

THE CONJUNCTION OF CHINESE CHAN AND TIBETAN
RDZOGS CHEN THOUGHT: REFLECTIONS ON THE TIBETAN
DUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS IOL TIB J 689-1 AND PT 699¹

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INTRODUCTION

During and for some time after the Tibetan domination of the Inner Asian oasis of Dunhuang, which began in the late eighth century and lasted until the middle of the ninth, Tibetan Buddhism was subject to various Chinese Buddhist influences, particularly to that of the Chan tradition (*chanzong* 禪宗). The century following the disintegration of the Tibetan Empire (roughly 850 to 950) is usually described as the most obscure period of Tibetan history. Manuscripts recovered in the grottoes of Dunhuang at the beginning of the twentieth century, however, show a variety of religious practices that were in vogue during that time of political anarchy in Tibet. Since there was no central authority to control various religious speculations, different traditions sometimes syncretistically merged owing to doctrinal similarities. This may be seen to some extent in the teachings of Chan and of the Great Perfection (Rdzogs chen).²

¹ This article is based on a preliminary version first presented at the 9th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies (Leiden 2000) and published as MEINERT 2002. It was originally prepared for publication in 2001, but during the intervening delay it was not possible to revise it as fully as I intended, owing to health problems since that time. I am grateful to Thub bstan Chos dar and to Dge bshes Padma tshe ring for their discussions of the manuscripts.

² According to later Chinese historiography Chan Buddhism was brought to China in the sixth century by Bodhidharma and spread to Dunhuang and Tibet in the late eighth century. These developments are described further below. Rdzogs chen emerged during the early spread of Buddhism in Tibet in the eighth and ninth centuries and is transmitted down to the present as the pinnacle of the teachings within the nine vehicles (*theg pa dgu*) of the Rnying ma school, the 'ancient school' of Buddhism in Tibet. For an overview of Rdzogs chen as part of the Rnying ma system, see DUDJOM RINPOCHE 1991: 294-345; TULKU THONDUP 1997: 15-49. S. Karmay has already pointed out that similarities between Chan and Rdzogs chen led to misunderstandings about both traditions in the early period (KARMAY 1988: ix).

Within the corpus of Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts we find among others two short documents demonstrating the early spread of Chinese Chan Buddhism and its Tibetan assimilation in the Sino-Tibetan border area during the early ninth through the early tenth centuries: the manuscripts IOL Tib J 689-1 (two folios) preserved in the collection of the British Library in London, and its commentary PT 699 (five folios) from the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. In 1979 Okimoto Katsumi first called attention to these two manuscripts in a short article that contained a transliteration of IOL Tib J 689-1 and identified PT 121-3 as another copy of the same text and PT 699 as a commentary on the root-text IOL Tib J 689-1.³ Even though K. Okimoto pointed out that these are important manuscripts in regard to the connection between Chan and the Tibetan teachings of Rdzogs chen, his research did not go into any further detail. In 2004, S. van Schaik and J. Dalton published an article in which they presented PT 699 as a Mahāyoga commentary on a Chan text.⁴

The aim of the present chapter is to contextualize these two Dunhuang manuscripts in their historical and philosophical framework in order to shed new light on the relationship between Chan and Rdzogs chen thought in the ninth and tenth centuries in the Sino-Tibetan border region. I argue, first, that the root text IOL Tib J 689-1 is to be read as an instruction on the nature of mind as it is transmitted in the Chan tradition. Here, the teaching is described as ‘gazing at mind’ (Tib. *sems la bltas*, Ch. *kanxin* 看心),⁵ and thus

For a comprehensive comparison of Chan and Rdzogs chen thought in the eighth and ninth centuries, refer to MEINERT forthcoming.

³ OKIMOTO 1992: 423-427.

⁴ Though VAN SCHAİK and DALTON 2004 advance a very different interpretation of these manuscripts, this demonstrates above all the fluidity of the categories of Mahāyoga and Rdzogs chen prior to their codification as distinct paths to enlightenment.

⁵ The Tibetan past tense *sems la bltas* is intentionally translated in the present continuous form ‘gazing at mind’ as Tibetan Chan manuscripts from Dunhuang sometimes use *sems la bltas* instead of the future tense *sems la blta* (cf. PT 21: f. 2r, PT 823: f. 1.4). The Chinese original *kanxin*, for instance in P. chin. 4646: f. 135a, is clearly used in the present continuous tense (cf. DEMIÉVILLE 1987 [1952]: 43). See also n. 28 below. However, the phrase *rang gi sems la bltas na/ (Lung chung: f. 115a.3)* could also be translated as ‘if one has gazed at one’s own mind’ without changing the meaning in general. But because we are trying to deal with both the Tibetan translation and the Chinese original, one English translation for both terms is chosen here as a matter of convenience. I am aware of the difficulties surrounding this procedure.

pertains to the tradition of Hwa shang Mahāyāna,⁶ the Chinese advocate at the famous Bsam yas debate in the late eighth century.⁷ Second, I maintain that the Tibetan commentary PT 699 to the original Chan text IOL Tib J 689-1 may be seen as a reflection of the local religious situation in the area of Dunhuang. In particular, PT 699 discloses a Tibetan understanding of Chinese Chan Buddhism and provides an example of how Chan concepts were interwoven with elements from other traditions such as Rdzogs chen. Finally, this chapter will conclude with a look at how later Tibetan scholars criticized this syncretic current of Inner Asian Buddhism, which in their view appeared to be attempting to pass itself off as Rdzogs chen teaching. The great tenth-century work *Bsam gtan mig sgron* (*The Torch of the Eye of Meditation*, hereafter *Torch of Meditation*) by Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes,⁸ a treatise on *dhyāna* and the four approaches to realization that were popular in ninth to tenth century Tibet,⁹ appears in its critique to be pointing exactly to the view expressed in the commentary PT 699.

THE TIBETAN CHAN MANUSCRIPT IOL TIB J 689-1
(*The Small Treatise*)

Text Historical Considerations

The manuscript IOL Tib J 689-1 covers two folios (f. 115a-116b) of four lines each, neatly written in the *dbu can* script that was popular

⁶ The name Hwa shang Mahāyāna appears in Chinese manuscripts as Heshang Moheyan.

⁷ The Bsam yas debate was perhaps not in fact a physical debate with actors present on stage. Nonetheless, it had a lasting influence on the development of Buddhism in Tibet. For further references, see MEINERT 2002, 2006.

⁸ In dating the *Bsam gtan mig sgron* to the tenth century, I follow the research of KARMAY 1988: 102, who has discussed at length the Tibetan sources giving different dates for the life of Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes (loc. cit.: 99-103).

⁹ GNUBS CHEN 1974. Hereafter abbreviated in the footnotes as *SM*. In the main text, for ease of comprehension I have adopted short English titles for works frequently mentioned. For instance, the *Torch of the Eye of Meditation Explaining [the Meaning] of Meditation, Composed by Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes Rin po che* is contracted to *Torch of Meditation*.

The *SM* is an exposition of the four following methods of realization: the gradual path (*rim gyis pa*) as it was advocated by Kamalaśīla at the Debate of Bsam yas (chapter four: 65-118); the teachings of simultaneous entrance (*cig car ba*) as promoted by Kamalaśīla's opponent, the Chinese Chan Master Hwa shang Mahāyāna (chapter five: 118-86); Mahāyoga (chapter six: 186-290); and Rdzogs chen (chapter seven: 290-494).

in Dunhuang in the ninth and tenth centuries. It is a palm-leaf-style manuscript which is, in respect to the paper, format and writing style, similar to other Chan manuscripts, for instance to two copies of a cycle of teachings by Hwa shang Mahāyāna, IOL Tib J 468 and IOL Tib J 709. These formal elements had been current since the Tibetan dominion over Dunhuang at the end of the eighth century.¹⁰

The short text given in IOL Tib J 689-1 is quoted three times in Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes's *Torch of Meditation*. Here, in the chapter on the Chan school, designated as Cig car ba, our text is cited under the title *Lung chung (Small Treatise)*,¹¹ for which reason, following the Tibetan, I will hereafter refer to it by that name. The same chapter of the *Torch of Meditation* quotes another work under the title *Rgya lung chen po (Great Chinese Treatise, hereafter referred to as the Great Treatise)*.¹² This *Great Treatise* refers to a corpus of texts that report the teachings of Bodhidharma, the 28th Indian patriarch of the *dhyāna* tradition, who came to be known as the first patriarch and forefather of Chinese Chan Buddhism. The title *Great Treatise* does not refer to a single text but rather to the contents of a series of texts.¹³ This is probably the reason why in Tibetan this corpus is given the general heading *Great Treatise*.

¹⁰ In the second half of the eighth century when the Tibetans conquered the Gansu corridor (Longyou dao 隴右道), moving westwards from the east, all means of communication between the central part of the Tang territory and Central Asia was cut off. As a result of that, Chinese influence, for instance, on the culture in Dunhuang diminished and was replaced by a strong Tibetan influence. Everyday items such as the thin Chinese paper were gradually replaced by items from the Tibetan cultural sphere such as the thicker Tibetan style paper.

¹¹ SM: 144.4, 160.1, 172.2-3.

¹² In the SM the *Rgya lung chen po* is cited four times: 130.2-3 (*Rgya lung chen po*), 173.5-176.5 (*Ma ha yan gyi bsam gtan Rgya lung chen po*), 177.5-178.2 (*Rgya lung chen po*), 179.1-3 (*Rgya lung*).

¹³ KARMAY 1988: 95 has earlier mistakenly assumed that the *Rgya lung chen po* is the title of a single text. However, what came to be known as the *Rgya lung chen po* in Tibetan may perhaps be identified with a collection of texts recovered from the Mogao Grottoes of Dunhuang early in the twentieth century to which BROUGHTON 1999 has given the title *Bodhidharma Anthology*. This *Bodhidharma Anthology* is but one part of a larger corpus of ten texts presenting the teachings of Bodhidharma, itself in turn containing seven texts, which Broughton has named: 1. Biography, 2. Two Entrances, 3. First Letter, 4. Second Letter, 5. Record I, 6. Record II, 7. Record III (BROUGHTON 1999: 4-6). This corpus was first partly published by SUZUKI (1935) under the title *Long Scroll of the Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices*, and interpreted by him in SUZUKI 1936. It is preserved in different parts in the following Dunhuang manuscripts: Beijing *su* 99, S. chin. 2715, S. chin. 1880, S. chin. 3375, S. chin. 7159, P. chin. 2923, P. chin. 3018, P. chin. 4634, P. chin. 4795. Apart from S. chin. 7159, all documents are reprinted in LIN 1998, vol. 上 *shang*,

Let us assume that the title *Small Treatise* was similarly chosen as a general heading. If so, it may not be a direct translation of a single original Chinese text, but rather a general title, indicating that this is a summary or abstract of a more comprehensive teaching or text. The question we should ask, then, is: whose teachings might be at issue in this *Small Treatise*?

In fact, a careful comparison of frequently recurring expressions and phrases within the rather limited corpus of Tibetan Chan manuscripts reveals a great similarity between the *Small Treatise* and the teachings of Hwa shang Mahāyāna. A number of phrases referring to the method of ‘gazing at mind’ (*sems la bltas*, *kanxin*), at times even the exact words, occur in at least three other Dunhuang manuscripts attributed to Hwa shang Mahāyāna: (1) *Bsam gtan cig car ’jug pa’i sgo* (*The Gate of Simultaneous Entrance into Meditation*, IOL Tib J 468),¹⁴ (2) PT 21¹⁵ and (3) PT 823.¹⁶ Yoshiro Imaeda has shown that PT 823 is a Tibetan translation of parts of the famous Chinese account of the Bsam yas Debate, the *Dunwu dacheng zhengli jue* 頓悟大乘政理決 (*Ratification of the True Principle of the Mahāyāna Teaching of Sudden Enlightenment*, hereafter called *Ratification of the True Principle*).¹⁷ On the basis of these manuscripts I will briefly outline the contents of the *Small Treatise* which provides a synopsis of Hwa shang Mahāyāna’s teachings,¹⁸ before turning to analyze and trace back the doctrinal

367-437. The title *Rgya lung chen po* either refers to the body of texts mentioned herein or to an as yet unidentified corpus of scriptures.

¹⁴ According to L. Gómez, IOL Tib J 468 (2 folios) is only the beginning of a larger text entitled *Bsam gtan cig car ’jug pa’i sgo* of which the manuscripts IOL Tib J 709, PT 116, PT 117, PT 812 and PT 813 form different portions. For a reconstruction of this as a single text, see GÓMEZ 1983. The following passages from IOL Tib J 468 correspond to similar passages in the *Lung chung*: IOL Tib J 468: f. 28b.3-4 to IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115.3-4; IOL Tib J 468: f. 29a.5 to IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115.4; and IOL Tib J 468: f. 29b.5 to IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 116.1.

