

РОССИЙСКАЯ АКАДЕМИЯ НАУК  
Институт восточных рукописей

# ТАНГУТЫ в Центральной Азии

*Сборник статей  
в честь 80-летия  
профессора Е.И.Кычанова*



МОСКВА  
Издательская фирма  
«Восточная литература»  
2012

УДК 94(5)  
ББК 63.3(5)  
Т18

*Издание выполнено при поддержке  
Фонда Цзян Цзин-го  
(Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for  
International Scholarly Exchange), Тайвань*

Составитель и ответственный редактор  
*И.Ф. Попова*

**Тангуты** в Центральной Азии : сб. ст. в честь 80-летия проф. Е.И. Кычанова / сост. и отв. ред. И.Ф. Попова ; Ин-т восточных рукописей РАН. — М. : Вост. лит., 2012. — 501 с. : ил. — ISBN 978-5-02-036505-6 (в пер.)

Сборник, в который вошли статьи отечественных и зарубежных ученых, посвящен 80-летию известного российского востоковеда, доктора исторических наук, профессора Е.И. Кычанова. Проблематика сборника задана основными доминантами многолетнего исследовательского творчества юбиляра, который, являясь в первую очередь тангутоведом и опираясь на широчайшую источниковедческую базу, блестяще разработал многие актуальные проблемы истории государственности, права, этногенеза, письменного наследия народов Китая и Центральной Азии. Большинство авторов статей постарались показать, как вопросы, поставленные в свое время в работах Е.И. Кычанова, получили дальнейшее развитие в науке.

ISBN 978-5-02-036505-6

© Институт восточных рукописей РАН, 2012  
© Редакционно-издательское оформление.  
Издательская фирма  
«Восточная литература», 2012

## The Liao Buddhism and the Formation of the Tangut Chan Buddhism\*

**T**he extant collections of the Tangut and Liao Buddhist texts show that the Buddhist complexes of both states had a number of common features implying certain proximity between the Buddhist systems in the two countries. Current research into the Buddhist texts retrieved from Khara-Khoto has generally initiated a reevaluation of the previous views on the Tangut Buddhism: for example, many special features that had been ascribed to the indigenous development of Buddhism in Xi-Xia should be rather interpreted as the evidences of the Liao influence on the formation of Tangut Buddhism. One of the specific features of Tangut Buddhism, which are thus to be reconsidered, is the popularity of the Chinese Huayan Teaching in the Tangut state. The dominant form of the Huayan Teaching found in Xi-Xia is its later Tang period version represented in the works of Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780–841), a prominent Chan scholar and simultaneously a successor of Qingliang Chengguan 清涼澄觀 (737–838), who was the head of the Huayan lineage in China. The Huayan tradition of Zongmi and Chengguan is traceable in the Liao Buddhism: Chengguan's magnum opus *Huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 is widely presented among a scarce remained relics of the Liao Buddhism discovered under the Wooden Pagoda (*Muta* 木塔) in the Ying county (*Yingxian* 應縣). Several works of Chengguan and Zongmi survived in the Khara-Khoto collection of Tangut texts; thus this paper is an attempt to present a partial argument in support of the hypothesis that the known from the Tangut collections Zongmi's works originated not in China proper but in the Liao and might be considered as a testimony to the continued Liao influence on the formation of the Tangut Buddhist system.

---

\* Conventions: modern works are cited according to the standard set up by the editor of the volume, the primary sources from Tripitaka, if not otherwise specified, are cited as: T (for *Taishō Tripitaka*), volume number, text number, page, lines; *Zoku Zokyo* texts are cited as: ZZ, volume number, text number, page line. Titles are provided in the footnotes or in the body text. If not otherwise indicated the quotations follow the electronic edition of CBETA.

Adaptation of the Liao Buddhist model had several important implications: that is, once the ideas of convergence between “Chan” and the “doctrinal teachings,” which constituted the core view of Chengguan, are accepted, the Buddhist system thus emerged becomes immune or even hostile to the Song period developments of Chan Buddhism, which is denominated as “radical.” This implies a specific attitude to the Chan Buddhist texts: refutation of the *Platform Sūtra* as forgery; general conviction that all the Chan lineages other than the Southern and Northern schools are deviation from the heritage of Bodhidharma; narrowed interpretation of the notion of the “Southern school” as of the tradition limited to Heze Shenhui (荷澤神會, 670–762)—Guifeng Zongmi line. This was exactly the case of the Liao, whose Buddhist system had been faithfully reproduced in the Tangut State. Several Liao texts belonging to this version of Chan and discovered in Khara-Khoto in either Chinese or Tangut version will be briefly presented below.

