] might arouse desire in another person.

The short story that follows this guideline tells of a *bhikṣu* becoming excited when he sees another *bhikṣu*. So it seems likely that monks were forbidden from bathing with laypeople, and that they always had to wear a *saṃkakṣikā* when bathing with fellow monks.[23] In addition to the issues of shame and (self-)respect, the potential danger of sexual attraction is highlighted.

Similar warnings appear in the Chinese commentaries, where once again the ban on bathing with laypeople in order to avoid embarrassing situations is emphasized. Master Daoxuan (T.1804, p.85c28–86a04), for instance, refers explicitly to the three *vinaya* passages quoted above. In addition, he comments on bathing in his manual entitled *Jiaojie xinxue biqiu xinghu lüyi* 教誡新學比丘行護律儀, *To Explain to Young Monks How to Protect the Vinaya Rules* (T.45.1897: p.873a20–b3). The whole bathing process must be conducted in a dignified manner. Young monks should always bathe after the elders, and never with anyone who is more than five years their senior. Bathing should be conducted in silence, with dignity and respect. This attention to decency, decorum, respect and shame can also be found in one of the most influential Chinese disciplinary guidelines, the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi* 大比丘三千威儀, *Great (Sūtra) of Three Thousand Dignified Observances of a Monk* (T.1470), which was probably compiled in China in the fifth century CE.[24] Correct bathing behaviour is outlined in twenty-five stipulations (T.24.1470: 918c15–29). The very first rule is telling, and shows that bathing was considered a humble activity: when entering the bathhouse, one should look down. Respect and decorum are maintained by always paying attention to hierarchy, and by never bathing with a teacher or with any elder who is responsible for conducting the ordination ceremony. Instead, one should wait outside the bathhouse until they have finished.[25] This ensures that exposing oneself to masters and catching a glimpse of them bathing will both be avoided. This is important as exposure of the body might result in a loss of respect or self-respect. The monk Yijing reiterates this in his travel

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23 A *saṃkakṣikā* mostly refers to a cloth worn by *bhikṣuṇī*s to cover the breasts. In addition, *vinaya*s refer to a *saṃkakṣikā* used by men, also used to cover the chest (see Ciyi ed. 1988: vol. 6, 5737–5738; Heirman 2008: 147–151).

24 Although the colophon to the text presents it as a Han translation by An Shigao (安世高, second century), the *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi* was probably compiled in China during the fifth century (cf. Hirakawa 1960: 193–196).

25 For details, see Heirman and Torck 2012: 35–37.

account, the *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳, *Account of Buddhism Sent from the South Seas*:

> 應用四幅洗裙。遮身可愛。非直奉遵聖教。亦乃不愧人神。(T.54.2125: 221a4–5)
>
> One should use a bathing skirt four times as long as it is wide, big enough to cover the body in a decent manner. This is not only compatible with the holy teachings, but also causes no shame in the presence of men and deities.[26]

3.1.1 Toilet, Teeth Care, Shaving the Hair and Trimming the Nails

The issues of decency, decorum, respect, self-respect, shame and (when applicable) sexuality feature prominently in all discussions of bodily care—whether these relate to going to the toilet, cleaning one's teeth, cutting hair or trimming nails—as well as in guidance on taking care of the robe, sleeping and speaking.

The *vinaya* rules on relieving oneself are based primarily on a determination to avoid embarrassment and to preserve a clean image of the *saṅgha*. Of course, human waste has considerable potential to damage this image,[27] so care is essential both outside and inside the monastery. Any improper behaviour, even an embarrassing noise, should be avoided.

> 時六群比丘。大小便涕唾生草菜上。時有居士見已嫌言。沙門釋子無有慚愧。外自稱言。我知正法。如是何有正法。大小便及涕唾生草菜上。如豬狗駱駝牛驢。(*Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.22.1428: 709a27–b2)
>
> At that time, the *bhikṣu*s of the group of six relieved themselves and spat on green grass. When householders saw them, they criticized them and said: 'These *śramaṇa*s, son of the Śākyas, do not know shame. To the outside, they praise themselves: "We know the right doctrine." How can this be the right doctrine? They relieve themselves and spit on green grass. They resemble pigs, dogs, camels, cows and donkeys.'[28]

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26 Translation according to Li 2000: 104.

27 For a detailed discussion, see Heirman and Torck 2012: 67–74. See also Schopen (2008), who has conducted a detailed study into what the disposal of human waste can tell us about the location of nunneries in the cities of early India.

28 The rule that prohibits relieving oneself on green grass appears in all *vinaya* traditions. It has been studied in detail by Lambert Schmithausen (1991: 31–33).

彼高聲大鳴。餘比丘聞惡之。佛言不應爾。彼大便時不覺卒鳴有疑。
佛言不犯。(*Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.22.1428: 932a26–28)
One [*bhikṣu*] was groaning loud. The other *bhikṣu*s hated this. The Buddha
said: 'It should not be like this.' The one [*bhikṣu*], while relieving himself,
unconsciously groaned and he was unsure [about this being an offence].
The Buddha said: 'It is no offence.'

The *Great (Sūtra) of Three Thousand Dignified Observances of a Monk* equally
urges the monastic community to behave in a decent way when visiting the
toilet (T.24.1470: 925b25–c11). Once again, decency, respect, decorum and
shame are prioritized in a list of twenty-five guidelines. For instance, the first
stipulations decree that a monk should not greet the abbot en route to the toi-
let, nor receive others' greetings; and when entering the toilet, he should lower
his head and face the ground. Daoxuan delivers an even more explicit message
in his manual for new monks (*To Explain to Young Monks How to Protect the
Vinaya Rules*) when he stresses that it is essential to maintain decorum (*yize*
儀則, lit. 'model of conduct') at all times:

> 一、覺欲出入須早去，不得臨時失儀則。(T.45.1897: 872c27)
> [On toilet etiquette] One: when waking up, if one needs to go, one should
> go early, and one should not lose one's decorum.

Often related to going to the toilet is the practice of cleaning the mouth. This
should be done with similar discretion and respect: 'There are three things one
needs to do in a secluded place: relieve oneself, urinate and chew tooth wood (to
clean the teeth)' (有三事應在屏處。大小便嚼楊枝; *Dharmaguptakavinaya*,
T.22.1428: 960c29).[29] Teeth-cleaning was probably not as common in early
China as it was in India. Nevertheless, Chinese masters still stressed that it
must be practised with decency, respect and decorum. For instance, in his
aforementioned manual, Daoxuan says:

> 三、洗漱用灰及楊枝，當向屏處，不得對上座，當與手遮。(T.45.1897:
> 872b17–18)
> Three, when cleaning the mouth, one should use ashes and tooth wood.
> One should do so in a secluded place, never in front of a senior, and [the
> mouth] should be covered with the hand.

