

## CONTENTS

<i>TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH</i> . . . . .	3
<b>Val. Polosin.</b> The Arabic Bible: Turning Again to an Old Controversy . . . . .	3
<b>E. Rezvan.</b> On the Dating of an “Uthmānic Qur’ān” from St. Petersburg . . . . .	19
<b>M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya.</b> A Sanskrit Manuscript on Birch-Bark from Bairam-Ali: II. <i>Avadānas</i> and <i>Jātakas</i> (Part I) . . . . .	23
<b>I. Alimov.</b> Song <i>Biji</i> Authoral Collections: “Lofty Judgements by the Palace Gates” by Liu Fu . . . . .	33
<i>TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION</i> . . . . .	39
<b>K. Solonin.</b> The Tang Heritage of Tangut Buddhism. Teachings Classification in the Tangut Text “The Mirror”. . . . .	39
<b>E. Tyomkin.</b> Patañjali’s Commentary on a <i>Sūtra</i> by Pāṇini V, 3.99 . . . . .	49
<i>PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS</i> . . . . .	51
<b>K. Yuzbachian.</b> Armenian Manuscripts in St. Petersburg . . . . .	51
<i>CONSERVATION PROBLEMS.</i> . . . . .	61
<b>F. Cuisance.</b> Mounting and Early Restorations: the Case of an Accordion Book, Pelliot Tibetain 45. . . . .	61
<i>BOOK REVIEWS.</i> . . . . .	71

### Front cover:

St. John the Evangelist and his disciple Prochorus, “The Four Gospels”, manuscript B 45  
in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Shosh (Isfahan), 1623,  
scribe Steppanos, artist Mesrop Hizantsi, paper, fol. 210b, 11.0×15.0 cm.

### Back cover:

St. Matthew the Evangelist, the same manuscript, fol. 19b, 12.0×17.0 cm.

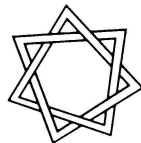
THESA PUBLISHERS  
IN CO-OPERATION WITH  
ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH  
OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES  
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES



# **Manuscripta Orientalia**

*International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research*

Vol. 6 No. 3 September 2000



**THESA**  
**St. Petersburg**

---

# TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

K. J. Solonin

## THE TANG HERITAGE OF TANGUT BUDDHISM. TEACHINGS CLASSIFICATION IN THE TANGUT TEXT “THE MIRROR”

The Tangut collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains a number of texts which can be regarded as important sources for the native Tangut tradition of Chan Buddhism. Some of them have been briefly examined elsewhere [1]. Among these texts, a compilation known only by its abridged title “The Mirror” [2] occupies a unique place, being the text which introduced the Chan doctrine of the late Tang Huayan Heze tradition to Tangut readers. This text has already been preliminarily investigated and a draft translation of it was provided by the present author [3]. This paper is an attempt at a more detailed analysis of the contents of “The Mirror” to locate the text within the framework of the development of Chinese Buddhism in Northern Asia before the Mongol period. Another point is to locate the tradition represented by “The Mirror” within the Tangut Buddhist context, and to bring out its Chinese component in particular, as it is known now [4]. The idea advocated by the present author is that the Tang Buddhist scholar of the later period Guifeng Zong-mi (780—841), from the Straw Hut Temple (草堂寺), was the most influential among Chinese Buddhist thinkers in Xi Xia. His own writings, as well as the works related to him and his tradition, are numerous both in the Chinese and Tangut parts of the Tangut holdings in St. Petersburg [5]. There is evidence that the lineage of Guifeng Zong-mi was not totally destroyed by Huichang prosecution, as was previously believed, but continued in Xi Xia until at least the twelfth century and even later. Moreover, the doctrine of Zong-mi once again emerged in the capacity of the source of a harmonious Chan tradition in

the writings of the founder of the Korean Son tradition Chinul (1158—1210) (see below) [6].

As was demonstrated by the present author in his previous works, “The Mirror” is a text which may be considered evidence of the continued lineage of Zong-mi in the Tangut State. Judging by its contents, it is clear that it is a “teachings classification” text. It shares the general approach and certain ideas of Zong-mi, but its classification scheme is rather unique and independent from the late Tang author. The most famous classification treatise by Zong-mi — “The Preface to the Collection of Chan Sources” (諸說禪源諸詮集都序 Taisho No. 2015) — was well known in the Tangut State and produced various commentaries [7]. One of the extant books is a complete translation of the first *juan* of the “Chan Preface” [8] whence a number of observations concerning the nature of the text may be made. First, the Tangut version is extremely close to the Chinese original. The existing differences are very few and minor (mainly in word order). The “ten principles” (十理), according to which Zong-mi develops his classification, are highlighted in the text, forming a sort of partial table of contents. Generally, the Tangut text is better prepared in terms of reader’s convenience: the major points are highlighted and marked with numbers, so that the text can be easily read [9]. Besides, the Tangut translation is most valuable for the reconstruction of Tangut Buddhist terms, proper names and text titles; it also contains no information which would be different from the present Taisho copy. The comparison between “Chan Preface” and “The Mirror” confirms the substantial similarity between these texts.

### 1. The structure of “The Mirror”

The structure of “The Mirror” [10] follows the approach adopted by Zong-mi in his “Chan Preface” and could therefore be viewed as a teachings classification text [11]. It probably adheres to the composition scheme of the “Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices” by

Bodhidharma. Being a collection of sayings of various Buddhist masters, “The Mirror” can also be compared with Tibetan treatises on Chinese meditation, as they are described in the literature [12], or, to a certain degree, with the “recorded sayings” (語錄) texts of early Chan [13].