### Zongmi’s heritage in Xi-Xia

Even a brief scan of Zongmi’s works and various texts connected with his teaching, available from P.K. Kozlov’s collection and other repositories both in Tangut and Chinese, reveals that Master Guifeng’s impact on the formation of Tangut Buddhism far exceeded the influence of other Buddhist authors.<sup>1</sup> Chengguan and Zongmi attempts to construct a harmonious Buddhist Teaching through a combination of Huayan theory of mind, “Southern Chan” practice and repentance rituals on the platforms (*daochang* 道場) of the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* and *Avatamsaka sūtra* gave birth to a substantial secondary literature produced in China, Liao, and Xi-Xia. The texts discovered in Khara-Khoto include both the works by Zongmi himself such as: *The Preface to the Elucidation of the Collection of Chan Sources according to Various Traditions* (*Zhushuo chanyuan zhuquan jidu xu* 諸說禪源諸詮集都序, hereafter: *The Chan Preface*),<sup>2</sup> and *The Chart of the Transmission of the Chan teaching of Mind-ground in China* (*Zhonghua chuan xindi chanmen shizi chengxi tu* 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖, hereafter: *The Chan Chart*)<sup>3</sup> and several previously unknown texts corresponding the Huayan-Chan teaching. The repertoire of previously unknown works available from Khara-Khoto collection includes: *Condensed Text of the Chan Preface* (*Zhushuo Chanyuan jiduxu gangwen* 諸說禪源集都序綱文, 𐰇𐰣𐰏𐰤 𐰇𐰣𐰏𐰤 𐰇𐰣𐰏𐰤 𐰇𐰣𐰏𐰤),<sup>4</sup> a schematic commentary

<sup>1</sup> For a list of Zongmi’s works available in Tangut translation see Solonin 2006, pp. 66–127. Various Zongmi’s works were also identified among the Chinese texts discovered from Khara-Khoto and were reproduced in the recent publication of Khara-Khoto texts preserved in Russia (see *Ecang Heishuicheng wenxian*).

<sup>2</sup> The textual analysis of this work had been carried out by Nie Hongyin (2010, pp. 30–35).

<sup>3</sup> This is one of the most puzzling texts in the Tangut holdings: it contains a cover illustration, which features Zongmi, Pei Xiu and someone called Baiyun Shizi 白雲釋子 (Tangut 𐰇𐰣𐰏𐰤 𐰇𐰣𐰏𐰤), who is also mentioned in other Tangut texts. Sun Bojun believes that Baiyun Shizi is another name of Qingjue, but this hypothesis is not corroborated by other evidence.

<sup>4</sup> Танг 227 инв. № 4736. This text is probably a translation of the otherwise unknown work by early Northern Song Tiantai master Ciguang Wenbei 慈光文備. See *Xianju pian* 閒居篇 by Gushan Zhiyuan (ZZ 56, No. 949: 898a19–20).

(*kewen* 科文) to the *Chan Preface, The Torch Revealing the Meaning of the Chan Preface* (*Zhushuo Chanyuan jiduxu zejuji* 諸說禪源集都序擇炬記, 歲多巖穉祿緝靜綫霞蕪)<sup>5</sup> and *The Dharma Gate of the Mind-ground* (*Xindi famen wen* 心地法門文, 舜筌禪蒲菝),<sup>6</sup> which is a lengthy commentary to the *Chan Preface*. Several of Zongmi's works related to the Huayan and Huayan Chan traditions are also found in the Chinese part of the Khara-Khoto collection.<sup>7</sup> Discovery of these texts provides evidence substantiating the hypothesis that the so called Huayan Chan teaching probably was one of the dominant trends in the Tangut Buddhism. The origins and provenance of this commentarial literature require more research; however, considering the Liao custom of producing explications to the as it is lengthy commentarial texts, one can suggest that the abovementioned works are also of the Liao origin. Such an abundance of textual material related to the one particular dimension of Chinese Buddhism in the Tangut state deserves an explanation, which can be seen in the transmission of the Liao Buddhist pattern onto the Tangut soil.

### Zongmi and Chengguan heritage in the Liao

The Liao Buddhism had been substantially influenced by the Chinese Huayan teaching, especially in its late Tang version represented by Zongmi's master Qingliang Chengguan who was the person of utmost importance for the Liao Buddhism and whose magnum opus *Huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 dominated the textual curriculum discovered from the Wooden Pagoda (*Muta* 木塔) in the Ying county (*Yingxian* 應縣).

Such Liao texts as *Record of the Mind as a Mirror* (*Jingxin lu* 鏡心錄) by the Liao esoteric master Daoshen (道殿, 1056?–1114?, see discussion below), which uphold and maintain this Buddhist tradition in the Liao, have been discovered in the

<sup>5</sup> Тагг 227, инв. № 5172, 5174; Тагг 626, инв. № 7554. The schematic commentary was studied from linguistic perspective by Zhang Peiqi but has little to offer in this respect. From the first glance, the text bears certain proximity with *Schematic Commentary to the Preface to the Chan Sources and Private Notes* (*Zhushuo chanyuan zhuquan jiduxu kemu bing rusiji* 諸說禪源諸詮集都序科目并私記) examined by Kamata Shigeo in *Shūmitsu kyōgaku* (although the Tangut version has only schematic commentary without explanations as in Kamata's version), another suggestion is that the text is probably a work by a Tiantai "off mountain" master Ciguang Wenbei (慈光文備, d.u.) which is mentioned by Gushan Zhiyuan (孤山智圓) in his *Xianju pian* 閑居篇 (ZZ 56, No. 949: 989a20).