29　For details, see Heirman and Torck 2012: 109–120.

There are prescriptions against shameful practices involving the loss of (self-)respect and decorum in other daily practices, too. For instance, the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* cautions that a monk must not soil his robes when shaving his hair, in order to protect his reputation (T.22.1428: 945b10–11). Trimming the nails might be damaging, too, so the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (T.24.1451: 275a14–15) warns: 'Make sure that laypeople do not hold you in derision.' Therefore, shaving and trimming should always be done in private, discreetly. Similar instructions were given in China, where shaving and trimming was seen as a very humble business: Daoxuan states that a monk should not stand up for a master, nor even greet him, when the latter is in the process of shaving (T.45.1897: 875b4–11).

Monastic robes are mentioned frequently whenever the topic is bodily care because they can be viewed as an outward extension of the human body. Therefore, they should be kept similarly clean, and decorum is a prime concern. The *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* (T.22.1425: p.509c20–21) makes explicit reference to the link between robes and body: 'If [the robes] are filthy, one has to wash, dye and stitch them repeatedly. One should see one's robes as one's own skin. The rules on robes are as such.' This washing should be done in a way that minimizes the possibility of embarrassment.[30] This is strongly emphasized in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, which warns monks about washing their robes at communal washing-places, where they might find themselves in an awkward position, such as with the robes tangled around their heads (T.24.1451, p.271a13–16). Once again, this focus on cleanliness, respect and decorum is equally strong in the Chinese monastic guidelines. Right at the beginning of the chapter on clothing in *A Transcription of Abridged Revisions in the Dharmaguptakavinaya*, for instance, Daoxuan says:

> 夫形居世累。必假威儀。障蔽塵染。勿過衣服。(T.40.1804: 104c21)
> As our body abides amidst the entanglements of the world, we must attend to comportment, and for shielding oneself from dust and stain, nothing surpasses clothing.[31]

Here, Daoxuan highlights one of the most important functions of the robes: they shield the body and safeguard its comportment. In a later reference to the *Sarvāstivādavinaya* (T.23.1435: 419b12–18), Daoxuan adds that robes must

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30   See Heirman 2014. On the issue of *pāṃśukūlika* robes—'robes from the dust heap' worn by ascetic monks—see the intriguing article by Nicholas Witkowski (2017).

31   Translation: Kieschnick 1999: 10. For a detailed discussion on the symbolism of the monastic robe in China, see, in particular, Kieschnick 1999, and 2003: 87–107.

always be clean and that they should be protected just as a monk would protect his own skin (T.40.1804: 107b22–23).

3.1.2   Sleep and Speech

Decorum and respect are paramount not only in the guidelines relating to bodily care but also when the focus shifts to other daily activities, such as sleep and speech. While the first of these is unavoidable, the second could potentially be banned. However, the *vinaya*s do not encourage silence. Instead, the Buddha says that communication can lead to enlightenment through teaching. The communicative function of speech clearly has a prominent role to play. In this context, the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* refers to the Buddha's reaction to a group of monks who chose not to communicate in order to avoid conflict:

> 佛告諸比丘。汝曹癡人。自以為樂。其實是苦。汝曹癡人。自以無患。其實是患。汝曹癡人。共住如似怨家。猶如白羊。何以故。我無數方便教諸比丘。彼此相教共相受語展轉覺悟。汝曹癡人。同於外道。共受啞法。不應如是行啞法。若行啞法突吉羅。(T.22.1428: 836a12–17)
>
> The Buddha said to the *bhikṣu*s: 'You are stupid people. You think you are happy, but this is truly hardship. You are stupid people. You think you are without suffering, but this is truly suffering. You are stupid people. You live together like a family full of anger. You resemble white goats. Why so? Innumerable times I have told the *bhikṣu*s: "You should learn from each other; you should receive each other's words; you should mutually come to understanding." You are stupid people. You are just like non-Buddhist practitioners.[32] You have all accepted the law of silence. You should not follow such a law of silence. If you follow the law of silence, you commit a *duṣkṛta*.'

Nevertheless, although speech is allowed—and even encouraged—respect and decorum must be observed at all times and any inappropriate comments should be avoided.[33] Moreover, the decorum of the monastic community needs to be protected, and every member of the *saṅgha* should be respectful and set an example when talking. Shouting loudly at mealtimes, for instance,

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32   It is rather vague who is referred to by the term *wai dao* 外道, 'non-Buddhist practitioners'. In *vinaya* texts, the term generally refers to people who have left home, and who can be identified by practices that differ from those seen as Buddhist. On the different ways to label 'non-Buddhist practitioners' in the Pāli *vinaya*, see Maes 2015: 139–172.

33   For a detailed discussion of speech in monasteries, see Heirman 2009.

signifies an undignified attitude. This caution is particularly directed at nuns. For instance, rules 128–132 of the *pācittika* rules for nuns of the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* (T.22.1428: 760a8–762a14) declare that those who were unworthy or did not receive training for a period of two years after their ordination displayed improper behaviour and shouted loudly during meals.[34] Correct behaviour during mealtimes is a recurring theme. For instance, one should not talk with food in one's mouth or make any noise when chewing:

> 時六群比丘。受食食含飯語。居士見已譏嫌言。此沙門釋子。不知慚愧受取無厭。云何含飯語。似如豬狗駱駝烏鳥食。(*Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.22.1428: 706b18–21, *śaikṣa* rule 38)[35]
> The *bhikṣu*s of the group of six accepted food and discussed with the food in their mouths. The householders saw this and criticized them: 'The *śramaṇa*s, sons of the Śākyas, they do not know any shame. They take [food] without any limit. Why do they speak with their mouths full of food? They eat like swine, camels and crows.'

> 六群比丘嚼飯作聲食。居士見已嫌言。此沙門釋子無有慚愧。[…] 食如似豬狗駱駝牛驢烏鳥。(*Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.22.1428: 707c1–4, *śaikṣa* rule 42)
> The *bhikṣu*s of the group of six made noise while chewing their food. The householders saw this and criticized them: 'The *śramaṇa*s, sons of the Śākyas, they have no shame […] They eat like swine, camels, cows, donkeys and crows.'

