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## Hongzhou Buddhism in Xixia and the Heritage of Zongmi (780–841): A Tangut Source

Research on Tangut Buddhism differs significantly from that concerning Chinese and Korean Buddhism. The problem is not only the Tangut language, which still remains enigmatic, but also the general paradigm of the research itself. The nature of the Tangut sources, as we have them, is such that they do not represent the general outline of the Buddhist faith and its various layers in the Buddhist-oriented state of Xixia 西夏 (unlike what we have in the Chinese and Korean Buddhist canons). The student of Tangut Buddhism possesses only random glimpses, scattered fragments of something that could be called Tangut Buddhism, but whose nature is unclear. Tangut Buddhism did not take final shape until the end of the Tangut state (occurring in 1227) and was in constant transition, apparently from Chinese to Tibetan dominance. The latter process of transition is documented, but has not been studied thoroughly,<sup>1</sup> and may very well turn out to be an imaginary construction. Thus, with such uncertainty, research on the history of Tangut Buddhism consists of suggestions, extrapolation, and projections. Even the basic nature of Tangut national ideology is unclear: was Buddhism the state religion of Xixia, or was the state Confucian, or both? What was the role of Daoism?<sup>2</sup>

A SHORT version of this paper was published as K. J. Solonin, “The Essence of the Doctrine of the Masters of the Hongzhou Lineage’ as the Source for the Research of Tangut Buddhism,” in Ying-chin Lin et al., eds., *Studies in Sino-Tibetan Language: Papers in Honor of Professor Hwang-Cherng Gong on His Seventieth Birthday* (Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, 2004), pp. 549–62. I would like to thank the anonymous readers for *Asia Major*, whose comments contributed significantly. I am responsible for any errors.

<sup>1</sup> Surveys of Tibetan influence on the Tangut Buddhism can be found in Ruth Dunnell, *The Great State of White and High: Buddhism and State Formation in Eleventh Century Xia* (Honolulu: U. Hawaii P., 1996); Shi Jinbo 史金波, *Xixia Fojiao shi lue* 西夏佛教史略 (Ningxia: Renmin chubanshe, 1988). Specialized studies have been made by Elliot Sperling: “Lama to the King of Hsia,” *Journal of the Tibet Society* 7 (1987); and idem, “Rtsa-mi lo-tsa-ba Sang-rgyas grags-pa and the Tangut Background to Early Mongol-Tibetan Relations,” unpub. ms. See also Li Fan-wen 李範文, “Zangchuan Fojiao dui Xixia de yingxiang” 藏傳佛教對西夏的影響, *Lishi bowuguan guankan* 歷史博物館館刊 6.3 (1996). The problem of Tangut-Tibetan intercourse is touched upon by Heather Stoddard-Karmay in her unpublished “Between China and Tibet.”

<sup>2</sup> For basic research into this matter, see Dunnell, *Great State of White and High*, and Shi, *Xixia Fojiao*, as well as E. I. Kychanov “The State and the Buddhist Sangha: Xixia State (982–

Since the known Tangut texts comprise neither a systematic library nor a canon, thus glimpses of a Tangut Buddhist tradition come merely through various, discrete texts. We cannot as yet determine their basic or entire meanings, nor place them in a general framework.<sup>3</sup> The texts represent occasional “things at hand,” mainly those placed inside the Khara-Khoto stupa on the eve of the Mongol occupation of this remote outpost of Tangut civilization on the Mongolian steppe.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, in Tangut Buddhism (as in Tangut culture in general) little is to be taken for granted, and various interpretations of the same material are equally possible. In the present paper I would like to offer an interpretation of two Tangut Buddhist texts, hoping to contribute more generally to our understanding of East Asian Buddhism.

Study of the extant Tangut Buddhist materials reveals that the Xixia state was a safe haven for Huayan Buddhism, even after this tradition had supposedly disappeared in China. What the term “Huayan” implies is not only the classic Chinese school of Fazang 法藏 (643–712),<sup>5</sup> but also a heterogeneous tradition of the late-Tang master Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780–841), many of whose works are to be found among the Khara-Khoto texts.<sup>6</sup> The continued existence of Zongmi’s tradition is

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1227),” *Journal of Oriental Studies* 10 (2000), pp. 119–28. These demonstrate different approaches to the question of the state religion’s being either Buddhism or Confucianism.

<sup>3</sup> Shi, *Xixia Fojiao*, is in fact a successful attempt to survey all aspects of Tangut Buddhist culture: texts, translations, the role of the sangha in the Xixia state structure, Buddhist architecture, etc. The status of the Buddhist faith in the Tangut state is well clarified, but Professor Shi limits his sources to colophons, epigraphy, and votive inscriptions, and does not fully investigate the nature of the Tangut Buddhist texts themselves. Thus, he arrives at a conclusion that the Tiantai School existed in Xixia because of the presence of a Tangut translation of the *Lotus Sutra* and “Baozang lun” 寶藏論 by Sengzhao 僧肇 (Shi, *Xixia Fojiao*, pp. 160–61). Since no actual works of the Tiantai School itself have been discovered in Tangut texts, I believe that there was no such school in Xixia.

<sup>4</sup> Actually, the history of the Khara-Khoto stupa, or *suburgan*, is more complicated than that. According to the views of E. I. Kychanov, the doctrinal scriptures (the sutras) were there long before the Mongol invasion, being the part of the funeral set, supplied to whoever was buried in the *suburgan*. Other texts were added later, shortly before or during the Mongol offensive in order to protect them. This point of view concurs with the fact that contradictory descriptions of the interior of the *suburgan* were made by its first discoverer P. K. Kozlov, a deduction presented by Kychanov in personal communication with the author.

<sup>5</sup> Very few works of Fazang and doctrinal writings of Huayan thinkers other than Zongmi were actually translated into Tangut: see “Huayan fajie guanmen” 華嚴法界觀門 by Dushun, with commentary by Zongmi; “Huayan Jin shizi zhang” 華嚴金獅子章; “Xiu Huayan aozhi wangjin huanyuan guan” 修華嚴奧旨妄盡還原觀 by Fazang, and a number of minor works.

<sup>6</sup> Among the major works of Zongmi, “Yuan ren lun” 原人論 and “Yuanjue jing da shu chao” 圓覺經大疏抄 are not found among extant Tangut writings, while such works as “Zhonghua chuan xindi Chanmen shizi chengxitu” 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖, below referred as the “Chan Chart”) and “Chan yuan zhuquan jidu xu” 禪源諸詮集都序 (referred to as “Chan Preface”) are found in several copies. Curiously, “The Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment,” treasured by Zongmi, is not discovered among Tangut holdings, while “The Platform Sutra” appears not to have been the most popular book among the followers of Chan in Xixia (see below).

attested by several presumably primary Tangut texts (that is, those for which no Chinese version can be located or even deduced). Among those, “The Mirror” 鏡 (for convenience, Ch.: *jing* 鏡) is probably the most interesting.<sup>7</sup> This text, discussed in a number of previous publications, demonstrates that the tradition of Guifeng Zongmi survived the persecution of the Huichang period (841–847) and continued in the Xixia state.<sup>8</sup> Even a surface scan of Tangut Buddhist texts reveals the substantial presence of the Chan-Huayan tradition of Zongmi in Xixia, while the doctrinal writings of other Chinese schools are almost completely absent.<sup>9</sup> Further evidence of Huayan popularity is provided by the so-called Tangut “Odes,” in one of which Huayan is mentioned as a synonym for Buddhism itself.<sup>10</sup> Bearing all this in mind, one is inclined to assume the exclusive role of the Huayan tradition in the formation of a national Tangut Buddhism.<sup>11</sup>

#### GUIFENG ZONGMI AND THE TANGUTS

Discussion of the nature of Tangut Buddhism is not complete without considering the development of a distinctively Tangut brand of Chan Buddhism. Tangut Chan sources occupy a unique position, demonstrating the shift of thinking that seems to have occurred among the followers of Guifeng Zongmi, who wanted to update their synthetic teaching to the changed reality of the interrelations among Chan lineages and doctrinal schools 宗教. Assuming that Zongmi’s lineage continued in Xixia,<sup>12</sup> it is possible to research the evolution of Zongmi’s

<sup>7</sup> Held at St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences; cat. no. Tang. 412, #113.

<sup>8</sup> For a preliminary discussion and draft translation of “The Mirror,” see K. J. Solonin, “Guifeng Zongmi and the Tangut Chan Buddhism,” *Zhonghua Foxue xuebao* 中華佛學學報 11 (1998), pp. 365–425. See also idem, “Tang Heritage of the Tangut Buddhism,” *Manuscripta Orientalia* 6.3 (2000), pp. 17–24.

<sup>9</sup> For a survey of extant Tangut Buddhist material, see E. I. Kychanov, *Katalog Tangutskikh Buddiiskikh pamyatnikov Instituta vostokovedeniya Rossiyskoi akademii nauk* (Catalogue of the Tangut Buddhist Texts from the Collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences) (Kyoto: University of Kyoto Press, 1999); a review of the Chinese sources from Khara-khoto is provided in L. N. Men’shikov, *Opisanie Kitaiskoi chasti kolleksii P. K. Kozlova iz Khara-Khoto* (A Description of the Chinese Section of P. K. Kozlov’s Khara-khoto Collection) (Moscow: Nauka Press, 1984).

<sup>10</sup> *More znacheniy ustanovlennykh svyatimi* (The Sea of Meanings Established by the Saints), published, translated, and annotated by E. I. Kychanov (St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie, 1997), p. 223.

<sup>11</sup> The present paper is not prepared to discuss the Tibetan influences on Tangut Buddhism, leaving that task to those more qualified. Therefore, the idea applies only to the Chinese branch of Tangut Buddhism.

<sup>12</sup> The continued lineage of Zongmi in Xixia can be confirmed, though indirectly, through the extensive elaboration of his doctrine in “The Mirror” (Solonin, “Guifeng Zongmi”), which

thought and the ways it complied with the new Buddhist realities of the late-Tang and Song periods. This research is important not only for understanding Tangut Buddhism, but also Chinese Chan in general.

The most interesting problem is to explain the apparent affection the Tanguts held for Zongmi. This is perhaps best discussed in terms of cultural geography rather than religious studies: the center of Zongmi's tradition at the Straw Hut Temple (Caotang si 草堂寺) near Chang'an was probably one of the few Chinese Buddhist centers known to the Tanguts in the this period. Its doctrines probably did not differ significantly from the teachings made popular at the much-revered Wutai-shan. Several accounts suggest that Straw Hut Temple was active all through the period of Jin 金 rule (1115–1234), and even later. Therefore the impact of this temple on the formation of Tangut Buddhism may well have been considerable and continuous.<sup>13</sup> However, this is a mere suggestion, which requires further research. At the same time, the purported continuity of the Straw Hut lineage could actually explain certain peculiarities in the contents of Tangut Buddhist texts.

A bit of general background is required at this point. By the twelfth century, ideas of a harmonious teaching that were once advocated by Zongmi had become out of date. The Chinese Buddhist scene was basically dominated by various Chan schools, tracing their origin to the so-called "Golden Age of Tang," namely to the tradition of sudden awakening associated with the name of Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788) and his disciples. Among the followers of Zongmi, the famous Pei Xiu 裴休 (797–870?), once a court minister of the Tang, later turned to the tradition of Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 (d. 850) and edited his treatise "Essentials for the Method of the Transmission of Mind" 傳心法要.<sup>14</sup> The new imperative for the followers of Zongmi, thus, was an attempt to transform his teachings so as to demonstrate their proximity to the teaching of Mazu, and therefore link the dominant Chan tradition to

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appears to be an original Tangut compilation. Another source for research into Zongmi's doctrine in Xixia could be the text rendered in Chinese as 究竟一乘圓明心義 ("The Essence of Perfect Mind according to the Supreme One Vehicle"), St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences; cat. no. Tang. 183, #2848. The text still awaits research.

<sup>13</sup> A summary of these accounts is provided by Chen Jingfu 陳景福, "Chang'an Fojiao Chanmen lueshu" 長安佛教禪門略述, in Fang Guangchang 方廣錫 et al., eds., *Yindu zongjiao yu Zhongguo Fojiao* 印度宗教與中國佛教 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1988).

<sup>14</sup> For the life and works of Pei Xiu, see Jan Yunhua 冉雲華, "Pei Xiu Fojiao shenghuo de yanjiu" 裴休佛教生活的研究, in *Cong Yindu Fojiao dao Zhongguo Fojiao* 從印度佛教到中國佛教 (Taipei: Dongda chubanshe, 1995), pp. 175–203. Jan mentions, however, that Pei's interest in Huangbo does not indicate a break with the tradition of Zongmi, and that Pei Xiu always treasured his connection with Zongmi and revered him as a teacher.

the philosophical foundations of Huayan and the Chan teaching of Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (684–758) and Zongmi. Such attempts might have been made in China, probably by Pei Xiu, but the most substantial evidence of such an effort discovered so far is represented by two Tangut texts, which I discuss, below.

One of these Tangut texts (neither having a known Chinese parallel or archetype), bears the title “Notes on the Essence of Hongzhou Doctrine with Commentary and Clarification” 舜致麟巖尼焮熾敢舜 (for convenience, a proposed Chinese name would be 洪州宗趣注解明護記).<sup>15</sup> Below, it is referred to as “The Essence”; and a complete translation is given in appendix 2.

“The Essence” was compiled by a certain *sramana* 禪牒 (possibly rendered into Chinese as “Fayong 法勇”) who was from 罷禿 (possibly rendered as “Yuanxiang 原鄉”). Chinese Buddhist sources allow no direct identification of the person Fayong or the place-name Yuanxiang. Thus, both could well be of native Tangut origin, and the text itself could be thus considered an original Tangut compilation, rather than a translation from Chinese. This assumption is validated by the colophon of the text, where Fayong is mentioned as “the compiler,” and no reference to a translation is made. At present, however, there are no definite arguments to support any of these points.<sup>16</sup>

“The Essence” is an example of scholarly efforts to combine the teaching of Mazu with the Huayan concept of reality, one that acts according to circumstances, while retaining “substance” unchanged. I am inclined to think that this text, preserved in the Khara-khoto group of texts, is related to the tradition of Zongmi, though not directly. (In fact, he is not specifically mentioned in either text). However, the commentary, which constitutes the bulk of the text and actually links it to the Huayan tradition, puts forward a number of doctrinal issues, especially concerning the “substance 體/function 用” paradigm and the idea of true reality, which were often present in Zongmi’s critique of the Hongzhou lineage.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Held in St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, cat. no. Tang. 112, #2540. The title of the text is complicated. The original was probably called “Notes on the Essence of Hongzhou Doctrine,” while the terms “commentary” and “clarification” were added later and are written in small characters. (The translation of the title was suggested by *Asia Major*’s anonymous reviewer.)

<sup>16</sup> For discussion of the origin of the text, as well as a brief exposition of its contents, see Solonin, “Guifeng Zongmi”; and idem, “The Hongzhou Masters in the Tangut State,” *Manuscripta Orientalia* 4.3 (1998), pp. 7–12.

<sup>17</sup> Zongmi criticized the Hongzhou school of Mazu in a number of his works. Probably, the most severe criticism is found in “Chan Chart”; see Lan Jifu 藍吉富, ed., *Chan zong quan shu* 禪宗全書 (Taipei: Wenshu chubanshe, 1988) 1, pp. 333–45. See also Zongmi, *Chanmen shizi*

Another important feature of “The Essence” is that the author, or compiler, spends much time trying to explain that the teaching of Mazu is not different from the doctrine of the “founding master” Heze Shenhui. In the relevant paragraph of the text, one is tempted to see the shift of thinking that occurred in the thought of Zongmi’s followers: their position is no longer aggressive, or critical (as seen in “The Chart of the Transmission of the Chan Teaching of the Mind-Ground in China” 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖),<sup>18</sup> but relatively more protective, in the sense that they attempt to adapt the concept of their “harmonious” teaching to the reality of the triumphant Chan tradition. One more testimony to Zongmi’s legacy is the text’s title: the use of the name “Hongzhou” in the description of the lineage of Mazu Daoyi seems peculiar to Zongmi’s writings.<sup>19</sup> Apparently, the term “Hongzhou” was a problem for the compiler or commentator of “The Essence”: on the first page he presents a lengthy explanation of its meaning, indicating its origin and the etymology of the words “*hong* 洪” and “*zhou* 州.” This could have been done for Tangut readers, who were not familiar with Chinese placenames.