¹⁵ PT 21: f. 19-21v. is quoted in the *SM*: 184.2-3 under the title *San de’i mdo*, the meaning of which is unknown. The passage PT 21: f. 2, 4v corresponds to the *Lung chung* at IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115.2-3.

¹⁶ PT 823: f. 1.4, 2.1-2 matches the *Lung chung* at IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115.2-4.

¹⁷ For a translation and historical commentary of the Chinese dossier on the Great Debate of Bsam yas (P. chin. 4646, *Dunwu dacheng zhenglijue* [ZLJ]), see the exquisite work by DEMIÉVILLE (1987 [1952]). A critical edition of P. chin. 4646 is given in RAO 1970. See, too, IMAEDA 1975: 128, who identifies PT 823 as corresponding to ZLJ: f. 133b-142a.

¹⁸ Comprehensive research on the Tibetan Chan manuscripts pertaining to Hwa shang Mahāyāna has been undertaken by GÓMEZ 1983. Cf. n. 14 above.

source of its Dharma¹⁹ of ‘gazing at mind’ to Bodhidharma’s teaching on ‘quieting the mind’ (*anxin* 安心).

The Contents of the Small Treatise

In the *Ratification of the True Principle*, the most comprehensive text on the teachings of Hwa shang Mahāyāna, it is stated as a fundamental assumption that sentient beings are bound to *saṃsāra* due to the ‘habitual tendencies’ (*xiqi* 習氣) of ‘concepts of discrimination’ (*wangxiang* 妄想).²⁰ These habitual tendencies hinder their ‘original omniscience’ (*benlai yiqie zhi* 本來一切智).²¹ Enlightenment, however, is achieved by nonattachment (*bu quzhuo* 不取著) with respect to those deluded thoughts, regardless of whether they arise or not.²² When the practitioner becomes ‘aware of their arising’ (*qi jue* 起覺), without grasping or abiding in them, each thought is liberation and *prajñā*.²³

Judging from its contents, it is at this point that the *Small Treatise* can be linked to the teachings of Hwa shang Mahāyāna as exposed in the *Ratification of the True Principle*. The *Small Treatise* explains how ‘the principle of bringing about complete *nirvāṇa* without remainder of the aggregates’ (*phung po lhag ma ma lus par yongs su mya ngan las bzla ba’i don*)²⁴ is to be realized. The meditation instruction, which also appears verbatim in the *Ratification of the True Principle*,²⁵ is as follows:

Having reversed mind’s six faculties so that they do not engage in deluded objects,²⁶ one gazes at one’s own mind (*rang gyi sems la bltas, kanxin*)²⁷ and [realizes] that it has no reality whatsoever.

¹⁹ When the expression Dharma is capitalized, it is used to mean *buddha-dharma*, the ‘Buddhist teachings’; *dharma* with a small ‘d’ refers to ‘phenomena’.

²⁰ ZLJ: f. 129b: 無始心想習氣妄想。所以流浪生死。不得解脫。; also f. 134b.

²¹ ZLJ: f. 134b: 想過者。能障衆生本來一切智。

²² ZLJ: f. 135a: 若能不取著生不生妄想。便得解脫。

²³ ZLJ: f. 135a: 妄想起 [...] 覺竟 [...] 不取不住。念念即是解脫般若。 The equivalent Tibetan passage is PT 823: f. 2.2-3: *myi bden ba’i ’du shes g.yos te tshor na/ [...] ma chags na/ sems thang re yang grol thar re re ste/*

²⁴ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115a.1-2. *Bzla ba* is here the causative of *’das pa* (‘passing beyond’), as in *mya ngan las ’das pa* (‘*nirvāṇa*’), and should not be confused with the homonym meaning ‘to recite’.

²⁵ ZLJ: f. 135a. The Chinese equivalent will be discussed below.

²⁶ On the translation ‘deluded objects’ for *’khrul pa yul*, refer to n. 31 below.

²⁷ This passage is quoted in *SM*: 144.4-5.

Therefore, nothing is to be thought of. Because afflictions are not being minded, so nothing is to be conceptualized. In this way the objects of mind are completely purified and there is nothing to abide in.²⁸

Through this practice of ‘gazing at mind’ the practitioner sees *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa* as no different: the ‘nature of primordial gnosis’ (*ye shes kyi rang bzhin*) is realized as being empty and even the concept of emptiness is seen to be insubstantial. Having gradually cleansed all the habitual tendencies of karma, all thoughts are ‘self-liberated’ (*rang grol*). By not ‘conceptualizing’ (*myi rtog*) the arising of thoughts, and ‘not abiding’ (*myi gnas*) in their non-arising, it is a meditation on the ‘inconceivable primordial gnosis’ (*bsams gis myi khyab ba’i ye shes*), which is ‘free from arbitrary thinking’ (*bsam du myed pa*).²⁹ Thus, the essence of this teaching, which was handed down to Kāśyapa and later to Bodhiharma, is as follows:

Nonconceptuality is vividly clear, and [even this] lucidness is not conceptualized. This is the primordial gnosis of intrinsic awareness, which cannot be designated as ‘this’ [existing entity].³⁰

Terminological Peculiarities

Two phrases occurring in the *Small Treatise* are of considerable interest for their relevance in assessing the commentary PT 699 below: (1) the expression ‘reversing mind’s six faculties so as not to engage in deluded objects’ and (2) the phrase ‘to bring about complete *nirvāṇa* without remainder of the aggregates’.

(1) The meditation method called ‘gazing at mind’ is expressed as ‘reversing mind’s six faculties so as not to engage in deluded ob-

²⁸ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115a.3-4: *sems kyi sgo drug 'khrul pa yul la myi 'jug par bzlog nas/ // rang gi sems la bltas na/ sems kyi dngos po ci yang ma yin bas/ 'cir yang myi bsam/ /nyon mong pa'i rnam pa yid la myi byed pas/ ci la yang myi rtog/ /de ltar sems kyi spyod yul yongs su dag pas/ ci la yang myi gnas/*.

²⁹ *Bsam du myed pa* occurs in PT 823: f. 7.2 as a translation of the Chinese phrase *sheng wuyi xin* 生無疑心 in P. chin. 4646: f. 139a. Here *sheng wuyi xin* means ‘having no doubtful thoughts’. However, L. Gómez also identified *bsam du myed pa* as the Chinese term *wusi* 無思 ‘no-thought’ (GÓMEZ 1983: 142).

³⁰ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 116a.3-4: *rnam par myi rtog sa le ba/ /sa le ba la rtogs pa myed/ /di ni rang rig ye shes ste/ /'di zhes gdags su myed pa'o/*. This passage is quoted in *SM*: 160.1-2.

jects' (*sems kyi sgo drug 'khrul pa yul la myi 'jug par bzlog*).³¹ This same formulation appears in the above-mentioned Tibetan Dunhuang manuscript PT 823³² as a translation of the Chinese original 'turning the luminosity [of the mind] towards the mind's source' (*fanzhao xinyuan* 反照心源) in the *Ratification of the True Principle*.³³ In order to clarify the meaning of the original Chinese term and better understand the Tibetan translation, it will be worthwhile to investigate its Chinese source.

P. Demiéville has already offered comprehensive remarks on the Chinese term *fanzhao xinyuan*, so we need only briefly recapitulate them here.³⁴ Elsewhere in the *Ratification of the True Principle* the term *fan yuan*, 'return to the source', appears in a quotation from the larger *Śūramgamasūtra*, a Chinese apocryphon that was spread in the beginning of the eighth century.³⁵ The first commentary on it, by a certain Weique 惟愨, seems to date to the middle of the eighth century. Hence, Demiéville presupposed that Hwa shang Mahāyāna must have been familiar at least with the doctrine of the *Śūramgamasūtra* as it was transmitted in this apocryphon if not with the text itself.³⁶

This apocryphal *Śūramgamasūtra* holds that everything is 'merely a manifestation of mind' (*wei xin suoxian* 唯心所現) and that body and mind are an actualization of the 'miraculous mind' (*miaoxin* 妙心), which is the 'true essence of miraculous luminosity' (*miaoming*

³¹ In translating this phrase, I follow the interpretation given in the *Commentary* (f. 2b.5), where *'khrul pa* is interpreted as an attribute to *yul*, that is *'khrul pa'i yul* (instead of *'khrul pa yul* in the *Lung chung*). The grammatical function of *'khrul pa* in the reading according to the *Lung chung* would be, however, in apposition to *sems kyi sgo drug*.

³² PT 823: f. 1.4-2.2. The same passage is also in PT 21: f. 1r. 2-4.

³³ The whole passage reads as follows in *ZLJ*: f. 135a: 返照心源看心。心想若動有無。淨不淨。空不空等。盡皆不思不觀者亦不思。 Cf. Demiéville 1987 [1952]: 78-80.

³⁴ DEMIÉVILLE 1987 [1952]: 43-52, 78.

³⁵ *ZLJ*: f. 129a. This passage is from the apocryphal *Dafoding rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhu pusa wanxing shou lengyan jing*, *juan 6* 大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經卷六 (*Śūramgamasūtra*), the translation of which is attributed to Pramiti 般刺蜜帝, *T* vol. 19, no. 945, 131a.20-21: 一根即反源。六根成解脫。 In the translation of the original *Śūramgamasūtra* by Kumārajīva (344-413) we do not find the exact wording, but there is a passage with a similar meaning: 見聞覺知是故有縛此中實無縛者解者。 (*Foshuo shou lengyan sanmei jing* 佛說首楞嚴三昧經 [*Śūramgamasamādhisūtra* expounded by the Buddha], *T* vol. 15, no. 642, 637c.26-27).

³⁶ Demiéville mentions the Japanese author Genei, who, in a work dated 829, cites a commentary of Weique to the *Śūramgamasūtra* (DEMIÉVILLE 1987 [1952]: 44-45, 52).

zhenjing miaoxin zhong suo xianwu 妙明真精妙心中所現物). If the practitioner is able to ‘return’ (*fan* 反) all differentiation to its source, then he will experience non-dual suchness, the miraculous mind.³⁷ The text further mentions the term *fanyuan* in connection with the liberation of the six faculties and asserts that if one faculty is turned to its source all six are liberated.³⁸ Thus, if the original Chinese phrase ‘turning the luminosity [of the mind] towards the mind’s source’ (*fanzhao xinyuan*) is a gloss for the method called ‘gazing at mind’ (*kanxin, sems la bltas*),³⁹ this method is meant to be an immediate return to mind’s source itself and might even be seen as a face-to-face recognition of the nature of mind. The Chinese Dunhuang manuscript *Zhujing yaochao* 諸經要抄 (*A Copy of the Essence of Various Canonical Scriptures*) offers the following explanation that would seem to support this interpretation:

In the *Vajrasamādhisūtra* it is said: ‘Empty mind, being non-agitated, encompasses the six *pāramitā*’.⁴⁰ This [statement points out] the gate of the Sudden Teachings of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Endless sūtras and exegetical scriptures of the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna teachings have been composed in order to [explain] to all sentient beings the primordially self-existing Buddha-nature. However, they merely point

³⁷ Loc. cit.: 48. *Lengyan jing*, T vol. 19, 110c.22-23. I could not identify a similar passage in Kumārajīva’s translation of the original.

³⁸ For the Chinese, see n. 33 above. This passage seems to be wide-spread in the Chan materials from Dunhuang. It also occurs in *Zhujing yaochao* 諸經要抄 (*A Copy of the Essence of Various Canonical Scriptures*), a Dunhuang manuscript from the collection of the Daikoku University 大谷大學, T vol. 85, no. 2819, 1196c.22-24. For a further discussion of the six faculties, see, e.g., *Lengyan jing*, T vol. 19, 123a.15-29.

³⁹ This is clearly the way *fanzhao xinyuan kanxin* 返照心源看心 has to be read in *ZLJ*: f. 135a. However, DEMIÉVILLE 1987 [1952]: 78 interprets the term *zhao* as ‘illuminer, refléter, regarder, connaître’ and gives the following French translation: ‘Retourner la vision vers la source de l’esprit, c’est “regarder l’esprit” ...’ On the contrary, in what is probably the most comprehensive research on the teachings of Heshang Moheyan in recent years, GÓMEZ 1983: 93, though paying close attention to Demiéville’s œuvre, interprets this very passage differently and proposes: ‘To turn the light [of the mind] towards the mind’s source, that is contemplating the mind’. Although I also follow Demiéville’s argumentation in my discussion, I do not agree with his interpretation of *zhao* in this context and prefer that of Gómez, whose reading of the teachings of Heshang Moheyan takes account of a number of texts attributed to him and on this basis argues for the translation ‘to turn the light’ for *fanzhao*.