The fact that householders' criticisms are quoted here indicates that monastic law-makers were deeply concerned with the maintenance of exemplary behaviour during interactions with the lay community. Early Chinese guidelines place similar emphasis on exemplary behaviour, but also stress the value of periods of silence—a tendency that, as we will see, will continue to develop. The *Great (Sūtra) of Three Thousand Dignified Observances of a Monk*, for instance, cautions against speaking on certain occasions and stipulates that a monk should not make any noise, laugh or talk when entering a hall (T.24.1470: p.919a16–18); and, of course, noise during meals is prohibited (ibid.: 922b9–10, 17–19, 25–27).

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34 A *pācittika* (or variants) is an offence that must be expiated (see Heirman 2002: part I, 148–149).

35 A *śaikṣa* rule relates to good behavior (see Heirman 2002: part I, 141–147).

While speech can be avoided, sleep is inevitable, and this lack of control during sleep has the potential to harm the image of the *saṅgha* or its individual members. The compilers of the *vinaya*s were well aware of this danger: they knew that it is impossible to control one's actions while sleeping, so shameful situations might arise. For instance, a naked body could provoke laughter and undermine the status of a monk:

> 六群比丘與諸長者共在講堂止住。時六群中有一人。散亂心睡眠無所覺知。小轉側形體發露。時有比丘以衣覆已。復更轉側露形。一比丘復以衣覆之。尋復轉側而形起。時諸長者見已。便生譏嫌大笑調弄。時眠比丘心懷慚愧無顏。諸比丘亦慚愧。(*Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.22.1428, p.638a28–b5)
>
> The *bhikṣu*s of the group of six stayed with elders in one hall. Among this group there was one who had a disturbed mind and when he was asleep he was not aware [of what he was doing]. He turned around a bit and uncovered his body. After another *bhikṣu* had put a cloth on him to cover him, he again turned around and uncovered his body. And then another *bhikṣu* again covered him with a cloth. But, subsequently, he again turned around and his body [presumably his penis] stood up. When the elders saw it, they criticized him, they laughed out loud, and they made fun of him. The monk who had been asleep was ashamed and lost face. The other *bhikṣu*s were equally ashamed.

To avoid such embarrassing situations, the *vinaya*s forbid monastic members from spending the night with non-ordained people, at least for more than two or three nights.

Moreover, sleep can be seen as a sign of laziness or at least of non-activity. And, importantly, it is also often linked to sexual practices. In this context, the *vinaya*s contain several rules that are designed to minimize any accusations of improper behaviour. The Chinese disciplinary texts, such as the *Great (Sūtra) of Three Thousand Dignified Observances of a Monk* (T.24.1470: 915a24–28, 915c11–17 and c24–27) and the manual *To Explain to Young Monks How to Protect the Vinaya Rules* (T.1897, p.871a5–b2) continue in the same vein, and present sleep itself in a rather negative way. Unsurprisingly, nudity while sleeping is strictly banned.[36]

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36   For details, see Heirman 2012: 430–440.

3.1.3   Safeguarding the Saṅgha

The quest for external cleanliness and decorum could be seen as contradictory when compared with Buddhist body-meditation, which tends to focus on repulsiveness.[37] However, as Steven Collins explains, while the inner meditative reflection of a monk or a nun emphasizes the impurity and impermanence of the body, his or her social position demands 'a spotless' performance.[38] Dirt and filth—as well as nakedness and improper noise—compromise this exemplary image of the *saṅgha*, so every member of the monastic community should take steps to avoid them. Any dirt that is accumulated should be washed away, and naked bodies should remain hidden from the eyes of juniors and lay followers. If these guidelines are followed, the *saṅgha* and thus the Buddhist doctrine are safeguarded.

This goal of protecting the community is apparent in both Indian and early Chinese disciplinary texts. In that sense, the *saṅgha* continued to develop along similar ideas in both places. But the challenges in China were different from those in India. Buddhism and even monasticism were new to the Chinese public of the early centuries of the Common Era, and the country's Buddhist communities faced major criticism. For instance, they were accused of promoting a way of life that contradicted the praised value of filial piety, even though Chinese masters were at pains to stress the importance of this principle in the Buddhist tradition. As Gregory Schopen has shown, it is important not to interpret Chinese Buddhists' focus on filial piety as a sign of the religion's 'sinicization'.[39] However, the concept of filial piety developed into a particularly important issue for Chinese masters and laypeople alike, and Chinese Buddhist authors went to considerable lengths to emphasize that pursuing a monastic life did not in any way undermine the respect that was due to one's parents.[40] Several of these masters were rather apologetic, as Tanya Storch has highlighted in her work on Chinese Buddhist bibliographies. Her discussion of master Sengyou's 僧祐 (445–518) catalogue (the *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記

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37   On body-meditation, see, among others, Dessein (2014), who discusses meditation techniques that focus on the decay of dead bodies.

38   Collins 1997: 194–203.

39   See, for instance, Schopen 1997a and 2007.

40   On filial piety in Chinese Buddhism, see the pioneering article by Ch'en (1968), who underlines its importance in Chinese society. Often in response to Ch'en, many others have analysed filial piety in a Buddhist context, highlighting its specific status in the Confucian environment of China. For an overview, see Guang (2005), who identifies several similarities between Indian and Chinese Buddhist ideas on filial piety. See also Cole (1998: 41–55), who explores how Indian aspects were made relevant to Chinese concerns; and Heirman (2015: 44–49) who discusses Daoxuan's concerns about women leaving family life.

集, *Compilation of Notices on the Translation of the Tripiṭaka*, T.2145), the earli-est extant catalogue of Buddhist texts, is especially interesting. Storch shows that Sengyou explicitly tries to cast Buddhism as 'a part of Chinese history and culture since its earliest days rather than underscoring Buddhism's innova-tive ideas'.[41] In this way, he attempts to legitimize Buddhism and fight against the accusation that it has a deficient morality. Therefore, moral values needed to be highlighted, and displayed prominently to the Chinese lay community. Obviously, the body is one of the prime markers of this endeavour, so it should come as no surprise that Chinese disciplinary masters turned their focus in-creasingly to proper bodily behaviour, as shall be discussed below.