The second text under consideration, given as appendix 1, is titled “The Teaching and Rituals of the Masters of the Hongzhou Lineage” 舜致麟辭徹觀 (deduced Chinese title: 洪州宗師教儀), which, for convenience, will be called “The Teaching.”<sup>20</sup> It is much shorter and closer in form to what one expects from an early-Chan text. Its contents are identical, with few exceptions,<sup>21</sup> to specific layers of text found in “The Essence.” That is, it also serves as the major text upon which “The Essence” comments in its far more broad fashion, clearly exposing the doctrinal issues mentioned above. (It should be stated clearly at this point that my frequent glosses giving Chinese characters reflect what are merely probable reconstructed Chinese readings of Tangut; they are intended for convenience. The Chinese wordings may have been used in unknown Chinese parallels or originals, but that matter is not resolved.)

*tu* 禪門師資承襲圖, with explanation by Zhang Chunbo 張春波 (Gaoxiang: Foguang chubanshe, 1996). The Western account of the problem is given in Peter Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1986), pp. 236–52.

<sup>18</sup> Cited in preceding n.

<sup>19</sup> See Yanagida Seizan, “The Recorded Sayings Texts of the Chinese Chan Buddhism,” in Lewis Lancaster and Whalen Lai, eds., *Early Chan in China and Tibet* (Berkeley: U. California P., 1985), p. 187.

<sup>20</sup> The text is preserved in St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, cat. no. Tang. 1111, #2529.

<sup>21</sup> The opening part of “The Essence” includes an explanatory note with general information on Mazu and his teaching, but beginning from p. 2a (“The Master said...”), the basic text in it (presented in appendix 2 in small capitals) is nearly identical to that of “The Teaching.”

## LOOKING THROUGH THE TEXTS

The “Essence” contains an interwoven lengthy commentary, or “clarification,” probably by sramana Fayong, as mentioned. “The Teaching” is somewhat more lapidary, but much easier to understand, since it is less frequently interrupted by lengthy explanations. The structure of “The Essence” is close to the scholastic compilations produced by Zongmi and Pei Xiu, while “The Teaching” approaches in form the speeches of Mazu, which he addressed to his disciples.<sup>22</sup> These speeches developed into the type of “encounter dialogue,” one would expect from a radical Chan of the later period.<sup>23</sup> However, the commentary of “The Essence” is a sort of explication of the doctrine of Mazu from the point of view of Huayan.<sup>24</sup>

“The Teaching” as given in the translation in appendix 1 is slightly different from the version found inside the layers of “The Essence” (namely, those passages in small-capitals; see appendix 2, introduction). These minor variations show up especially through the readings given in the commentary to “The Teaching.” Since I have not provided the latter commentary here, I merely remark on several of the variants in the notes to the translation of “The Essence.”

“The Teaching” is actually a dialogue, but its true nature is revealed only when the commentaries are removed and the text is represented in its supposedly original form. My translation in appendix 1, below, provides just this sort of physical presentation.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, “The Essence” tries to conceal its dialogic nature. This latter tendency can also

<sup>22</sup> Examples of such speeches are provided in *j.* 28 of *Jingde chuangdeng lu* (T, vol. 51), p. 440, which is the primary collection of Mazu’s sayings; also the so-called “Jiangxi daji daoyi Chanshi shizhongyu” 江西大寂道一禪師示眾語, in the Mazu section of the “Anthology from the Hall of the Patriarchs.”

<sup>23</sup> On the origin of the encounter dialogue in Chinese Buddhist texts, see Yanagida, “Recorded Sayings Texts.” The term “encounter dialogue” was introduced by John McRae in his translation of Prof. Yanagida’s paper (see above) and in his own paper, McRae, “The Encounter Dialogue and the Transformation of the Spiritual Path in Chinese Chan,” in Peter Gregory, ed., *Paths to Liberation: Marga and Its Transformations in Buddhist Thought*, Studies in East Asian Buddhism 7 (Honolulu: U. Hawaii P., 1992), pp. 339–70.

<sup>24</sup> In fact, *Avatamsaka-sutra* is the only text mentioned in the commentary in “The Essence,” and the basic texts themselves contain no indication of any Buddhist scriptures. This is especially worth mentioning, since *Avatamsaka-sutra* is quoted by Mazu only once in “Jiangxi daji daoyi Chanshi shizhongyu,” while in the relevant section from the “Anthology from the Hall of the Patriarchs” Mazu refers to the *Lankavatara sutra*. In Tangut texts this sutra is not mentioned at all, as well as all the other works of the Mahayana canon. Zongmi’s exposition of the Hongzhou teaching actually mentions *Lankavatara sutra* as a basic source of Mazu’s thought; see *Chanmen shizi tu*, p. 64.

<sup>25</sup> The closest parallel to “The Teaching” that I know of is the section on Mazu in *Jingde chuangdeng lu*; see n. 22, above. The teachings exposed in these texts are probably similar to passages of “The Teaching,” though no literal parallels are found.

be traced to Pei Xiu, who presented the teaching of Huangbo in the form of a treatise, and not dialogue, which may have been thought more appropriate.<sup>26</sup> Since neither text mentions any known Mazu follower later than Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (720–814), however, Baizhang emerges only in “The Essence,” although his “*gatha*” is present in both texts. We may provisionally date any hypothetical Chinese original to no later than the second half of the ninth century, perhaps about the time of publication of Huangbo’s “Transmission of the Mind” by Pei Xiu. This date fits into the general tenor of the text. On the one hand, it is simultaneous with the alleged shift within Zongmi’s tradition, which was represented by Pei Xiu’s contacts with Huangbo. On the other hand, this date would explain the genre, since one would not expect to find any classical encounter-dialogue text until the mid-tenth century.<sup>27</sup> This is, of course, a preliminary consideration. Nevertheless, “The Teaching” seems to be an early Hongzhou text, while “The Essence” is curiously connected with the tradition of Zongmi through the painstaking efforts of the commentator Fayong. The most vivid example is the Fayong’s introduction of Heze Shenhui as the “Founding Master 宗師,” while the master Heze is not mentioned in “The Teaching.”

Therefore, the existence of the two texts: one – “The Teaching” – representing the original layer of the Hongzhou tradition (as its author understood it) with only a slight relationship to other doctrinal traditions, and the other – “The Essence” – having planted Hongzhou teaching into the Huayan tradition through its commentary, thus reflecting attempts by Heze Shenhui and Zongmi followers to bring together the doctrine of their masters and accommodate them to the triumphant Chan practices of Mazu. Uniting the traditions was, on the surface, probably not very difficult. Despite Zongmi’s criticism of Mazu, the two monks used the common vocabulary of late-Tang Buddhism: “Speeches of the master Great Tranquility before his Disciples,” the primary collection of Mazu’s sayings, are full of such terminology as: “the Chan of the purity of Tathagata” 清淨如來禪, “principle 理,” “substance 體” (*ti*), and other terms,<sup>28</sup> which are easily discovered in Zongmi’s writings. Mazu probably adhered to the teaching of the Tathagatagarbha, as did the Huayan thinkers.<sup>29</sup> Thus, rethinking of Mazu’s doctrine along

<sup>26</sup> See Jan, “Pei Xiu,” pp. 199–200.

<sup>27</sup> On the development and early examples of the encounter-dialogue genre of texts, see McRae, “Encounter Dialogue” pp. 339–41, who believes that the earliest example of is “The Anthology from the Hall of the Patriarchs” 祖堂集, dated 952.

<sup>28</sup> All these terms are found in abundance in “The Mirror,” which is a purely partisan work of Zongmi’s followers; see Solonin, “Guifeng Zongmi.”

<sup>29</sup> On this, see Zhang Guoyi 張國一, *Tangdai Chanzong xinxing sixiang* 唐代禪宗的心性思

Huayan terms was not extremely difficult. Here lies one of the reasons why I prefer to consider “The Essence” an original Tangut text: Tanguts had all the necessary terminology at hand through the translation of Zongmi’s writings, to compile such a commentary.

Another important observation is connected with the title of the text itself: “Notes on the Essence of Hongzhou Doctrine with Commentary and Clarification” is a descriptive translation, derived from the Tangut 詳說, which most likely would be the Chinese 宗趣 (*zongqu*). The latter stands for “concise representation of a doctrine” (thus “essence”) and was peculiar to the scholastic discussions among doctrinal thinkers, rather than a topic for a Chan discourse.<sup>30</sup> Thus, the title itself allows a linking of our text to doctrinal traditions, especially that of Huayan.

#### DATING OF THE TEXTS

Unfortunately, neither “The Essence” nor “The Teaching” bears any actual data by which to date them accurately. In order to do so we encounter the nature of the texts themselves: are these texts original Tangut works, or translations from some unidentified Chinese source?

To date “The Teaching” is more important, assuming that “The Essence” is an elaboration of contents already present in “The Teaching” (see the introductory remarks in the two appendices). If we accept the idea that “The Teaching” is of native Tangut origin, then the date of its creation must be roughly the same as for other undated Tangut compilations: that is from the mid-eleventh century to before 1227, when the stupa in Khara-Khoto was sealed prior to the Mongol invasion.<sup>31</sup> (The collection of Tangut texts of the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies all derive from these stupa findings.) But such dating is of little value, since the important issue is not the time the text was actually put down, but the time when its basic ideas and even passages emerged. Unfortunately, neither of texts provides clues to their history before actual inscription.

If one assumes that “The Essence” is an original Tangut compilation, then the problem is that it could have been compiled any time from the late-tenth to the early-thirteenth century. The extant Tangut text definitely dates back to that period, although the dating of any supposed Chinese original would also be a problem. Chinese versions

想 (Taipei: Fagu, 2004), pp. 150–52.

<sup>30</sup> For discussion of *zongqu*, see Kimura Kiyotaka 木村清孝, *Zhongguo Huayan sixiang shi* 中國華嚴思想史 (Taipei: Dongda, 1996), pp. 61–71.

<sup>31</sup> On dating the Tangut manuscripts and woodblock prints, see Men’shikov, *Opisanie*.

of either “The Teaching” or “The Essence” would have to date to the period after Baizhang Huaihai, the latest historical person mentioned in the text, and maybe even after Zongmi (who died almost thirty years later). However, the problem remains unresolved, and can probably only be definitively clarified if other compilations of the same nature are located, or additional data are uncovered. However, both texts fit well into the early-Chan textual paradigm, which allows the suggestion that at least “The Teaching” was originally written in Chinese. This is merely to say that Tangut compilations imitate Chinese treatises, and that some definitely primary Tangut texts are formally identical with the relevant Chinese works. In short, I propose that “The Teaching” was most likely originally written in Chinese, while “The Essence” is a late compilation, which was produced either in Chinese by the later followers of Zongmi in China, or directly in Tangut in Xixia. This could also explain why nobody except Baizhang is mentioned in “The Essence”: the Tanguts did not really know any other Chan authority outside Zongmi and anyone mentioned in his works.<sup>32</sup>

#### UNDERSTANDING THE TEXT

In the appended translations I attempt to collate the existing versions of the two Tangut texts – “The Teaching” and “The Essence.” The basis for my translation of “The Teaching” is the various explanations found in “The Essence.” The latter is a manuscript in twenty-six folded folios, incorporating not just “The Teaching,” but also a commentary to “The Teaching,” and a vast subcommentary by Fayong. Fayong seems to have used a version of “The Teaching” different from our extant version, since his text contains original commentarial passages not found in the independent version of “The Teaching.”

The text of “The Essence” is more complicated, and contains some notions that are hard to explain. First of all, the text is clearly devoted to the teaching of Mazu Daoyi whose name occurs several times. It

<sup>32</sup> A scan of the Tangut holding in St. Petersburg reveals that none of the post-Tangut Buddhist thinkers was present in the Tangut translations; the Tangut knowledge of Song Chan was limited to a number of Northern Chinese masters (probably of Khitan origin), such as the Master Tongli 通理大師, who was responsible for the carving of part of the Khitan Buddhist cannon on Fangshan; see Lin Ziqing 林子青, *Mingshan shishi beiyezan* 名山石室貝葉藏 (Taipei: Fagu, 2000), pp. 144–46. On Tongli’s works among the Khara-khoto finds, see Men’shikov, *Opisaniie*. The problem of the Tangut knowledge of contemporary Song traditions touches upon the very nature of this tradition in Northern China, a matter to be dealt with elsewhere. Huineng himself was not extremely popular in Xixia. (So far only one ms. copy of the *Platform sutra* has been found. Its fragments, from Wuwei in Gansu, are now divided between Beijing National Library and Fu Ssu-nian Library in Academia Sinica. The whereabouts of the St. Petersburg copy of *Platform sutra* used by N. A. Nevksiy are unknown.)

opens with an introductory note on Mazu. The commentary contains the outlines of his biography, which comply with what is known about his life from other sources. At the same time, “The Essence” seems to discriminate between Mazu and “Great Tranquility” (敬靜; Ch.: *Daji* 大寂), which is the posthumous title of the master, awarded to him in 788. There is, of course, a possibility that the term “great tranquility” should be understood semantically or literally, rather than as a personal name, but the text (see appendix 2, at p. 2a) clearly mentions that it is a “Dharma name.” The subsequent discourse by Chan master Yueshan (禪山; Ch.: 嶽山) explains the nature and the origin of that name in a manner suggesting that it belonged to somebody else, rather than to Mazu. I have thus far been unable to solve the contradiction.

Further, the account of Mazu’s early years and training is different from information commonly available from Chinese sources: Mazu is said to have taken the monastic vows from *vinaya* master Yuan 圓 (Ch.: 圓律師; someone not mentioned in the texts of “The Essence” and “The Teaching,” although known via the traditional biographies of Mazu),<sup>33</sup> and to have received the dharma of the mind from Huairang Ersan 懷讓二三 (禪讓廋) (namely, Huairang Two-Three), instead of Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓 (677–744).<sup>34</sup> Concerning the masters Huairang Ersan and Yueshan (who emerges below in the text), there is the following observation: the second Tangut sign 禪 in Yueshan corresponds to the Chinese 山, hence the rendering of the name. The Chinese analog of the Tangut 禪 is 嶽. Remembering that Nanyue 南嶽 is actually a name of the mountain, one can assume that Tangut “Yueshan” stands for Nanyue Huairang, and is, probably, the same person as Huairang Ersan.

Besides “Great Tranquility,” the texts mention several other persons, among whom only Baizhang Huaihai 懷海 (Ch.: 曹溪, that is, Huineng, 638–713), and Founding Master Heze 禪禪禪禪 (Ch.: 荷澤, Heze Shenhui) seem to be known to students of Buddhism. Others, like the Master Enlightened Wisdom 覺慧 (Ch.: 覺慧), Zhangshan 行禪 (Ch.: 丈山),<sup>35</sup> and Deshan 禪禪 (Ch.: 德山)<sup>36</sup> are unknown.

<sup>33</sup> E.g., *Jingde chuandeng lu*, p. 254c.

<sup>34</sup> No indication of Mazu’s contacts with the Reverend Kim 金和尚 from Jiannan 劍南 is provided in the Tangut texts. The legend of Mazu’s having certain designs on the soles of his feet is actually denied by “The Essence” as false; see appendix 2.