⁴⁰ The passage quoted is found in the *Jingang sanmei jing xu pin di yi* 金剛三昧經序品第一 (*Vajrasamādhisūtra* with preface, chapter one), T vol. 9, no. 273, 367a.14.

out to sentient beings the path of seeing the original nature and becoming a Buddha. This Dharma is also called ‘return to the source’ (*fanyuan*), ‘return to luminosity’ (*fanzhao*), [...] ‘not originated’ (*wusheng*), ‘not defiled’ (*wulou*) and ‘not arising’ (*wuqi*) [...].⁴¹

If we now look again at the *Small Treatise*, the Tibetan rendering ‘reversing mind’s six faculties so as not to engage in deluded objects’ clearly does not have the same implications as the Chinese term *fanzhao xinyuan* in Hwa shang Mahāyāna’s teachings. Hwa shang Mahāyāna is directly pointing to the nature of mind, whereas in the Tibetan text, the *Small Treatise*, an antidote to counteract straying into any of the sensory objects of mind is given. At this point, we can only speculate as to why this particular Chinese term was translated as such. Perhaps the Tibetan translators were not familiar with the Chinese original texts of Hwa shang Mahāyāna, or maybe they had in mind the previously cited passage of the apocryphal *Śūramgamasūtra* which speaks about all six faculties being liberated instantly by the liberation of only one faculty.

(2) The fruit of the meditation process, which is in the *Small Treatise* described as ‘bringing about complete *nirvāṇa* without remainder of the aggregates’ (*phung po lhag ma ma lus par yongs su mya ngan las bzla ba*), is a rather unusual expression in Tibetan Chan manuscripts. Tracing it back to the original Chinese equivalent might shed new light on the meaning of this term in the *Small Treatise*.

For the Tibetan expression *phung po lhag ma med pa’i mya ngan las ’das pa* ‘*nirvāṇa* without remainder of the aggregates’ the dictionary *Mahāvvyutpatti* gives the Chinese translation *wuyu yi nieban* (無余依涅槃).⁴² The use of this term is confirmed in the important eighth-century Chinese Dunhuang manuscript *Dacheng ershier wenben* 大乘二十二問本 (*Twenty-two Questions on Mahā-*

⁴¹ *T* vol. 85, 1196c.14-19: 金剛三昧經云。空心不動具六波羅。此大乘頓教法門。為一切衆生本來自有佛性。千經萬論大小乘教文字言說。只指衆生本來性見成佛道。此法亦名反源。亦名反照。[...]亦名無生。亦名無漏。亦名無起。 [...]

⁴² *Honyaku myōgi daishū* 翻譯名義大集 (*Mahāvvyutpatti*), entry 1727 (3). Even though the dictionary is a compilation of the early ninth century, the Chinese was only added to the edition prepared at the turn of the last century by Japanese scholars. Moreover, the Chinese term for ‘*nirvāṇa* without remainder’ is also given in the *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* [*Great Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary*] as an equivalent translation of the Tibetan expression *lhag med myang ’das*. Cf. ZHANG 1985: 3094b.

yāna).⁴³ This work by Tankuang (曇曠), a monk-scholar who resided in Dunhuang, is indirectly related to the works of Hwa shang Mahāyāna and the view he presented in the Great Debate of Bsam yas. Such a relation may be presumed because Tankuang's work was composed on behalf of the Tibetan King, Khri Srong lde btsan, as the analysis of W. Pachow has shown (PACHOW 1979a: 42-43). Before Hwa shang Mahāyāna was invited to take part in the Debate in order to defend the principles of the Sudden Enlightenment School, the Tibetan king had inquired about the Chinese standpoint. The many correspondences of this text with the *Ratification of the True Principle* have already been demonstrated elsewhere (PACHOW 1979a: 44-45; DEMIÉVILLE 1970: 34-35).

In the preface Tankuang addresses his 'Majesty' (*sheng* 聖) as follows:

However, the principles involved in the questions are extremely profound and secret. [...] Regarding the questions of which I have comprehension, I shall explain them on the basis of concrete information, and regarding those which are new to me, I shall clarify them through general principles. I fear only that it may not meet with Your Majesty's expectation, or that it may be a distortion of the original meaning.⁴⁴

In the *Twenty-two Questions on Mahāyāna* the expression in question, 'nirvāṇa without remainder', appears in a fourfold description of *nirvāṇa*, as it is taught by Tankuang in accordance with the doctrines of the Chinese 'Mind-Only school' (*weishi pai* 唯識派). The third one in this list is indeed named 'nirvāṇa without remainder' (*wuyu yi nieban*)⁴⁵ and as such is mentioned by Tan-

⁴³ *Dacheng ershier wenben* 大乘二十二 (Twenty-two Questions on Mahāyāna), by Tankuang 曇曠, S. chin. 2674; reedited in *T* vol. 85, no. 2818, 1184a-1192c. Further fragments of this text are: P. chin. 2287 (partly published in *Bukkyō kenkyū* 佛教研究 [*Buddhist Research*] 1/2 [1937], 114-115); S. chin. 4297; S. chin. 2707 v; and P. chin. 2690. An analysis and translation of the text is provided by PACHOW 1979a, 1979b. His translation is based on P. chin. 2690, P. chin. 2287 and S. chin. 2074. For further reference to Tankuang see UYAMA 1964, with the revisions of this article in DEMIÉVILLE 1970; and YAMAGUCHI 1965.

⁴⁴ By and large my translation follows PACHOW 1979b: 36, but some emendations have been made. For the Chinese text, see loc. cit., 86 (this passage is not included in the Taishō edition): 然其問端。至極幽隱 [...] 所解者以知見而釋之。未曉者以通理而暢之。所懼不契聖情。乖於本旨。

⁴⁵ XINGYUN DASHI 1989, vol. 2, 1812a. The four kinds of *nirvāṇa* are: (1) 'nirvāṇa of the purity of self-nature' (*benlai zixing qingjing nieban* 本來自性清淨

kuang on three occasions.⁴⁶ Tankuang discusses ‘*nirvāṇa* without remainder’ (*wuyu yi nieban*) in the context of the three *yānas*, viz., those of the *śrāvaka*, *pratyekabuddha* and *bodhisattva*, and in that of the ‘Gradual’ (*jianjiao* 漸教) and ‘Sudden Teachings’ (*dunjiao* 頓教). As they are all based on ‘suchness’ (*zhenru* 真如) these four types of *nirvāṇa* are not different from one another; however, in terms of their being freed from obstacles, the four are established to be distinct.⁴⁷ In the Sudden Teachings, ‘*nirvāṇa* without remainder’ is explained as follows:

A *bodhisattva* is in a position to comprehend that everything is empty, and every *dharma* arises from mind. If the mind is not agitated, everything is in a state of suchness; [the *bodhisattva*] is [therefore] able to give up a conceptualizing and grasping mind. The discriminating mind will not arise if the true characteristics are understood. This is the wonderful principle of pure *nirvāṇa*. Even though this principle [appears to] have been realized, however, there is nothing to realize; because one realizes nothing, one realizes everything. As one realizes nothing, one is freed from all obstacles of suffering. This is ‘*nirvāṇa* without remainder’.⁴⁸

Tankuang further elaborates on the differences between ‘*nirvāṇa* without remainder’ and the other three types of *nirvāṇa*. If one is striving for attainment and accomplishing merits, this is called ‘*nirvāṇa* with remainder’ (*youyu yi nieban*); if *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa* do not abide anywhere, one attains to ‘*nirvāṇa* without an abode’; finally, because nothing is to be attained and therefore self-nature is not defiled, it is called ‘*nirvāṇa* of the purity of self-nature’.⁴⁹

涅槃), (2) ‘*nirvāṇa* with remainder’ (*youyu yi nieban* 有余依涅槃), (3) ‘*nirvāṇa* without remainder’ (*wuyu yi nieban* 無余依涅槃) and (4) ‘*nirvāṇa* without an abode’ (*wuzhu chu nieban* 無住處涅槃).

⁴⁶ These are: question five (PACHOW 1979b: 43-45, 88; *T* vol. 85, 1185a.19-b.20); question seventeen (PACHOW 1979b: 59-61, 93; *T* vol. 85, 1188b.4-c.3); and question nineteen (PACHOW 1979b: 65-66, 95; *T* vol. 85, 1189b.21-1190a.12).

⁴⁷ *Dacheng ershier wenben*, *T* vol. 85, 1185b.18-19: 即四涅槃皆依真立。就其不同據。其真如體無差別故。PACHOW 1979b: 45, 88.

⁴⁸ I generally follow the translation of PACHOW (1979b: 61), with some emendations. For the Chinese text see loc. cit.: 93; *Dacheng ershier wenben*, *T* vol. 85, 1188b.24-28: 菩薩能了一切皆空。一切萬法從心起。心若不動一切皆如。能除分別執著心故。了真實相不起妄心。既是清淨涅槃妙理。雖得此理。都無所得。由無所得。無所不得。無所得故。離諸苦障是無余依。

⁴⁹ *Dacheng ershier wenben*, *T* vol. 85, 1188b.28-c.2: 無不得故功德成就。是有余依。生死涅槃但無所住。是無住處。有無所得自性無染。是名自性清淨涅槃。PACHOW 1979b: 61, 93.

Moreover, it is said that ‘*nirvāṇa* of the purity of self-nature’ is inherent in all sentient beings, whereas ‘*nirvāṇa* with and without remainder’ are realized through practice and only the Buddha himself is said to be endowed with ‘*nirvāṇa* without an abode’.⁵⁰ Thus, according to Tankuang, ‘*nirvāṇa* without remainder’ appears to be the highest realization of a *bodhisattva*, but not yet that of a Buddha.

If we return again to the Tibetan Chan manuscript *Small Treatise* two points can be made about the results of Hwa shang Mahāyāna’s practice of ‘gazing at mind’. First, it is a teaching that leads to the realization of a *bodhisattva*. As it is described in the *Ratification of the True Principle* it is ‘a practice that is no practice’.⁵¹ Through being completely freed from all conceptualizing, the luminosity of mind free from discrimination is realized.⁵² Second, however, the *Small Treatise* also states that *samsāra* is *nirvāṇa* and that one is ‘not abiding anywhere’ (*ci la yang myi gnas*). Is this statement not just the same as that which Tankuang had described as ‘*nirvāṇa* without an abode’, namely, the supreme *nirvāṇa* of a Buddha? It may be, but it is apparent that the teachings presented in the *Small Treatise* are not very clear-cut as to the kind of attainment to which they ultimately lead. Finally, to attain a ‘nonconceptual’ state (*rnam par mi rtog pa*) is the object of any Mahāyāna Buddhist path.

The Philosophical Treatment of ‘Gazing at Mind’ (kanxin)

Having outlined the contents and some terminological problems of the *Small Treatise*, let us consider the central meditation instruction of ‘gazing at mind’ in more detail. J. Broughton has already pointed out a connection between Dunhuang Chan Buddhism and the Baotang School of Sichuan.⁵³ As the *Small Treatise* itself asserts, the meditation practice described there was transmitted from Kāśyapa to Bodhidharma. Two remarks found in the work *Torch of Meditation* also link the teachings of Hwa shang Mahāyāna to the teaching of Bodhidharma. First, it is said that the precepts transmitted to Kāśyapa were passed down in a sevenfold lineage through

⁵⁰ *Dacheng ershier wenben*, T vol. 85, 1185b.16-18: 四涅槃中一切衆生皆有初一。二乘無學容有前三。唯我世尊可言四具。PACHOW 1979b: 44, 88.

⁵¹ ZLJ: f. 131 bis.b: [...]是故名行一切行非行。 Cf. DEMIÉVILLE 1987 [1952]: 67-68.

⁵² IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 116a.3: *sa le ba la rtogs pa myed*.

⁵³ BROUGHTON 1983: 15-31.