<sup>6</sup> Тагг 166 инв. № 7169. Unfortunately, the text is written in the Tangut analog of the Chinese *caoshu* 草書, thus its reading is extremely complicated.

<sup>7</sup> The discoveries of Xi-Xia texts both in Chinese and Tangut in Shanzuigou (山嘴溝) and in the "Square Pagoda" (*fangta* 方塔) in Baisigou (拜寺溝) have been by far the most significant breakthroughs since the Khara-Khoto findings of 1908. The texts discovered at these locations include fragments of the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*, its Brief Commentary (*lüeshu* 略疏) by Zongmi, Repentance Ritual on the Platform of the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* (*Yuanjue jing daochang lichan yiben* 圓覺經道場禮懺一本) and other texts. The texts were edited by Fang Guangchang (2005). Tangut texts include fragments of Tangut translation of the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*, fragments of unknown commentary etc. (see Sun Changsheng and Niu Dasheng 2005).

Tangut translations, thus substantiating the hypothesis of the continued Liao–Xi-Xia Buddhist relationship. Although Chengguan was the towering figure for the Liao Buddhists, Zongmi’s influence is also seen throughout the extant texts of the Liao Buddhism: Wuli Xianyan (悟理鮮演, 1048–1118), one of the major figures of the Liao Buddhism during the reign of Daozong (道宗, 1055–1101) showed strong inclination towards the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*: the impulse most probably derived from the overall affection towards Zongmi’s theories. Although Zongmi’s works have not been discovered among the recent findings of Liao texts, there is little reason to call in question their wide circulation among the Liao. First, the extant Liao texts are packed with quotations from the Huayan master, and, as it will be shown below, Liao understanding of Chan was substantially influenced by Zongmi. The second is the fact that Liao authorities were instrumental in securing the wide circulation of several of Zongmi’s works. The works of Zongmi, especially his so-called *Chan Preface*, which were published during the Liao, were later one of the foundations of Huayan revival during the Yuan. The “Preface” to the Yuan edition of the famous *Preface to the Collection of Explanations of Chan Truths* (*Zhushuo Chanyuan zhuquan jiduxu* 諸說禪源諸詮集都序), one of Zongmi’s major works, has the following indication:

昔至元十二年春正月，世祖皇帝萬機之暇，御瓊華島，延請帝師。太保文貞劉公亦在焉。乃召在京耆宿，問諸禪教乖互之義。先師西菴贊公等八人，因以圭峯禪源詮文為對，允愜宸衷。當時先師囑其弟雙泉泰公為之記，仍命雪堂鏤板流行。[...] 向於雲中普恩興國二寺各獲一本，後在京萬壽方丈，復得遼朝崇天皇帝太后清寧八年印造頒行天下定本。 [...]

[...] In the first month of spring of the Zhiyuan reign period (1275), Emperor Shizu while he was not burdened by the ten thousand endeavors, arrived to the Island of Marvelous Jade (Qionghua dao 瓊華島) and invited Imperial preceptor. The Great Protector Wenzhen (太保文貞) Prince Liu (劉公, i.e. Liu Wenzhen) was also present. [His Majesty] summoned the reverend elders residing in the capital and asked them about the mutually contradicting ideas of various Chan schools. Old Master Reverend Yun from Xi’an (西菴贊公) and other eight people answered according to the text of *Explanation of the Chan Truths* by the Chan Master Guifeng, and thus pleased His Majesty’s heart. At that moment the Old Master called his student Reverend Tai to make records of it, and later ordered Xuetang<sup>8</sup> to publish it for the wide circulation. [...] Originally at the court there were two manuscripts of the text from Puen and Xingguo Temples, and later a standard copy (*ding ben* 定本) printed for wide distribution by Liao Empress Chongtian (崇天皇后, wife of Daozong) in the eighth year of Qingning (1062) reign period was located. [...]<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Here Jia Ruozhou 賈汝舟, the author of the “Preface”, is referring to Xi’an Yun and Xuetang Ren, both members of Linji lineage during the Jin and early Yuan periods.

<sup>9</sup> T 48, No. 2015: 398a15–22. In this respect it is interesting to mention that in both Liao and Xi-Xia empresses were very active in Buddhist publishing activities.