3.2   *Karmic Return*

Decency, respect and decorum enhance the image of the *saṅgha* and facili-tate contact with lay communities. This is important for the economic devel-opment of the Buddhist community, as donors are more likely to offer gifts to a more respectful *saṅgha*. Moreover, when doing so, they also expect to accrue more merit: the better the *saṅgha*, the higher the karmic return will be. Buddhist monasteries, in both India and China, were certainly not averse to such win–win exchanges, since maintaining their domains was a major responsibility.[42]

A good example of the mutual benefit of the Buddhist community receiving and maintaining buildings and donors obtaining karmic return can be found in the *Wenshi xiyu zhongseng jing* 溫室洗浴眾僧經, *Sūtra on Bathing Monks in the Bathhouse* (T.701). Although several early Chinese catalogues assert that this text is a translation, commonly attributed to An Shigao 安世高 (mid-second century CE), the Chinese text probably dates from a few centuries later.[43] It links external cleanliness to internal purity, an issue that will be discussed further below, and repeatedly states that cleanliness is crucial for obtaining

41   Storch 2014: 59.

42   Gregory Schopen (2004b: 26–37) reveals that donors and monastic managers frequently discussed the ownership of monasteries. It was important for monasteries to remain aes-thetically beautiful, or to be constructed in beautiful settings, in order to attract dona-tions. In China, the monastic community usually owned its monasteries, and the larger institutes, especially, accumulated land and expanded their buildings to secure their posi-tions in society. In this context, donors were crucial to the survival and maintenance of the *saṅgha*. Michael Walsh, in his study on Buddhist monasticism and territoriality in medieval China (2010: 3), explains the situation eloquently: 'On a material level in the Chinese monastic context, land was the source of food and sustenance of monks. On a more ideological level it was part of a discourse on Buddhist practice: to donate land was to be a good Buddhist.'

43   For details, see Heirman and Torck 2012: 56–57, note 39.

respect and veneration. A person who is *qingjing* 清淨 ('clean/pure') has removed all external dirt and is internally pure. A *qingjing* 清淨 person is beautiful and upright:

> 耆域長跪白佛言 [...] 今欲請佛及諸眾僧、菩薩大士，入溫室澡浴。願令眾生長夜清淨，穢垢消除，不遭眾患。 (T.16.701: 802c20–23)
> Jīvaka [a famous doctor] kneels and tells the Buddha: '[...] I am asking the Buddha, all monastics and the bodhisattvas to enter the hothouse and to bathe. I want to make sure that all beings are eternally pure, that dirt is removed and all disasters averted.'

It is here that the Buddha enumerates the benefits of donating a bathhouse to monastics and bodhisattvas: the donors will be healthy, pure and beautiful (*qingjing* 清淨), and respected by all. Clothing, wealth and jewellery will materialize, and all anxiety will cease (T.16.701: 803a7–15).

This text on bathing was quite popular in China, and influential masters, such as Huiyuan 慧遠 (523–592), commented upon it. Huiyuan notes that 'the central message of this scripture is the merit of giving' (*Wenshi jing yiji* 溫室經義記, *Analysis of the Sūtra on the Bathhouse*, T.39.1793, p.512c15). John Kieschnick (2013: 118) has shown that this message spread throughout Chinese society, so the *Sūtra on the Bathhouse* 'provided the impetus for lay people to contribute to the construction of monastic bathhouses through its emphasis on the merit accruing to those who build bathhouses for monasteries'.

Karmic return was indeed an important consideration for donors, in both India and China. However, Michael Walsh (2010: 109–112) points out that the accumulation of merit required active participation from both the donor and the recipient: the monks needed to be decent and clean, symbols of internal purity, and thus capable of transferring merit; and the donors needed to provide material help to the monastic community, in return for which they received merit. When discussing this process of exchange in their disciplinary texts, the Buddhist masters paid increasing attention to purity, thus advancing the threshold of what was deemed necessary to become a 'good monastic'. The role of lay donors in this process is strikingly clear in the *qing gui* rules, which underscore how those who help the monastic community to maintain cleanliness (and purity) accrue considerable merit:

> 如施主設浴。則課經回向能妙觸宣明。成佛子住則功不浪施矣。
> (T.48.2025: 1131c1–c3)[44]

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44   *Chixiu Baizhang qing gui* 敕修百丈清規, *Baizhang's Rules of Purity Revised on Imperial Order*, compiled by Dongyang Dehui 東陽德輝 between 1335 and 1343. A similar passage

If a donor constructs a bathhouse, a *sūtra* will be recited so that the merit that will be returned can reach Bhadrapāla in a wonderful way.[45] If *bodhisattva*s come into being, the merit [donation] will not be spent in vain.[46]

Karmic return is also an important aspect of life inside the monastery, at least according to the Chinese manual the *Great (Sūtra) of Three Thousand Dignified Observances of a Monk*. A dirty monk cannot serve the abbot, or greet the Three Jewels (Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha). And even if he participates in a ceremony, he will not accrue any merit.

> 應淨身口淨衣食。淨身者。洗大小便剪十指爪。淨口者。嚼楊枝漱口
> 刮舌。若不洗大小便。得突吉羅罪。亦不得僧淨坐。具上坐及禮三
> 寶。設禮無福德。(T.24.1470, p.914a15–19)
>
> One has to eat with a clean body and mouth and with clean robes. A clean body entails washing the 'places of urine and excrement' and cutting the ten fingernails. A clean mouth entails that one chews tooth wood, rinses the mouth and scrapes the tongue. If one does not wash the 'places of urine and excrement', one commits a *duṣkṛta* offence. One also cannot obtain any 'pure position' in the *saṅgha*,[47] serve the abbot or greet the Three Jewels. And even if he greets [the Three Jewels], he will not accrue any merit.

3.3 *Purity*

The above examples reveal a close connection between the outward nature of the body and inner morality, a quite traditional feature of Buddhism. For instance, Suzanne Mrozik has suggested that the physical shape of the body functions as a marker of ethical development. In this sense, it is possible to speak of 'virtuous bodies', which are often also marked by social status, such as a wealthy

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can be found in *Chanlin beiyong qing gui* 禪林備用清規, *Auxiliary Rules of Purity for Chan Monasteries*, compiled in 1311 by the monk Zeshan Yixian 澤山弌咸 (W 112, p. 110b8–10).

45　宣明 *xuanming*, the layman Bhadrapāla, attained enlightenment in a bathhouse and was subsequently granted bodhisattva-ship. See, among others, Yifa 2002: 285, note 7 (with references to the development of the tradition of inviting bodhisattvas to the bathhouse).