Bodhidharma and finally to Hwa shang Mahāyāna.⁵⁴ Second, it is stated that the meditation of Hwa shang Mahāyāna is based on the previously mentioned *Great Treatise* (*Rgya lung chen po*), which is attributed to Bodhidharma.⁵⁵

A closer look at the *Great Treatise* will also further our understanding of the *Small Treatise*. Moreover, it will shed new light on the meditation method ‘gazing at mind’, which is to be seen as a further development of Bodhidharma’s teaching of ‘quieting the

⁵⁴ *SM*: 15.1-3: *de la rgyu'i theg pa bcom ldan 'das sku mya ngan las 'da' kar 'od sgrungs la gdams ngag phog de dar mō dhā ra la sogs pa nas/ rgya nag por bdun rgyud tha ma ha shang ma hā yan la thug. SM*: 24.5-6: */des brgyud pa'i tha ma ha shang ma hā yan gyi gzhung cig car 'jug pa [...]*. The same information is given in the *Bka' thang sde lnga* (*Five Chronicles*), f. 19a, revealed by O rgyan gling pa (1323-?): *dpe don mang po 'od srungs nyid la gsungs/ de nas da mo ttā ra la sogs nas/ rgya nag sprul bdun brgyud pa brgyud pa'i tha/ Hwa shang ma hā yā na nyid la thug/* (cf. TUCCI 1958: 68). The great historian Kaḥ thog Tshe dbang nor bu (1698-1755) also discusses this sevenfold lineage and refers to the same quotation from the *bKa' thang sde lnga*. See KAḤ THOG 1976-7 [1744]: 7b.2-6: */rgya nag bdun brgyud zhes bsgrang ba'i rgya nag bdun brgyud ni tsung men du grags pa 'di yi sde tshan kho nar nges la/ de yan slob dpon dha rmo tta ra ma bsgrang ba Hwa shang hu'i kho nas ma hā ya na'i bar [snying po] don brgyud gyi bla rabs bdun byung ba la sprul pa bdun brgyud du nam par bzhag gam sems shing/ lo pañ bka'i thang yig las [...]* */dpe don mang po 'od srung nyid la gsung/ de nas dha rmo tta ra la sogs nas/ rgya nag sprul bdun brgyud par brgyud pa'i tha/ Hwa shang ma ha ya na nyid la thug/*.

This sevenfold lineage of Chan Buddhism ending with Hwa shang Mahāyāna has to be seen as a regional phenomenon restricted to the Dunhuang area. The later standard Chinese historiography only acknowledged a six-fold lineage from Bodhidharma to Huineng. Thus, for instance, the *Lengjia shizi ji* 楞加師資記 (*Record of the Masters and Disciples of the Lanḥāvātāra school* [LJSZJ]), composed in 716 or 720 by Jingjue 淨覺, *T* vol. 85, no. 2837, 1284c-1290c; yet it lists Shenxiu as the sixth patriarch. A similar regionalism can be observed in the Baotang School in Sichuan. Here Wuzhu (無住, 714-774) claimed that he was the seventh patriarch of Chan Buddhism as well (cf. DEMIÉVILLE 1979: 3-4).

⁵⁵ *SM*: 173.5: *ma hā yan gyi bsam gtan rgya lung chen po las [...]*. This passage must be understood as being ‘from the *Great Treatise*, a dhyāna treatise [transmitted by] Hwa shang Mahāyāna’s meditation [is based]’. It is not very likely that the author of the *SM*, Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes, erroneously attributed the *Rgya lung chen po* to Hwa shang Mahāyāna (according to the reading: ‘the meditation of Hwa shang Mahāyāna in the *Rgya lung chen po*’), because Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes quotes extensively from the text we find preserved in Dunhuang manuscript PT 116, where the *Rgya lung chen po* is clearly attributed to Bodhidharma. PT 116, VIb: f. 164.2-3: *bdun rgyud kyi dang po bo de dar ma ta las bshad pa las [...]*. The quotation following this passage (PT 116, VIb: f. 164.1-165.3) is identical to the citation in the *SM*: 130.2-4 under the title *Rgya lung chen po*. (The passage is quoted in this article further below.) Therefore, Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes must have been aware that Hwa shang Mahāyāna was not the author of the *Rgya lung chen po*, yet nonetheless regarding him as in the tradition of Bodhidharma.

mind' (*anxin*). But before analyzing how the concept of 'quieting the mind' developed into that of 'gazing at mind', I will present a brief outline of its treatment in the *Great Treatise* itself.⁵⁶
 'Quieting the mind' (*anxin*) in the Great Treatise

Two of the quotations from the *Great Treatise* given in the *Torch of Meditation* are translations of the Chinese original found in the *Erru sixing lun* 二入四行論 (*The Treatise on Two Entrances and Four Practices*).⁵⁷ The first of these, in the Chinese version, reads as follows:

If one rejects the false and reverts to the real and in a coagulated state abides in wall-examining, then self and other, common man and sage, are identical; firmly abiding without shifting, in no way following after the written teachings—this is mysteriously tallying with principle. It is non-discriminative, quiescent, and inactive; we call it entrance by principle.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ This outline of Bodhidharma's teachings is indebted to the recent research on this topic by J. BROUGHTON (1999). In tracing back the possible development of the teaching of 'quieting the mind' (*anxin*) to that of 'gazing at mind' (*kanxin*), I would merely like to point out the continuity of this central theme in Chinese Chan Buddhism. However, I am also aware of the risk involved in interpreting similar terms from different contexts along the same lines. My argument seeks only to demonstrate consistent usage with respect to similar topic, even though my research may fail to consider sufficiently the details of variance as well.

⁵⁷ *SM*: 130.2-3, 173.5-176.5. There are a number of Dunhuang manuscripts that include the *Erru sixing lun*: Beijing su 宿 99 (title: *Chanzong anxin yi* 禪宗安心義 [*The Meaning of Quieting the Mind in Chan Buddhism*]), S. chin. 3375, S. chin. 7159. The *Erru sixing lun* is also incorporated in the Dunhuang manuscript S. chin. 2054, where it is introduced as *Lüebian dacheng rudao sixing* 略辨大乘入道四行 (*A Brief Discussion on the Entrance and Four Practices in Mahāyāna Buddhism*) with a preface by Tanlin (曇林, 6th century), one of Bodhidharma's close disciples. A copy of this manuscript is given in *LJSZJ: T* vol. 85, 1284c.25-1285b.16. It has been recently rendered into English in BROUGHTON 1999: 9-12. Though the *Erru sixing lun* has traditionally been attributed to Bodhidharma, Broughton argues that his disciple, Tanlin, actually composed this text as a summary of Bodhidharma's teachings. See BROUGHTON 1999: 70-74.

⁵⁸ The last two sentences in brackets are not included in the *SM*: 130.2-4. For the Chinese text see: *T* vol. 85, 1285a.14-16: 若也捨妄歸真。凝住壁觀。自他。凡聖等一。堅住不移。更不隨於言教。此即與真理冥狀。無有分別。寂然無名之理入。 For the most part, I follow BROUGHTON'S translation (1999: 9), but have made some emendations.

The Tibetan passage is found in *SM*: 130.2-4: *Rgya lung chen po las/ gal te mi bden pa spangs te/ yang dag pa la phyogs shing rtogs pa spangs te/ lham mer gnas pa bdag dang gzhan yang med/ ma rabs dang/ 'phags pa yang mnyam zhing gcig ste/ mi 'gyur brtan par gnas na/ de phan chad yi ge bstan pa'i rjes su mi'brang*

The Chinese text continues as follows, corresponding to the second quotation from the *Torch of Meditation*:

Entering by practice means the four practices, for all other practices are included within these. What are the four? The first is the practice of requiting injury; the second is the practice of following conditions; the third is the practice of having nothing to be sought; and the fourth is the practice of according with Dharma.⁵⁹

Thus the central theme in the *Erru sixing lun* is an exposition of how to enter the ‘True Nature’ (*zhenxing* 真性, *yang dag pa'i ngo bo nyid*), as it is named in Chinese Chan terminology.⁶⁰ It is described as ‘non-discriminative’ (*wu fenbie*, *rnam par rtog pa myed pa*) and ‘quiescent’ (*jingran*, *zhi*) and is to be entered via ‘principle’ (*li*, *don*) or ‘practice’ (*xingru*, *spyod pa la 'jug pa*). Entering ‘True Nature’ is here symbolized in ‘wall-examination’ (*biguan* 壁觀). In the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (*Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks*), one of the earlier Chinese compilations of hagiographies of outstanding masters, the author Daoxuan (道宣, 596-667) seems to have seen in Bodhidharma’s ‘wall-examining’ the core of his

ngo/. The last two lines of the Chinese text, which are not given in *SM*, are however quoted in PT 116, VIb: f. 165.3-4: *da ni yang dag pa'i rnal du bab pa/ rnam par rtog pa myed pa/ zhi zhing bya ba myed pa ste/ de ni don la 'jug pa' o/*.

⁵⁹ *LJSZJ: T* vol. 85, 1285a.16-19: 行入者。所謂四行。其餘諸行。悉入此行中。何等為四行。一者報怨。二者隨緣行。三者無所求行。四稱法行。 The translation follows BROUGHTON 1999: 10. The Tibetan is given in *SM*: 173.5-6: *ma ha yan gyi bsam gtan rgya lung chen po las/ spyod pa la 'jug pa ni spyod pa bzhi ste/ gcig ni 'khon la lan ldon pa'i spyod pa'o/ gnyis pa ni rkyen gyi rjes su spyod pa'o/ gsum pa ni ci yang tshal ba med pa'i spyod pa'o/ bzhi pa ni chos dang mihun pa'i spyod pa'o/*. There follows a detailed explanation of the four practices mentioned, which is also included in the Tibetan text.

⁶⁰ The beginning lines of the *Erru sixing lun*, which are not quoted in the *SM*, are as follows (trans. BROUGHTON 1999: 9): ‘Now, in entering the path there are many roads. To summarize them, they reduce to two types. The first is entrance by principle and the second entrance by practice. Entering by principle means that one awakens to the thesis by means of the teachings, and one deeply believes that all living beings, common and sagely, are identical to the True Nature, [and] that it is merely because of the unreal covering of adventitious dust that the True Nature is not revealed.’ (*T* vol. 85, 1285a.11-14: 未入道多途。要而言之。不出二種。一是理入。二是行入。理入者謂籍教悟宗。深信含生。凡聖同一真性。但為客塵妄覆。不能顯了。) The equivalent Tibetan passage is quoted in PT 116, VIb: f. 164.3-165.1: *don la 'jug pa ni bstand pas gzhung go ba ste/ so so'i skye bo dang/ yang dag pa'i ngo bo nyid gcig cing/ tha myi dad pa yin na/ myi bden ba'i glo bur gyi rdul gyis bsgribs pas/ yang dag pa'i ngo bo nyid mngon bar ma rtogs so/*.

teachings. He stated, that ‘thus quieting mind is “wall-examining”’.⁶¹ This inter-pretation of Bodhidharma’s teachings by Daoxuan is noteworthy because it does not refer to ‘wall-examining’ as a mere physical posture and practice, that is sitting cross-legged in front of a wall. Rather, Daoxuan interprets it as an immediate recognition of ‘True Nature’ itself, as we shall see further below. The Tibetan interpretation of ‘wall-examining’ supports Daoxuan’s interpretation yet goes one step further. In the *Torch of Meditation* the Chinese term *zhu biguan* ‘abiding in wall-examining’ is rendered into Tibetan as *lham mer gnas* ‘abiding in luminosity’.⁶² The term *lham me* is synonymous with *lhan ne* and *lhang nge* meaning ‘clear, vivid and vividly resplendent’.⁶³ The Tibetan rendering *lham me* for Chinese *biguan* is to be understood in this way. In the *Torch of Meditation* this very same sense of the luminosity (*lham me*) of mind is confirmed on a different occasion where a summary of the Rdzogs chen teachings is given. Here the term *lhan ne lhang nge* is used instead of *lham me*. The passage reads as follows:

In the spontaneously perfected suchness of the supreme yoga, of Atiyoga, all dharma-s primordially self-radiate in the perfect and pure sphere of self-arising primordial gnosis. They are not separately sought as cause and fruition because they are spontaneously perfected. The Great Adept [lit. Great Soul] [realizes that] not [so much as] a moving particle can be named. What is there [then] to be meditated on in the clear and radiant (*lhan ne lhang nge*) primordial luminosity, which is intrinsic awareness, not to be expressed, unmovable, undefiled and not abiding. There is no action of minding; there is nothing but suchness, the principle of non-existence. For those who accept this, it is the great primordial non-discrimination—neither

⁶¹ *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 16: *Shi Putidamo* 續高僧傳: 釋菩提達摩 (Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks: Master Bodhidharma), first completed in 645 by DAOXUAN 道宣, in *T* vol. 50, no. 2060, 551c.5-6: 如是安心謂壁觀也。A passage with much the same meaning also appears in Bodhidharma’s hagiography preceding the *Erru sixing lun*. See: *LJSZJ: T* vol. 85, 1285a.8; BROUGHTON 1999: 9.