This brief introduction seeks to prove that Liao authorities attached special importance to the publication and circulation of Zongmi's works, and this attitude persisted among the Northern Buddhists after the fall of Liao. Similar approach to Zongmi had also been maintained by the Tangut Buddhists. That was partially due to Zongmi's position as Chengguan's successor in the Huayan lineage and also with his status of an exemplary Chan master to which he had been elevated by such authors as Xiayan during the Liao. Attention to Zongmi in the Liao was probably connected with the fact that he was a proponent of the Chan teachings, which tended to combine the Huayan scholarship with the Chan practices inherited from the Northern and Southern schools. In the Liao, this idea of Chan had been widely circulated, especially during the time of Daozong, and one of its major propagators had been again Xiayan. Commenting upon a phrase from Chengguan's *Huayan jing suishu Yanyi chao* (華嚴經隨疏演義鈔): “事理雙修, 依本智而求佛智” (“Practicing both things and principle, [means] to rely on the inherent wisdom and attain the Buddha wisdom”) Xiayan refers to the “four Chan diseases” as described in the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* and mentions:

二者任病。生死既空, 何勞除斷? 涅槃本寂, 何假欣修? 一切放縱身心, 更不念其罪福, 泯絕無寄, 故成其病。差乎! 近代多落此科, 誦禪歌, 毀於法筵, 虛尋名相, 說: 理性非於塔寺。狂認福田, 妄立宗途, 悞惑含識, 斷除佛種, 良足悲哉!<sup>10</sup>

The second is the disease of spontaneity. [Those who succumb to it think]: Life and death are empty, why then one should exhaust himself in removing them? Nirvāṇa is originally tranquil, what is the joy in following the way of perfection? They let loose their body and mind, and never again think of transgressions and happiness, their mind is as if in mist and devoid of any support. That is how this disease emerges. Alas! Many are those who now fell into this category. They sing Chan songs, and insinuate from the Dharma seats. They search the terms and concepts out of vanity, and say: Principle and nature are not in the stupas and temples. They are badly mistaken [in their understanding of] the fields of merit, and establish illusory schools and ways, thus leading sentient beings into confusion, and cut off seeds of Buddhahood. This is truly sorrowful.

Similar views were presented by the Korean princely monk Ūich'ōng (義天, 1055–1101), a notable collector of both the Song and Liao Buddhist lore, when he once observed that the followers of the Chan Buddhism in China at that time were in fact nothing more but heretics, who despised doctrinal learning and were thus lead into delusion and dangerous deviations. The main reason for such a degradation of the Chan was, according to the Korean princely monk, the wide popularity of the teachings of Mazu Daoyi and the *Platform Sutra*, which were generally believed to be corrupt and contain perverted version of the teaching of the Sixth Patri-

<sup>10</sup> ZZ 8, No. 235: 7c2–5.

arch. Üich'ōng expressed his bitterness in a lengthy lament opening his publication of *Biezhuan xinfa yao* 別傳心法要 by Feishan Jiezhū (飛山戒珠, d.u.):

[Yitian] saw the *Discussion on the "Separate Transmission"* (probably *Chuanfa Zhengzong lun* 傳法正宗論 by Qisong 契嵩, 1007–1072) by Feishan (Feishan Jiezhū, d.u.) and wrote a Postface which said: "Oh! How far are the fame and real doings of the modern Chan [followers] from the Chan [masters] of the past! What was called Chan in the past was "relying on the teaching and entering the Chan" (*jijiao ruchanzhe* 藉教入禪者). And what Chan is now is "preaching Chan outside of the teachings" (*lijiao shuochanzhe* 離教說禪者). "Abandoning the teaching" is attachment to its name and losing its true essence. "Relying on the teaching" means attaining of the essential meaning through explanation, thus saving the contemporaries and correcting their errors and misunderstandings and thus restoring the pure Way of the ancient sages. Reverend Zhu discusses this in the most profound manner.

Recently the Liao Empire issued an order to the holders of the offices, instructing the learned monk Quanxiao to once again verify the catalogs of sūtras, and the texts which are known in the world as *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* and *Baolin zhuan* were discarded and burnt, and the [relevant] entries [in the catalogs] had been rewritten. The third *juan* of *Continued Zhenyuan Catalog* explains this in detail, so that the mind transmitted by our [Lord] Buddha and the Dharma protecting spirit of the emperor are clearly seen. The texts and phrases of the modern Chinese Chan School in their majority deviate [from the correct teaching] and fell into heresy." That is why the people and masters from the Eastern Sea were in doubt [saying] that among Huaxia there is no one [who is worthy of being followed]. Now I have seen the profound discussion by Feishan and thus I know that there really are enlightened protectors (bodhisattvas) of the Dharma [in China]. [Yesterday, respectfully following king's order, I had the [text by Jiezhū] cut on the tablets of green jade, but being afraid that its circulation will not be wide, I had it also carved on the wooden blocks [for printing]. After a hundred generations, maintaining the Dharma which is in decline, can we not rely on the power or Reverend Zhu? [Prince of Koryo, Presiding Monk Üich'ōng].<sup>11</sup>

As is seen from the text, Üich'ōng's alternative to the excessive Chan practices of the Song period is a balanced version of Chan, which would combine doctrinal learning, meditation and practices in a coherent whole just in the manner presented by Chengguan and Xianyan. As is clear from the rhetoric of the above paragraph, especially from the use of "*jijiao ruchanzhe* 藉教入禪者" formula, Üich'ōng had in mind the idea of Bodhidharma Chan expressed in the famous *Treatise on Two Entrances and Four Practices* (*Er ru si xing* 二入四行) by the legendary patriarch. Similar approach based on the threefold division of Chan into the "gates" of "seeing the nature," "pacifying the mind," and "initiating the practices" resurfaces in the two Chan compilations discovered from Khara-Khoto: the above mentioned *Jingxin*