The Chan doctrines, as presented in the text, are divided in "The Mirror" into several groups depending on their understanding of mind, human and Buddha nature, and their attitude towards the practices. The text's main emphasis is to underline the basic unity of all doctrines and practices. The quest for unity was characteristic of Zong-mi who aspired to construct, after the years of controversy, a non-contradictory whole of Buddhism and to reestablish, on the basis of Heze and his own "sudden awakening/gradual perfection" doctrine, the original teaching of the Buddha in its purity and harmony.

An important element of the imaginary "perfect teaching" was the Huayan tradition, almost extinct in China but still alive in the other parts of Buddhist world. It provided a broad framework into which both Chan (宗) and other doctrinal teachings (教) could have been incorporated [14]. Simultaneously with the Tangut, the same approach was shared by the Korean Chan master Chinul, who believed that the teaching of Heze was appropriate to become some sort of a "perfect teaching" together with Huayan [15].

The structure of "The Mirror" is close to the "Chan Preface" of Zong-mi. Actually, few of the author's personal opinions are to be found in "The Mirror"; the compiler limits himself to several notes in his commentary, though rather lengthy at times, while the main body of the text is nothing but a set of quotations from a limited number of sources. The bulk of the text deals mostly with the classification of the Chan doctrines, with practically no attention to the so-called "teachings". However, the word "chan" (Tang. 禪, Chin. 禪) is not used very often, and no lineages, except for the generalizing terms "Southern lineage" and "Northern lineage" are specified. The "teachings" (教) are not mentioned either.

Although the text demonstrates a strong Huayan affiliation, it can hardly be described as a Huayan treatise: apart from Zong-mi among the Huayan masters, only Zheng-guan appears, but as a Chan authority rather than as a Huayan thinker. Besides, the author of "The Mirror" appears to be more radical than Zong-mi or Chinul, since he seems not to discriminate between the scholastic or *sūtra* argument and the sayings of Chan masters, attaching equal value to the "teachers" and Buddha word. The two sorts of arguments, one coming from *sūtras* and *śāstras* and another, borrowed from the teachers, are placed together in "The Mirror", sometimes in the same line. Thus, "The Mirror" demonstrates a high esteem of the truth of the "founding masters" (宗師) and of the canonical texts [16], acknowledging both to be equal.

The criteria for the classification of teachings in "The Mirror" are their attitude towards mind, nature, and practices. The general framework for the analysis of Chan doctrines in "The Mirror" is provided in terms of *ti-yong* (substance/essence and function) paradigm [17], which is exactly Zong-mi's approach [18]. True, this approach is used in a far less sophisticated way than in Zong-mi's writings, therefore, as far as the authorship of "The Mirror" is concerned, it seems likely that the author was exclusively a Chan adept not very well versed in dogmatic issues. That Zong-mi's approach is followed by "The Mirror" is apparent from the extensive use of the term "awareness", a crucial one in Zong-mi's "sub-

stance/function" paradigm, both in philosophical and practical Chan dimensions [19].

Probably following the pattern of Zong-mi's "Chan Preface", "The Mirror" opens up with the exposition of the "tradition" (Tang. 傳, Chin. 傳) of "one mind" [20], which constitutes the core of the Chan teaching in general. In fact, this expository part reproduces the passages from the "Chan Preface" and "Chan Chart" [21], introducing the concept of mind as the source of all teachings and practice. The following pages provide the representation of mind as "the sphere of mind", or the "mind ground" (Tang. 心地, Chin. 心地) producing "miraculous function" (妙用) inseparable from mind; the defilements are described as adventitious; they should be removed from the practice. The whole rhetoric of this passage in "The Mirror" allows to suggest that we have here part of the exposition of the "teaching that reveals that the true mind is the nature" (現實真心即性教), the summons of Zong-mi's classification adopted both in his "Inquiry into the Origin of Man" and "The Chan Preface." [22] The quotation from the final section of the first part of the first *juan* of the "Chan Chart", together with the remarks at the end of the text, support this view [23]. However, while Zong-mi refers this doctrine to the concept of *tathāgatagarbha* on the one hand and the teachings of Heze and Hongzhou on the other [24], "The Mirror" avoids this linkage. Even the term *tathāgatagarbha* (Tang. 如來藏, Chin. 如來藏) appears closer to the end of the text. This "tradition" differs somehow from what is exposed later, i.e. the doctrines, or the teachings. "The Mirror" features them as "gates" (Tang. 門, Chin. 門), the "one-mind" being, somehow the basis for all them.

"The Mirror" singles out three basic Chan doctrines. First comes the "teaching/tradition of the one mind" (see above), the second is "the teaching of the calming of mind" [25] and the third is the "teaching of awakening of practices" [26]. The point is that there is no separate Chan tradition or some separate lineage which would fit into the scheme developed by "The Mirror". Quite on the contrary, all the quoted Chan lineages, though not specified, are believed to have retained elements of each doctrine, introduced by "The Mirror". Therefore, the compiler of the text did not consider it necessary to discriminate between the lineages or to go into detail of their specific doctrines or lines of transmission. One of the reasons might be that for the compiler of "The Mirror" and his audience the writings of Zong-mi were probably one of the most important, if not the sole, source of information on various Chan schools, and he took the knowledge for granted [27]. It might be also that the quest for the unity of Chan was so overwhelming that it basically denied the discrimination between the Chan schools.