<sup>35</sup> The character 丈 (禪) is the same as in Baizhang’s name. Thus this could be Baizhang Zheng 白丈政, known from the “Anthology from the Hall of the Patriarchs,” j. 14, as one of Mazu’s closest followers. Here and below, “Notes from the Hall of the Patriarchs” are referred to in the edn. of Lan, *Chan zong quanshu*, vol. 1. Thus, the pages are not indicated, since they would be different for other editions.

<sup>36</sup> Deshan might be Deshan 德山, i.e., Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑿, from “Anthology from

That is to say, I was not able to locate them as disciples of Mazu, or in any other context. The sayings, which the Tangut text attributes to Mazu, or a “*gatha* of Baizhang” also remain rather obscure; I did not find any of these in the Chan sources available to me.<sup>37</sup> The entry on Caoxi is intriguing for its discussion of the concept of “originally not a single thing 本來無一物” in the background context of the interrelation between the Northern and Southern Schools of Chan.<sup>38</sup> These, of course, are not all of the difficulties impeding the understanding of the text and of its message.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN  
“THE ESSENCE” AND THE CONCEPTS OF ZONGMI

As mentioned above, “The Essence” is related to the ideas of Guifeng Zongmi. The first testimony is the title of the text: the name “Hongzhou School” (lineage) seems to be the invention of Zongmi.<sup>39</sup> He refers to the lineage of Mazu by this name in the majority of his numerous writings. “The Teaching” bears no, or almost no, evidence of Huayan impact, while the commentary in “The Essence” abounds in Huayan allusions, thus providing the material for the study of this peculiar trend of thought, which attempted to incorporate the tradition of Hongzhou into Huayan intellectual constructs.

The similarity in approach between Fayong and Zongmi is most vivid in Fayong’s commentary. Both texts have a brief exposition of the doctrine toward the beginning of their expositions: “The Master said: ‘The essence of my doctrine is that everything is true. All existing dharmas arise from the single truth. There are no dharmas outside the mind. How could there be any dharmas that are not true?’” (See appendix 1 for the more convenient format of this passage.) This exposition is generally close to Zongmi’s understanding of the Hongzhou teaching, as found in the “Chan Chart” and the “Chan Preface.”<sup>40</sup> The part

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the Hall of the Patriarchs,” *j.* 5, the follower of Master Longtan (Longtan Chongxin 龍潭崇信) of the Shitou lineage. In both cases, the textual evidence does not allow direct identification.

<sup>37</sup> In referring to Mazu’s and Baizhang’s sayings, I use *Si jia yulu* 四家語錄 and “The Anthology from the Hall of the Patriarchs.” Unfortunately, I was not able to use the records of Baizhang discussed by Prof. Yanagida Seizan in his paper “Recorded Sayings Texts.” The record of Baizhang Huaihai in “Anthology from the Hall of the Patriarchs” does not contain any *gathas*. Judging by the paper by McRae, the sources I use are more or less representative of Mazu’s tradition; see McRae, *Encounter Dialogue*, pp. 339–69.

<sup>38</sup> On this subject, see John McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Chan Buddhism*, Studies in East Asian Buddhism 3 (Honolulu: U. Hawaii P., 1985), pp. 237–38.

<sup>39</sup> Yanagida, “Recorded Sayings Texts,” p. 187.

<sup>40</sup> See Gregory, *Tsung-mi*, pp. 236–38; also his “Sudden Enlightenment, Followed by Grad-

of the sentence of the Master (whoever it might be) “that everything is true” resembles the related passage from the “Chan Chart,”<sup>41</sup> much more than any actual words of a Hongzhou master. The last formal argument to support the Chan/Huayan affiliation of the text is that “The Essence” does not quote any canonical text (sutra or *sastra*), except for the *Avatamsaka sutra*, which appeared to the commentator as the only text appropriately complying with the Chan teaching of Hongzhou.<sup>42</sup>

Another aspect, crucial to the compiler of “The Teaching,” sramana Fayong, was the connection between the teaching of Mazu and the doctrine of the “Founding Master Heze”: a demonstration of their basic unity deserved special emphasis in his subcommentary inside “The Essence,” as we see further along.

#### UNDERSTANDING REALITY AND CHAN

Zongmi’s critiques of the Hongzhou lineage were concentrated on several points. First, since the masters of the lineage believe any phenomena (even the facts of daily life) to be the manifestation of the innate Buddha-nature, their teaching is ethically ambiguous, if not dangerous. Second, not understanding properly the much-elaborated “essence-function” theory in Buddhism (mentioned above), the Hongzhou lineage fails to provide the ontological foundation both for its concepts and practices. This particular problem occurs, according to Zongmi, because the Hongzhou masters do not share the true concept of “awareness” or “knowing” – the permanent and ultimate manifestation of the ever-luminous Buddha-nature. Zongmi’s critique of Hongzhou teaching was concentrated on what he considered to be an erroneous understanding of “awareness 靈智,” which is the core of Shenhui’s doctrine.

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ual Cultivation,” in Peter N. Gregory, ed., *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*, Studies in East Asian Buddhism 4 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), pp. 302–4; Yanagida, “Recorded Sayings Texts,” pp. 186–87. Close phrases are in “Speeches of the Master Great Tranquility before the Disciples” and the Mazu entry in “Anthology from the Hall of the Patriarchs,” j. 14.

<sup>41</sup> Gregory, *Isung-mi*, p. 302. The surviving Tangut version of the “Chan Chart” fortunately contains Zongmi’s critique of the Hongzhou line. The wording there is almost the same as in “The Essence.” Actually, Mazu never said that “everything is true” (一切皆真, in a Chinese rendering of the Tangut original). The closest that I could find is: “If the reality is established, then everything is reality, if the principle is established, everything is principle 若立真如盡是真如, 若立理一切法盡是理, 諸法不出於真如”; see “Jiangxi daji daoyi chanshi shizhongyu,” j. 28 of *Jingde chuandeng lu* (I, vol. 51), p. 440. Such sayings are actually closer not to Mazu’s own speeches, but to Zongmi’s expositions of his doctrine (see *Chanmen shizi tu*, p. 69). The discussion on the absence of dharmas outside of the mind fits well into Mazu’s discourses, as they are found in different accounts.

<sup>42</sup> “Anthology from the Hall of the Patriarchs” actually demonstrates Mazu’s affiliation with the *Lankavatara-sutra*, rather than with Huayan.

Answering the questions of Pei Xiu, Zongmi insists that although the Hongzhou masters also speak about “awareness,” their understanding is different from that of Shenhui.

According to Zongmi’s writings, the Hongzhou teaching does not understand that awareness is universal. They believe that

Those who are deluded do not possess the enlightenment 覺, the stupid do not have wisdom. When the mind is not discriminating [between good and bad] it is not called the luminous shining 鑒照.

Zongmi, in contrast exclaims,

How can that be similar to the natural and permanent awareness of the substance of the mind (that is, the teaching of Shenhui).<sup>43</sup>

The error of the Hongzhou teachers is in their apophatic stance (signaled by the use of the term in Chinese meaning “to put off, or dismiss”: 遣), denying the importance of the “miraculous presence 妙有” and its manifestation 用, while absolutizing the notion of the “true emptiness 真空.”

The meaning of the true emptiness only establishes the substance of [mind], but neglects the sense of the “revealing teaching 顯教,” the aspect of miraculous presence. [Thus] their teaching lacks [concept] of manifestation.<sup>44</sup>

Another aspect of Zongmi’s critique is the lack of understanding of the functioning of self-nature by the Hongzhou teachers. According to Zongmi, Hongzhou thought fails to discriminate between the modes of functioning of the mind: the functioning of self-nature 自性本用 and functioning in response to conditions 隨緣應用. Among these, the first is awareness 知, while the last is the ordinary functioning of the mind. According to Shenhui and Zongmi, there is direct identity between the self-nature and its functioning (between the mind and awareness) but the responsive actions of mind cannot be directly identified with the self-nature, as is the case with the Hongzhou teaching.<sup>45</sup>

Thus, not understanding the functioning of self-nature, the Hongzhou line does not arrive at a true understanding of the reality that “does not change, but responds to condition, responds to conditions, but does not change 不變隨緣隨緣不變,” thus mistaking the spontaneous functioning of the nature for the nature itself. Their teaching, therefore,

<sup>43</sup> *Chanmen shizi tu*, p. 93. Extensive analysis of Zongmi’s critique of Hongzhou teaching is in Gregory, *Tsung-mi*, pp. 236–48.

<sup>44</sup> *Chanmen shizi tu*, p. 93.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

not only lacks ontological background, but also the adequacy of their contemplation effort is under question.<sup>46</sup> If the mind is allowed to act spontaneously, no one can guarantee that what comes in the end is what was actually desired. Zongmi concludes that this ontological grounding can be provided only through a doctrinal discourse, in which the results of the practices of contemplation receive philosophical verification.

This verification was previously provided by “awareness” of Zongmi and Shenhui, but the times had changed, and the followers of Huayan Chan were supposed to find a new Chan lineage in order to keep their tradition alive. “The Essence” provides evidence that those efforts were not abandoned, and that the descendants of Zongmi tried to remodel their teaching, responding to the new conditions of Chan Buddhism. On the other hand, there is a problem of how the teaching of Mazu was understood by the followers of Huayan and Zongmi. Almost all of the quotations from Mazu that are referred to in the original compilation (whether Tangut or Chinese) cannot be located properly in available Chinese sources, but they seem to be generally in accord with the brief exposition of the teaching, provided by the compilation *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄.<sup>47</sup> If this is the case, it is no surprise that attempts were made to connect Mazu’s teaching with the Huayan doctrine, since even the surface reading of the Mazu section in *Chuandeng lu* allows some Huayan allusions to emerge.<sup>48</sup> In case we are dealing with a Chinese Buddhist treatise, the problem of the initial understanding of Mazu doctrine still persists, but cannot be resolved with available Chinese sources.

Somehow, those features are demonstrated for the most part by the Commentary of Fayong, while the shorter text is an exposition

<sup>46</sup> Gregory, *Tsung-mi*, p. 247.

<sup>47</sup> Some sort of “Jingde”-type compilation, known only by the abridged title “The Lamp,” or “Essentials of the Lamp [of Teaching], Part Three” 燈要三, was known among the Tangut Buddhists; therefore their knowledge of Mazu’s teaching was perhaps not much different from what is provided by standard Chinese Buddhist histories. For the discussion of the nature and contents of “The Lamp,” see Solonin, “Guifeng Zongmi,” p. 14. The extant portion of the Tangut compilation refers to the first generation of Huineng’s disciples, thus being an abridged version of *Jingde chuandeng lu*, j. 5. See also: K. J. Solonin, “Po povody Tangutskikh chan-buddijskikh tekstov iz sobrania SPbF IV RAN” (“Concerning the Tangut Chan-Buddhist Texts from the Collection of the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences”), *St. Petersburg Journal of Oriental Studies* 7 (1996), pp. 390–412.

<sup>48</sup> In fact, Mazu Daoyi’s discourse as presented in *Jingde* is fully devoted to the relationship between “principle and things 理事,” their mutual transformations 理事無礙, the bound dharma-body 在纏法身, and other topics, traditionally associated with the Huayan discourse. However, the problem is to what extent these terms were associated definitely with Huayan doctrine, and were not just a part of conventional Buddhist vocabulary, free from any scholarly affiliation. See “Jiangxi daoyi Chanshi shizhongyu,” in *Jingde chuandeng lu* 28, p. 440.

of Hongzhou doctrine itself, which is expressed as “every meeting is Dao.” The moments of coincidence between Fayong and Zongmi’s ideas in general are quite clear from the translation, below. The idea behind Fayong’s lengthy commentary is to bring together the idea of “awareness” with the Hongzhou concept, that everything is true. To my mind, this is done through the threefold concept of “substance / essence–function–virtue.”

Fayong’s ideas are seen best in the following extract from “The Essence.” (It comes at pp. 2b-3a in appendix 2; to understand the typographical formatting, below, see the introduction to the appendix.)

EVERYTHING IS TRUE. Explanation: The One-mind of the Supreme Vehicle abides solely, and there is nothing other than it. *[And] initially equal. The top and bottom are nondual.* Yixiang asked: “Why is there equality?”<sup>49</sup> “The substance, rupa, five Bud-dhas make ten.<sup>50</sup> In order to make it correspond with the whole, [one should] speak only of virtue. The true substance is one in itself. From whom has it been taken? If virtue arose from function, there would be no virtue that arises from the substance. But is there [any] limit to the virtue of the function?”<sup>51</sup> The answer: “Substance and function are both the ultimate virtue. The true substance has neither love nor hatred and possesses the all-embracing principle. [It] does not have the thoughts of duality. This is thus called the virtue that originates from the substance. The dharmas, which have no discriminations [among themselves], and are to be manifested [in the world?] are the virtue that originates from the function.”

Here we have the notions of substance, its function, and the virtue, which constitute nonduality. Apparently, Fayong believes (though not explicitly) that the function originates from the substance. However, this notion is not important to him, and the main emphasis is placed upon virtue 德. Virtue is twofold – the virtue that originates from the function, and the virtue that originates from the substance itself. Therefore, as Fayong puts it, there is the virtue that possesses all the characteristics of the true reality, and the virtue that originates from the function, which in fact represents mundane existence. The virtue that originates

<sup>49</sup> Here is a case of word-play: the character 𣎵 (or, 德) is also a part of a Tangut compound 𣎵𣎵 (平等) used in the text. Thus the translation of the question could be both: “Why is there equality?” and “What is virtue?”

<sup>50</sup> This passage seems confused, and my translation is thus tentative.

<sup>51</sup> “Function” is the Tangut 𣎵, corresponding to Chinese *yong* 用 of the essence/ function paradigm; “virtue” 𣎵 is *gong* 功, or *de* 德.

from the substance and contains “the principal aspect” of true reality might be identified with the “function of self-nature” and “awareness.” The word “awareness” is not used in “The Essence,” its argument remaining primarily ontological. The virtue that originates from the function could be identified as the responsive action of the self-nature. The initial function itself is not clarified in the text: it is mentioned in the context of virtue and probably represents an intermediary between the substance and mundane existence. In this way Fayong establishes a sort of order between substance, function and virtue, thus indicating the “substantial nature” of the phenomena.

Fayong’s discourse intends to prove the identity between the mundane activity of the mind (the virtue that originates from function) and true substance, which manifests itself through its own virtue. The mundane existence (dharma) and the all-embracing principle are both the “virtues” (manifestations) of the ultimate reality: one directly, the other through the mediation of function. Thus, the two virtues are not hierarchical, but parallel and simultaneous. Virtue, originating from the substance embraces the virtue of function and the function itself, thus creating the identity between the phenomenal reality (the dharmas) and the substance of the mind. (“The substance and function are the ultimate virtue.”) The introduction of the “virtue of the substance” and “virtue of the function,” both of which relate to the substance allows Fayong to remove Zongmi’s opposition between the “function of the self nature” and “responsive action.” Being manifestations of the same reality, or even totality, the two modes of virtue are nondual, allowing the direct realization of the Buddha-nature through the mundane performance, thus eliminating Zongmi’s main objection to the Hongzhou teaching. This concept is very much different from Zongmi’s analysis of the Hongzhou lineage,<sup>52</sup> but at the same time it allows Fayong to claim the identity of both the Hongzhou and Heze Shenhui teachings.