<sup>11</sup> *Biezhuan xinfa yi* 別傳心法議 (ZZ 57, No. 953: 53).



lu by Daoshen and Chinese text of *Jiexing zhao xin tu* 解行照心圖. This idea is similar in nature to the ideal of the “perfect” Chan maintained by Zongmi in his works, especially in the *Chan Preface*, where Zongmi argued that every form of Chan meditation (*zong* 宗) should have its counterbalance in the relevant doctrinal teaching (*jiao* 教). For both Üich’öng and Xianyan, Zongmi is an ultimate authority on Chan matters: as far as I was able to determine, “Guifeng” is the only Chan master ever mentioned by Xianyan, and his general Chan discourse does not abandon “Northern versus Southern Chan” paradigm set forward in the Heze tradition, to which both Zongmi and Chengguan belonged. Again, due to the scarcity of the Liao materials, the evidence of Zongmi’s importance in the Liao is circumstantial, whereas Xi-Xia materials vigorously demonstrate the degree of his popularity. The available Chan texts from the Tangut collections demonstrate that the Tangut Chan repertoire emerged in accordance with the framework formulated by the Liao Buddhist leaders such as Xianyan and Daoshen, and may be interpreted as a version of the Liao Buddhist system.

Liao connection of the Tangut Buddhism are not exhausted with the above-mentioned materials: general idea that Xi-Xia had partially replicated the Liao Buddhist pattern is further seen in the presence of a number of Tangut versions of actual Huayan compilations, such as the Tangut translations of Xianshou Fazang’s (賢首法藏, 643–712) famous *Profound Huayan Contemplation of Ceasing Illusion and Returning to the Source* (*Xiu Huayan aozhi wangjin huanyuanguan* 修華嚴奧旨妄盡還源觀, 穉熾 薺)<sup>12</sup> and *The Golden Lion of Huayan*, which had been edited (or rather rewritten) by Jinshui Jingyuan (晉水淨源, 1011–1083). Recent discoveries had also revealed that another text crucial for Zongmi’s tradition, i.e. the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* (*Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經 甌 熾 薺 薺) as well as commentaries to it (e.g. *Yuanjuejingshu zhi lüebu* 圓覺經疏之略補 甌 熾 薺 薺 薺 薺 薺) was also widespread in Xi-Xia. All of the abovementioned texts share a common interest in the idea of the “true mind” (*zhenxin* 真心), which is also the mind of perfect enlightenment. Several volumes probably of native Xixia origin, such as the *Essentials on the Practice of Contemplation* (*Chan xiu yaolun* 禪修要論 熾 熾 薺 薺),<sup>13</sup> also contain texts dealing with a more or less similar topic, which is the “contemplation of the True or Perfect mind.” All the texts mentioned above share several common features: they are all dealing with the explication of the “true” or “perfect” mind characteristic for the Zongmi’s tradition. This mind has to be contemplated (*guanxin* 觀心) in order to reveal its original enlightenment and lead one to the attainment of the Buddhahood. Presence of the *Bodhidharma’s Treatise on the Con-*

<sup>12</sup> Таңг 287 инв. № 6174, 2850. Only the abridged Tangut title survived.

<sup>13</sup> Таңг 291 инв. № 4824 contains a short text entitled *Zhufa yixin yuanman dinghui bukesiyi yaolun* (諸法一心圓滿定慧不可思議要論 甌 熾 薺 薺 薺 薺 薺); another collection, entitled *Guanxin shun* (觀心順 甌 熾 薺 Таңг 167 инв. № 6775) contains such works as *Wuxin zhenyi yaolun* (無心真義要論 甌 熾 薺 薺 薺) and *Jisi xinxing dunwu yaolun* (寂思心性頓悟要論 甌 熾 薺 薺 薺 薺). The contents and message of these texts is more complicated, since they contain works predominantly belonging to the Tibetan trend in the Tangut Buddhism, specifically the teaching of Mahāmudrā. These texts deserve further study, but the fact that the Tangut tended to express Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist ideas through similar terminology, is important for this study.

*templation of Mind* (*Damo dashi guanxin benmu* 達摩大師關心本母窺賊黻諤緝粼禱薺)<sup>14</sup> within P.K. Kozlov's collection of Tangut texts is in fact in tenor with this concept. Moreover, all these texts are based on the authority of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and Bodhidharma, whereas the teachings of other Chan patriarchs are ignored. Accepting this Huayan Chan tradition leads to several conclusions: one has to accept the importance of the doctrinal study (as a part of Bodhidharma's heritage), specifically concentrate on the research of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and related texts; one should also accept authority of Zongmi and recognize Heze Shenhui (荷澤神會, 670/686–760/762) as the Seventh Patriarch. One has further to deny all the following developments within the Chinese Chan Buddhism as “heresies” as compared to the original Chan teaching of Bodhidharma (Damo Chan 達摩禪). This trend became out of fashion in the mainstream of the Chinese Chan during the Song, but might be considered one of the constituents of the Northern Huayan tradition as it survived in the Wutaishan area and was reproduced by the Liao Buddhist and then transferred to Xi-Xia.