Thus, all the teachings described in "The Mirror" come together in a sort of unity or harmony that allows each of them to put forward their advantages, and, at the same time, to diminish the drawbacks. The approach of "The Mirror" is that it is not constructing the "perfect teaching" from various traditions, like a mosaic; the idea which lies behind the whole text seems to be that the perfect teaching already exists and needs solely to be expounded. This is more or less what Zong-mi also does in the final part of his "Chan Preface", when he reconstructs what he believes to be the

perfect teaching, putting its exposition into the mouth of Buddha. The sayings of the Patriarchs and *sūtras*' texts are indications of the existence of the perfect teaching, therefore, the sectarian discriminations between the lineages could well be omitted.

“The Mirror” tends to collect the sayings of various traditions in order to demonstrate their legitimacy in terms of Buddhist orthodoxy, showing that each of them has its foundation both in the Buddha word and the word of Chan authors. As the structure of the text reveals, the basic source of this orthodoxy is the founder of all Chan traditions — Bodhidharma, whose “Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices” seems to form the framework of the Tangut text. “The doctrinal teachings” as such seem to be eliminated from the discourse, while the Chan sayings are put together in a way that all of them, even those which are known to have been criticized by Zong-mi and to contradict each other, agree on certain points. The basic idea here is that all of them actually expound the true mind, or are instrumental in bringing about the enlightenment, which is nothing but the “awakening of the nature”, as “The Mirror” terms it [28].

It is also interesting that the classification of the teachings, provided by “The Mirror”, has actually not so much in common with that of Zong-mi, whose authority “The Mirror” constantly invokes. The idea implied in the Tangut text is not to harmonize Chan and the doctrinal schools, but to find a common ground within the complex of Chan itself and to show that some *sūtras*, basically the Huayan-jing and the “*Sūtra of the Perfect Enlightenment*”, coincide with Chan views [29].

If compared with the classification schemes of Zong-mi, “The Mirror” reveals in particular that its approach to classification is different: while Zong-mi tends to structure the teachings in ascending order, “The Mirror” starts with the exposition of the ultimate doctrine of “one mind”, which is the basis for all others, both in theory and in practice. The misunderstanding of this doctrine of “one mind” results in the “exhaustion and fatigue”, as “The Mirror” puts it, and the fruit of the Thus Come cannot thus be attained. The classification scheme of “The Mirror” is represented in *Table 1*. This scheme is different from what Zong-mi developed elsewhere in “Chan Chart” (see *Table 2*).

*Table 1*

<p><b>1. The tradition of one mind</b></p> <p><b>2. The doctrine of the calming of mind</b></p>   <p><b>3. The doctrine of the awakening of practices [30]</b></p>	<p>1. Contemplating the truth</p> <p>2. Sudden enlightenment based on the rise of thought</p> <p>3. Pure mind free from any support</p>
---	---

*Table 2*

“Chan Cart”	“The Mirror”
<p>1. Cultivating of mind by the elimination of delusion (Northern line)</p> <p>2. Pure mind free from any support (Ox-head line)</p> <p>3. Directly revealing mind as nature [31] (Southern and Heze lines)</p>	<p>1. The tradition of one mind</p> <p>2. The calming of mind</p> <p>3. The awakening of practices</p>

The point is that “The Mirror” does not affiliate any of the teachings or Chan doctrines it features with a corresponding Chan lineage known from history. It does not even mention them. Thus, one may suggest that the whole idea behind the compilation of the Tangut text was different: not to demonstrate that the lineages are essentially close, but to construct the perfect Chan school without any sectarian division. For this reason, all the sectarian notions,

lineages, etc. remain omitted. Since the source of the variety of the practices is seen in the “one mind” principle, it is quite natural to employ as its theoretical basis the tradition of *Avatamsaka* and Huayan masters, as well as the selected Chan sayings related to that tradition (especially Zheng-guan and Zong-mi). In effect, for every Chan teaching “The Mirror” provides the authority sources, which are basically the same for every teaching described (see *Table 3*).

Table 3

Doctrine	Source of Authority
One mind / seeing nature	Chan Chart, <i>Avataṃsaka-sūtra</i> , Chan master Guifeng, <i>Sūtraṅgama-sūtra</i> , <i>Sūtra</i> of Contemplation of Good and Evil in Mahāyāna, Master (Ming), Treatise on the Awakening of Faith, Master Xuan-shi, Zheng-guan, <i>Sūtra</i> of the Golden Light, Sixth Patriarch, Vasubandhu, Nāgārjuna, Huangbo, Master (Shi)
Calming of mind	Bodhidharma
Contemplating the truth	<i>Avataṃsaka-sūtra</i> , Seventh Patriarch, Sixth Patriarch, Awakening of Faith
Sudden enlightenment based on the rise of thought	Seventh Patriarch
Pure mind free from support	<i>Avataṃsaka-sūtra</i> , <i>Sūtra</i> of the Perfect Enlightenment, (Shi-luo), Sixth Patriarch
Awakening practices	Bodhidharma
“Perfect Teaching” [32]	Zong-mi, <i>Avataṃsaka-sūtra</i> , Zheng-guan.