The strong Huayan impact on the text may also be confirmed by Fayong’s discussion of the “*Gatha* of Baizhang”; he believes that the dharmas can be rendered in three modes: as the all-embracing true principle, which remains ever unchangeable 恆瓶縲 (Ch.: 不變理). Also, dharmas possess the “emptiness of form,” which is the responding functioning, or “following the causes” 縱蕪穉歸 (Ch.: 隨緣順用). The third mode is the dharmas’ being “bright and dark,” which is the mode of the functioning of the self-nature 翫瓶縲 (Ch.: 自性本用). These interpreta-

<sup>52</sup> This brief analysis is based upon Peter Gregory’s study of the relationship between the responsive functioning and awareness in Zongmi’s thought; Gregory, *Isung-mi*, pp. 239–41.

tions are direct borrowings from Shenhui and Zongmi, the threefold scheme used by the latter in his criticism of Hongzhou.<sup>53</sup> And in the Tangut text, the same paradigm is applied to interpret the *gatha* of a major Hongzhou teacher. Again this is the threefold scheme of Zongmi, though adjusted to support the Hongzhou view that every mundane activity or phenomena are in fact the manifestation of reality. Thus, quite logically, Fayong comes to support the notion of the Hongzhou masters that “every meeting is the Dao”: since all dharmas and discriminations are produced by the mind, which is the true principle by itself, “there is nothing which is thus not true.” It is my impression, that Fayong designs all these complicated schemes and paradigms in order to avoid the main point of Mazu – the emphasis on the direct identity of mundane phenomena with the Buddha-nature.

The threefold paradigm occurs all through the text: substance, function and virtue seem to comply with the threefold division of Chan, the threefold scheme of spiritual development (precepts, concentration, and wisdom). Even the Three Gems may, to a certain degree, be rendered in terms of “substance, function, and virtue.”<sup>54</sup>

The general approach taken in “The Essence” is that of nonduality 不二, which is the basic principle in the structure of the text. The introduction of the threefold paradigm is in fact an attempt to establish a “middle concept,” against which the two extremes could be nondual. Such is the case in the discourse on substance, function and virtue, where function and virtue are nondual against the substance, and thus against each other, or in the discourse on the nature of dharmas, where the “function of the self nature” intends to bring together their ultimate reality and mundane existence. Every concept, introduced either by “The Teaching,” or by Fayong himself, is explained through the notion of nonduality. This viewpoint dominates even the etymological essay by Fayong, incorporated into the text (here and below, see appendix 2 for an explanation of the typographical format):

*Nirvana*. This is a Sanskrit word, in the Tangut language [that means] calm extinction. To say more: *nir* stands for rupa, and *-vana* stands for the mind. It is said that if the truth [of their] nonduality is realized, [one] enters it. *The realization of the bodhi*. This is also a Sanskrit word. In the Tangut language [it means] awakening. It is the realization of the principle of the nonduality of nirvana.<sup>55</sup>

Other points to be mentioned in this connection are: the classifica-

<sup>53</sup> See *Chanmen shizi tu*, pp. 93–94.

<sup>54</sup> See appendix 2, at p. 9a.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9b.

tion of Chan, the relationship between Chan and doctrinal teachings, and the relationship between the traditions of Mazu and Heze.

“The Essence” provides the threefold division of Chan: the Chan that is beyond phrases 句外禪,<sup>56</sup> the Chan that accords with phrases 句隨禪, and the Chan of the Great Ancient Precious Seal 大古寶印. The first type of Chan is introduced directly:

THE ANSWER: “THERE ARE NO FALSE WORDS, BUT WHO [WILL] MEASURE THE TRUTH? Although the mind is enlightened, the enlightened mind is not preserved. In this circumstance, who will talk about the true and false? ... [THIS IS] UNTHINKABLE: WHO WOULD DARE TO EXPLAIN [THIS] ORALLY?” These two phrases explain the question and return to the root. *There must be no knowledge of Buddha.* [It is] the extinction of knowledge. ... THUS EMERGED THE NAME — THE CHAN [THAT IS] BEYOND PHRASES.<sup>57</sup>

This passage is relatively transparent, representing the usual Chan discourse on how supreme wisdom transcends ordinary language. The underlying message is that enlightenment should not be itself the object of attachment, which it becomes when it is expounded through words. This does not mean that words and speech are evil, or possess little value: Fayong, following “The Teaching” positions them in the same category as, for example, the “three Buddha bodies” and “six supernatural powers.”<sup>58</sup> Moreover, the master Great Tranquility warns the disciples not to take the Bodhidharma’s tradition of transmitting from “mind to mind without written signs” literally: if not followed by the complete practices, these words are false.<sup>59</sup> Thus, the Chan that accords with phrases is not denied completely; it is declared insufficient without the Chan-beyond-phrases. Both constitute perfect unity, termed the “Great Ancient Precious Seal.” This seal is compared to the wish-fulfilling gem. Actually, as the text puts it, interrelations between the two Chans are the same as between substance and merit — one does not exist without the other, the whole notion resembling a sort of Huayan “principle-things” approach.<sup>60</sup> As “The Teaching” and then Fayong’s commentary (given in parentheses) put it:

<sup>56</sup> The term “phrases,” which occurs everywhere in the text, is also obscure. It is not always clear what the author had in mind. Sometimes in the text I translate “phrases” as “words.”

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5b–6a.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7b–8b.

<sup>59</sup> This is close to the ideas of Zongmi presented in the “Chan Preface,” in which the Bodhidharma’s idea was to encourage true understanding, and not just that liberation was free from words; Gregory, *Tsung-mi*, pp. 226–27.

<sup>60</sup> This can be seen as another form of Zongmi’s impact. In his critique of the Hongzhou line, he preferred the concept of mutual penetration between principle and things over the supreme concept of things, penetrating each other. This, of course, is only a suggestion; see *ibid.*, pp. 251–52.

The three types of Chan are complete. (When the nonduality of what accords with phrases and what is beyond phrases is realized, the Chan of the great ancient precious seal is complete.)<sup>61</sup>

Thus, the classification of Chan according to Fayong is an example of the combined usage of the threefold paradigm and the concept of nonduality.

POLEMICS BETWEEN THE HEZE AND  
HONGZHOU LINES, AND THE PROBLEM OF CAO XI

“The Essence” contains some hints of a discussion between the followers of Shenhui and Mazu.<sup>62</sup> Although it has been suggested that certain sayings of Mazu sometimes criticize the ideas of Shenhui,<sup>63</sup> the Tangut text provides undisputed evidence that some sort of polemics really took place. The problem seemed so crucial to Fayong that he introduced a lengthy entry on the topic. As far as I am able to judge from the text, the issue of the dispute was the extent to which “seeing the nature,” as preached by Mazu, exceeds the same doctrine of Shenhui. The word “awareness” is not mentioned in the context, and the discussion concentrates on the search for similarities between the traditions, both of them being rooted in the initial experience of enlightenment. Fayong mentions that from the point of view of reality, there is no difference between Mazu and Shenhui, since Mazu preaches that everything truly exists. The nature of this existence –the essence/function paradigm that was crucial to Zongmi – is eliminated from the discussion: what had been once considered the weakness of the Mazu lineage is now turned to its advantage. According to Fayong, both masters agree on the identity of the living beings with the Buddha; thus the differences between the traditions are merely those of ritual. This discourse is rather brief and requires further study.

Another small paragraph deserves to be mentioned in these introductory notes: “The Essence” features an encounter dialogue between Caoxi 曹溪 (Huineng) and his disciple Xiangshan 相山, whom I have been unable to identify further. The dialogue is as follows, which is given in a format different from that used in the complete translation of appendix 2. Fayong’s commentary is indented, following the main text:

<sup>61</sup> See appendix 2, at p. 14b.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15b–16a.

<sup>63</sup> See John McRae, “Shenhui and the Teaching of Sudden Enlightenment in Early Chan Buddhism,” in Gregory, ed., *Sudden and Gradual*, p. 258.

Caoxi (the Sixth Patriarch) had a thing. Xiangshan cursed.

[The Master] said to Xiangshan: “I have one thing today. Did you see it?” Xiangshan said: “I saw it.” The Master said: “What did you see?” [Xiangshan] answered: “I’ve seen something, unlike [anything] I’ve seen before, and is unlike [anything]? What miraculous powers does it lack?” [The Master] answered: “That thing that you have seen cannot be compared to anything. That is why it is said, it is unlike anything. Although, there are no miraculous powers, is there any single characteristic, that is not the true appearance of Xiangshan?” Thus Xiangshan understood the principle.<sup>64</sup>

This dialogue is probably connected to the third verse of Huineng’s second *gatha*, which reads: “there is not a single thing.”<sup>65</sup> The contents of the discussion, featured in the Tangut text, are quite the opposite: it is not that there is not a single thing, but that one thing is not like anything else and embraces all. This probably means the mind. However, this item requires further study, especially because the translation is far from certain.

This brief sketch of the contents of “The Essence” allows us to suggest that after Zongmi a number of his followers turned to the Hongzhou lineage in search of a new partner to establish the “perfect teaching.” To meet new requirements, basic Huayan concepts were modified, but the general approach of Zongmi remained intact. The notion of “awareness” was dismantled; its position was taken by the threefold concept of reality, based on the attitude of overall nonduality, which made Huayan more appropriate for a synthesis with the Hongzhou line. With this shift, Huayan philosophy was generally reconciled with Chan practices, providing the latter with ontological evidence of its effectiveness.

<sup>64</sup> Appendix 2, pp. 21a–b.

<sup>65</sup> See McRae, *Northern School*, pp. 237–38, who supposes the connection of this *gatha* to the Northern Chan text “The Five Expedient Means.” The Dunhuang text does not provide this sentence, reading “the mind is like a mirror” instead; Phillip Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1960), p. 3 of the orig. Chinese text, as given at the end of the book.

*Appendix One: Translation of “The Teaching and Rituals of the Masters of the Hongzhou Lineage”*

“The Teaching” was one of those Tangut mss. that were found at Khara-khoto. Besides the main text of “The Teaching,” the ms. contains a commentary in a different character-size. For the present translation, the commentary has been dropped out, so that the basic ideas of the main text can be read smoothly. However, a mostly parallel version of the commentary was incorporated into the multi-level text found in another ms., translated as appendix 2, and can be read there.

Both “The Teaching” and “The Essence” (appendix 2) are written on Tangut paper, folded Chinese style (often called “butterfly”); this is to say that two pages of text are derived from one folded sheet, which is numbered in the middle, and then each of those folded-over halves is numbered “a” or “b.” “The Teaching” forms a rather small book of 14 double-pages, whose physical dimensions are 9.5 x 6.5 cm. Each page contains about 6 to 8 lines, 7 to 8 characters each.

Because of numerous problems both in the reading of Tangut and in this text’s manner of presentation, many of the passages below are tentative translations.

“The Teaching and Rituals of the  
Masters of the Hongzhou Lineage”

The master said: The essence of my [doctrine] [is that] everything is true. All existing dharmas arise from the single truth. There are no dharmas outside the mind. How could there be any dharmas that are not true? [Thus] every meeting will be the way. The foundation and practices will not contradict [each other]. Follow the causes with bliss, [then you] are in harmony with the *dharmadhatu*. If the people should become enlightened, [and] abide in the truth, [this] is not the ultimate [realization].

[Hearing this,] the disciples were in doubt. Enlightened Wisdom asked: “What is the reason for that?” The answer: “There are no false words, but who [will] measure the truth? This is unthinkable; who will dare to explain [this] orally?” Thus emerged the name – the Chan [that is] beyond phrases.

The Chan Master “Enlightened Wisdom” awakened in his mind, and immediately said: “The Great Master Damo transmitted from mind to mind and did not establish the written signs.” Great Tranquility said: “Do not speak like that. The merits manifest [themselves] through the substance, [thus] all the words [of the teaching] are in accord. Ordinary speech, the three bodies, and the four wisdoms existed from ancient times. The eight forms of consciousness, the six powers have been complete from the beginning. The supreme three gems are themselves truly one. The precepts concentration and wisdom have never been abandoned. Thus, there

emerged the name of the Chan that is outside phrases.” Enlightened Wisdom attained the ultimate awakening.

[He] asked about the faith and the wisdom. [He said]: “The Great Master said at first: ‘The supreme One-Way transcends words. What is [then] the reason for establishing the [Chan] that accords with phrases?’” The answer: “It is impossible to preach all the dharmas. [They] preach themselves in the absence of preaching. [The Buddha] agreed to talk, [and] did not agree to talk, [and the dharma] from the beginning was explained this way. [The traditions] are not the same due to the [different ways they are] preached. [But] the basic source is nondual. The true substance has no limit. [It] existed before the Buddha [and] the manifestations of [its] merits are inexhaustible. The face and eyes are bright. Thus a name emerged: ‘the great ancient precious seal.’ The three Chan are complete. [And] there is not even one external characteristic. [When] one and others are different there can be no actions of contemplation. The dharma-gate of the mind-ground is transmitted from the master to the disciple. All the benevolent friends in the world abide in this.”

The living beings of the future must awaken [through] following the ritual. The great master, ancestor Ma, was asked about the way and the ritual. When the master was sitting, [he was] asked about faith and wisdom: “Which is the ultimate doctrine of the master?” [The master] answered: “[Faith and wisdom] are not one, and not different. The ultimate faith and wisdom leave nothing behind.”

Explanation of the Hongzhou [teaching]: Concerning the essence of the [teaching of] the Chan master Great Tranquility, Zhangshan asked: “Great Master! where does the essence of your teaching come from?” [The master] answered: “Buddha could not explain [it]. The World-honored-one held up a flower, and Kasyapa did not understand. [Kasyapa] smiled into his eyes, and could not say or ask anything. Caoxi had a thing. Xiangshan cursed.”

Asked of the basic intention of Great Tranquility, [the master said]: “My basic intention originates from the single [source].” Zhangshan attained faith and left with reverence. Deshan asked: “Where is the abode of the Great Master?” [The master] answered: “In my abode there are no footprints. Nobody abides in the footprints.” Deshan perceived the intention and followed it in [his] practice. Mazu preached no dharma other than the mind, [understood, that everybody is] truly enlightened and followed the causes,

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seeking bliss. [He] established the secret practice of direct perfection. [After he attained enlightenment, he] was asked [about it], and answered: “It is not one, nor is it different. The Supreme-in-the-World held up a flower, and the master smiled.”

*Appendix Two: Translation of “Notes on the Essence of Hongzhou Doctrine with Commentary and Clarification”*

“The Essence” is longer and denser than “The Teaching,” and even larger. This manuscript is also done in “butterfly” fashion, consisting of 22 folded-pages, 20.5 x 12.75 cm. Pages contain varying numbers of lines due to the complicated structure of the text.

This ms. contains a triply integrated text: one layer is an almost verbatim rendition of the main text of “The Teaching” (minor variants are noted, below, in the notes). Its passages are given in SMALL CAPITALS. Second is a layer shown in *italics*; it is a mostly verbatim parallel of part of the commentary to “The Teaching” that was written in the appendix 1 ms. Third, in small roman-face, is a sub-commentary by Fayong (who is discussed, above). The beginning three phrases that announce the text belong to no particular layer.

It is possible to read the following by its different layers, e.g., scanning just the italicized text in order to see the flow (sometimes elliptical) of this manuscript’s parallel version of the commentary to “The Teaching.” One also might scan just the small-size roman-face passages for Fayong’s subcommentary.

Deduced Chinese glosses are given in parentheses both in the main text and footnotes. To reflect the actual reading flow of the original, the translated text here has been divided into the page-breaks according to the original ms. folio numbers. In several places, therefore, the page breaks in the middle of a passage of one of the layers.

Because of numerous problems both in the reading of Tangut and in this text’s manner of presentation, many of the passages below are tentative translations.

“Notes on the Essence of Hongzhou  
Doctrine with Commentary and Clarification”

Notes on the Essence of the Hongzhou Doctrine. With explanation and commentary. Commentary compiled by 羅齋禪精 *sra-mana* [Fayong of Yuanxiang].

- p. 1a *The way of teaching of the Hongzhou lineage* According to the intention of the Great Tranquility 寂靜(大寂),<sup>66</sup> all should attain enlightenment.<sup>67</sup> [The character] 洪 *hong* (洪) [of Hongzhou] [The area] received its name from the water. 州 [of Hongzhou] 州 Among the seventy-four regions, in the western [part] in the limits of Jiangxi 緄縵 (江西)<sup>68</sup> [province] is Hongzhou. In this prefecture there are seven county departments. The name [Hongzhou] emerged following the name in the documents of Jichang

<sup>66</sup> This passage is rather obscure: Great Tranquility may be rendered both as personal name of Mazu and as a technical term.