46　For a detailed analysis, see Fritz 1994: 119.

47　The term *jing zuo* 淨坐 ('pure position') remains unclear. Given the context and the fact that members of the *saṅgha*, and certainly members who assume any sort of responsibility, need to display exemplary behaviour, the term possibly refers to any position (*zuo*) that requires purity (*jing*).

family or a high religious position.[48] When living beings come into contact with such a virtuous religious body—of the Buddha, of a bodhisattva or of a member of the monastic community—they are transformed for the better, both physically and morally. Mrozik describes this discourse as 'physiomoral'.[49] The internal mental condition of a monk or a nun, and by extension of the whole Buddhist community, can thus be inferred from their outward behaviour, since external features express internal elements.[50] Bodily care has a strong moral aspect, too, as Reiko Ohnuma (2007: 203) explains: 'Thus the human body, as both the vehicle for one's spiritual progress and the locus of its ultimate goal (enlightenment), should be adequately cared for and maintained.' This connection between the body and internal purity is strongly emphasized in the Chinese disciplinary texts. However, this was scarcely an original notion.[51] Indeed, several *vinaya* passages had already commented on the link between bodily features or practices and state of mind. For instance, the *Mahīśāsakavinaya* associates long nails with an impure way of life:

> 爾時諸比丘養爪令長。生染著心不樂修梵行。遂有反俗作外道者。
> 諸白衣譏呵。此諸沙門如受欲人。修飾手爪無厭離心。(T.22.1421:
> 173a29–b2)
>
> At that time, some *bhikṣu*s let their nails grow. They harboured impure thoughts and were not happy to follow the pure conduct. Some returned to lay life or entered a non-Buddhist group. The householders criticized them: 'These *śramaṇa*s look like people who have desire. They decorate their fingernails and do not have thoughts of detachment.'

In this context, time spent sleeping is particularly revealing, since it can expose a chaotic and impure mind through unconscious bodily behaviour, such as the emission of semen or uttering improper words dreaming:[52]

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48   Mrozik 2007: 61–81. See also Powers 2009a: 1–23, on the physical beauty and masculinity of the Buddha's body and its moral connection; and Powers 2009b on the strong correlation between virtue and physical beauty.

49   Mrozik 2007: 62.

50   As Richard Gombrich (1984: 100) puts it, decorum becomes 'empirical evidence of a monk's internal state'.

51   It appears quite frequently in non-*vinaya* texts, as both Mrozik (2007) and Powers (2009a and 2009b) point out.

52   For more examples, see Heirman 2012: 428–430 (on sleep).

時有一比丘亂意睡眠於夢中失精有憶念覺已作是念。世尊與諸比丘結
戒。弄陰失精僧伽婆尸沙。而我亂意睡眠於夢中失精而有憶念。將不
犯僧伽婆尸沙耶。我今當云何。[...] 世尊以此因緣即集諸比丘告言。
亂意睡眠有五過失。一者惡夢。二者諸天不護。三者心不入法。四者
不思惟明相。五者於夢中失精。是為五過失。善意睡眠有五功德。不
見惡夢。諸天衛護心入於法。繫意在明相。不於夢中失精。是謂五功
德。於夢中失精不犯。(*Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T.22.1428: 579b13–c1)[53]

At that time, a *bhikṣu* had a chaotic mind and when asleep he lost semen
in a dream. He remembered it and when awake, he thought: 'The Buddha
made a rule for *bhikṣu*s, saying that one who masturbates and loses
semen commits a *saṃghāvaśeṣa*.[54] Now, I had a chaotic mind and when
asleep I lost semen in a dream and I remembered it. I will not have com-
mitted a *saṃghāvaśeṣa*, will I? What is my case now?' [...] [He asks other
*bhikṣu*s for advice and these *bhikṣu*s ask the Buddha.] For this reason, the
Buddha gathered the *bhikṣu*s and told them: 'When asleep with a chaotic
mind, there are five bad things: one, one has bad dreams; two, the gods do
not protect you; three, the mind does not enter the Dharma; four, one
does not think of brightness; and, five, one loses semen in a dream. These
are the five bad things. When sleeping with a good mind, there are five
good things: one does not have bad dreams; the gods protect you; the
mind enters the Dharma; one is linked to brightness; and one does not
lose semen in a dream. These are the five good things. If one loses semen
during a dream, one does not commit an offence.'

Even the position in which one sleeps can be telling, as is clearly stated in
the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* (T.22.1425: 507a15–b1), a *vinaya* that explicitly links
moral behaviour with the adoption of a correct sleeping position: sleeping
with the face downwards (on the belly) is said to be the sleeping position of an
asura; sleeping with the face upwards (on the back) is the position of a hungry
ghost;[55] and lying on one's left side is the position of a man full of desire. So the
only proper sleeping position is lying on one's right side.[56]

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53   Similar passages appear in other *vinaya*s (see Heirman 2012: 429, note 6).

54   A *saṃghāvaśeṣa* is an offence that, after a monastic procedure, potentially leads to tem-
      porary expulsion from the order. It is the second-gravest category of offence (see Heirman
      2002: part I, 128–138).

55   An *asura* is one of a group of beings considered to be opponents of the gods. A 'hungry
      ghost' (*preta*) suffers from an insatiable appetite as a punishment for its greed in former
      lives.

56   For a discussion and comparison with similar ideas in other *vinaya* traditions, see
      Heirman 2012: 438–439.

The above examples clearly link sleeping practices with state of mind. Yet all of these problems occur unconsciously, so a monk or nun cannot be held responsible for them. Although the actions are said to reveal an impure mind, there is no volition or intention, and no awareness of them.[57] The agent is acting unwillingly. Consequently, the action does not constitute an offence. In fact, apart from the revelatory aspect of sleep, the *vinaya*s only very occasionally connect bodily practices to internal (im)purity. A notable exception is the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*'s account of a visit to the toilet by the Buddha's disciple Śāriputra (T.24.1451: 276c29–277b27). It tells the story of a Brahmin who goes in search of a group that values purity.[58] He visits several potentially promising communities, but each time learns that there is no washing facility specifically designated for use after a visit to the toilet. However, he then spots Śāriputra carrying a bottle of water to a toilet area and decides to investigate. He sees the monk carefully and elaborately cleaning his bottom, hands and arms, and rinsing his mouth. After watching this elaborate procedure, the Brahmin joins the Buddhist community. The Buddha then praises the infinite value of purity (*qingjing* 清景) in monastic discipline.

> 時此城中有一婆羅門。常樂清淨希願出家。(T.24.1451, pp.276c29–277a1)
> Then in that town there was a Brahmin who constantly found pleasure in purity. He was hoping to leave home.

> 舍利子既見彼人隨從而行。遂便斂念觀此婆羅門何故隨我。乃知此人心求潔淨。欲於我所伺其善惡。(T.24.1451, p.277a11–13)
> Śāriputra saw that this man was following him. He was wondering: 'Why does this Brahmin follow me?' Then he understood that this man was seeking purity. 'He wants to watch in me virtue and evil.'