⁶² In *SM*: 130, Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes quotes from a text closely resembling a well-known Dunhuang manuscript, in fact one of the most important scrolls documenting the spread of Chinese Chan Buddhism in Tibet: PT 116 VIb: f. 165.1-3: *gal te myi bden ba spang te/ yang dag pa la phyogs shing/ rtog pa spangs te/ lham mer gnas na/ bdag kyang myed/ gzhan yang myed/ /ma rabs dang 'phags pa yang mnyam zhing gcig ste/ /myi 'gyur bar britan par gnas na/ /de phan cad yi ge dag bstan pa 'i rjes su myi 'brang ngo/.*

⁶³ ZHANG YISUN *et al.*, 3100b.

hindering manifestations nor discriminating them—where even ‘non-discrimination’ is a [mere] designation.⁶⁴

Here the meaning of Rdzogs chen is described as the recognition of the luminosity of one’s own mind, of self-awareness: it is the co-emergence of ‘emptiness and awareness’ (*stong rig*), a void within which its dynamic is manifest as luminosity.

According to the above-mentioned interpretation of Daoxuan, Bodhidharma’s ‘wall-examining’ has to be understood in a similar way: that it is through ‘wall-examining’ that the luminosity of mind is to be discovered. ‘Wall-examining’ equals ‘quieting the mind’. Therefore, we shall have to take a closer look at the meaning of ‘quieting the mind’ (*anxin*) in Bodhidharma’s teachings.

From Bodhidharma’s ‘quieting the mind’ (anxin) to ‘gazing at mind’ (kanxin) in the Small Treatise

In the tenth-century collection *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 (*Record of the Mirror of the Thesis*), the author Yongming Yanshou (永明延壽, 903/4-976) proclaimed the essence of the One-Mind thesis. In the ninety-seventh chapter, the teachings of Bodhidharmatāra⁶⁵ are summed up in a quotation of one of his works named *Anxin famen* 安心法門 (*Dharma Gate for Quieting Mind*). Thus, Yongming Yanshou also saw in ‘quieting the mind’ the core of Bodhidharma’s

⁶⁴ SM: 60.2-6: *a ti yo ga lhag pa'i rnal 'byor gyi lhun rdzogs de bzhin nyid ni/ snang srid gyi chos so cog rang byung gi ye shes rnam par dag pa'i klong du sel med par ye nas rang gsal ba la/ rgyu dang 'bras bu ril ma btsal bar lhun gyis rdzogs pa ni/ bdag nyid chen po pas/ de la g.yo rdul ming yang med pas/ rang rig pa ma bzhag ma g.yos ma bslad ma zhugs par lhan ne lhang nge ye gsal bar ci zhig bsgom/ ci zhig dran par byar yod de med/ med pa'i don de nyid kho na yod/ de dang len pa su zhig ste/ ye mi rtog pa chen po la/ snang ba bkag pa yang med la/ de la rtogs pa med de/ mi rtog pa nyid kyang bla dwags so/* For another passage using the expression *lhan ne lhang nge lham me* in connection with the Rdzogs chen doctrine, refer to SM 29.4.

⁶⁵ In the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈路 (*Transmission of the Lamp in the Jingde Era*), T vol. 51, no. 2076, 217a.10-14, it is said that the first patriarch only took the name Bodhidharma after having received transmission from Prajñātāra. Before that, he was called Dharmatrāta. It is due to the influence of the *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記 (*Record of the Dharma-Treasures Down Through the Generations*), T vol. 51, no. 2075, 180c.3, that the name Dharmatrāta circulated in the Chan tradition in Dunhuang. See YANAGIDA 1983: 28 and BROUGHTON 1983: 10.

teachings.⁶⁶ Here the main theme is the understanding of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) that culminates in the realization of ‘Dharma-realm nature’ (*fajie xing* 法界性) and ‘non-duality’ (*wuer* 無二). The passage reads as follows:

The Master [Bodhidharma] composed the *Dharma Gate for Quieting Mind* (*Anxin famen*), which says: ‘When one is deluded, the person pursues dharma; when one understands, dharmas pursue the person. [...] It is merely that whatever involves mental discrimination, calculation, and [the realm of objects] manifested by one’s mind is a dream. If consciousnesses and thought are calmed, so that there is not a single pulse of thought, it is to be called correct awakening’ [...]⁶⁷

‘Mind is no-mind, and this is comprehending the path of the Buddhas. When in the midst of things you do not give rise to views, it is called comprehending the path. No matter what you meet, you directly understand its source. This person’s eye of wisdom is open. The wise one trusts to things and does not trust to self. [...] Not seeing one thing is called seeing the path. Not practicing one thing is called walking on the path. Every locus is without locus. This is the locus of Dharma. [...] By examining Dharma one attains liberation. If you see [characteristics], remember, and discriminate, then you will suffer from a scalding cauldron, a blazing furnace, and so forth. [...] If you see that the Dharma-realm nature is the nirvāṇa nature and you are without memory and discrimination, then it is the Dharma-realm nature’.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡路 (*Record of the Mirror of the Thesis*), compiled by YONGMING YANSHOU 永明延壽 in 961, *T* vol. 48, no. 2016, 939b.25. BROUGHTON 1999: 146, n. 7, has shown that the passage quoted here corresponds to various parts of what he calls ‘Record I’, one text of the *Bodhidharma Anthology*, which is itself part of a larger corpus of texts attributed to Bodhidharma (see n. 13 above). This ‘Record I’ is included in the following Dunhuang manuscripts: Beijing *su* 宿 99 (see n. 57 above), S. chin. 2715, S. chin. 1880 (incomplete), S. chin. 7159 (incomplete), P. chin. 3018 (incomplete), P. chin. 4634 (incomplete).

⁶⁷ *Zongjing lu*, *T* vol. 48, 939b.25-29: 師述安心法門云。迷時人逐法。解時法逐人。[...] 但有心分別計校自心現量者。悉皆是夢。若識心寂滅無一動念處。是名正覺。[...] By and large, the translation follows BROUGHTON 1999: 78-79, but with some emendations.

⁶⁸ *Zongjing lu*, *T* vol. 48, 939c.17-26: 即心無心。是為通達佛道。即物不起見。名為達道。逢物直達知其本原。此人慧眼開。智者任物不任己。[...] 不見一物。名為見道。不行一物。名為行道。即一切處無。處即是法處。[...] 觀法故得解脫。若見憶想分別。即受鑊湯爐炭等事。[...] 若見法界性。即涅槃性。The translation follows BROUGHTON 1999: 78-79, with some emendations.

This passage provides an even broader perspective on the meaning of ‘quieting the mind’. It clearly shows that in the teachings of Bodhidharma it was *not* merely understood as a practical meditation instruction, but as the realization of the absolute itself. ‘Quieting the mind’ is pointing directly to the nature of mind, which is beyond any limits of discrimination. This boundlessness of mind, of the absolute, is in Chan terminology expressed in the paradoxical phrase ‘mind is no-mind’. In a different work attributed to Bodhidharma this phrase is elucidated as follows:

Because mind is no-mind, it is called Dharma mind. Today’s practitioners understand this as the destruction of all delusions. Mind is like space, indestructible, and therefore it is called the adamant mind. Mind does not abide in abiding, nor does it abide in non-abiding, and therefore it is called the mind of *prajñā*. The mind nature is broad and great. Its operation is directionless. Therefore, we call it the Mahāyāna mind. The mind substance is penetrating, without obstacles, unimpeded, and therefore it is called the *bodhi* mind. Mind has no bounds. It is not localized. Because mind is without characteristics, it does not have limits. As it operates without defect, it is not unlimited. It does not have bounds nor is it unbounded, and therefore it is called the mind of the Reality Bound.⁶⁹

As we can see from these passages, the absolute is not merely defined by the aspect of emptiness, but also by the aspect of knowing,⁷⁰ as is evident in the description here of no-mind as the ‘mind of *prajñā*’. Indeed mind, according to Bodhidharma, is in its many facets co-emergent inasmuch as it is empty and knowing, a

⁶⁹ S. chin. 2715 in *Dunhuang chanzong wenxian jicheng*, 1998, vol. *shang*, 402.2-6: 心無心故名法心。今時行者以此破一切惑。心如虛空不可破壞故名金剛心。心不住住不住不住名波若心。心性廣大運用無方故名摩訶衍心。心體開通無障無障礙故名菩提心。心無崖畔亦無方向。心無想故非有邊。用而不癡故非無邊非有際非無際名為實際心。 This passage is ‘Record I’, paragraph 48, in Broughton’s reading of the *Bodhidharma Anthology*. I generally follow BROUGHTON 1999: 37, with occasional emendations.

⁷⁰ The Tibetan Chan manuscript called the *Small Treatise* adopts similar diction. Having penetrated emptiness, ‘one meditates on inconceivable primordial gnosis, which is beyond thoughts’ (IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 116a.1: *bsam gis myi khyab ba’i ye shes la bsam du myed par bsgom mo*). Gómez posits that the term *bsam gis myi khyab ba* might even be an awkward translation of the Chinese term *wuxin* 無心 ‘no-mind’ (GÓMEZ 1983: 159, n. 28). For a similar usage of this term, refer to IOL Tib J 468: f. 2b.5; PT 117: f. 5b.2; PT 812: f. 9a.3-4; PT 813: f. 8a.2; P. chin. 4646: f. 140b (translated in DEMIÉVILLE 1987 [1952]: 97, n. 8).

characterization in Chan terminology that might even remind us of the previously mentioned Rdzogs chen teachings in the *Torch of Meditation*.⁷¹

As noted earlier, ‘quieting the mind’ in the teachings of Bodhidharma is not meant as a specific practice, but as the realization of the absolute principle. Indeed, in the *Lengjia shizi ji* (*Record of the Masters and Disciples of the Laṅkāvatāra school*), (hereafter called the *Record of the Laṅkāvatāra school*),⁷² which is a record of the early Chan tradition, the first entry, which concerns Guṇabhadra (求那跋陀羅, 394-468), divides ‘quieting the mind’ (*anxin*) into four different stages. The stages are differentiated by the degree to which one is able to realize the mind that has insight into ‘true reality’ or the ‘principle’ (*lixin* 理心).⁷³ Therefore, it is apparent that the early Chan movement spoke mostly about the principle and very little about the practice of Chan itself. Even the famous scholar-monk Zongmi (宗密, 780-841) noted this very same point in the *Chanyuan zhuquan ji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 (*General Preface to the Collection of Explanations of the Chan Source*), a preface to a work that was, in its day, the most comprehensive collection of Chan writings in the Tang dynasty (618-906).⁷⁴

Despite Zongmi’s critique of the lack of meditation instructions in the scriptures of the early Chan movement, we do, in fact, find an actual meditation instruction in the writings of the fourth Chan

⁷¹ See the quotation of *SM*: 60.2-6, cited at n. 62 above.

⁷² The Dunhuang manuscript *LJSZJ* represents a somewhat different account of the early transmission of the Chan movement than do the later ones such as DAOXUAN’S *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (*Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks*), mentioned above. The *LJSZJ* provides comprehensive hagiographies of (1) Guṇabhadra, the translator of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, (2) Bodhidharma, (3) Huike, (4) Sengcan, (5) Daoxin, (6) Hongren, and (7) Shenxiu. The Dunhuang manuscripts (S. chin. 2054 and P. chin 3436) were first identified by HU 1935: 198-238. A later publication, YANAGIDA 1971: 49-326, provides a critical and annotated version with a Japanese translation. Within the corpus of Dunhuang manuscripts we also find a Tibetan translation of the *LJSZJ* (IOL Tib J 710-2). See UHEYAMA 1968 and the revision of this article in DEMIÉVILLE 1970: 46-47.

⁷³ *LJSZJ*: *T* vol. 85, no. 2837, 1284a.29-b.7. Of the four stages, the first is called ‘being against true reality’ (*bei lixin* 背理心), the second ‘going towards true reality’ (*xiang lixin* 向理心), the third ‘entering true reality’ (*ru lixin* 入理心), and the fourth ‘[being] true reality [itself]’ (*lixin* 理心).