<sup>67</sup> These words would normally belong in the commentary to “The Teaching,” but were not indicated with the appropriate big characters here in “The Essence.”

<sup>68</sup> What is translated here as the “western part” reads in a rather confusing way, which in Chinese would be “東西中西.”

紉衍 (集昌)<sup>69</sup> county. *Chan master Yidao* [He] was a person from a place called Shidao 蓑筴 (什道)<sup>70</sup> in Hanzhou 糺攷 (漢州). His family name was Ma. [He] looked extraordinary and [possessed] eloquence.<sup>71</sup>

- p. 1b When stretched, his tongue covered his nose. But on the bottom of his feet he did not have the prints of the two wheels.<sup>72</sup> Initially he took the complete precepts from *vinaya* master Yuan 筠繼 (圓律師), later received the secret seal of the mind from the Chan master Huairang Ersan 緝瓏 (懷讓二三), and awoke to the understanding that everything is true. After that, the followers whom [he] directed in their practice appeared like a multitude of clouds. *The foundation*<sup>73</sup> The mind of wisdom, which manifests itself directly 筋 (直).<sup>74</sup> All the living beings possess [this mind]. *The masters* [They] are called the teachers because they can enlighten the people, [who are originally] unenlightened. *Because they abide in Fichang county of Hongzhou* Many people say teachers. The masters of the Hongzhou lineage make clear the immediate teaching 筋麟 (頓宗), thus they are masters of the teaching 緝音 (教師) that transmits that which is the most important. The students are the sons who study [under them]. *The ritual* 儀 (儀)
- p. 2a [This] means “taking the ground 紉履 (取地).”<sup>75</sup> *The way*: [It is] necessary to follow the way of penetration.<sup>76</sup> *Great Tranquility* [This] is a Dharma name. [He] obtained the nature of mind from the master Yueshan. [Hence] the [master] thus said: “What my son, Great Tranquility, has realized, is that there exists the true principle of the true substance, which has no limits, is not born, and does not change. That is why he is called Great Tranquility. *According to the concepts*, To see the intentions of the lineage and follow the initial enlightenment. *all people should obtain enlightenment*. People already see without misconceptions and are initially enlightened. THE MASTER SAID: THE ESSENCE OF MY [DOCTRINE] [If one is] not to

<sup>69</sup> The actual name must surely be Nanchang, the place associated with Mazu; perhaps this reflects scribal error.

<sup>70</sup> Probably a misreading for 什那.

<sup>71</sup> The last two characters in the line are not clear, thus the translation is tentative.

<sup>72</sup> Traditional explications of Mazu’s appearance mention that he had seals in the form of wheels on the soles of his feet.

<sup>73</sup> The meaning of the term *zong* 宗 is ambivalent in the context. It refers both to the Chan lineage and to the foundation, or the basis, of the teaching. This ambivalence must be kept in mind wherever it occurs throughout the text.

<sup>74</sup> The Tangut character here occurs widely in the context of sudden and gradual 頓漸, thus meaning immediate as opposed to gradual. This usage is attested by the translation of “Chan Preface” (see n. 6, above).

<sup>75</sup> I was not able to reconstruct the actual meaning of the term. The word (Ch.: 地) could stand for Sanskrit “*bhūmi*,” although this does not make any better sense.

<sup>76</sup> This term is rather unclear. Perhaps 紉 should be read instead of 紉 (紉), which makes “the true way.”

rely on the reverence to the ten-thousand sages, what is there to hope for? *The master said:* [These are] the words of the founding master of Hongzhou. *My essence* When the people examine [something], they do not see [it], when they listen to [something], they do not hear. When they awaken, they do not see what is in this phrase.

- p. 2b Who they are and where they come from is unclear to them. How can they be certain about where they will go? The essence 禪<sup>77</sup> suffers no harm. If the mind is thus inspired, the two lines – the man and the Dharma – should become clear. That is why it is said thus. *[is] not to rely on the reverence to the ten-thousand sages. What is [then left] to hope for?* Today, the inspirations of the lineage [suggest] that [one] does not believe in what he hears, thus he cultivates the roots of Buddha. When [one] believes, he does not follow the way of perfection, thus exceeding men and gods. Why? This Chan truth is the pure womb of the thirty Buddhas, the supreme pearl of the twelve parts of the teaching, the core [of the doctrine] of all the sages and founding masters. [IS THAT] EVERYTHING IS TRUE 禪禪禪禪 (一切皆真). Explanation: The One-mind of the Supreme Vehicle abides solely, and there is nothing other than it. *[And] initially equal. The top and bottom are nondual.* Yixiang 一相<sup>78</sup> asked: “Why is there equality?” 一<sup>79</sup> “The substance,
- p. 3a rupa, five Buddhas make ten. In order to make it correspond with the whole, [one should] speak only of virtue. The true substance is one in itself. From whom has it been taken? If virtue arose from function,<sup>80</sup> there would be no virtue that arises from the substance. But is there [any] limit to the virtue of the function?” The answer: “Substance and function are both the ultimate virtue. The true substance has neither love nor hatred and possesses the all-embracing principle. [It] does not have the thoughts 二元 (思) of duality. This is thus called the virtue that originates from the substance. The dharmas, which have no discriminations [among themselves], and are to be manifested [in the world?] are the virtue that originates from the function.” *Thus the gatha of Baizhang 白丈偈<sup>81</sup> says:* [This] brings in order and explains

<sup>77</sup> The Tangut word has basically two Chinese equivalents: 宗 (“lineage founder”) or 本 (“root” or “essential”); thus it might mean “[Chan] lineage.”

<sup>78</sup> This seems to be a Buddhist name.

<sup>79</sup> The preceding expression is apparently carried by the one Tangut character.

<sup>80</sup> For a better understanding of this passage, it is important to draw a distinction between 用, meaning “function 用, 功,” which in Buddhist texts often constitutes an opposite to 體 (體), meaning “substance.” The Tangut text adds to that the third concept of 德 (德) – “virtue,” which in the given context might be seen as the phenomenal world as a whole. Thus “virtue” might be thought of more succinctly as meaning “potential” or “inherent capability/power,” and this should be borne in mind in all the following occurrences.

<sup>81</sup> Baizhang and *gatha* are not mentioned in the main text of “The Teaching” (see app. 1).

the different principles. [The fact, that] all [of them] are true and perfectly complete is thus made clear. When the substance and function are equal and nondual, initially with the Buddha there is no virtue.<sup>82</sup> The true mind 淨心 (真心) is initially pure; the deluded mind 亂心 (忘心) does not exist. All the manifestations are nondual, embrace the function and follow the substance. Therefore

- p. 3b it is said, “Everything is true.” For this reason the two lines – substance and function – should be made clear. ALL EXISTING 萬<sup>83</sup> There is nothing that is not the principle. DHARMAS [It is] the immutable principle 恆瓶<sup>84</sup> (不變理).<sup>84</sup> [They possess] the emptiness of rupa 寂寂 (色空) [It is] the responding function 隨緣<sup>85</sup> (隨緣用).<sup>85</sup> [and] are bright and dark 明暗 (明暗). This is the functioning of the self-nature 自性<sup>86</sup> (自性本用). [When] the living beings are not awakened, the discriminations are important; The Dharmadhatu comprises the four sorts of dharmas. [This is said] because the two sorts of functions should be expounded. ARISE FROM THE SINGLE TRUTH. The initial source has always been pure, calm, true and clear. [The discriminations] never arise from [any] different [place] – they manifest themselves through the mind only. [This is said] because the substance of the one-dharma should be made clear. [they are] like sprouts, coming out from the ground. The seas and lands of the great thousand [worlds] emerge from the soil. Thus, do they arise from any different [place]? THERE ARE NO DHARMAS OUTSIDE THE MIND.
- p. 4a The dharmas are the mind itself. [SO] HOW COULD THERE BE ANY DHARMAS THAT ARE NOT TRUE? When the [realm] of truth is entered, there is nothing that is not true. [This is said] in order to make the nonawakened people of the future realize that everything is true. [It is as] jumping into the sea: Is there anything left dry [after that]? There is nothing that is not wet. There is no humidity outside the wave, and there is no wave outside humidity. These six phrases<sup>86</sup> make clear the basis of the inspiration. [THUS] EVERY MEETING WILL BE THE WAY 每遇皆道.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>82</sup> I was unable to translate one character, thus the meaning is faulty here.

<sup>83</sup> Here the Tangut verb (to have, to be) seems to be used in the position of an adjective. Therefore it may be translated the same way as its equivalent in Chinese Buddhist texts, where 有 generally can mean the concept of being, or existent (Skt.: *bhava*).

<sup>84</sup> This is in fact the first part of the famous Huayan definition of true reality 真如.

<sup>85</sup> From the second part of the Huayan definition of the true reality. All three phrases are a reproduction of Zongmi’s description of the functioning of mind (see above).

<sup>86</sup> It is not quite clear what “six phrases” (Ch.: 六句) means in the passage. Technically, if the division of the text into four-character syntagmas is our model, then the context of “the six phrases” starts with “[The discriminations] arise from the single truth” up to “every meeting is Dao.”

<sup>87</sup> This saying seems to be very much in line with the sayings of Mazu and his disciples, although I have been unable to locate the quotation in this exact form. “Meeting” in regard to the activities of mind should be understood as “seeing 見” in other Chan texts. However,

To follow or to resist: [both] are false. When the mind moves, perversion arises, how does one then meet [the mind]? If every mind (個心) is absent, the power of mind is exhausted. Hence it is said that every meeting will be the Dao. THE FOUNDATION AND PRACTICES WILL NOT CONTRADICT [EACH OTHER]. The ancient ritual (借儀) is to abide in the self-nature. [Concerning] refusal or non-refusal (拒不拒), somebody asked: “Chan is the source and [Da]mo 跋(摩) [preached] the practice.<sup>88</sup> Though [Chan] is the basis, how is it to be seen in the course of practice? [If source and practice] are not in completeness, this contradicts the way of realization. If there are [only] practices, then there is contradiction with the secret seal of the transmission of the mind, [which was established by] Damo 達摩 跋(摩) 跋(摩) 跋(摩) 跋(摩) (達摩傳心密印).”

- p. 4b The answer: The foundation and the practices are all in completeness. The first six phrases are the foundation. It should be called the Damo transmission of mind 達摩傳心 (達摩傳心). The next four phrases are the practices.<sup>89</sup> How are [they] to be seen in the course of practice? When [the foundation and the practice] are complete, then the sign of duality is not seen. Everything is realized as true, and that is why it is called Dao. Above, it was said: “the immutable foundation,” “the non-contradiction.” [*when the foundation and the practices] are like that [action of immersion], Not to see the sign of duality and realize that everything is true. [and] the [vision] is not abandoned,* To say the honest words of the true way, and [say] no lies. [IF YOU] FOLLOW THE CAUSES WITH BLISS 隨樂隨緣 (隨樂隨緣), Those who follow the Great Way, are the lords of bliss 隨樂隨緣 (隨樂隨緣).<sup>90</sup> [THEN YOU] ARE IN HARMONY WITH THE DHARMADHATU. [You] will not lack a single one among the ten thousand gates of the practice. [*then] there is nothing that is not the body:* The three worlds are the one-mind. This is truly realized. *The water*
- p. 5a *and the [act of] stirring up the water are both mere humidity.* The water and the wave are not two, but one form of humidity. *The master said:*<sup>91</sup> IF THE PEOPLE SHOULD BECOME ENLIGHTENED, [They] preserve

this requires further study.

<sup>88</sup> This passage is vague. The Tangut word is the second character of the name of Bodhidharma 達摩. Nevertheless, such an abbreviation is very unusual in Chinese Buddhist sources, thus a possible misreading.

<sup>89</sup> As in the previous case (see n. 86), it is not clear what is meant by both six and four “phrases.” The *gatha* of Baizhang contains eleven four-character strokes, but if the last sentence “the foundation and the practices are not to be contradicted” is omitted, the rest will make exactly ten “phrases.”

<sup>90</sup> The meaning of the phrase is equivocal.

<sup>91</sup> This phrase shows a sharp difference from the commentary to “The Teaching” found in the other Tangut ms. (not translated in appendix 1). It reads: “For example, if a man wants to drink water, he should know whether it is cold or warm by himself.”

conceptions.<sup>92</sup> [AND] ABIDE IN THE TRUTH, [The people] are attached (取著). [THIS] IS NOT THE ULTIMATE [REALIZATION].” [The people] are stubborn in their attachment. “*These three phrases* The disease should be cut off. [The above means] not discriminating between the true and false, and not obtaining the ultimate Dharma. If one is attached to following the words, in this way [he] becomes stubborn. [*show that*] *the first lock has been passed*, The false mind has been abandoned. *but the next lock is left*.” [The followers] abide [in the attachment] to the realization of truth. [HEARING THIS,] THE DISCIPLES WERE IN DOUBT. The people are in doubt and cannot [obtain] the enlightened wisdom. ENLIGHTENED WISDOM 鏡覺 (覺慧)<sup>93</sup> ASKED, [He] himself had doubts too and wished to bring benefit both to himself and the others,

- p. 5b and asked about the essentials. “WHAT IS THE REASON FOR THAT?” This is the question [he] asked: “Why is it not the ultimate [realization]?” [*He*] *was attached to the reality*, [He] understood the true principle. [*and*] *did not dare to abandon [it] immediately*. [He] realized the principle of the true intention, and asked: “Why?” [He] did not intend to gain the true awakening.<sup>94</sup> THE ANSWER: “THERE ARE NO FALSE WORDS, BUT WHO [WILL] MEASURE THE TRUTH? (真由誰量) Although the mind is enlightened, the enlightened mind is not preserved.<sup>95</sup> In this circumstance, who will talk about the true and false? Why? The offsprings of the Supreme One-Way are cut off, and the knowledge that the self-nature is innate in mind<sup>96</sup> cannot be obtained. [THIS IS] UNTHINKABLE: WHO WOULD DARE TO EXPLAIN [THIS] ORALLY?” These two
- p. 6a phrases explain the question and return to the root. *There must be no knowledge of Buddha*. [It is] the extinction of knowledge. *The master said: “Why?”* [The knowledge of Buddha] exceeds language. THUS EMERGED THE NAME — THE CHAN [THAT IS] BEYOND PHRASES 句外禪.<sup>97</sup> [The Chan] that emerges from the substance. This is the explanation

<sup>92</sup> Ch.: 留, i.e., enlightenment is a concept in itself, and thus should be abandoned as a specific form of defilement.

<sup>93</sup> This personage is mentioned elsewhere in the text with the title of “Chan master.”

<sup>94</sup> The issue is that the understanding of the truth, which is the concept of the innate enlightenment of living beings, is a sort of attachment itself and thus cannot be regarded as the ultimate realization of the Buddha nature.

<sup>95</sup> Lit., “does not stay (不留).”

<sup>96</sup> Lit., “the mind [is] the self-nature from the ancient times.” Other translations are possible. The passage expounds the theory that ultimate enlightenment eliminates the mind itself, thus removing the difference between the true and false, which are only mental concepts. When the One-Way is realized without any derivations (“off-springs”; Ch.: 流) the mind itself does not exist anymore, and thus there is nothing left that can be identified with the self-nature.