### Several cases of Liao-Xi-Xia Buddhist intercourse

The nomenclature of the Chan texts available from Khara-Khoto with a few exceptions is exhausted by the above list. This brief exposition demonstrates that Xi-Xia Buddhists were reproducing the Liao Chan Buddhist paradigm. Xianyan's works show that the Chan view peculiar to the Liao did not exceed the late Tang paradigm of “Northern versus Southern Chan”, “practice of principle” versus “practice of things” paradigm developed within Shenhui's tradition and later maintained by Zongmi. This view of Chan was advocating the combination of actual Chan contemplation with the variety of practices (*jiao* 教 and *xing* 行) as prescribed by the doctrinal Buddhism. It is on this point where Liao-Xi-Xia and Buddhist exchange is most vivid. By now, the several Tangut translations of Liao Chan compositions have been discovered in Khara-Khoto. The most important among these are in the work known under its abridged title *The Mirror* (Chin. 鏡, Tangut 鏡).<sup>15</sup> The text was identified as the translation of the unavailable work by the Khitan Buddhist master Daoshen mentioned in several Chinese compilations such as *The Record of the Mirror of Mind* (*Jingxin lu* 鏡心錄). The text specifically concerns the Chan Buddhist matters and presents the angle similar to that of Xianyan and Üich'öng in the following manner:

These are the three gates of “seeing the nature,” “pacifying the mind” and “carrying out the practices,” which were truly transmitted by Damo. [These three] are like the three legs of a tripod: if one is missing, there is no whole. If there would be no teaching of “seeing the nature,” then the original mind would

<sup>14</sup> The text in fact is not the work of Bodhidharma, but of Shenxiu (神秀, 606–706).

<sup>15</sup> Таиґ 413 ИИВ. № 2548 in the holdings of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (IOM), Russian Academy of Sciences.

not be realized, following the ten thousand practices would produce suffering and exhaustion. If there were no teaching of “pacifying the mind,” then it would be impossible that every thought could come in harmony with the Way, and all the thoughts could not get rid of the seeds. If there were no teaching of “following the practices,” then the four wisdoms and two types of completeness [corrupt paragraph] it would not be possible to beautifully adorn. If the three gates are complete, then the miraculous completeness is attained.<sup>16</sup>

A similar attitude to Chan Buddhism is expressed in another Tangut compilation known as *Chart Illuminating the [Essence of] Mind through Understanding and Practices* (*Jiexing Zhaoxin tu yiben* 解行照心圖一本).<sup>17</sup> The text might be a Khitan compilation but the argument in favor of this is inconclusive. However, the views on Chan presented thereby are in tenor with both Daoshen’s idea of the “tripod” and Zongmi’s views: the text presents the idea of the combination of “seeing the nature” (*jianxing* 見性), “pacifying the mind” (*anxin* 安心), and “ten thousand practices” (*wanxing* 萬行) based on the concepts of Zongmi, Sengzhao and other Buddhist authorities. Presence of the Tangut and Chinese versions of the works of the Liao Great Master Tongli as well as of a few other texts of the Liao masters only confirms this observation. The whole idea appears to be borrowed from the Liao, thus Xi-Xia Chan appears to be within the framework of the combined Huayan Chan tradition originating from Chengguan and Zongmi and later dominant in the Liao.<sup>18</sup> The version of Chan Buddhism presented by the abovementioned texts sometimes is denominated as “Bodhidharma Chan.” These texts again demonstrate their dependence on the idea of integrated Chan as formulated by Üich’ong in his account of the Liao Chan.

This tradition is also represented by another Tangut text available from Khara-Khoto. The text in question is the composition known as *The Meaning of Perfect Luminous Mind of One Vehicle* (Chin. 究竟一乘圓明心義, Tangut 肩髻丕龔訖飭綽綽)<sup>19</sup> composed by the Great Master Tongli Hengce (通理恒策, Tangut 綽龔訖龔, Chin. 通理大師, 1049–1099).<sup>20</sup> His other works available from Khara-Khoto

<sup>16</sup> This paragraph is found on the pages 16a–b of the actual Tangut text (Танг 413 инв. № 2548). First translation was published in Solonin 1998, pp. 365–424; identification of the text see: Solonin 2008.

<sup>17</sup> *Ecang Heishucheng wenxian*, vol. 5, pp. 130–134, press-mark A4v.

<sup>18</sup> Zongmi’s views on Chan enjoyed certain popularity and renown during the Northern Song among the Tiantai masters. There are several indications that Zongmi’s views had been discussed by Siming Zhili (四明智禮, 960–1028), Zongmi’s works had been studied by the “off mountain” Tiantai.