> 因斯制戒為清淨事福利無邊。(T.24.1451, p.277b24–25)
> If one make rules in this way for the sake of purity, the benefits will be boundless.

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57 See Peter Harvey (2000: 52): 'the degree of unwholesomeness of an action is seen to vary according to the degree and nature of the volition/intention behind an action, and the degree of knowledge (of various kinds) relating to it. A bad action becomes more unwholesome as the force of volition behind it increases, for this leaves a greater karmic "trace" in the mind.'

58 It is no coincidence that it is a Brahmin who is searching for purity. As Patrick Olivelle (1998: 189) says, 'especially within the Brāhmaṇical tradition, maintaining the purity of the body was and continues to be a major element of ritual and morality'.

From decency, respect and decorum, this *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* story has shifted the focus to purity. Physical acts of cleansing externalize moral purity. As we will see in the next passage, which discusses the correct procedure for washing robes, this can be the first step on a virtuous path: as a person becomes more clean and pure, they provide ever more fertile ground in which the Dharma may grow. The robe, as an extension of the body, becomes a fully integrated part of this discourse:

> 佛 [...] 為說出世之法。所謂苦集滅道聖諦。猶如浣衣先除垢穢。既清淨已色即易染。耶舍亦爾。初聞佛說心器清淨。便能了知四聖諦法。(*Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, T.24.1450: 129a8–11)
>
> Thereupon the Buddha spoke about the way to leave the world, that is, about the noble truths of suffering, of the origin of suffering, of the cessation of suffering and of the path [leading to the cessation of suffering]. It is like washing the robes: one first removes all filth. When [the robes] are clean and pure [*qingjing* 清淨], colour can easily penetrate. [The monk] Yaśa is also like this. He first heard the Buddha speak about the cleanliness and purity of the mind [*xin qi* 心器, lit. 'of the mind instrument/ organ']. Thereupon, he could understand the four noble truths.[59]

This clear connection between cleanliness and purity in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* is also a feature of Chinese disciplinary texts, less so in the first commentaries that discuss the *vinaya*s, but increasingly in manuals and travellers' accounts, and culminating in the *qing gui* rules, the 'rules of purity'. While this was an internal Buddhist development—as is apparent in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* and the *Sūtra on Bathing Monks in the Bathhouse*—it was certainly appropriate for the Chinese context, where Buddhism gradually acquired an important position. As Roger Ames (1993: 164) points out, the Confucian elite similarly emphasized the close relationship between body and mind: he defines the central Confucian concept of *ren* 仁—often translated simply as 'benevolence' or 'kindness'—as 'the whole human process: body and mind'. In this sense, it was only a small step to start relating bodily practices to moral values. In his article on the development of bathing customs in ancient and medieval China, Edward Schafer (1956: 59) formulates this as follows: 'We know virtually nothing about the bathing habits of commoners, but washing his person was *de rigueur* for a gentleman, for whom the bodily and moral purity was closely interdependent.'

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59   For a discussion of the robe as an extension of the body, see Heirman 2014: 484–485.

Purity also lies at heart of Daoist guidelines on bodily practices. In addition, Daoist communities rely on a high level of ritualization. A telling example is the chapter on washing and rinsing in the *Xuanmen shishi weiyi* 玄門十事威儀, *Ten Items of Daoist Ceremonial* (DZ 792, fasc. 564, 7b–8b), a seventh-century CE text on Daoist monastic precepts.[60] One of its chants says:

> 洗灰除垢用灰為首穢去真來淨心淨口成道度人天長地久急急如律令 (DZ 792, fasc. 564, 8b)
> Washing with ashes to remove dirt, using the ashes as a primary means, may foulness go and perfection arise. Cleansing the heart and cleansing the mouth, realizing the Dao and saving others, Heaven is great and Earth everlasting! Swiftly, swiftly, in accord with the statutes and the ordinances![61]

Such chants, which are still in use today,[62] ritualize daily life and unmistakably connect cleansing and purity. The body is cleaned both inside and outside, washing away dirt and defilements.

3.3.1 Chinese Masters

As mentioned above, the Chinese masters who discussed and propagated Buddhism responded to both an internal Buddhist development and to the Chinese context in which they lived. Unsurprisingly, the monk Yijing 義淨, who lived in India and South Asia between 671 and 695, is a prime example of this. He displays a desire to spread Buddhism in China, relies heavily on the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, and shares that *vinaya*'s focus on purity. Moreover, he frequently complains about the laxity of his fellow monastics in China. For him, discipline protects against moral deprivation, and serves as a basis for decency, respect and purity.[63]

> 小便則一二之土可用洗手洗身。此即清淨之先。爲敬基本。或人將爲
> 小事。律教乃有大呵。若不洗淨。不合坐僧床。亦不應禮三寶。此是
> 身子伏外道法。佛因總制苾芻。修之則奉律福生。不作乃違教招罪。
> 斯則東夏不傳。(T.54.2125: 218b19–25)

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60   For a short description, see Kohn 2003: 221–222.

61   Translation: Kohn 2003: 117.

62   See Kohn 2003: 240, note 7.

63   Yijing complains that, in China, teachers and disciples alike do not seem to pay sufficient heed to the *vinaya* rules (T.54.2125, p.219b15–21).

After urinating, one can use one or two lumps of earth to wash the hands and the body. This is the essence of purity [*qingjing* 清淨]. It is the basis of respect. Some people will see this as a trivial thing, but the *vinaya* has great [impact]! If one does not clean oneself, one cannot sit on a seat of the *saṅgha* and one cannot venerate the Three Jewels [Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha]. This is the way in which Śāriputra subdued a non-Buddhist. Therefore, the Buddha generally controls the *bhikṣu*s. If they follow this, they venerate the *vinaya* and blessings will accrue. If they do not, they go against the teaching and they will incur guilt. This is not transmitted to China.

又凡受齋供及餘飲噉。既其入口方即成觸。要將淨水漱口之後。方得
觸著餘人及餘淨食。若未澡漱觸他。並成不淨。其被觸人皆須淨
漱。(T.54.2125: 207a27–b1)

When receiving food, or when eating and drinking, as soon as food enters the mouth one is 'touched upon'. Only after washing the mouth with clean water can one touch someone else or take another dish of clean food. If one touches someone else before rinsing one's mouth, that person also becomes impure, and the person who has been touched also needs to wash himself [lit. 'purify and rinse'].