⁷⁴ *Chanyuan zhuquan ji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 (General Preface to the Collection of Explanations of the Chan Source), compiled in 833 by ZONGMI 宗密, in *T* 48, no. 2015, 399a.24: 然今所集諸家述作。For a translation of the *Chanyuan zhuquan ji duxu*, see BROUGHTON 1975. For further research on this important work and its author, see GREGORY 1991; JAN 1972, 1990a, 1990b.

patriarch Daoxin (道信, 580-651). Here we observe a transition from the preceding philosophical account of ‘quieting the mind’ (*anxin* 安心) to a specific meditation practice of ‘gazing at mind’ (*kanxin* 看心).⁷⁵ Again, it is in the *Record of the Laṅkāvatāra school* that the teachings of Daoxin are clarified with reference to his *Rudao anxin yao fangbian famen* 入道安心要方便法門 (*The Essential Expedient Teachings for Quieting the Mind Through Which One Enters the Way*).⁷⁶ This work might actually have been anticipated by a verse of Bodhidharma entitled *Rudao fangbian jie* 入道方便偈 (*Verse of Expedient Teachings for Entering the Way*).⁷⁷ In any event, it is this concept of ‘quieting the mind’ (*anxin*) that links Daoxin directly to Bodhidharma, though Daoxin interprets *anxin* as an expedient means and therefore as ‘a unified mindfulness that is to be maintained without deviation (*shouyi buyi* 守一不移)’.⁷⁸ Daoxin actually relates four ‘specific means’ (*fangbian* 方便) of meditation. He describes: (1) a method to ‘cultivate the body’ (*xiushen* 修身);⁷⁹ (2) a method to ‘maintain unified-mindfulness without deviation’ (*shouyi buyi*);⁸⁰ (3) a method to ‘truly contemplate body and mind’ (*zhenguan shenxin* 真觀身心);⁸¹ and (4) a method to ‘gaze at mind’ (*kanxin*).⁸² For Daoxin the expedient means of ‘gazing at mind’ is the ultimate

⁷⁵ CHAPPELL 1983 discusses the historical problems surrounding the authenticity of the transmission from Bodhidharma to Daoxin. Some Japanese scholars even see the roots of Daoxin’s Chan meditation practice in the Tiantai tradition rather than in Bodhidharma. However, even if there was no personal contact between Bodhidharma and Daoxin, the nature of the transmission is still expressed in the affinity of their spirit and essential teachings.

⁷⁶ *LJSZJ: T* vol. 85, 1286c.21. A translation of the *Rudao anxin yao fangbian famen* is provided in CHAPPELL 1983: 107-21. Bodhidharma (d. 532) and the split of the Chan movement into the Northern branch of Shenxiu (神秀, d. 706) and the Southern branch of Huineng (慧能, d. 713) are separated by roughly two centuries. The *Rudao anxin yao fangbian famen* is, together with Bodhidharma’s *Erru sixing lun* and Hongren’s (弘忍, 602-675) *Xiuxin yao lun* 修心要論 (*Essential Treatise on Cultivating Mind*; Beijing yu 宇 04, in *Dunhuang chanzong wenxian jicheng* 1998, vol. shang, 524-532), the only reliable document giving evidence for the practice and doctrine of the early Chan movement. Daoxin’s teachings are crucial in regard to the subsequent development of Chan.

⁷⁷ P. chin. 2923 in *Dunhuang chanzong wenxian jicheng* 1998, vol. shang, 410.13-14. This verse is part of what BROUGHTON calls the ‘First Letter’ of the *Bodhidharma Anthology* (1999: 13).

⁷⁸ CHAPPELL 1983: 96. *LJSZJ: T* vol. 85, 1287a.15, 1288a.20.

⁷⁹ *LJSZJ: T* vol. 85, 1288a.22-b.16.

⁸⁰ *LJSZJ: T* vol. 85, 1288b.16-c.12.

⁸¹ *LJSZJ: T* vol. 85, 1288c.12-1289a.9.

⁸² *LJSZJ: T* vol. 85, 1289a.9-22.

method, which leads to the sudden realization of original mind.⁸³ Thus, even though it is described *expressis verbis* as a method for a beginning practitioner,⁸⁴ nonetheless, with ‘gazing at mind’ Daoxin offers a method for immediately introducing the nature of mind.

In order to practice Daoxin’s ‘gazing at mind’, first the body has to be relaxed in a sitting posture, and then body and mind are harmonized. Mind is quieted and the spiritual path becomes clear. The process of realizing original mind is explained as follows:

The state of mind is lucid and pure. As the contemplation becomes increasingly clear, and inside and outside are empty and pure, the nature of mind becomes utterly tranquil. It is nothing else but awakened mind just like this. [...] The secret spiritual power is never exhausted but constantly shines forth. This is called the Buddha-nature. Those who see Buddha-nature are eternally free from [the cycle of] life and death (*saṃsāra*) and are called ‘those having transcended the world’. Therefore, it is said in the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra*: ‘Suddenly you regain original mind’.⁸⁵

This teaching by the fourth patriarch, Daoxin, of ‘gazing at mind’ is the connecting thread between Bodhidharma’s ‘quieting the mind’ and ‘gazing at mind’ as it is described in our Dunhuang manuscript, the *Small Treatise*. On the one hand, it is obvious that Daoxin is indebted to Bodhidharma’s concept of ‘quieting the mind’, which points to the luminosity of mind itself. Yet, on the other hand, he further develops Bodhidharma’s ‘principle’ (*li*) into the ‘expedient means’ (*fangbian*) of ‘gazing at mind’. This very same meditation instruction, which later, in the Dunhuang materials, came to be renowned as Hwa shang Mahāyāna’s method, is also expressed in the *Small Treatise*, which we know is an instruction pointing out the nature of mind. Therefore, the *Small Treatise* may be seen as a continuation of a traditional theme in the early Chan movement in Central China, a movement that also flourished in the Sino-Tibetan border area. This development may be regarded as an extension in terms of the affinity of the essential teachings; although the direct lineage of transmission from master to disciple is not considered in

⁸³ *LJSZJ: T* vol. 85, 1289a.18: 豁然還得本性。

⁸⁴ *LJSZJ: T* vol. 85, 1289a.20-21: 初學者前方便也。

⁸⁵ *LJSZJ: T* vol. 85, 1289a.13-18: 心地明淨。觀察分明。內外空淨。即心性寂滅。如其寂滅。則聖心顯矣。[...]幽靈不竭。常存即然。是名佛性。見佛性者。永離生死。名出世人。是故維摩經云。豁然還得本性。 By and large, I follow CHAPPELL 1983: 119, but have made some emendations.

the present chapter, it is treated elsewhere.⁸⁶ Let us now turn to the Tibetan commentary PT 699 to see how it fits into the broader picture of Sino-Tibetan Buddhism and how this Chan instruction on the nature of mind was interpreted by Tibetans in the Sino-Tibetan border area.

THE TIBETAN COMMENTARY PT 699

Text History

The Tibetan commentary PT 699 to the *Small Treatise* covers five folios. I will refer to it as the *Commentary* hereafter. Like the *Small Treatise*, it is a palm-leaf-style manuscript, but is not as neatly drafted. It is written in the *'bru ma* script, i.e., a mixture of *dbu can* and *dbu med*.⁸⁷ The comments are arranged in a rather peculiar way and decrease drastically in length towards the end. For example, the commentary to the first passage of the *Small Treatise* covers more than one folio, that is, nine lines,⁸⁸ whereas the concluding phrase of the *Small Treatise* is elucidated by just a single expression.⁸⁹ From folio 1a.1 to folio 4a.3 the comments are written following immediately the quotation of the original text. They are also written in the same size as the cited root text. However, at folio 4a.4 the format of the explanatory comments changes suddenly to interlinear annotations written in letters half the size of the root text though in the same hand. We hardly know anything about the circumstances under which a text such as the *Commentary* might have been drafted. A comparison with the *Small Treatise* suggests, however, that the *Small Treatise* was probably copied earlier under different circumstances by a scribe, whereas the *Commentary* PT 699, as a

⁸⁶ RAO 1964: 173-76.

⁸⁷ S. Karmay identified the script of other similar Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts as *'bru ma*. Refer to KARMAY 1988: 59; also KARMAY 1985: 280.

⁸⁸ The first phrase *mtha' yas pa'i sems can thams cad* 'limitless sentient beings', despite its relative unimportance for the document as a whole, is explained in great detail with regard to the six classes of beings and the innumerable beings without form (PT 699: f. 1a.1-1b.2).

⁸⁹ The very important closing line of the *Lung chung*—*rnam par myi rtog sa le ba/ /sa le ba la rtogs pa myed/ /di ni rang rig ye shes ste/ /'di zhes gdags su myed pa'o/ /* ('Nonconceptualization is vividly clear, and [even this] lucidness is not conceptualized. This is primordial gnosis of intrinsic awareness, which cannot be designated as "this" [existing entity]')—is only briefly commented on with the expression *i ti yin no* (PT 699: f. 5a.).

much later composition, might even be in the original handwriting of the author himself.⁹⁰

The evidence that helps to date the manuscript PT 699 and integrate it into the context of the Buddhist movement in the Sino-Tibetan border area comprises: (1) the codicological criteria for Dunhuang manuscripts developed by the Japanese scholar Ueyama Daishun; and (2) the proper names and titles of texts mentioned in the *Commentary*. We may consider these points in turn.

(1) Based on his codicological work, involving criteria such as types of paper, writing instruments, spacing of columns, and handwriting styles, the Japanese scholar Ueyama Daishun arranged about 140 of the most important Chan manuscripts from Dunhuang into three chronological strata.⁹¹ The first period dates to 750-780, when Chinese culture still exerted a strong influence on the remote Central Asian oasis. The second period, from the 780s to circa 860, roughly correlates with the period of Tibetan dominion over Dunhuang, which left a strong Tibetan cultural impact. Finally, the third period, continuing into the 900s, is associated with the restoration of Chinese power over the Dunhuang area through the regime of the *Guiyi jun* 歸義軍 ('Return to Righteousness Army'), though this third period did not result in a complete reestablishment of cultural identity with Central China. In accord with this scheme of three periods, Ueyama proposed that in the first period high-quality Chinese paper was used, whereas in the second period coarse paper and palm-leaf style manuscripts appeared. As a result of the Tibetan dominion over Dunhuang, when Dunhuang was cut off from China proper, Chinese writing brushes were eventually replaced by local products such as wooden pens introduced by the Tibetans. Ueyama further remarked that in the third period coarse paper and writing utensils brought by the Tibetans continued to be in use. The manuscripts of that period are often characterized, moreover, by unskilled calligraphy.⁹²

With regard to this general information, these points can be made about the *Commentary*. Judging from the palm-leaf style paper, it

⁹⁰ The first few lines of folio 4b give the impression that the root text was copied first and the interlinear notes added later. However, line nine of folio 4b shows that this was not the case throughout. The root text beginning with *bsam gis myi khyab pa'i ye shes la* starts not on the far left side of the folio, but only near the middle of the line, after the explanation *myi gnas gang la yang myi gnas s.ho' /*.

⁹¹ UYAMA 1982 and 1990: 401-23. The gist of D. Ueyama's research is also summarized in BROUGHTON 1999: 98-104, 152-53.

⁹² Refer to BROUGHTON 1999: 152 (5).

was clearly produced following the Tibetan dominion over Dunhuang. Moreover, even though it is unclear how much later than the *Small Treatise* the *Commentary* was composed, we might tentatively date it to the second half of the ninth century, when knowledge about Chinese Chan Buddhism, though probably still rather fresh, had already begun to be combined with elements from other traditions as well. It was a time when neither the Tibetans nor the Chinese exercised complete control over the Dunhuang area. The assumption of the late ninth century as the date of composition of the text is also supported by the following argument.

(2) If we look at names and other works mentioned in the *Commentary* (PT 699) we are brought to the time around the reign of king Khri Srong lde bstan (755-c. 800). An enumeration of names includes Gnubs Nam ka'i snying po, Rlang Su ga ta go ba, Lang 'gro Dkon cog 'byung nas, Dbu na A nang,⁹³ 'Brom Za Sril pa and Mar Kong za Rin cen.⁹⁴ Even though not all names can be identified clearly, at least two of them are renowned, in later traditional sources, among the twenty-five disciples of Padmasambhava, namely Gnubs Nam ka'i snying po and Lang 'gro Dkon cog 'byung nas.⁹⁵

According to these late sources, Gnubs Nam ka'i snying po is said to have received initiation from Padmasambhava in the late eighth century and thereafter travelled to India to study the doctrines of Śrī Heruka (*yang dag he ru ka*) under Hūṃkara.⁹⁶ After he had returned to Tibet he collaborated on many translation projects together with the great late eighth-century Rdzogs chen masters Vimalamitra and Vairocana.⁹⁷ Nam ka'i snying po is believed to have later concealed many 'treasures' (*gter ma*).⁹⁸

⁹³ He is perhaps to be identified with 'Bu na A na mentioned in PT 44 as a Vajrakīla adept. See KAPSTEIN 2000: 158.

⁹⁴ PT 699: f. 2a.7-b.1. This passage has been mentioned by OKIMOTO 1979: 82 (= 427) and KARMAY 1988: 98.