It is not easy to determine the correlation between the classification scheme suggested by “The Mirror” and the original Zong-mi’s ideas which, no doubt, had influenced the author of the Tangut text. But hardly any clear identifications are possible: for example, Zong-mi connects the teaching of the “mind without any support” with the Ox-head tradition, while “The Mirror” features *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, “The *Sūtra* of Perfect Enlightenment”, the Sixth Patriarch and one Shi-luo as the main authorities to support it. Further, this teaching is not considered as an independent one but as a sub-type of the broader doctrine of the “calming of mind”. Actually, while expounding this teaching, the compiler of “The Mirror” bears in mind something different from the Ox-head lineage: he does not refer to Zong-mi’s criticism of that line, present both in the “Chan Chart” and the “Chan Preface”, although both works were undoubtedly known to him.

The same is the case with “the calming of mind teaching” which “The Mirror” establishes as a sort of a broader framework, incorporating three other smaller teachings (contemplating the truth, awakening based on the thought, and the mind free from support), while Zong-mi tends to apply the term “calming” to the Hongzhou lineage [33]. The use of “the calming of mind” as a general term for

a variety of contemplation practices, with the ultimate goal of attaining the direct “seeing of nature”, bears resemblance to the concepts of Dao-xin [34], though “The Mirror” provides no evidence of the knowledge of Dao-xin’s work [35]. Each of the practices mentioned is instrumental in the process of realization, and of no independent value, being merely part of an integral process of perfection.

The criticism of the teaching of “the calming of mind” in the notes by the author of “The Mirror” shows mainly the underestimation of the importance of the “one mind” concept and neglect of the crucial role of the practices, or perhaps the lack of experienced teachers. It also does not mention any ethical or ontological consequences of the later Hongzhou teaching [36]. The “substance/function” paradigm, crucial to Zong-mi in his criticism of the Hongzhou lineage, does not occur in this context either [37], but it is certainly implied: the teaching of the calming of mind is possible due to the ever-present enlightened mind, whose existence it manifests. As the compiler puts it, the teaching of the “calming of mind” should be accompanied by the adequate way of perfection and understanding of mind as nature. In this way its aim can be achieved, and the true nature is revealed.

## 2. Understanding of Chan

The question arises of what the Chan teaching “The Mirror” was intended to propagate, and what was the actual purpose of the composition of the text. To answer this question, one needs to pay special attention to the author’s notes closer to the end of the extant part of the text:

“Further, what is said in *sūtras* and *śāstras* of the doctrine of the awakening of the nature and the Southern line of Chan, is all about “no-mind” or “no-thoughts” [teachings]. These two do not differ. Previously,

those who were following the Chan rites did not understand the meaning of the “no-mind” in this fashion, [therefore] resembling stubs and stones. They said: “When discrimination and views disappear, the ‘no-mind’ arrives”. To say so means to cease to see [the nature] and leads to great sins” [38].

As is obvious from the passage, the text of “The Mirror” does not concern the description or criticism of the Chan lineages no longer extant; it deals only with establishing harmony between the teaching of *sūtras* and *śāstras* and

the Southern line of Chan in terms of the doctrine of the awakening of the nature. What is curious is the understanding of the dominant Southern tradition: “The Mirror” seeks to bring together the teachings of Shen-hui, Huangbo, Hui-neng, Zong-mi, Wo-lun [39] and other Chan masters on the grounds of Huayan theory and the doctrine of “no-mind”. What is more interesting, the Hongzhou line in the whole is represented only by a single quotation from Huangbo, while other personalities of the lineage are not mentioned at all [40]. Such understanding of Chan of the Southern line is probably due to the continued Zong-mi’s lineage in Xi Xia: Huangbo was perhaps a more welcome figure than other radical Hongzhou leaders, since once he was a friend and master of Pei Xiu, and, for some time, also a student of Zong-mi. More evidence could be that “The Mirror” advocates the idea of the Seventh Patriarch under which the title Shen-hui was known [41]. One major shift in the thought of Zong-mi’s followers can be traced in “The Mirror” as well: the Sixth Patriarch Hui-neng often appears on its pages, while Zong-mi himself never quoted Hui-neng directly [42].

The Tangut text also provides a description of the relationship between the three teachings as given in “The Mirror” and the teachings listed by Zong-mi in his “Commentary on the *Sūtra* of Perfect Enlightenment” (i.e. 大方廣圓覺經大疏鈔). Although “The Mirror” points out certain differences in the classification scheme, it mentions, however, that they are minor [43]. According to “The Mirror”, the awakening to the degree of the total iden-

tity of living beings’ mind with the Buddha produces a “true understanding” (眞知 in the Chinese rendering), which serves as the foundation for the practice, leading to the emergence of the “Womb of the Thus Come”. It seems rather tempting to identify the “true understanding” (眞知) of “The Mirror” with the “knowing”, or “awareness”, of Shen-hui and Zong-mi. Given its connection with the “Womb of the Thus Come” and the “teaching that reveals the nature”, this suggestion does not at all seem unlikely [44].

As it is clear from the Tangut text, the supreme authority for all the three teachings is provided by Bodhidharma, who is said to have propagated all of them. In general, “The Mirror” tends to avoid the radicalism of the non-duality to preserve the approach of Zong-mi in his criticism of the Hongzhou lineage. The “no-thought” and “no-mind” concepts are introduced from the point of view of practical necessity. Being followed alone, they can provoke the deadly sin of misunderstanding the Buddha nature and lead to fatigue and weariness because of not achieving the ultimate goal. According to the text, there is a basic unity of wisdom, faith and practice, and only within this unity each of those teachings is able to contribute to the attaining of the fruit of Buddhahood. “The Mirror” ends with the conclusion on the urgency of establishing a harmonious teaching.