So a clean mouth testifies to a monk's—and, by extension, the *saṅgha*'s—purity, while functioning as an identity marker for Chinese monastics. A dirty monk has no place in the *saṅgha*. Similar ideas about purity appear in other Chinese writings, too, such as the manual *Da biqiu sanqian weiyi*, which states that a monk who has not cleaned himself will not accrue any merit, even if he greets the Three Jewels. Still, some texts accord the concept of purity a more prominent place than others in their discussions of bodily care. This is most striking in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* and Yijing's account of his travels. By contrast, the early Chinese *vinaya* commentaries and monastic manuals focus on decency, respect and decorum. At the same time, however, Daoist manuals—although they rely heavily on their Buddhist counterparts—strongly underscore the importance of purity and the link between external and internal purification. This connection also fits neatly within the Confucian framework of the perfect gentleman.

3.3.2   Rules of Purity

Clarifying the relationship between cleanliness and purity culminated in the *qing gui* rules, the 'rules of purity', which started to develop in the eighth century CE. The oldest extant code is the *Chanyuan qing gui* 禪苑清規, *The Pure Rules for the Chan Monastery* (W 111, pp.875–942), compiled by Changlu Zongze

長蘆宗賾 (d. 1107?) in 1103. In these rules, chanting—with karmic return and purity as central issues—is of paramount importance:

> 初三十三二十三念皇風永扇帝道遐昌。佛日增輝法輪常轉。伽藍土地護法安人。十方施主增福增慧。為如上緣念清淨法身等云云。 (W 111: 885b17–886a1)
>
> On the third, thirteenth and twenty-third of each month the monks chant, 'May the spirit of the emperor live for ever, and may the Dao of the emperor forever flourish. Let the sun of the Buddha grow brighter, and let the wheel of the Dharma eternally turn. May the guardian deities of the monastery and the guardian deities of the earth protect the Dharma and comfort all humans. May the donors from the ten directions increase their merit and wisdom. For all those hopes we chant: "Pure Dharma Body."'[64]

Later *qing gui* rules, compiled in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, go even further than the *Chanyuan qing gui* in emphasizing the importance of purity. All insist, for instance, that a 'toilet incantation' should be recited on every visit to the toilet.[65] When giving this instruction, the *Chixiu Baizhang qing gui* 敕修百丈清規, *Baizhang's Rules of Purity Revised on Imperial Order*, compiled by Dongyang Dehui 東陽德輝 between 1335 and 1343, declares:

> 夫登溷者不念此咒。[…] 亦不能淨。凡登殿堂瞻禮並無利益。奉勸受持每誦七遍。是故鬼神常相拱護。(T.48.2025: 1145c1–4)
>
> Whoever goes to the toilet and does not recite these ritual sentences will never be able to purify himself […] No matter how often he goes to the shrine hall to worship, it will be of no use. Therefore, one must uphold [the ritual sentences] and recite them seven times on every occasion. In this way, the ghosts and the spirits will always accompany and protect [the person who is reciting].[66]

Dongyang Dehui's message is clear: external purity is the inevitable counterpart of internal purity. This purity also resides in the patched monastic robe: it feeds human life, just like a rice field.[67] Standing for the Dharma, it elevates the mind:

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64   Translation: Yifa 2002: 137. On 'Pure Dharma Body', see Yifa 2002: 12.

65   See Heirman and Torck 2012: 83.

66   For a full translation, see Ichimura 2006: 312–313.

67   *Vinaya* texts had similarly compared the design of a monastic robe to a rice field many centuries earlier. For details, see Yifa 2002: 64–65.

增輝記云。田畦貯水生長嘉苗。以養形命。法衣之田潤以四利之水。
增其三善之苗。以養身法慧命也。(T.48.2025: 1139a10–12)

The *Zenghui ji* [*The Record of Rising Splendour*] says: 'A rice field stores water and nourishes good seeds.[68] In this way it nurtures the body. As a kind of rice field, the Dharma robe is moistened with the water of the four benefits [kindness, compassion, joy and equanimity]. It strengthens the seeds of the three good things [absence of greed, hatred and ignorance].[69] In this way it nurtures the Dharma [embodied in the body] and wisdom.'

Purity also affects the activities of the body. Sleep, although unavoidable, should be kept to a minimum. A pure mind is trained through activity, primarily meditation, and the body has a proper sleeping posture.[70] Speech should also be minimized, to the extent that monks who need anything during mealtimes should make this known in silence (*moran* 默然), using gestures.[71] Hence, in large Chinese monasteries, each meal was eaten in silence, apart from a few ritual sentences that were chanted at the beginning and the end:[72]

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68   The *Zenghui ji* (full title: *Xingshi chao zenghui ji* 行事鈔增暉記, *The Record of Rising Splendour of the* [*Abridged and Explanatory*] *Commentary* [*on the Dharmaguptakavinaya*] (a commentary of *vinaya* master Daoxuan) is no longer extant. It is mentioned in Huixian's 慧顯 catalogue (of the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279)), the *Xingshi chao zhujia ji biaomu* 行事鈔諸家記標目, *Catalogue of the Records on the* [*Abridged and Explanatory*] *Commentary* [*on the Dharmaguptakavinaya*], W 70: 102a3–4. It is said to have been compiled by a monk called Wenguang 文光 (865–*c.* 948).

69   *Si li* 四利 and *san shan* 三善 are explained in the *Sifen lü suiji jiemo shu zheng yuan ji* 四分律隨機羯磨疏正源記, *The Origin of the Dharmaguptaka, Commentary on the* [*Abridged*] *and Explanatory Karmavācanā of the Dharmaguptakavinaya* (= a *karmavācanā* commentary of the *vinaya* master Daoxuan), compiled by the monk Yunkang 允堪 (*c.* 1005–1062), W 64: 398b15–16: 'The four benefits are kindness, compassion, joy and equanimity; the three good things are absence of greed and so on [hatred and ignorance].' Many thanks to Fa Ling (Ghent University) for helping to trace the origin of this passage.

70   For a discussion, see Heirman 2012: 435–442.

71   See, for instance, *Chanyuan qing gui*, W 111: 882b5.

72   Similar contemplations can be found in Daoxuan's writings. Notably, these focus on the virtue of a pure mind and eating only simple, modest meals, which are seen as no more than a means to sustain the body (see Daoxuan, *Sifen lü shanfan buque xingshi chao*, T.40.1804: 84a8–12). For details on the origin of these contemplations, see Yifa 2002: 263, note 187.