<sup>19</sup> Танг 183 инв. № 2848, Chinese fragments of this text *Jiujing Yicheng Yuantong xiyao* 究竟一乘圓通心要 were published in *Ecang Heishucheng wenxian*, vol. 5, pp. 165–180, press-mark A-6.

<sup>20</sup> The activities of the Great Master Tongli are discussed in Chen Yanzhu 1993, pp. 38–52; Ren Jie 1999, pp. 117–131; Ledderose 2004, pp. 381–454. This account is based on the study of stele inscription from Guanyin Hall of Yanfu Temple (*Daan xian lianhuayu Yanfusi Guanyintang ji* 大安山蓮花峪延福寺觀音堂記), see also: Huang Chunhe 黃春和 “Liaodai ‘Daan xian lianhuayu Yanfusi Guanyintang ji’ Tongli shixing bukao” 遼代〈大安山蓮花峪延福寺觀音堂記〉通理實行補考. Unfortunately, I could not locate the complete version of this paper. Huang’s findings were summarized in: Huang Chunhe 1999, pp. 1–7.

in Chinese include *Admonitions on the Establishing of Will* (*Lizhi mingxin jie* 立志銘心誡) and *Three Regulations of the Liberation in the Sea of Nature of the Supreme Perfect Teaching* (*Wushang Yuanzong xinghai jietuo san zhili* 無上圓宗性海解脫三制律).<sup>21</sup> The Great Master initiated the completion of the Fangshan stone sutras, but his role in Xi-Xia and Liao was specifically that of the propagator of Chan Buddhism. Famous inscription *Daanshan Lianhuayu Yanfu si Guanyintang jibei* 大安山蓮花峪延福寺觀音堂記碑 reads as follows,<sup>22</sup>

“[...] 達磨來梁，玄風創扇，由是禪講隆興。久傳唐宋至我大遼，歷業已來，教傳盛而三惠齊生，宗未隆而一心闕，即致 唱教雖隆，見性地者 矣。至康安二號，南宗時運，果有奇人來昌大旨，遂以 寂照大師、通圓、通理此土三人捷生間出， 中之龍焉。傳佛心印，繼累代之高風，建無勝幢，作不請文，俾祖光迴照， 燈無昧者，始自三師。[...] 斯乃學 雖眾，原其根本唯三上人，乃曹溪的嗣，法眼玄孫，為此方宗派之原，傳心之首矣” [...].

[...] When Damo came to the Liang, the mysterious wind started to blow, and since then the Chan preaching prospered. It has long being widespread in the Tang and Song and reached our Great Liao. Since the deed was accomplished, the propagation of Teaching flourished and three wisdoms emerged. But the doctrine [*zong* 宗] did not become widespread, and teaching of one mind was missing, which lead to the situation that the teaching which was verbally acclaimed and lauded flourished, there were [few?] of those who attained the nature and acquired the ground. During the eras of [Tai]kang and [Tai]an (1075–1100), the Southern school set in motion, and finally appeared remarkable people who propagated the great intention. Then three people of this land: Great Master Jizhao, Tongyuan and Tongli appeared suddenly. [...] dragons. They transmitted the seal of the Buddha mind, accumulated the sublime style of many generations, raised the banner of invincibility and composed literary works without being asked to, so that the light of patriarchs will shine back and the light of the Lamp will never extinguish. All this began from the three masters. [...] That is, although there had many who studied, but only these three people attained its root [i.e. root of the Southern school]. They are descendants of Caoxi and mysterious heirs to Fayan (i.e. Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益, 885–958), founders of the [Chan] school in this land and the first in transmitting [the teaching of] the mind.

This paragraph, demonstrates several important features of Liao Chan Buddhism: it started its spread in the Liao during the reign period of Daozong, who showed personal interest in Tongli’s teaching and visited his *daochang* during his travels around the country.<sup>23</sup> Chan Buddhism was understood within the paradigm of balance

<sup>21</sup> IOM collection, press-mark A-26.

<sup>22</sup> Original text of the inscription see in: Mei Ninghua 2004, vol. 2, pp. 20–21; Bao Shixuan 1997, pp. 72–77; Ledderose 2004, pp. 409–412.

<sup>23</sup> *Liao shi*, ch. 9, p. 92

and harmony between *jiao* and *zong* (教宗) that is doctrinal teachings versus Chan insights clearly borrowed from Zongmi. Teaching of mind was clearly seen by the author of the inscription as a balance against domination of doctrinal teachings in the Liao and thus again is in tune with the overall intention to maintain harmony and complementary relationship between various dimensions of Buddhism. Tongli's presence among the corpus of Tangut Buddhist texts together with the works by Daoshen and other texts mentioned above, is indicative of the transfer of the Liao universalist Buddhist ideology into the Tangut state. In another inscription, Tongli is clearly called the "one who transmitted the essentials of Damo teaching of mind" (通理策師□授以達摩傳心之要),<sup>24</sup> as it was flourishing in the Liao during the last decades of 11<sup>th</sup> c. and found its way to Xi-Xia. If juxtaposed against the available repertoire of the Chan Buddhist texts from Xi-Xia, this evidence shows that a substantial part of Xi-Xia Buddhist complex emerged under the Liao influence.