<sup>97</sup> “The phrases” probably represent the “four and six phrases” (see above). This may also be seen as a broader concept of Chan, one that does not follow doctrinal teachings and relies exclusively on the personal experience of realization.

of the Chan [that is] beyond phrases. *In the world, although the bills of gadflies (蚊子嘴長) have grown long, however [they] still cannot penetrate the backs of iron oxen (鐵牛).* This is the comparison to the above words. If [one] follows the Dharma, [he] is not moved by the worldly commentaries and explanations. Is it not possible to understand the supreme vehicle of one-mind through consciousness? 曉 (識) Why? Because the mind far exceeds words and knowledge. THE CHAN MASTER ENLIGHTENED WISDOM AWAKENED IN HIS MIND. [He] realized what is beyond phrases and did not realize

- p. 6b what accords with phrases. [He] became attached to what is beyond phrases and did not intend [to obtain] that which accords with phrases. *[This is as if he] opened his right eye and closed the left eye.* He did not realize both what accords with phrases, and what is beyond phrases. It is a sin, because one part is missing. Among the people who are attached to this, none can be said to possess the complete knowledge. AND IMMEDIATELY [HE] SAID: “THE GREAT MASTER DAMO TRANSMITTED FROM MIND TO MIND AND DID NOT ESTABLISH WRITTEN SIGNS.” He instructed in the realization of faith. *Explanation: 三 (注) The three vehicles and five dharmas 五法 (五法) are all but words.*<sup>98</sup> If there is no desire to [fulfill] the way of instruction and [to follow] the necessary, these words are false. GREAT TRANQUILITY SAID: “DO NOT SPEAK LIKE THAT. If there is substance, but there is no merit, this is no true substance.”<sup>99</sup> *[To say so is the same as to] be a mute person, who has a mouth but does not have a tongue.*
- p. 7a To be complete in that [teaching]. Further, it is explained why. THE MERITS MANIFEST [THEMSELVES] THROUGH SUBSTANCE 顯顯顯顯 (體隨用現), [THUS] ALL THE WORDS [OF THE TEACHING] ARE IN ACCORD. It is explained why: The mind that follows the supreme principle of Dharmakaya exceeds knowledge and words of explanation. The true ancient law is that the ordinary words about Dharmakaya follow the true principle of virtue.<sup>100</sup> *Explanation: ORDINARY SPEECH 顯顯顯顯 (日常語說):*<sup>101</sup> *[It*

<sup>98</sup> Tentative translation. The term “three vehicles” is quite clear, while “five dharmas” has several different renderings. The Tiantai monk Zhiyi established five stages of enlightenment, namely, the wish 欲, the effort 精進, the thought 念, the wisdom 巧慧, and the one-mind 一心. This paradigm is probably implied here.

<sup>99</sup> The words (the phrases) of doctrinal teachings are represented here as a “merit” (manifestation, *yong*) of the true substance (*ti*) of the self-nature. Thus the existence and adequacy of doctrinal Buddhism is justified.

<sup>100</sup> Translation is tentative. Nevertheless, it is important to note here that “ordinary speeches” are treated as “virtue” (as per the above-mentioned trinity of “substance, merit, virtue”); see n. 80, above. Thus, though not connected directly with substance, “ordinary words” still belong to the realm of true reality.

<sup>101</sup> “Ordinary speech” means preaching, but not just casual talk, although it also contains Dharmakaya according to the Hongzhou teaching. Actually, since “The Essence” features

*is] in accord with the basic thing.* The question: “What is the meaning of the words said through merit?” The answer: “The benefits that arise both for oneself and for others through the following and the transformed bodies (隨化二身)<sup>102</sup> are inexhaustible. The talks on the Dharma Gate started in the past and have reached today, and the laws of the masters have been transmitted without interruption. Thus it is said that ordinary speech is in accord with the basic thing. THE THREE BODIES, [These are] the Dharmakaya, the Body of Retribution, and the Transformed body 禪身 報身 化身 (法身, 報身, 化身). AND THE FOUR WISDOMS

- p. 7b The virtuous and miraculous four wisdoms of the awakened mind 須菩提 (四智菩提). EXISTED FROM ANCIENT TIMES. The self-nature was initially complete. *Possess characteristics* The explanations of the following and the transformed bodies. [*and*] *possess no characteristics.* The Dharmakaya. [*We*] *talk of one,* The one that is being followed. *two,* The two bodies that follow. [*and*] *three.* It is said that in the direct one-mind (直唯一心) there are the three bodies – the Dharma Body, the Body of Retribution and the Transformed Body. Among these, the Dharma Body is the nature of the true substance, which cannot be achieved by knowledge of the mind. The Dharma Body is that which has cut off all knowledge from the beginning. *Second – the body of retribution.* Explanation: The supreme, brilliant, and perfect mind only, which encompasses everything. The Body of Retribution follows virtue. *Three – the transformed body.* The three worlds are the mind. The limitless
- p. 8a body of transformation appears everywhere, and thus its name was established – the body of transformation.<sup>103</sup> [*And*] *the four wisdoms.* The nature of the true substance does not establish any defilements or the slightest dirt. The self nature is initially bright and encompasses the dharma world. This is the wisdom of the Perfect Mirror 散苑鏡 (大圓鏡智). This bright and wise true nature is equal in everything and possesses neither the mind of attachment nor of abandonment. This is the wisdom of the nature of equality 平等性智. The nature of the perfect mind has no attachment, thus the defilements are initially empty. When [one] is able to realize clearly that the nature of the true mind (心本) is initially pure, that the miraculous presence 須菩提 (妙有) is nondual, this is the wisdom of miraculous

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these four characters as a part of the Master’s saying, the phrase might also be simply translated as: “It is usually said that ...”

<sup>102</sup> Namely, the Buddha body that follows the causes, and the transformation body of the Buddha. Usually, there is no difference between the two.

<sup>103</sup> The interrelation between the three Buddha bodies seems to reproduce the relationship between substance, merit, and virtue. The discourse on the Buddha bodies given here in the commentary to “Teaching” is not found in the roughly parallel commentary found in the ms. text of app. 1.

contemplation 須臾發 (妙觀察智). When [one] is able to hear, see, know, and awaken and perform other actions accordingly, this is the wisdom of the accomplishment 終歸寂滅 (成所作智). THE EIGHT FORMS OF CONSCIOUSNESS 八識 (八識), [They are] called the eight minds of liberation. Why? When all these eight forms of consciousness meet (遇) rupa (色), in this meeting the mind disappears. The strength of the mind

- p. 8b is exhausted; thus the eight forms consciousnesses are called the eight minds of liberation. [AND] THE SIX POWERS 神通 (六通) To see rupa and [keep] bright the nature of the self mind is the power of the divine eye (天眼). To realize the true way by oneself, when [just] hearing it, is the power of the divine ear (天耳). The clear knowledge of what one feels oneself and what the others feel (感覺) is the power to read the minds of others (他心通). This true mind has always been bright and pure and has never been born nor has died; it is the power to know previous lives (宿命通). To appear in all places of the three worlds simultaneously and not to hide is the power of miraculous transformations (神變通). The true realization that the unchangeable substance of the three time periods is mind-only is the power of cessation of affection (漏盡通).<sup>104</sup> WERE COMPLETE FROM THE BEGINNING. The self-nature has always been complete. [It] has never been bound 繫繫 (在纏, 纏縛).<sup>105</sup> The explanation of the previous “liberation.” Are there [really] any obstacles?
- p. 9a The explanation of the previous six powers. THE SUPREME There is no comparison [to it]. THREE GEMS (三寶) Buddha, Dharma, Sangha – [these] three. Explanation: The bright principle of the awakened self-mind is the Buddha treasure. The ten thousand dharmas assemble through the mind – this is the Dharma Treasure. Everything is in harmony and there are no contradicting principles – this is the Sangha Treasure. ARE THEMSELVES TRULY ONE. All of them are assembled in the mind only (唯心). Thus there is nothing that exceeds these three – the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha. THE PRECEPTS, CONCENTRATION, AND WISDOM 戒定慧 (戒定慧). Initially tranquil and pure are the precepts. Initially unmovable is concentration. Initially bright and indestructible is wisdom. Further, the tranquility and purity of this self nature of the mind is precepts; absence of contact (無

<sup>104</sup> Generally, this list of the six supernatural powers is similar with standard Chinese versions. Nevertheless, an unusual element is the “power of miraculous transformations,” which corresponds to the Chinese “divine foot 神足” (the ability to travel limitless distances), and the explanation of the last powers is also somewhat unique. According to a Chinese version, the power of cessation of affection allows avoiding retribution and the impact of the three worlds, and does not require understanding the mind as the nature of time periods.

<sup>105</sup> This expression originates from the *Ratnagotravibhaga*, where it is used to describe the Alaya-vijnana as “Dharmakaya in cuffs 在纏法身”; see J. Takakusu, *A Study of Ratnagotravibhaga or Uttaratantra* (Roma: Seria Orientale Roma, 1960). Later, in Chinese Buddhism, this saying became popular, meaning generally the innate Buddha nature present in every phenomenon.

觸) and extinction of thinking is concentration; the absence of darkness and the bright elucidation are the wisdom. *Once again talk about the precepts, concentration, and wisdom.*

- p. 9b The mind-ground 絳紫泥 (心地) is not soiled; [this is] the precepts of the self nature. The mind-ground is not in turmoil; [this is] the concentration of the self nature. The mind-ground is bright – [this is] the wisdom of the self nature. HAVE NEVER BEEN ABANDONED. Walking, standing, sitting and lying have never been abandoned.<sup>106</sup> *Nirvana*.<sup>107</sup> This is a Sanskrit word, in the Tangut language<sup>108</sup> [that means] calm extinction. To say more: *nir* stands for rupa, and *-vana* stands for the mind. It is said that if the truth [of their] nonduality is realized, [one] enters it. *The realization of the bodhi*. This is also a Sanskrit word. In the Tangut language [it means] awakening. It is the realization of the principle of the nonduality of nirvana. THUS, THERE EMERGED THE NAME OF THE CHAN THAT IS OUTSIDE PHRASES. [This name] emerged from words. [This is] the explanation of the Chan that is beyond phrases. *Explanation: All the dharmas are the dharmas of the truth.*<sup>109</sup> All the dharmas are the dharmas of the truth.
- p. 10a This is to say, there is no division with the truth and establishing of different dharmas. *All names are the names of the truth*. From the holy name, the thousand names emerge, and all of them are the names of the truth. There is no division with the truth and establishing of different names. For example, from one sort of grain ten thousand dishes are made, but all of them still are the previous holy grain. *The question: [If] today enlightenment is thus seen, afterwards.*<sup>110</sup> Further, [the question]: “Is there the mind of desire (欲心, 求心) or is there no mind of desire? If there is the mind of desire, then there is contradiction with the innate true substance 混融終歸 (古成真體?). If there is no mind of desire, then the realization of the true way would thus be impossible to achieve.” The answer: “[The mind of desire] both exists and does not. When there is no mind of desire, [it] is all present in the [notion] of the self, [and] there is no dharma outside the mind. When the mind of desire is present, then one [thought] of awakening is the faith.”<sup>111</sup>

<sup>106</sup> The standard Chan formula is “walking, standing, sitting, and lying are all Chan.”

<sup>107</sup> The other ms. commentary on “Teaching” (however, not translated in app. 1) has: “Entering Nirvana.”

<sup>108</sup> Lit., the language of the “Mi.”

<sup>109</sup> Apparently, here “dharmas” can mean both elements, or even things, as well as doctrines.

<sup>110</sup> The translation is tentative. This sentence is not found in the other version of the commentary. It seems to be incomplete.

<sup>111</sup> The whole passage, however obscure, tends to demonstrate one of the basic concepts of Hongzhou thought: the identity of worldly phenomena with the enlightened mind and the Buddha. Generally, one of the fundamental ideas of Mazu was that every activity whatsoever is in fact the manifestation of the Buddha nature.

[If one] is in harmony with that, he would realize the Dharmadhatu. That is about

- p. 10b desire and the self. ENLIGHTENED WISDOM ATTAINED THE ULTIMATE AWAKENING. Awakening to the nonduality of what is beyond phrases and what accords with phrases. *Explanation: Two blows [and] attachment [arise], but there is no sharpness* (打二已銳中不有). That is what was said before: “Became attached to what accords with phrases and rejected (絕) what is beyond phrases.” Further, if the nonduality of what accords with phrases and what is beyond phrases are directly realized, then afterwards they will be [inseparable] like faith and knowledge. [Still] it is not [as if] one realizes everything in one sentence. Therefore it is said: “Have no sharpness.” [HE] ASKED ABOUT FAITH AND WISDOM. The direct ultimate awakening. The “stamping of the seal 叢嶺 (印符).” *Explanation: With his own doubts already extinguished, [Enlightened Wisdom now] wished to remove the obstacles of the others.* [He] did not have any doubts on his own and attained direct awakening, and for the benefit of the others made [them] realize that principle. [HE SAID]: “THE GREAT MASTER SAID AT FIRST: ‘THE SUPREME
- p. 11a ONE WAY TRANSCENDS WORDS (離言). The question arouses the extinction of the offspring of the supreme one-way. These are the words concerning the removal of doubts. WHAT IS [THEN] THE REASON FOR ESTABLISHING THE [CHAN] THAT ACCORDS WITH PHRASES?’” The question that was asked following [the other] question. *Explanation: Non-transcending, following the transcending (離).*<sup>112</sup> [The one who asked] said himself: “What follows the nontranscendence is the attachment to what accords with words. Transcendence is the rejection of what accords with phrases. What is called “following the transcendence” is the realization of what is beyond phrases. What is called “nontranscendence” is the rejection of what accords with phrases.<sup>113</sup> THE ANSWER: “IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO PREACH ALL THE DHARMAS. The question: “The explanation of the understanding of what is outside phrases is the Chan that is beyond phrases.” Why? The true sutra, established by the Buddha:<sup>114</sup> “To say that in what the

<sup>112</sup> Another translation is also possible: “The transcending that follows the non-transcending.”

<sup>113</sup> The present complicated paragraph demonstrates the additional nature of the two sorts of Chan – one that accords with phrases, and one that is outside them. The transcendence and non-transcendence seem to form the unity of the teaching and practice. “Transcending the words 離言” was much discussed in Chan literature, especially by Zongmi.

<sup>114</sup> The translation is tentative. However, the phrase probably is not the title of an actual sutra, since there is nothing with anything similar (Ch.: 佛立實經) so far known. The content of the following paragraph may be traced to the “Diamond sutra.”

Buddha has taught there is the Dharma, [is] to destroy the Buddha (佛之毀).” *All that the explanations (要論) say is not the*

- p. 11b *true principle*.<sup>115</sup> After the mind-ground has been realized, the awakened mind is no longer preserved. In this circumstance, who is to preach the true principle? [THEY] PREACH THEMSELVES IN THE ABSCENSE OF PREACHING. The Chan that accords with phrases. Why? “The Instruction 召”<sup>116</sup> says: “[To say] that in what the Buddha has preached there is no Dharma is the destruction of the sutras.” *Explanation: There are no people in the mountains, but there is the sound coming out.* This is the wild sound emerging. When [one] hears the wild sound, he will not [discern where it emerges from] if he follows what he has heard. Thus it said that there are no people, though this is not to say that there are no people [who produced the sound] at all. There are people in this wilderness; thus, there is the sound emerging. Concerning that the Dharma was first preached through the absence of the preaching: When the Dharma is preached through the wisdom, the preaching of the Dharma has no-mind.<sup>117</sup> What is said cannot be seen. Therefore, above, it is said: “Preaches itself in the absence of preaching.”
- p. 12a [THE BUDDHA] AGREED TO TALK “The Instruction” says: “[He] took the body-form, being devoid of the characteristics. Abiding nowhere [he] established all the Dharmas. This is the explanation of the preaching. [*and*] *preached himself for forty-nine years*.<sup>118</sup> The question: “Sakya Tathagata preached the Dharma for forty-nine years. Was [he] preaching it according to enlightenment, or was he preaching it according to delusion? If he was preaching according to enlightenment, then the Buddha did not have to preach the Dharma to the enlightened people. If he was preaching according to delusion, then everything [he said] would have [an element] of deluded speech. Further, he also did not have to “pick the ground.” The answer: “There were both enlightenment and delusion. Living beings are not enlightened, but the Buddha himself is an enlightened man, [who] was talking about enlightenment to the deluded people. Thus both delusion and enlightenment are complete. [AND] DID NOT AGREE TO TALK. Is it possible to speak, while there are no names.