一計功多少量彼來處。二忖己德行全缺應供。三防心離過貪等為宗。四正事良藥為療形枯。五為成道故應受此食也。(*Chanyuan qing gui*, W 111: 882a6–7)

One, to ponder the effort necessary to supply this food and to appreciate its origins; two, to reflect on one's own virtue being insufficient to receive the offering; three, to protect the mind's integrity, to depart from error, and, as a general principle, to avoid being greedy; four, at the same time to consider the food as medicine and bodily nourishment, preventing emaciation; five, to receive this food as necessary for attaining enlightenment.[73]

3.4 *Ritualization*

As was mentioned above, the increasing focus on purity in Chinese disciplinary texts on bodily care goes hand in hand with increasing ritualization, which in these texts is primarily characterized by chanting and by strict rules on the correct sequence of actions. One such ritualized sequence had previously appeared in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, when Śāriputra welcomes the Brahmin into the Buddhist monastic community by explaining how he cleans himself during a visit to the toilet, using a set number of objects in a precise order. Śāriputra washes himself with fifteen lumps of earth, squats down, places a water jar on his left thigh, and washes his left hand with water from the jar and the first seven lumps of earth. Then he uses the next seven lumps to clean both hands and arms, and the fifteenth to wash the jar. Having donned his robe, he washes his feet. Finally, he rinses his mouth three times. In a truly ritual activity, only the rules matter, not the result.[74] For Śāriputra, however, both the rules and the result are important: he thoroughly cleans himself while executing the precise sequence of actions that is set down in the rules. Hence, in this case, the strict order *ritualizes* the action but does not make it purely *ritual*. Similarly, when monastics eat their meals, they follow a highly standardized routine, but they also consume food to nourish themselves.

In the constant intermingling of decency, decorum, respect, karmic return and purity, most daily actions—such as eating and bathing, going to the toilet, sleeping and getting up in the morning—become standardized: they testify to the respectful attitude of the *saṅgha* members, which merits karmic return. Purity is an essential part of the monastics' identity. Through their pure behaviour, they help the lay community and protect the Dharma. The *Chixiu*

Baizhang qing gui neatly summarizes this notion when it discusses the rules of daily conduct:

然則法門興廢繫在僧徒。僧是福田所應奉重。僧重則法重。僧輕則法輕。內護既嚴外護必謹。(T.48.2025, p.1147a27–29)
The rise and fall of Buddhism lies in the hands of the members of the *saṅgha*. The *saṅgha* is a field of merit that must be respected. If the *saṅgha* is respected, the Dharma is respected. If the *saṅgha* is belittled, the Dharma is belittled. When one is committed to guarding one's inner side, one must be cautious to guard one's outer side.

This is the basis for the meticulous regulation of all activities, in which objects and practices are placed in strict sequences and occasionally even numbered. Ritual sentences accompany these practices, even in such seemingly trivial activities as visits to the toilet. Chanting clearly enhances the ritual level of the action: at first, the chants still had clear meanings, but in the later disciplinary texts several sentences contain only *mantra*-like syllables. In this way, when 'contrasted with the applied activities of our ordinary, everyday life',[75] they neatly exhibit their ritual character. Such ritual aspects became an integral part of daily life in China's large public monasteries, and even today monastics are urged to recite the following whenever they visit the toilet:[76]

大小便時 當願眾生 棄貪瞋癡 蠲除罪法 唵。很魯陀耶莎訶 (a popular ritual sentence, of which the direct source is the *Pini riyong qieyao* 毗尼日用切要, *The Essentials of Daily Conduct of the Vinaya*, W 106: 129b14–15, a seventeenth-century manual)[77]
When relieving oneself, one should wish that all living beings abandon greed, hatred and ignorance, and remove errors. *An, henlutuoyesuohe*.[78]

In sum, empowered by ritual spells, when taking care of one's body, one respects decorum, removes impurity and ensures karmic return. It is a virtuous

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75   Staal 1979: 9.

76   On such chants, see Heirman and Torck 2012: 83–84.

77   With many thanks to the participants of a *vinaya* workshop in Chengdu, 2013, and to Michael Radich (Victoria University of Wellington) for helping to trace the source of this ritual sentence.

78   The ritual sentence '*an, henlutuoyesuohe*' had previously appeared in the fourteenth-century *Chixiu Baizhang qing gui*, T.48.2025, p.1145c4–5. Shohei Ichimura (2006: 313) reconstructs it as '*Oṃ krodhāya svāhā*'. While in Chinese, the syllables are purely ritualistic, in Sanskrit '*krodhāya*' standing between the ritual syllables '*oṃ*' and '*svāhā*' might have a meaning related to 'anger' (*krodha*).

circle: while enhancing the status of the *saṅgha* (and its individual members), it also increases the level of purity.

4   Conclusion

The organization of monasteries plays a crucial role in the construction of the Buddhist identity. The activities of monks and nuns thus naturally influence the perception of Buddhism. In this perception, the body is of paramount importance because it is the outward expression of a way of life that has the potential to become a model for the rest of society. Bodily practices provide the Buddhist community with a sense of continuity, and, as Bourdieu puts it, with 'a present past that tends to perpetuate itself into the future'. Indeed, Buddhist guidelines on bodily practices focus on decency, respect, decorum, karmic return and purity throughout the spread of Buddhism from India to China.

Nevertheless, there is also evidence of adaptation to new contexts and networks, and here Elias's 'expanding threshold of aversion' is apparent. In China, this might more accurately be termed an 'advancing purity threshold'. Purity, with its strong connection between outward behaviour and inner thoughts, is an important facet of Buddhist guidelines on bodily care in both India and China. In this sense, dirt and bodily secretions represent not only physical but also mental and spiritual weakness.[79] However, the human body inevitably gets dirty and produces filth, and these weaknesses need to be cleansed, thoughtfully and with purity always in mind. This latter focus on purity gradually moved to the fore in the Chinese monastic identity, culminating in the 'rules of purity', which were written primarily for use in large public monasteries.

A strong ideal of purity fitted well in the religious–philosophical context of China, where Buddhist, Daoist and Confucian ideas intermingled. Adherents understood that they must be diligent in cleaning and purifying their bodies, leaving no spots of filth behind. Everything that related to the body, be it material, such as the robe, or physical, such as speech and sleep, shifted into a higher realm: they stood for purity and proximity to the Dharma. Body and robe shone, while sleep and speech were kept to a minimum. This whole process triggered ever more ritualization: specific chants were outlined in the monastic guidelines on daily behaviour, and the correct sequences of actions were standardized. The purity threshold to reach one's monastic goal did indeed advance—a development that strongly influenced the perception of Buddhist identity in medieval and early modern China.

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79   See, among others, Williams 1997: 209–210.

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