The observations above allow suggesting that the Liao and Xi-Xia were dominated by partially similar Buddhist agenda. This agenda, based on the ideas generally originating from the late Tang version of the Huayan teaching in the versions of Chengguan and Zongmi, was represented in the Tangut state by the texts of the Liao origin, thus demonstrating the formative role, which the Liao Buddhism played in the evolution of the Tangut Buddhist system.

## References

- Bao Shixuan 1997 — Bao Shixuan 包世軒. "Liao Daanshan Lianhuayu Yanfu si Guanyintang ji bei shuzheng" [Commentary Research on the Liao Period Stele Inscription from Guanyin Hall of Yanfu Temple in the Lotus Gorge of Daan County] 遼〈大安山蓮花峪延福寺觀音堂記〉碑疏證. In *Beijing wenbo* [Beijing Cultural Heritage] 北京文博, 3 (1997), pp. 72–77.
- Chen Yanzhu 1993 — Chen Yanzhu 陳燕珠. *Fangshan shijingzhong Tongli dashi kejing zhi yanjiu* [Research on the Sutra Carvings at Fangshan by the Great Master Tongli] 房山石經中通理大師刻經之研究. Taipei: Huiyuan wenjiao jijinhui 臺北: 慧遠文教基金會, 1993, pp. 38–52.
- Ecang Heishuicheng wenxian — *Ecang Heishuicheng wenxian* [Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia] 俄藏黑水城文獻. Vol. 1–11. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 1996–2006.
- Fang Guangchang 2005 — *Zangwai fojiao wenxian* [Buddhist Monuments not Included in Tripitaka] 藏外佛教文獻. Ed. by Fang Guangchang 方廣錫. Vol. 7. Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe 北京: 宗教文化出版社, 2005 (1<sup>st</sup> edition: 1995).
- Huang Chunhe 1999 — Huang Chunhe 黃春和. "Liao Yanjing Chanzong chuanbo shi kaoshu" [History of the Development of Chan Buddhism in the Liao Period Yanjing] 遼燕京禪宗傳播史跡考述. In *Shoudu bowuguan congkan* [Journal of Capital Museum] 首都博物館叢刊, 3 (1999), pp. 1–7.
- Ledderose 2004 — Ledderose L. "Carving Sutras into Stone before the Catastrophe: The Inscription of 1118 from the Cloud Dwelling Monastery near Beijing." In *Proceedings of British Academy*, 125 (2004), pp. 381–454.
- Liao shi — *Liao shi* [History of the Liao Dynasty] 遼史. Ed. by Tuotuo 脫脫. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海: 上海古籍出版社, 1978 (Ershiwu shi [Twenty Five Histories] 二十五史).

<sup>24</sup> Chen Yanzhu 1993, p. 365, the inscription for the Chan master Chongyu 崇昱.

- Mei Ninghua 2004 — *Beijing Liao Jin shiji tuzhi* [Epigraphy of the Liao and Jin periods in Beijing] 北京遼金史跡圖志. Ed. by Mei Ninghua 梅寧華. Vol. 1–2. Beijing: Yanshan chubanshe 北京: 燕山出版社, 2004.
- Nie Hongyin 2010 — Nie Hongyin 聶鴻音. “Chanyuan zhuquan jidu xu Xi-Xia yiben” [Tangut Translation of the *Chanyuan zhuquan jidu xu*] 禪源諸詮集都序西夏譯本. In *Xi-Xia xue* [Tangut Studies] 西夏學, 5 (2010), pp. 30–35.
- Ren Jie 1999 — Ren Jie 任傑. “Tongli dashi dui Fangshan kejing shiyede zhongda gongxian” [The Great Contribution of the Great Master Tongli into Carving the Stone Sūtras at Fangshan] 通理大師對房山刻經事業的重大貢獻. In *Fangshan shijing yanjiu* [Studies on Stone Scriptures of Fangshan] 房山石經研究. Ed. by Lü Tiegang 呂鐵鋼. Vol. 1–3. Hong Kong: Zhongguo fojiao wenhua 香港: 中國佛教文化, 1999, pp. 117–131.
- Solonin 1998 — Solonin K.J. “Tangut Chan Buddhism and Guifeng Zongmi.” In *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal*, 11 (1998), pp. 356–425.
- Solonin 2008 — Solonin K.J. “The Glimpses of Tangut Buddhism.” In *Central Asiatic Journal*, 58 (1) (2008), pp. 66–127.
- Sun Changsheng and Niu Dasheng 2005 — *Baisigou Xi-Xia fangta* [Tangut Square Pagoda at Baisigou] 拜寺溝西夏方塔. Ed. by Sun Changsheng 孫昌盛 and Niu Dasheng 牛達生. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 北京: 文物出版社, 2005.