<sup>115</sup> This phrase is inserted here, following the text of the commentary in the other ms. of “Teaching.”

<sup>116</sup> I cannot as yet identify such a text.

<sup>117</sup> This paragraph, if correctly translated, can be understood the following way: the Dharma preaching is not connected with any particular person and has no specific origin that can be traced to its roots. At the same time, that is not to say, that it has no origin at all—it is traced to the Buddha-nature, which is rendered as no-mind—the universal reality, that manifests itself through the preaching of the Dharma.

<sup>118</sup> This phrase is inserted here, following the text of the commentary in the other ms. of “Teaching.”

p. 12b *How can the different traditions (異傳, 外傳)<sup>119</sup> of the past be spoken by the mouth [of the Buddha]:<sup>120</sup> Zhangshan 衍辯 (丈山?)<sup>121</sup> asked: “To explain directly, what are the different traditions?” The answer: “The calm and pure true substance is similar to nothing, is not obtained through explanations and words, and is not contained in the roots (根).<sup>122</sup> When the nature of mind is transmitted, [the different traditions?] support each other like the bill and the shaft. Awakening and realization come together, but there is no harmony in action. The different traditions are thus made clear.” Question: “Are the essentials (宗趣) of the different traditions contained in the Avatamsaka-sutra 綴發 (華嚴), or are they not contained there? If they are contained there, then the Avatamsaka protects the different traditions. If they are not contained, then the Avatamsaka cannot obtain the name of the ‘complete.’”<sup>123</sup> The answer: “[The Avatamsaka] includes various statements, and thus naturally obtained the name of the ‘complete.’ But it has never been the true preaching.”<sup>124</sup> This is the direct explanation of the different traditions. [AND THE DHARMA] FROM THE BEGINNING (原來, 自古) WAS EXPLAINED THIS WAY. The explanation of what accords with phrases and what is beyond phrases. *Explanation:**

p. 13a *The Buddhas of the three periods took the law from this.*<sup>125</sup> The above mentioned two types of “taking the ground” must be followed. [THE TRADITIONS] ARE NOT THE SAME DUE TO THE [DIFFERENT WAYS THEY ARE] PREACHED. This is said concerning the above mentioned: “agreed to talk and did not agree to talk.” *Explanation: The nature of the roots (根性) is different; the two lines of talking are in accord [with them].* This is said about the two sorts of faculties: the acute faculties and the dull faculties. [BUT] THE BASIC SOURCE IS NONDUAL (根源). The explanation of the nonduality of substance and function 爾, 與 (體用). *Explanation: The dharmadhatu is one in itself (法界自獨), and the paths of realization (證道) are all the same.* It is in itself the path of realization that the three realms are just one-mind. THE TRUE SUBSTANCE HAS NO

<sup>119</sup> It is not quite clear what “the different traditions” are. The saying may stand for the heretical teachings, or, more likely, for traditions other than that of Mazu.

<sup>120</sup> This phrase is inserted here, following the text of the commentary in the other ms. of “Teaching.”

<sup>121</sup> Unidentified person. For the Tangut transcription of Baizhang, see p. 3a, above; and here Zhangshan may well stand for Baizhang.

<sup>122</sup> Sensory organs (Skt.: Indriya).

<sup>123</sup> The point, close to Zongmi and general Huayan polemics, is to assert the supremacy of the Avatamsaka sutra in the classification of teachings. The term describing Huayan doctrine here is 圓, thus fitting perfectly to the classification of the teaching tradition of the Huayan school. This part of the text is probably the most substantial evidence for the Huayan background of the compilers of the text.

<sup>124</sup> The true preaching (實說) transcends words; see above.

<sup>125</sup> The general sense is that “the Buddhas of the three periods followed this.”

LIMIT (無遍). The existent true substance has no limit. When the tranquil and empty sea of mind encompasses the Dharmadhatu, it is called “the attaining of the great seal (大印).” [IT] EXISTED BEFORE THE BUDDHA.

p. 13b Long before the bright thought of awakening was established in the self-mind, there at first existed the self-nature initially capable of enlightened vision. Concerning awakening, [one is enlightened] even before he has left the mother’s womb. This is called “the ancient law.” [AND] THE MANIFESTATIONS OF [ITS] MERITS ARE INEXHAUSTIBLE. Each of all the dharmas is the mind only. [The mind-only] discriminates, illuminating the things and has never been in darkness. What hinders it today? When [one] awakens, the initial merits manifest [themselves] without exhaustion.<sup>126</sup> [This is] the precious seal 寶印 (寶印). THE FACE AND EYES 瓏瓏 (面目)<sup>127</sup> ARE BRIGHT. If [one] directly realizes that the ten thousand dharmas are in the mind-only, then [there] will be no permanence, abiding, characteristics or things at all. Why? “The Instruction” says: “If [you] pursue the eternal brightness of the single round pearl [of the mind], [you] will obtain it neither inside, nor outside. [When] it arises from the objects 瓏瓏 (起於境), it fully exists. When [one] awakens, [he] sees [his] face.”<sup>128</sup> THUS A NAME

p. 14a EMERGED: ‘THE GREAT ANCIENT PRECIOUS SEAL’ 叡齋叡齋 (大古寶印). If one realizes the nonduality of substance and merit, it is the great ancient precious seal. It is the profound of the profound 瓏瓏 (玄之玄)<sup>129</sup> of the Supreme One-Way.” *Explanation: The foundation of the single manifestation of the precious wish-fulfilling pearl 瓏瓏叡齋 (如意寶珠).* Concerning the wish-fulfilling pearl: according to the order of the ruler, when the “meeting banner” (中遇幅) is established on the peak of the mountain, [the lords] of the four directions are revered through the burning of fine incense. When the wish is good, though the wealth has not been assembled, there can be obtained benefit from the lords of the four directions, the spirits that dwell in the trees (住樹), and others.<sup>130</sup> *It is the dharma that has been explained by the sages of the ten directions.* According

<sup>126</sup> This passage demonstrates the basic idea of Hongzhou thought – that every action of the mind is, in fact, the action of the enlightened nature, and may thus be rendered as the manifestation of the innate Buddha-nature. Mind, being initially pure, produces all phenomena, which therefore are pure and contain the completeness of the Buddha-nature. This is one of the points in the Hongzhou doctrine most heavily condemned by Zongmi.

<sup>127</sup> This phrase seems to be a direct allusion to Chinese Buddhist language. In Chan Buddhism the search for “initial outlook 本來面目” has always been an important topic. Nevertheless, here I prefer to follow the traditional way and translate both Tangut characters separately.

<sup>128</sup> This appears to be an ordinary Chan instruction on the search for initial outlook.

<sup>129</sup> This phrase possibly is an indirect quotation from the *Daodejing*, sect. 1: “玄之又玄.” The concept of the “great ancient precious seal” may be understood by putting together the above-mentioned “precious seal” with “great seal.”

<sup>130</sup> This might be a sort of magic ritual, probably of indigenous Tangut origin and connected with the state authority.

to the Dharma, the ten thousand dharmas arise from the objects and are assembled in the mind-only. THE THREE CHAN

- p. 14b ARE COMPLETE When the nonduality of what accords with phrases and what is beyond phrases is realized, the Chan of the great ancient precious seal is complete. [AND] THERE IS NOT EVEN ONE EXTERNAL CHARACTERISTIC. That is to say, that when the offspring of the Supreme One-Way are removed, and [one] is able to attain the awakened vision of the direct nature,<sup>131</sup> then there are no external characteristics and things. *Explanation: Initially there is no attachment to the written signs in the emptiness.* The scribe 彌疼 (書者) writes. What he has written has no form. Who is the one who is attached? According to the Dharma, if the one-mind is directly realized, then, in the nonduality of presence and absence (有無不二), there is no attachment to the signs. [WHEN] ONE AND OTHERS (自各)<sup>132</sup> ARE DIFFERENT, THERE CAN BE NO ACTIONS OF CONTEMPLATION 懺終 (定爲). One and others take names; one and common are mixed without limit. *There is comparison 變 (譬),<sup>133</sup> The Chan that accords with phrases; [and] there is no comparison.*
- p. 15a the Chan that is outside phrases. [*And the great ancient precious seal transcends [both] dirt and purity.*] When the nonduality of what accords with phrases and what is beyond phrases is realized, this is the great ancient precious seal. This is the explanation of the above “three Chan.” THE DHARMA GATE OF THE MIND-GROUND 辨結禪觀 (心地法門) The mind is the dharma. The place from which the ten thousand dharmas arise in multitude is the direct mind-only. Then “ground” is a comparison: all the tress, grass, woods, wild birds and animals, all [in which] blood is pulsing, arise from the ground. “Gate” [means] coming in and out without harm. This is the explanation of the mind-ground. *Explanation: The dharma and the comparison 禪變 (法譬) accompany each other, [thus] being able to enlighten the people.* This is the [expounding] of the above Dharma and comparison. IS TRANSMITTED FROM THE MASTER TO THE DISCIPLE. What has been started by the Buddhas and masters in the past and has reached today is the transmitting of the one-mind.
- p. 15b This is the use of the realization (盡證悟) of the secret intention. *Explanation: There must be a guide 觀疼 (指者); [it is] important for the one who sees 觀疼 (見者) [the follower].* Above it was said: “using the

<sup>131</sup> The Buddha-nature.

<sup>132</sup> The translation of the paragraph is not exactly clear; the Chinese gloss may not be adequate. As for “certain actions,” the meaning is not clear from the context. Therefore my translation: “actions of contemplation.”

<sup>133</sup> I.e., expounding the Dharma through comparisons and parables – one of the favorite forms of Buddhist preaching.

realization.” Further, as the people are deluded, the guide is important, for [he] makes [them] realize the profound secret. *The question on the dharma that is being transmitted by the founding master Heze* 訖鞞隣音 (荷澤宗師).<sup>134</sup> The commentary says:<sup>135</sup> “[This has been] commonly known and clear.” Though the true substance of the living beings is explained through the theory of the Chan that accords with phrases, [some] ask about the Chan that is beyond phrases: “The great ancient precious seal of the nonduality of those [two sorts of Chan] does not discriminate between the white and black and does not have even one characteristic. Does then ‘seeing the nature 概覿 (見性)’ [preached] by the Great Tranquility exceed ‘the seeing’ [preached] by Heze, or does it not exceed it?” The answer: “It both exceeds and does not.” Why? “If to explain [it] following the doctrine of Great Tranquility, then everything truly exists.

p. 16a Thus, [his doctrine] does not exceed [the doctrine of Heze].” The question: “But is there [a place] for the innate true substance<sup>136</sup> [expounded] by the founding master Heze?” The answer: If from the point of presence, then the ordinary people and the sages (凡聖) exist and cannot attain the awakening. What is the benefit of that? Sakya, The World-Honored-One (釋迦世尊) attained perfect enlightenment and realized that the Dharmadhatu in its completeness exists in the mind 禪庵曉龍 (法界識有) and is simultaneous with the self. Concerning “the seeing” [of the two schools], if to talk from the point of view that the Buddha, is the foundation of the self, then there are no differences [between] the traditions. The living beings are not enlightened and receive retribution. [Thus] from the point of view of the rituals, there are differences. ALL THE BENEVOLENT FRIENDS 毗憐 (知識) IN THE WORLD ABIDE IN THIS.”<sup>137</sup> [They] abide in the single Dharmadhatu of the one-mind. There is nothing next to it. What can hinder it, what can be the obstacles? The abiding in the self-nature is the ancient law.<sup>138</sup> *Explanation: There are no flying birds who do not rest upon space.*

p. 16b Space is harmless, thus the birds play there unharmed. Therefore, there is none [of them], who does not rest upon space. THE LIVING BEINGS OF THE FUTURE MUST AWAKEN [THROUGH] FOLLOWING THE RITUAL. [The living beings] abide exclusively in the direct dharma of the one-mind. The Dharmakaya, which has nothing next to it, must be truthfully

<sup>134</sup> I.e., Heze Shenhui. This passage of the commentary to “Teaching” is omitted in the other ms. The sentence seems to be unfinished.

<sup>135</sup> There is no indication as to the identity of the text referred to as “The commentary.”

<sup>136</sup> Lit., “the substance that has been established in the past” (古成真體).

<sup>137</sup> The commentary found in the other ms. says, concerning this, “There is no knowledge of Buddha; with whom to study?”

<sup>138</sup> The commentary in the other ms. reads: “There must be no knowledge of Buddha; how to recognize the teacher?”

realized in its principle 終 (either 理 or 議).<sup>139</sup> *Explanation: The one-way has left the phrases, and intended [to arouse] the mind of compassion.* The people must first understand the deep profound principle, that [they] are not deluded. MA 稜 (馬)<sup>140</sup> This is how the Chinese family name Ma 裊 (馬) is explained in the Mi (Tangut) language. THE ANCESTOR 裊 (idiomatic: 祖), The supreme, ultimate and profound intention of the ancestor must be understood. THE GREAT MASTER, (The great master Mazu) WAS ASKED ON THE WAY AND THE RITUAL. [He] was not receiving one side [of the teaching], but explained together all the principles of the Buddha in order to make clear the intentions of the patriarchs.

p. 17a *Explanation: The supreme men examine each other in order to make bright the sharp sword.* [They] discuss the supreme principles together. All the sages talk together in order to make bright the direct principle [of the Buddha-nature]. WHEN THE MASTER WAS SITTING, When those, who exercise awakening came [to him], [he] was able to know and understand [their] three things (三事).<sup>141</sup> *Explanation: [He was able] to understand the fruits [of those] who came from far away.*<sup>142</sup> When [in a disciple?] awakening is strong and wisdom is abundant, [the master] examined the name and did not examine the principle. When wisdom and anxiety are [both] abundant, [the master] examined the principle and did not examine the name. When perfection and wisdom both are abundant, [the master] examined neither name, nor principle.<sup>143</sup> That is why it is said “to know the fruits of those who came from far away.” [HE WAS] ASKED ABOUT FAITH AND WISDOM: “WHICH IS THE ULTIMATE DOCTRINE OF THE MASTER?”<sup>144</sup> [The followers]

<sup>139</sup> This may be seen through the Chinese Buddhist concept of “principle” or a more general “truth.”

<sup>140</sup> Tangut rendering of the Chinese surname.

<sup>141</sup> I.e., the deeds of the body, speech and mind.

<sup>142</sup> I am unable to translate 裊, preceding “the fruits.”

<sup>143</sup> The meaning of this last passage is unclear, especially since once of the Tangut signs has been untranslatable. It seems to be an explanation of Mazu’s attitude to the newly arriving disciples. “The name” here represents the school, or the lineage, to which the person belonged before coming to Hongzhou. There is evidence that Mazu was curious about the previous whereabouts of his new followers. Thus “the principle” represents the actual understanding of the Buddhist teaching. If this viewpoint is accepted, the passage may be rendered the following way: “Of those, in whom awakening was strong and wisdom abundant, he asked only about the name of the doctrine and the master they were previously following, but did not ask about their actual understanding. When he saw wise people and those anxious to awaken, he was curious about their actual understanding of the doctrine, but did not ask them about their previous Buddhist experience. When he came across those who had complete achievement both on perfection and wisdom, he was curious neither about their previous experience, nor their actual understanding. In other words, the master adopted different approaches to different types of believers.”

<sup>144</sup> The text here addresses the traditional polemic between Chan and doctrinal teachings concerning the priority of wisdom before faith.