⁹⁵ DUDJOM RINPOCHE 1991, vol. 1, 535-36.

⁹⁶ TĀRANĀTHA 1983: 40.

⁹⁷ TĀRANĀTHA 1983: 40-41, states that Gnubs Nam ka'i snying po brought Vimalamitra and Vairocana, who were both living in exile in the eastern Tibetan region of Tsha ba rong, back to Central Tibet to assist in the spread of Buddhist teachings. Nyang Nyi-ma 'od-zer's (1124-1192) *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud* (*Honey-Blossom Nectar of Religious History*) lists a number of texts translated together by Gnubs Nam ka'i snying po and Vairocana during the reign of Khri Srong lde bstan. See folios 369b-370a, in MEISEZAHN 1985: plates 250.2-249.3. Moreover, we also know of another Nam ka'i snying po whose clan designation is Tshig tsa, not Gnubs, and who is mentioned in the Tibetan Dunhuang manuscript PT 996 (LALOU 1939; KARMAY 1988: 98-99). Tshig tsa Nam kha'i

Lang 'gro Dkon cog 'byung nas is mentioned, too, as a high-ranking minister (*nang blon*) under king Khri Srong lde btsan, before he became a monk and received initiation from Padmasambhava.⁹⁹ However, in the *Torch of Meditation* he is quoted as an example of the Cig car ba tradition, that is the Chan school.¹⁰⁰ I will return to him further below, as he is of particular interest in regard to the conjunction between Chan and Rdzogs chen thought in the *Small Treatise*.

The *Commentary* quotes also from a text entitled *Rdo rje sems pa'i zhus lan* (*Questions and Answers of Vajrasattva*),¹⁰¹ a Mahāyoga text by Gnyan Dpal dbyangs.¹⁰² In 1977 Ueyama was the first to examine critically the Dunhuang manuscript PT 837, which is a complete copy of the *Questions and Answers of Vajrasattva*.¹⁰³ He further resolved the problem raised by the occurrence of two figures named Dpal dbyangs—Sba Dpal dbyangs and Gnyan Dpal dbyangs—and placed Gnyan Dpal dbyangs, whom he identified as

snying po is also cited in *SM*: 180.3-4 as the author of a work entitled *Cig car 'jug pa'i mdo* (*The sūtra of Simultaneous Entrance*). This master, apparently a contemporary of king Khri Srong lde btsan, was part of an Inner Asian Chan lineage connecting Kucha, Dunhuang and Tibet that seems to have flourished along the silk-road between 750 and 850. Its transmission passes from the Kuchean (?) A rtan hyver through Be'u sing Hwa shang and Man Hwa shang to the Tibetan Tshig tsa Nam ka'i snying po. LALOU 1939: 506 (= PT 996: f. 5a.3-4) further states that another Chan master named Spug Ye shes dbyangs passed away at the age of eighty, most likely in 838, in the retreat hut of Nam kha'i snying po ('*di bsdus pa'i bsam gtan gi mkhan po/ spug ye shes dbyangs lo brgyad cu lon te/ rta'i lo'i son slar ba chos brgyad la/ khri ga mong 'yog mda' na/ tshig tsa nam ka'i snying po'i dben sar/ snga dro ma g.yos bzhin du tshe 'das te/ [...]*.)

⁹⁸ DUDJOM RINOCHE 1991: vol. 1, 515-16, 747.

⁹⁹ Lang 'gro Dkon cog 'byung nas is also said to have obtained accomplishment through the empowerment and instruction of Padmasambhava. As a sign of this, he is reputed to have been able to hurl mighty thunderbolts like arrows in the sky (DUDJOM RINOCHE 1991: vol. 1, 536).

¹⁰⁰ Lang 'gro Dkon cog 'byung nas is quoted twice in the Cig car ba chapter of *SM*: 150.6-151.6 and 169.1-170.1. The first quotation is from a *Sgom lung* (*Treatise on Meditation*).

¹⁰¹ PT 699: f. 4b.7-9.

¹⁰² R. Kimura has identified the quotation found in PT 699 with a passage from the same work as given in the Peking block-print: *P* 87, no. 5082, 165.1-6 (KIMURA 1981: 191, n. 25).

¹⁰³ UHEYAMA 1977. Further copies of the *Rdo rje sems pa'i zhus lan* are in IOL Tib J 470 and PT 819 (fragmentary). The text is quoted five times in *SM* (30.3-4, 201.6-202.5, 219.3-4, 255.6-256.2, 277.3-4) under the title *Zhus lan*, and expressly attributed to Mkhan po Dpal dbyangs (*SM*: 30.3). For further research on this text, see EASTMAN 1983: 45-47.

the author of the *Questions and Answers of Vajrasattva*, in the first half of the ninth century.¹⁰⁴

Considering the references to these names and texts in the *Commentary*, one may conclude that the author was either contemporary to those mentioned, or, what is more likely, lived not long after them, when knowledge about them was still fresh and their texts still in circulation. Therefore, this second line of argument also suggests that the *Commentary* might have been composed in the second half of the ninth century.

Contents of the Commentary (PT 699)

The author of the *Commentary* breaks the root text up into three divisions: (1) an introduction, (2) the main body of the commentary, and (3) a conclusion.¹⁰⁵ He further concludes his commentary with a note categorizing the genre of the text.¹⁰⁶ The introductory part is the least relevant for our discussion on Chan and Rdzogs chen thought. It lists in great detail various matters such as the six realms of sentient beings (f. 1a.1-5), the eight kinds of suffering (f. 1b.4-6), the four streams from which suffering originates (f. 1b.6-7), and the meaning of the net of ignorance (f. 1b.7-2a.6). Finally, the term ‘to bring about nirvāṇa without remainder of the aggregates’ (*phung po*

¹⁰⁴ UEYAMA 1977: 11. KARMAY (1988: 69) assumes that Gnyan Dpal dbyangs was probably a teacher of Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes, the author of the *SM*, and therefore dates him to the late ninth century. YAMAGUCHI 1975 has extensively discussed the matter of two Dpal dbyangs and concludes that Sba Dpal dbyangs was one of the first seven monks and the successor to the abbotship of Bsam yas monastery and that Gnyan Dpal dbyangs authored the *Rdo rje sems pa'i zhus lan* and a cycle of Mahāyoga texts known as the *Sgron ma drug* (*The Six Lamps*): (1) *Thugs kyi sgron ma* (*The Lamp of the Mind*, P 150, no. 5918), (2) *Lta ba yang dag sgron ma* (*The Lamp of the Correct View*, P 150, no. 5919), (3) *Mtha' yi mun sel sgron ma*, or *Lta ba rgum chung* (*The Lamp Removing the Darkness of the Extremes*, or *The Small Collection of the View*, P 150, no. 5920), (4) *Thabs shes sgron ma* (*The Lamp of Means and Wisdom*, P 150, no. 5921), (5) *Rnal 'byor spyod pa'i lugs nges pa'i don ji bzhin bsgom thabs*, or *Man ngag rgum chung* (*The Meditation Technique According to the Definite Meaning of the Yogācāra System*, or *The Small Collection of Quintessential Instruction*, P 150, no. 5922), and (6) *Lta ba rin po che sgron ma* (*The Lamp of the Precious View*, P 150, no. 5923). See, too, UEYAMA 1977: 8, KARMAY 1988: 66, n. 21, and TUCCI 1958: 141-50.

¹⁰⁵ The first part covers PT 699: f. 1a.1-2b.2, the second f. 2b.2-3b.7, and the third f. 3b.7-5a.5. The author of the *Commentary* divides the text in a manner well known from later tradition into the ‘introduction’ (*klad kyi don*), ‘main part’ (*gzhung gi don*) and ‘conclusion’ (*mjug gi don*). He also uses an equivalent designation for the first part: *de yan cad ni glad rgyangs so* (f. 2b.2).

¹⁰⁶ The closing note covers PT 699: f. 5a.5-10.

lhag ma ma lus par yongs su mya ngan bzla ba) is explained by listing the aforementioned masters, Gnubs Nam ka'i snying po and so forth, as such accomplished ones.

The main body of the *Commentary* is a lengthy exposition of how to settle the mind in meditation,¹⁰⁷ a meditation interpreted as a practice of 'nonconceptuality' (*myi rtog par bsgom*), which is to be attained by first observing instructions on the bodily posture:

Letting one's vision drop [to the floor] in front of the tip of the nose, the objects of sight are cut off. Pressing the tongue against the palate, concepts are cut off. Placing the right hand into the left, [the duality] of grasper and grasped is cut off. Crossing the right leg over the left, the coming and going of perceived objects is cut off. In brief, [this is] how to meditate on nonconceptuality.¹⁰⁸

This meditation is further described as a gradual process. When one is not distracted by the objects of the mind's six faculties, one is 'gazing at mind', which is here understood as a 'method' (*thabs*) to utterly deconstruct the eight aspects of existence and non-existence of mind.¹⁰⁹ 'Gazing at mind' is seen as a step-by-step analysis of mind based on 'reasoning' (*gtan tshigs*) and 'discriminative awareness' (*shes rab*). Finally, mind's 'ultimate principle' (*don*), which one has comprehended, is 'intrinsic awareness' (*rang rig*) that is beyond any designation.¹¹⁰ Therefore, the gradual approach is completed by a sudden realization of intrinsic awareness. Furthermore, the process of 'non-mentation' (*yid la myi byed pa*) and 'non-conceptualization' (*myi rtog pa*) is explained in terms of 'three precepts' (*lung gsum*),¹¹¹ 'three quintessential instructions' (*man*

¹⁰⁷ PT 699: f. 3b.7: *Sems gzhaḡ pa'i thabs bstan pa*.

¹⁰⁸ PT 699: f. 2b.3-4: *dmyig sna gong du dbab/ pa ni lta ba'i yul bcad pa yin la/ lce rkan la gnan pa ni/ smra bsam gi yul bcad pa yin la/ lag pa g.yas kyi g.yon bnan pa ni gzung 'dzin gi yul bcad/ rkang pa g.yas kyi g.yon bnan ba ni/ 'ongs gro gnyis kyi yul bcad pa yin no/ spyir bsus (= bsdus) na rnam par myi rtog par bsgom mo/*.

¹⁰⁹ PT 699: f. 3a.2: *rang gi sems la bltas na ni/ thabs yin la/ de tsam la myi gnas pa ni/ sems yod myed rnam pa brgyad do/ sems rnam pa brgyad kyi gtan tshigs kyi gtan la phab la/*. The eight aspects referred to are examined by questioning: Is mind (1) subject or (2) object? (3) permanent or (4) annihilated? (5) arising or (6) ceasing? Does it have (7) the four colors or (8) eight forms? (PT 699: f. 3a.2-3: *sems 'di gzung 'dzin gcig yin nam/ rtog chad yin nam/ skye 'gag yin nam/ kha dog rnam bzhi yin nam/ dbyibs rnam pa brgyad yin nam/*).

¹¹⁰ PT 699: f. 3b.1-2: *ci ltar chud pa don de ni/ rang gi rig pa'i don der zad/ rig pa de yang 'di ltar ste/ mying du brtags shing brjod du myed/*

¹¹¹ The 'three precepts' are 'non-thinking' (*bsam myed*), 'nonconceptualizing' (*rtog pa myed*), and 'non-abiding' (*gnas myed*); see, too, PT 699: f. 3b.3-4.

ngag gsum)¹¹² and ‘three seeds’ (*'bru gsum*).¹¹³ As a result one becomes a pure vessel in which *samādhi* and discriminative awareness are co-emergent.