Chan, as it is outlined in the composition, might be represented as follows (the functions and capacities of the teaching are marked in bold):

Table 4

<p>awakening of nature → the true mind → faith          calming of mind          contemplation of the truth          awakening through the rise of thought → <b>cessation of discrimination (no-mind)</b> → wisdom          mind free from support  <b>awakening the practice → perfection → compassion [45]</b></p>
--

Put together, the nine functions highlighted above seem to constitute, according to “The Mirror”, the “perfect teaching”, in which a multitude of *bodhisattva* virtues is complete.

To construct a harmonious doctrine, “The Mirror” resorts to the ideas of Zheng-guan:

“[There are four ways to attain the enlightened mind]. The first is the rejection of the words of wisdom, that is the awakening of the true knowledge of objects. (It corresponds with the teaching of the awakening of the nature — *K. S.*). The second ... is the true awakening of the enlightened mind, which demonstrates pure intentions (i.e. the way of the calming of mind — *K. S.*). The third is harmony between contemplation with wisdom, which fulfills all the practices (i.e. the teaching of the practices — *K. S.*). The fourth is the way of *bolhi* which, from the

attraction towards a flower, produces the perfect fruit (i.e. the unity of all the three teachings — *K. S.*). Bodhidharma himself preached the three teachings of the awakening of nature, calming of mind and performing the practices. [These three are] like the three legs of a tripod — if one is missing, the whole thing does not exist” [46].

Thus, the essence of the three ways of attaining the enlightened mind are the Chan methods of contemplation, supported by Huayan doctrines of *tathāgatagarbha* and Buddha nature.

There is one more problem which the contents of “The Mirror” pose: it is its relation to the “sudden/gradual” paradigm. Judging from the descriptions provided both by the main body of the text and by the author’s notes, “The Mirror” in all likelihood follows the “sudden enlightenment/gradual cultivation” paradigm characteristic of

Zong-mi. At least, numerous sayings cited in the final part of the text, contain indications that perfection or cultivation should be attained through *kalpas*, or unceasingly, “day and night”. We also find in the text a number of sayings peculiar to “The Mirror”, like “direct or sudden attainment of the innate purity of mind” [47] (Tang, 頓悟, Chin. 直悟), which is a quotation from Zong-mi, or, for example, “direct understanding”. I incline to regard both as synonymous to

the “sudden awakening”. The term “sudden enlightenment” (Tang, 頓悟, Chin. 頓悟) is also present, but it should be treated with caution, since it is used in the context of the “calming of mind” teaching, whose independent value is questioned by “The Mirror”. The fact that the author of “The Mirror” generally shares Zong-mi’s approaches seems to support the suggestion.

### 3. Relationship between “The Mirror” and Bodhidharma’s “Treatise of the Two Entrances and Four Practices”

In the part on the “teaching of the practices”, “The Mirror” turns directly to Bodhidharma’s “Treatise of the Two Entrances and Four Practices”, which it quotes abundantly, starting with the section on the “Four Practices” [48]. According to “The Mirror”, the goal of the practice is to cleanse the innate true mind and to attain the state of “no-mind” and “cessation of discriminative thoughts”, as “The Mirror” puts it [49]. The process is parallel to the awakening of compassion, protecting living beings and accomplishing the merits of *bodhisattva*. Thus the unity of faith, wisdom and compassion is achieved.

In order to understand better the relationship between the two texts’ approaches, let us turn once more to the problem of the composition of the Tangut text. Its first part is devoted to the exposition of the “one mind” and the “calming of mind” teachings; the second is the explication of the doctrine of the practices with quotations from the treatise of Bodhidharma; and the third provides Zong-mi’s criticism of various traditions, introduction of “no-mind” concept and contains an exposition of a suggested “perfect teaching”. The message of the first part of “The Mirror” is clear; it is to demonstrate both the presence of the innate pure mind in all living beings and its key role in the

process of enlightenment. Applying mostly the sayings of Zong-mi and quotations from *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, the Tangut text seems to follow the very sense of the first part of Bodhidharma’s treatise which deals with the “entrance through principle” (理入) [50]. Not surprisingly, the concept of the “wall-contemplation” occurs in this part of the Tangut compilation. Therefore, although the first page of “The Mirror” is missing, one may suppose that it contained the part of Bodhidharma’s work treating “the entrance of the principle”, with a view to uniting Chan with the doctrinal teachings in order to bring about a harmonious whole on the basis of Bodhidharma’s treatise which was probably held in great esteem in Xi Xia, or in the lineage of Zong-mi. This suggestion seems to be even more reasonable if we take into account that Bodhidharma, alongside Zong-mi, was among the few Chan or Chan-influenced authors known in Xi Xia. It would have been interesting to trace the title of the Tangut text to the metaphor of mirror, peculiar to the early Chan [51], especially if one bears in mind the existing relation between the metaphor and Chan practices. But, surely this association is merely speculative, since we do not know the exact title of the work.