- p. 17b seek the realization of the profoundest of the profound of the supreme One-Way. Thus the explanation says: “[The arrow of the mind] has hit the mark; do not wish anything different.” [THE MASTER] ANSWERED: “[FAITH AND WISDOM] ARE NOT ONE, The Chan that accords with phrases. AND NOT DIFFERENT. The Chan that is beyond phrases. *[The Chan] that accords with phrases and [the Chan that] is beyond phrases are to be realized in nonduality.*<sup>145</sup> The great ancient precious seal. THE ULTIMATE FAITH AND WISDOM The direct and ultimate realization of the profoundest of the profound on the supreme one-way. LEAVE NOTHING BEHIND. The principle which lacks nothing. *Explanation: Listening to one, you awake and obtain the great dharani 般龍礙 (大緣持).* The multitude of the principles in one phrase is understood at once, and thus everything is obtained and preserved. The mind is also not present [any longer],
- p. 18a therefore only [the true nature] abides and there is nothing next to it. EXPLANATION OF THE HONGZHOU [TEACHING]: Benefit for other people. *If not one, then* The question: “Though they are not one, then must [faith and wisdom] be attached to the order?” The answer: “Being not one, for what reason should they be attached to the order?” *If this principle is realized, the great ancient precious seal will resemble neither the disorder, nor the order.* Having no characteristics it will remain exclusively one. *[If] they are not different,* The question: “Though they are not different, must they be attached to the disorder?” The answer: “While they are not different, for what reason should they be attached to the disorder?” *then, if this principle is realized, there will be attachment neither to the order,*<sup>146</sup> *nor to what is beyond phrases.* The one-mind will not
- p. 18b stay. *[The faith and wisdom] are neither one nor different.* The question: “Since they are not one and not different, must there be attachment to the great ancient precious seal?” The answer: “While they are neither one nor different, for what reason must there be an attachment to the great ancient precious seal?” *If this principle is directly realized, then there will be attachment neither to what accords with phrases, nor to what is beyond phrases.* The offspring of the supreme One-way has been cut off, and not a single form or characteristic survived. *If they are not one, then they are necessarily different, [which] resembles order.* The Chan that accords with phrases. *If they are not different, then they are necessarily one, [which] resembles disorder.* The Chan that is beyond phrases. *The question: “The true substance that exists: is it one or different?”* [The question]: “If there was a determined unity, then if one man awakened,

<sup>145</sup> This sentence of the commentary to “Teaching” is not present in the other ms.

<sup>146</sup> Here “order” probably is synonymous with “the Chan that accords with phrases.” The understanding that faith and wisdom are not different will result in the realization of the nature of the mind, which will exterminate the mind itself, making clear its innate Buddha-nature.

the other people would have all become awakened. If there was a determined difference, then the living beings could not become the Buddhas?”

- p. 19a The answer: “Since they are not one, then, if one man awakens, the other people remain unawakened – that is how it should be stated. Since they are not different, there are living beings that become Buddhas.”<sup>147</sup> [*The true substance*] that is neither one nor different resembles the Chan that is beyond phrases. [This is] the Chan of the great ancient precious seal. When [we] talk about the completeness of the three Chan, this is to say that each of them must be realized. *Being neither one nor different, [the true substance] cannot be established through definition* 悞終疑 (定為不肯). There is no disorder. *Being neither one nor different, it can be established through the definition* 悞終疑 (定為肯). The completeness of the three Chan.<sup>148</sup> [*The fact that the true substance*] is neither one nor different is understood through the teacher. Beyond phrases and following phrases. [*The fact that the true substance*] is nor one nor different is understood through the absence of the teacher.
- p. 19b Understanding everything in one phrase. *The question: “When [it] is realized through the teacher, there is a guide [to the disciple], and the awakening is due to come about. When [it] is realized through the absence of the teacher, there is no guide. How can awakening come about?”*<sup>149</sup> The answer: “There is [a saying]: The mind becomes bright, when it sees rupa; [one] awakens to the Way when [he] hears a sound. All the existing dharmas can make clear the true substance. That is why when [one] awakens through the absence of the teacher, [in fact] there is a teacher.” *The one, which is neither one nor different, corresponds to the ten principles*,<sup>150</sup> This means the above-mentioned three resemblances, three non-resemblances, definition, non-definition, presence of the master, absence of the master and other ten principles must be considered together. [*The two sorts of Chan?*] see each other from the beginning to the end, The answer to the previous question on “not one not different” in one phrase.

<sup>147</sup> The contents of this paragraph are close to the discussion on the “absence of difference among the mind, the Buddha and the living beings” (三無差別), peculiar to Chinese Buddhism, especially Huayan. Generally, the context here goes a bit deeper than the matter of faith and wisdom. The latter correspond to the two types of Chan that bring about true substance – the innate nature of the mind. This unconceivable true substance manifests itself through faith and wisdom, i.e., through the two types of Chan, which are thus neither one nor different. Originating from the same source, they are thus not different, but since they follow various ways, they are not also the same. Their unity, though not resembling any sequence, order, or disorder, brings about the complete understanding of the true substance.

<sup>148</sup> In the given context the three Chan are probably the Chan that accords with phrases, the Chan that is beyond phrases, and the great ancient precious seal.

<sup>149</sup> This passage is missing in the commentary to “Teaching” found in the other ms.

<sup>150</sup> Despite the context, the notion of the “ten principles” (十理) may be traced to Huayan thought.

p. 20a Once the principle of nonduality of what accords with phrases and what is beyond phrases is fully realized, then it is said: “see each other from the beginning to the end.”<sup>151</sup> *and are complete in number* 數中圓滿 (數中圓滿), [This relates to] the previous: in the phrases the ten thousand dharmas are brought together and thus there is nothing, which is not perfect. *and [their] performance is inexhaustible.* [One who was] enlightened once, [remains] enlightened forever, and will not be deluded again. Therefore, [one who] sees the nature, performs without exhaustion 辨別無窮 (無窮順爲).<sup>152</sup> CONCERNING THE ESSENCE OF THE [TEACHING OF] THE CHAN MASTER GREAT TRANQUILITY 惺惺 (來順), Zhangshan 行惺 (丈山) asked about the distressing dispute between the Northern and Southern schools from the point of view of the essence [of their doctrines]. *Explanation: The masters of the schools dispute; the followers 辯修 (修者) believe.* The roots of doubt in the people of the future must be cut off. ZHANGSHAN ASKED: “GREAT MASTER!

p. 20b WHERE DOES THE ESSENCE OF YOUR TEACHING COME FROM?” First the question was raised. [THE MASTER] ANSWERED: “THE BUDDHA COULD NOT EXPLAIN [IT]. If the mind awakens in one thought, it will further remain awakened. Since mind will not be preserved, will there be anyone to explain it? This is the explanation of the profound in the substance of the true emptiness. THE WORLD-HONORED-ONE HELD UP THE FLOWER, The explanation of the profound [among] the miraculous merits.<sup>153</sup> [Zhangshan] asked, “The world-honored-one held up a flower.”<sup>154</sup> That is to say: “Does the mind of desire exist, or does it not exist?” The answer: “It both exists and does not.” [The question]: “If there is no mind of desire in the Buddha,<sup>155</sup> then it is the true faith. If it is said that the mind of desire exists, what is the reason for it?” The answer: “Since the Buddha has no mind of desire, then it is not proper to teach that there is consciousness (識).”<sup>156</sup> The question: “The intentions of Great Tranquility

<sup>151</sup> The common origin and the ultimate mutual dependence of the two sorts of Chan are stressed.

<sup>152</sup> This passage may be seen through the notion of “inexhaustible manifestations” of the true substance – common to Chinese Buddhist thought. Thus “performance” may be rendered as “action.” The passages marks the end of the commentary to “Teaching” as written in the other ms.

<sup>153</sup> Here Fayong addresses the famous episode in Chan lore concerning the transmission of the dharma of Chan from Buddha to Kasyapa in terms of the traditional Chinese concept of substance and function – the core of Huayan and Zongmi thought.

<sup>154</sup> This passage is not found in the commentary to “Teaching” written in the other ms.

<sup>155</sup> Probably the desire to obtain Buddha-hood.

<sup>156</sup> The mundane mind is the product of dependent origination, and thus has desire as its foundation. If there is no desire, then there is no consciousness.

- p. 21a are different from those of the Buddha?" The answer: "Never say that! There is nothing that exceeds the true mind of desire. All the Buddhas and masters penetrated [it] on the way of perfection."<sup>157</sup> AND KASYAPA 罽毘 (迦葉) DID NOT UNDERSTAND.<sup>158</sup> While the understanding of the enlightened thoughts of one's own mind has not been established, who is the one who has been initially capable to become enlightened? This is the explanation of the profound substance of the true emptiness, [which arises] through the awakening. [KASYAPA] SMILED INTO [THE BUDDHA'S] EYES, The knowledge of the mind cannot be attained, thus there is an explanation of the one-mind of the supreme vehicle. AND COULD NOT SAY OR ASK ANYTHING. [The one-mind] exceeds language. This is the explanation of ordinary words. CAO XI 裴巖 (曹溪, i.e., Huineng) HAD A THING, These are the words of the Sixth Patriarch. XIANGSHAN 禪旃 (相山?)<sup>159</sup> CURSED.
- p. 21b [The Master] said to Xiangshan: "I have one thing today. Did you see it?" Xiangshan said: "I saw it." The master said: "What did you see?" [Xiangshan] answered: "I've seen something which is unlike [anything] I've seen before, and is unlike [anything]. What miraculous powers does it lack?" [The Master] answered: "That thing that you have seen cannot be compared to anything: that is why it is said it is unlike anything. Although there are no miraculous powers, is there any single characteristic which is not the true appearance of Xiangshan?"<sup>160</sup> Thus Xiangshan understood the principle. ASKED ABOUT THE BASIC INTENTION OF THE GREAT TRANQUILITY,<sup>161</sup> First comes the question. The question: "There are ten principles in the way of ritual, following the true principle, the four truths<sup>162</sup> are explained." What do the words "The Buddha is weak, teachers are strong"

<sup>157</sup> The meaning of this discussion may probably be reconstructed as follows: Hongzhou teaching emphasized the innate enlightenment of living beings, thus upholding the notion that mundane phenomena and activities are but manifestations of the Buddha-nature. Therefore desire is also a manifestation of fundamental enlightenment. If the Buddha had no desire, the mundane practices do not exist, and therefore there is no necessity to instruct the followers in the regular way, since any mundane thing is the Buddha. Thus, desire not only produces delusion, but is also a manifestation of the inspiration towards Buddhahood.

<sup>158</sup> This is a variant on a standard story. According to all accounts, Kasyapa understood and smiled. "The Essence" presents the opposite case.

<sup>159</sup> Unknown person. The whole passage seems to relate a discourse between a certain Xiangshan and the Sixth Patriarch. Judging from the way the story is rendered, the discourse was probably well known to the audience, yet I was unable to locate any corroboration.

<sup>160</sup> The "thing" about which Huineng was asking was probably Xiangshan himself. As soon as the person attains awakening, it is no longer a question of miraculous powers, but of every single trait or feature embodying enlightenment.

<sup>161</sup> It is not clear who asked whom in this phrase. Judging from discussion, above, Xiangshan was a disciple of Huineng and thus could not have discussed the doctrine of Mazu with his Master, who died before Mazu gained prominence. Of course, the problem may be with the translation here.

<sup>162</sup> The ten truths (十條理) possibly relate to the above-mentioned "four phrases."

mean? The answer: “According to the basic intention of Great Tranquility there are no differences between [the teachings of the Buddha and those of the Masters]. Thus the ten principles that are present now, are collected one after one in three parts.<sup>163</sup>

p. 22a Thus, not a tiniest leaf or blade of grass will be missing.” [THE MASTER SAID]: MY BASIC INTENTION ORIGINATES FROM THE SINGLE [SOURCE].<sup>164</sup> [The doctrine] originated from the World-Honored-One and reached Hongzhou. It was then collected into ten phrases, and nothing has been lost. ZHANGSHAN 張擘 (Deshan 德山)<sup>165</sup> ATTAINED FAITH AND LEFT WITH REVERENCE. DESHAN ASKED: “WHERE IS THE ABODE OF THE GREAT MASTER?” To ask that was the same as to ask about the essence of the teaching. [Thus he asked] whether the mind of intention exists or not. [THE MASTER] ANSWERED: “IN MY ABODE THERE ARE NO FOOTPRINTS. Who will talk about presence and absence while [the master] does not wish to [utter] even one word? If one awakens, then it will be the Chan that is beyond words. *Explanation: There are traces left, Everybody talks. but nothing is left in hand.*

p. 22b Nothing is caught. *when the mind of attachment is extinguished,*<sup>166</sup> The truth. NOBODY ABIDES IN THE FOOTPRINTS footprint (足跡).<sup>167</sup> Conditioned origination 緣起 (緣起) is not absent. This is the Chan that accords with words. *Explanation: They*<sup>168</sup> *support each other; Merits are manifested through the substance. and do not abandon or transcend each other.* The nonduality of substance and function is thus explained. *The mind of deviation is extinguished.* The offspring of the supreme one-way are cut off. DESHAN PERCEIVED THE INTENTION AND FOLLOWED IT IN [HIS] PRACTICE. MAZU PREACHED NO DHARMA OTHER THAN THE MIND, Understanding, that everything is the truth. [HE UNDERSTOOD

<sup>163</sup> This passage might relate to the intention of Zongmi to collect all Chan teachings into one collection in order to harmonize them. Thus collected, the teachings of the masters would enjoy the same status as the Buddha’s teachings. The notion of the weakness of the Buddha probably relates to the religious situation of the 7th to 9th cc., when various Chan schools rose to dominance.

<sup>164</sup> The text of “Teaching” given in app. 1 contexts this passage as the discourse between Xiangshan and Caoxi.

<sup>165</sup> Zhangshan and Deshan cannot be identified otherwise, but supposedly were disciples of Mazu.

<sup>166</sup> Return to the smaller text itself. The mind of attachment should be extinguished through doctrinal teachings.

<sup>167</sup> “Footprints” is used here, as in other texts, as a designation of phenomenal manifestations. The master abides in a realm free from worldly things, i.e., he contemplates the true substance directly. Others arrive at the same result through the use of the doctrinal teachings, thus ridding of the mind of attachment, and thus transcending the mundane existence.

<sup>168</sup> I.e., both Chan that is beyond words and Chan that accords with words.

THAT EVERYBODY IS] TRULY ENLIGHTENED, AND FOLLOWED THE CAUSES, SEEKING BLISS.<sup>169</sup> [HE] ESTABLISHED THE SECRET

p. 23a PRACTICE 禪祇 (密行) OF DIRECT PERFECTION 楞靜 (直修). [AFTER HE ATTAINED ENLIGHTENMENT, HE] WAS ASKED [ABOUT IT], AND ANSWERED: "IT IS NOT ONE, NOR IS IT DIFFERENT. [The Way] has no characteristics. THE WORLD-HONORED-ONE HELD UP THE FLOWER, AND THE MASTER SMILED." This explains where [the teaching] comes from. GATHA OF THE ESSENCE OF THE DOCTRINE

*Heaven and earth are encompassed by the mind only.* Understanding, that everything is true.

*The great ancient precious seal is the sea of the nature of the mind.* The ancient law.

*The supreme one way eliminates language and knowledge.* Understanding, that it is the only one.

*Leave no traces, seeking for bliss.* What can be an obstacle [then]?

GATHA OF THE WISDOM

*There is no comparison to this wisdom.* Understanding, that it is the only one.

*The supreme one way eliminates language and knowledge.* This is the ancient law.

*The mind-only encompasses the ten directions.* Understanding, that everything is true.

*Every meeting is the way [dao], and nothing is left behind.* [The Way] is one by itself.

p. 23b THE NOTES ON THE ESSENCE OF THE HONGZHOU DOCTRINE WITH EXPLANATION, COMMENTARY, AND CLARIFICATION [ARE] COMPLETED.

<sup>169</sup> Stayed in the world, seeking enlightenment.