### 4. Conclusion. The ideal, or “perfect” teaching

The final portion of “The Mirror” will probably never be found. It could be appropriate to provide a synopsis of that alleged “ideal teaching” that seems to have been elaborated by “The Mirror”, since the general intention of its author is more or less clear: it is a quest to establish an ideal teaching based on the highest possible authority, the Buddha and his 28th successor — Bodhidharma. This teaching should also be based on the most profound of the concepts of Buddhism, which were the “sudden teaching” and the “perfect teaching” of *Avatamsaka-sūtra* and “The *Sūtra* of Perfect Enlightenment”, as well as “Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna” [52]. The understanding of *Avatamsaka-sūtra* doctrines in “The Mirror” is not what one would expect: the text undoubtedly holds it in a sort of doctrinal authority but no theoretical consequences follow yet. “The Mirror” contains no discussion either on favorite Huayan topics like the “ten profundities”, “interpenetrating of phenomena and principle”, etc. According to the text, the ideal teaching is rooted in the “sphere of mind” (or “mind-ground”) serving as the source of all *dharma*s and providing the attainment of a sudden enlightenment through

“knowing” or “awareness”. In this, “The Mirror” no doubt positions itself in the lineage of Zong-mi to whom “awareness” was a crucial term describing the functioning of the ever-luminous self-nature [53]. Moreover, the process of enlightenment, also termed as an “arrival” at the state of “no-mind”, is thought to be accompanied with a permanent practice and cultivation, which leads to the attaining of the supreme virtues of *bodhisattva*. Once the unity of faith, wisdom and merits is achieved, the ultimate realization of the ever-present condition of identity between the mind and the Buddha takes place. The practical dimension here is provided both by various contemporary Chan practices, incorporated into the framework of spiritual advance preached by Bodhidharma. The Southern line, mentioned in “The Mirror” is, therefore, not the lineage of Mazu or Heze, it is used as a general term for all of the appropriate Chan practices which could be grounded in Huayan theory and, for this reason, comply with the ultimate teaching of the Buddha [54].

The usage of the phrase “Southern line” in the Tangut text is similar to the way the word “Chan” was used in



Tibet. It should be noted that the Tibetan Chan was a unique trend of thinking, peculiar to Tibet, not representing any Chinese tradition, be it Northern, Southern or Baotang [55]. The Tangut “Southern line”, as presented in “The Mirror”, also does not correspond to the real Southern School of China (neither of the classical nor of the earlier periods); it is representative of an independent development based on its own preconditions. Keeping in mind the parallels with the approach of Chinul, one may conclude that Xi Xia was close to establishing its own Chan tradition,

independent of the Chinese influences. The source for this tradition was the doctrine of Zong-mi. This conclusion allows us to position the development of Tangut Buddhism, at least in its Chinese dimension in the line of the Korean Son, which also emerged from the writings of Chinul, who based himself on the ideas of Zong-mi. The heritage of Zong-mi in Xi Xia was so influential that it had a certain impact on recession of other Chan traditions, especially that of Hongzhou lineage [56].

### Appendices

Table 5

Classification of teachings by Zong-mi from “The Preface to the Collection of Chan Sources”.  
Chan doctrines in the relation to the “teachings”

Chinese	Tangut
禪宗	𐰇𐰏𐰤 𐰇𐰏
息妄修新	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
泯絕無寄	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
直顯心性	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
教	𐰇𐰏
密意依性說相	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
密意依性破相	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
顯示真心即性	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏

Table 6

Classification of teachings by “The Mirror” \*

Chinese	Tangut
一心/見性傳	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
靜心門說	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
真實觀念門	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
念起頓悟門	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
心起無寄門	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
行起門說	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏

\* The teachings marked with character 門 are the subdivisions of the doctrine of “calming” or “tranquility of mind”. The tradition of “seeing the nature” sometimes is styled as “awakening of nature” as it is sometimes referred to in “The Mirror” itself. The teachings marked with 門說 are greater subdivisions of the classification scheme.

Table 7

Selected name list of characters in the “Chan Preface” [57]  
and “The Mirror”, and the list of Chan schools

Chinese	Tangut
南侏	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
北秀	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
保唐	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
宣什	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
天台	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
華嚴	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
牛頭	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
石頭	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
南宗	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
北宗	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
洪州	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
何澤	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
圭峰	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
什羅	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
明師	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
臥輪	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
悟極	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
澄觀	𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏

## Notes

1. K. Iu. Solonin, “Po povodu chan'-buddiiskikh tekstov iz tangutskogo sobranii SPbF IV RAN” (“Concerning the Chan-Buddhist texts from the Tangut holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences”), *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie. St. Petersburg Journal of Oriental Studies*, fasc. 7 (1995), pp. 390—412; K. J. Solonin, “The masters of Hongzhou in the Tangut State”, *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/3 (1998), pp. 10—5; K. J. Solonin, “Gui Feng Zong-mi and Tangut Chan-Buddhism”, *Chung-hwa Buddhist Journal*, XI (1998), pp. 365—423.

2. E. I. Kychanov, *Katalog tangutskikh pamiatnikov Instituta vostokovedeniia Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk* (Catalogue of the Tangut Texts in the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies) (Kyoto, 1999), entry No. 752, Tang. 413, inventory 2548; 32 pages in all, no beginning, no end (Tangut 𐰇𐰏).

3. Solonin, “Gui Feng Zong-mi”, pp. 396—409.

4. The students of Tangut Buddhism recently obtained a powerful research tool, a catalogue of Buddhist holdings in the Tangut collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, compiled by E. I. Kychanov (cf. n. 2).

5. Solonin, “Gui Feng Zong-mi”, pp. 370—5; cf. also his “Po povodu chan'-buddiiskikh tekstov”, pp. 394—9. For the general description of Chinese Buddhist materials, including the extant Chinese versions of Zong-mi's writings, see L. N. Men'shikov, *Opisanie kitaiskoi chasti kolleksii iz Khara-Khoto. Fond P. K. Kozlova* (Description of the Chinese Part of the Khara Khoto Collection) (Moscow, 1984), entries TK 186, TK 254, TK 241, TK 242.

6. It would have been very interesting to find out whether the works of Zong-mi had been incorporated into the corpus of the Jurchen *Tripitaka*. The reproduction of Jurchen Buddhist Cannon was completed in 1994 (information of V. L. Uspensky), but unfortunately the edition remains unavailable for me. At the same time, it is well known that the Straw Hut Temple of Zong-mi still existed shortly before the Mongol invasion of Xi Xia and enjoyed some recognition from the Jurchen rulers (see, for example, Solonin, “Po povodu chan'-buddiiskikh tekstov”, pp. 398—9, and notes).

7. For the Tangut versions of the “Chan Preface”, see Kychanov, *op. cit.*, entry 321, Tang. 227, inventories 7554 and 5172; entry 322, inventory 4731; entry 323, Tang. 227, inventory 735; entry 749, Tang. 292, inventory 7119. The last item was reproduced in Solonin, “Gui Feng Zong-mi”, pp. 416—23. The list of the commentaries is placed *ibidem* and in *idem*, “Po povodu chan'-buddiiskikh tekstov”, pp. 396—8.

8. Inventory 735 (see n. 6).

9. Unfortunately, the existing Dunhuang fragments of Zong-mi's “Chan Preface” remains unavailable for me, so it is not clear whether the Tangut translation resembles the “Chan Preface” or depends on it in any way.

10. Kychanov, *op. cit.*, entry 752, Tang. 413, inventory 2548.

11. A brief outline of the contents of "The Mirror" with a translation is to be found in Solonin, "Guifeng Zong-mi".
12. For the text of Pellio No. 116, see J. Broughton, "Early Chan schools in Tibet", *Studies in Chan and Hua-yen* (Honolulu, 1983), pp. 1—69; G. Mala, *Un traite tibetain de dhyana chinois. Ms. de Dunhuang Pelliot Tibetan 116, folios 119—170* (Tokyo, 1988). For the review of the study of the Tibetan Chan tradition, see Daishun Ueyama, "The study of Tibetan Chan manuscripts, recovered from Dunhuang. The prospects of the field", *Early Chan in China and Tibet* (University of California Press, 1983).
13. As Yangida Seizan mentions it, sometimes the recorded sayings are introduced with the formula "someone in the past has said" or "someone worthy in the past has said". See Yangida Seizan, "The "recorded sayings" texts of Chinese Chan Buddhism", *Early Chan in China and Tibet*, pp. 190—1. In the Tangut texts, the phrase "the teachers of the past" seems to correspond to Prof. Yangida's observation.
14. The relation between Chan lineages and doctrinal teachings is examined in P. N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 225—7; also see Yoshizu Yoshihide, "The relation between Chinese Buddhist history and soteriology", *Paths to Liberation. Marga and its Transformations in Buddhist Thought. Studies in East Asian Buddhism*, 7 (Honolulu, 1992), pp. 309—38.
15. A detailed exposition of Chinul approach is given in R. E. Buswell, *Tracing back the Radiance. Chinul's Korean Way of Zen* (Honolulu, 1983), pp. 46—50, 57—60; see Sung Keel, *Chinul: the Founder of the Korean Son Tradition* (Berkeley, 1984), pp. 67—89. — Berkley Buddhist Studies Series. However, the approach of Chinul was different from that of Zong-mi: while the former actually intended to subdue Chan/Son to the teachings, the latter was tackling Huayan from the viewpoint of a Chan adept. See Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 147—8. It is, therefore, more appropriate to consider Chinul the follower of Zheng-guan.
16. This was, of course, not an innovation but a further implementation of Zong-mi's intention. See Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 225—9.
17. This is a general impression from reading the text, since its author never goes into philosophical debate, his approach being more practical.
18. Zong-mi used this approach extensively in his criticism of various Chan lines. The most telling example is his analysis of Hongzhou. See Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 239—43.
19. The concept of "awareness" is discussed *ibid.*, pp. 240—4.
20. See original text, fasc. 4a—5b. The translation of "The Mirror" was published in Solonin, "Guifeng Zong-mi", pp. 365—425.
21. That is, another famous work by Zong-mi — "The Chart of the Transmission of the Chan Teaching of the Mind-Ground from Master to Disciple in China" (中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖). This text is present in the Tangut holdings of St. Petersburg, both in Chinese and Tangut versions. For the Tangut one, see Kychanov, *op. cit.*, entry 759, Tang. 407, inventories 2261 and 2865; entry 760, Tang. 421, inventory 2893. For the Chinese version, see Men'shikov, *op. cit.*, entry 228, TK 254.
22. Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 210—2. Having no information about whether an English version of the "Chan Preface" exists, I refer here to my own Russian translation in Zong-mi, *The Chan Truths* (St. Petersburg Technical University Press, 1998). As for the "Chan Chart", I refer to the 續藏經 (pp. 110, 433—8) and the Chinese edition from Khara Khoto, yet very fragmentary. The Tangut and Chinese versions are identical, so further on I do not specify the quotations found in "The Mirror".
23. For an exposition of Zong-mi's "teaching that reveals the nature", see Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 165—7. Original text, fasc. 5a—5b.
24. Gregory, *op. cit.*
25. Original text, fasc. 5a—9a.
26. *Ibid.*, fasc. 9a—11a. For the Tangut and Chinese equivalents, see Appendices at the end of the present article. One thing, however, should be mentioned: the "one mind" is sometimes styled as "tradition", while the other two as "teachings" (Tang. 禪心, Chin. 門說).
27. This is highly probable, since the throughout survey of the Tangut Chan materials, preserved in the St. Petersburg and other Tangut collections demonstrates that Zong-mi was the only Chan writer known in Xi Xia. See Kychanov, *op. cit.*
28. This is the basic idea of Zong-mi which inspired his quest for the unity of Chan with the doctrinal teachings. See Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 227.
29. This approach seems to be in line with Zong-mi himself, who considered the teachings from the point of view of a Chan adept. See Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 148. Zong-mi's early training was that of Chan, not Huayan.
30. For Tangut and Chinese equivalents, see the Appendices at the end of the present article.
31. The Chart can be found in Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 225.
32. This term is not mentioned in the original text, so I resorted to a reconstruction.
33. Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 238—40. The term "tranquillity" or "calming" the mind (安心) is the core of the teaching and practice of Dao-xin (580—651). It occurs in the title of his "Means of Calming the Mind and Entering the Path" (人道安心方便法門, found in Taisho, vol. 85, pp. 1286—9), but his interpretation is different from what is found in "The Mirror". The translation and study of Dao-xin's work is given in D. W. Chappell, "The teachings of the Forth Chan Patriarch Tao-hsin (580—651)", *Early Chan in China and Tibet*, pp. 89—129.
34. See Chappell, *op. cit.*, pp. 108—9. However, it is very unlikely that Dao-xin's treatise circulated in Xi Xia or in the North-Western China independently: it is not discovered as an independent text among the finds in Dunhuang. Anyway, its origin and date remain obscure. See J. R. MacRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Chan Buddhism* (Honolulu, 1985), pp. 119—20.
35. Dao-xin might have been known through the writings of Zong-mi and Chinese Buddhist histories. One of those which has no direct Chinese counterpart has survived. See *The Most Important of the Lamp [of the Teaching]*, pt. 3, (Tang. 禪要, Chin. 燈要二) in Kychanov, *op. cit.*, entry 756, Tang. 368, inventories 6238 and 7117. Also, Solonin, "Guifeng Zong-mi".
36. Original text, author's commentary, fasc. 8b—9a.
37. Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 239—42.
38. Original text, author's commentary, fasc. 13b.
39. Wo-lun is actually criticized in "The Mirror" for not understanding properly the "no-mind" and "no-thought" teachings.
40. This is even more surprising, since the Hongzhou line was known in Xi Xia both indirectly from Zong-mi and through their own writings which, however, influenced also by Zong-mi. See Solonin "Guifeng Zong-mi", also *idem*, "The Masters of Hongzhou in the Tangut State".

41. The problem of the Seventh Patriarch is however more complicated, because Pu-ji was claiming the same title. There are also other controversies concerning the problem.

42. See n. 13. As far as Hui-neng is concerned, he appears to be a strange personality in Xi Xia: only 12 scattered fragments of the "Platform *Sūtra*", dated around 1070, have been discovered insofar. The text is close to the Dunhuang text, but it is not a translation of it. There is hardly solid evidence of Hui-neng's substantial popularity in Xi Xia. See Shi Jin-bo, "Translation of the "Fragments of the Tangut Platform *Sūtra* of the Sixth Patriarch"" (西夏文“六祖壇經”殘頁議釋), *Shijie Zongjiao yanjiu*, No. 3 (1993), pp. 90—100.

43. Original text, fasc. 11b—13a.

44. Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 214, 216—8.

45. Outlined in the text different concepts of perfection, "no-thought", etc. deserve a further study.

46. Original text, fasc. 16a.

47. The Tangut seemed to resort to one character 頓, representing the concepts of both direct and sudden enlightenment.

48. For the discussion of the meaning of the Four Practices, see MacRae, *op. cit.*, pp. 108—12.

49. Original text, fasc. 9a—11a.

50. MacRae, *op. cit.*, pp. 103—15.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 145—7.

52. The problem of sudden and perfect teachings in their connection with Zong-mi and other Huayan authorities is discussed in length by P. Gregory in his outstanding work. Here I am not going into much detail. For the complete discussion of the issue, see Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 144—70.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 216—8, 240.

54. This complies with the important transition from early Chan to the classical Chan in China itself, for which the name of the "Southern School" was adopted. In fact, the Southern school of classical Chan did not have too much in common with that of the early period. See MacRae, "Shen-hui and the teaching of sudden enlightenment in early Chan Buddhism", *Sudden and Gradual. Approaches to the Enlightenment in Chinese Thought* (Honolulu, 1987), p. 229.

55. Obata Hironobu, "Kodai chibetto ni okeru tonmonha (zensu) no nagare", *Bukkyoshi gaku kenkyū*, 18 (1976), cited in Daishun Ueyama, *op. cit.*, pp. 337—8.

56. See Solonin, "The Masters of Hongzhou in the Tangut State".

57. Tang, 227, entry 735.