The concluding remarks of the *Commentary* on the meditation instructions discuss the fruition of this practice. Mind is permanently to be tamed in order to disclose that it is without any reality; however, it is to be internalized as nonconceptuality.¹¹⁴ As *dharmatā* is unmistakably realized by means of discriminative awareness, suffering and enlightenment do not exist apart from one other.¹¹⁵

The subsequent explanations of the understanding of emptiness do not provide any further information, but merely paraphrase the root text. However, the interpretation of the following passage—that having gradually cleansed all *karmic* habitual tendencies, [thoughts] are ‘self-liberated’ (*rang grol*)—is of utmost interest. The *Commentary* says:

When the antidote to the *śrāvaka*'s [one-sided] quiescence [which is detrimental to the realization of Buddhahood] is internalized, even the movement [of mind] is equipoised simply in [the syllable] A. [...] [Then] supreme insight into the *dharmatā* of mind [is accomplished] by means of no-supreme-insight; [and likewise serenity] by means of no-serenity. Then one meditates [on insight and serenity] equally. [...] Having equally [practiced] insight and serenity one attains

¹¹² The ‘three quintessential instructions’ pertain to ‘no-mind’ (*sems myed*), ‘no-recollection’ (*dran myed*), and ‘illusion’ (*sgyu ma*); see PT 699: f. 3b.4-5. These ‘three quintessential instructions’ together with the following ‘three seeds’ appear as the main instructions of Chan master Wuzhu (無住 714-774) of the Sichuanese Baotang school (保唐) in the important Dunhuang Chan scroll, Dunhuang PT 116: part IVb, f. 165.4-166.1. Refer also to the translation of PT 116: part V-VIb, in FABER 1986: ‘In the explanations of Chan master Wuzhu [it says]: ‘No-mind is discipline, no-recollection is *samādhi*, and the non-arising of the illusory mind is discriminative awareness’ (*bsam brtan gyi mkhan po bu cus bshad pa las kyang/ myi sems pa ni tshul khrims so/ /myi dran ba ni ting nge 'dzin/ /sgyu ma'i sems myi 'byung ba ni shes rab bo zhes 'byung/*). The equivalent Chinese passage is found in the *Lidai fabao ji* (T vol. 51, 189a.17-18): 無憶是戒。無念是定。莫妄是慧。 For an account of Wuzhu's teachings, see JAN 1972: 43-45.

¹¹³ The ‘three seeds’ are the practice of ‘discipline’ (*tshul khrims*), ‘*samādhi*’ (*ting nge 'dzin*), and ‘discriminative awareness’ (*shes rab*); see PT 699: f. 3b.5-6.

¹¹⁴ PT 699: f. 4a.2: *sems ni dngos po myed cing rnam par mi rtog pa'i ngang du gyur pa'i dus na/ g.yo myed par ni gdul ba ltar/ de bzhin du rang gi sems rtag du gdul/*

¹¹⁵ PT 699: f. 4a.3-4: *sdug bsngal las ma gtogs pa byang cub kyang logs na myed do/ ye nas bdag du myed pa'i chos la gdod ma nas ma byung ba ni/ chos nyid rtogs pa'i dus na/ shes rab kyis rig cing chos nyid kyi don phyin cu ma log par yongs su rtogs pa'o/*

instantaneously the adamantine *samādhi*, the *bhūmi* of the Buddha, [that of] all-encompassing light.¹¹⁶

According to the text's quotation from the *Questions and Answers of Vajrasattva*, mentioned earlier, in this unwavering *samādhi* insight and serenity have to be practiced simultaneously to penetrate completely the emptiness of self. Only then does mind not abide anywhere.¹¹⁷ Without being distracted one should 'meditate nonconceptually' (*myi rtog par bsgom*). Here nonconceptuality is interpreted as thinking neither about the meaning of nonconceptuality, nor about anything else.¹¹⁸ Finally, in the revolution of the ground the condition of *dharmadhātu* is equal and 'primordial gnosis of mind is self-illuminating' (*sems kyi ye shes rang gsal*).¹¹⁹ The closing sentence of the root text, confirming primordial gnosis of intrinsic awareness, is then sealed by the expression *i ti yin no*.¹²⁰

The concluding lines of the *Commentary* put forth the differences between the masters of Atiyoga and those teaching according to *sūtra*. The former are like a *garuḍa*, instantaneously illuminating all vehicles without exception, whereas the latter are like a young goat clumsily climbing the rock, expounding the teachings in a complicated manner.¹²¹

Terminological Peculiarities in the Commentary (PT 699)

Even though the *Commentary* is not a very eloquent piece of scholarly work, it is still a remarkable example of how original

¹¹⁶ PT 699: f. 4b.2-3: *nyan thos zhi ba 'i gnyen po ste ngang du gyur pa 'i dus na/ 'gyur ba yang a tsam du cha bnyam/ [...] sems chos nyid lha[g] mthong myed pa 'i tshul gi lhag mthong/ de zhi [g]nas myed pa 'i tshul gis cha snyoms te bsgom mo//. [...] zhi [g]nas lhag mthong cha snyoms pa las rdo rje lta bu ting nge 'dzin sangs rgyas kyi sa kun du 'od skad cig la sbyor ro//.*

¹¹⁷ PT 699: f. 4b.6-9: *rdo rje sems pa 'i zhus lan las kyang/ bdag du 'dzin pa 'i de ni yongs ma spangs/ chos su 'dzin pa de ni rang dbang bdag myed par mthong zhing gnas pa de ni phyi 'i yul la yang myi gnas/ nang gi sems la yang myi gnas gang la yang myi gnas s+ho//.*

¹¹⁸ PT 699: f. 4b.10: *rnam par myi rtog pa 'i don 'di bsam ba ma yin ba gzhan la bsam du myed do//.*

¹¹⁹ PT 699: f. 5a.2-4: *kun [g]zhi gnas gyur nas chos kyi dbyings kyi ngang du bnyam mo/ [...] sems kyi ye shes rang gsal zhing byung ngo/.*

¹²⁰ PT 699: f. 5a.5.

¹²¹ PT 699: f. 5a.6-7: *khyung chen nam lang gcod kyang skyes 'gro ma lus shes/ theg pa so sor gsal yang [...] a ti yo ga 'chad pa 'i slobd dpon [...]. PT 699: f. 5a.7-8: mdo sde 'chad pa 'i slobd dpon ci lta bu zhe na// [...] smad pa 'i rna bu brag la 'dzeg pa 'i myi 'tsham 'tsham bar 'chad pas/.*

Chinese Chan concepts surrounding the meditation method of ‘gazing at mind’ became interwoven with elements of Rdzogs chen teachings, at least inasmuch as these were known to the author of the *Commentary* in the late ninth century. In fact, the author seems to have understood the root text, the *Small Treatise*, as a Rdzogs chen teaching, as he refers in the closing section to the masters of Atiyoga and clearly distinguishes their all-encompassing view from the gradual approach of the *sūtra* masters. Nevertheless, he was also aware of the Chan tradition. For instance, he refers to the lineage of twenty-eight Indian patriarchs from Kāśyapa down to Bodhidharma.¹²² Hence, the *Commentary* may be regarded as evidence for a syncretic Buddhist movement in the Sino-Tibetan border area in the late ninth century. As we shall see, peculiarities in its terminology demonstrate a slight shift of interpretation with respect to the original meanings of some Chinese terms. At the same time, I will also point out examples of the continuity of Chan thought and its integration with typically Rdzogs chen expressions as indicating a unique regional current of Sino-Tibetan Buddhism.

A terminological analysis of certain expressions in the *Small Treatise* reveals that the meditation method of ‘gazing at mind’ is meant to be a direct recognition of the nature of mind, which leads to the highest realization of a *bodhisattva* or even to that of a Buddha. The *Commentary*, however, frequently applies a terminology that differs somewhat from that of the Chinese Chan tradition and therefore provides a novel interpretation. Five examples will be considered in turn.

(1) As noted above, the expression ‘reversing mind’s six faculties so as not to engage in deluded objects’ (*sems kyi sgo drug ’khrul pa’i yul la myi ’jug par bzlog*) is a rendering of the Chinese phrase ‘turning the luminosity [of the mind] towards the mind’s source’ (*fanzhao xinyuan*), and is thus understood as a definition for the meditation method called ‘gazing at mind’ (*sems la bltas, kanxin*). Moreover, it is meant to be an immediate *return* to the mind’s source itself. However, the commentator only indirectly connects this expression to the meditation method of ‘gazing at mind’, but instead to regard it still as a preliminary practice similar to that of taking the right bodily position. Just as sitting upright brings the body into the

¹²² PT 699: f. 5a.1-3: ‘*od srungs che la chos gtad pa/ rgya gar gi mkhan po nyi shu rtsa brgyad khungs brgyud pa’i mtha’ ma dar ma ta la gtad do!*. The standard lists of the 28 Indian patriarchs of Chan Buddhism according to Chinese sources are found in YAMPOLSKY 1967: 8-9.

proper position, turning away from engaging in deluded objects does the same for the mind. It functions as an antidote for any sensory distractions of mind. The author then provides a literal explanation of the phrase ‘reversing mind’s six faculties from not engaging in deluded objects’ and clarifies how each faculty goes astray.¹²³

Summing up, if the practitioner continues to be engaged in deluded objects that distract the mind, then he is also not reverting from the path of reflection and analysis (*rtog dpyod lam*). The process of further leads to a complete deconstruction of any concept of the existence or non-existence of mind. Thus, beginning with the analysis of the six sense objects, the *Commentary* provides a step-by-step explanation of how the ultimate goal of the meditation process is to be obtained. Nevertheless, the commentator acknowledges, in accord with the *Small Treatise*, that finally the meaning of a complete recognition of the ultimate principle, and therefore an ‘instantaneous’ (*skad cig la*) attainment of Buddhahood, is ‘intrinsic awareness’ (*rang rig*).¹²⁴

(2) In the *Small Treatise*, the ultimate attainment is described as ‘bringing about complete *nirvāṇa* without remainder of the aggregates’ (*phung po lhag ma ma lus par yongs su mya ngan las bzla ba*). According to Chinese sources it is understood as the realization of suchness and therefore as a state of mind freed from any discrimination.¹²⁵ The *Commentary* is, at least in part, very close to this interpretation. It says:

If no more dichotomous habitual tendencies remain in the consciousness, it is called ‘[*nirvāṇa*] without remainder of the aggregates’.¹²⁶

However, we must also consider the aforementioned list of accomplished ones, who are given as examples of having attained such a realization. This enumeration includes Gnubs Nam ka’i snying po and Lang ’gro Dkon cog ’byung nas.¹²⁷ In referring to

¹²³ One example (from PT 699: f. 2b.6) reads as follows: ‘The nose goes astray if it follows smell. This is like a *gshed*-demon waiting for a burnt offering’ (*’sna ’khrul te dri la ’jug pa’i dpe ni/ gshed dri bo gsur la skru ba ’dra/*).

¹²⁴ PT 699: f. 3b.1-2: *ci ltar chud pa don de ni/ rang gi rig pa’i don der zad/ rig pa de yang ’di ltar ste/ mying du brtags shing brjod du myed/*.

¹²⁵ Cf. above n. 48: *buqi wangxin* 不起妄心.

¹²⁶ PT 699: f. 2b.1-2: *rnam par shes pa’i sems la/ gzung ’dzin gi bag chags myi gnas pa ni/ phung po lhag ma ma lus pa zhes bya ba yin no/*.

¹²⁷ PT 699: f. 2a.7.

them, the *Commentary* provides a literal interpretation of the foregoing passage, affirming that it is an actual body that passes beyond.

In his comprehensive study of the early Rdzogs chen movement, S. Karmay first brought attention to a passage in the *Torch of Meditation* discussing *nirvāṇa* with and without remainder.¹²⁸ There, in the chapter on Mahāyoga, it is said that if the defilements of the aggregates are exhausted, one becomes a *vidyādhara* ‘with bodily remainder’.¹²⁹ There follows a quotation from the *Questions and Answers of Vajrasattva* (*Rdo rje sems pa'i zhus lan*), a text that we have seen cited elsewhere in the *Commentary*.¹³⁰ It reads as follows:

What is the meaning of accomplishing Buddhahood within one lifetime? It means that with a body having remainder [of the aggregates] one may realize the accomplishment of a *vidyādhāra*, who has the power over life. And through just this life as a *vidyādhara* [one] may become the unsurpassed [Buddha] Samantabhadra.¹³¹

Then the *Torch of Meditation* lists, as does our *Commentary*, the names of masters who accomplished this goal. Among them we also find Gnubs Nam ka'i snying po, who is said to have passed away escorted by *ḍākinī*.¹³²

If we return to the *Commentary*, two points can be made in terms of the Tibetan interpretation of the phrase ‘*nirvāṇa* without remainder of the aggregates’ in general and about Gnubs Nam ka'i snying po in particular. First, in its Tibetan usage we can see an extension of the Chinese concept, which did not take the expression in its literal sense, but in the philosophical sense of attaining the state of a *bodhisattva* or even that of a Buddha.¹³³ Second, the comparison

¹²⁸ KARMAY 1988: 191-92.

¹²⁹ SM: 277.1: *phung po'i zag pa yang zad nas/ da ltar gyi rnam par smin pa lhag ma'i lus 'dis tshe la dbang ba'i rig 'dzin 'grub/*.

¹³⁰ See above, nn. 101 and 117.

¹³¹ SM: 277.2-3: *sangs rgyas tshe gcig gis 'grub pa'i don ji lta bu lags/ lhag mar bcas pa'i lus nyid kyis/ 'tshe la dbang pa'i rig 'dzin 'grub/ 'rig pa 'dzin pa'i tshe nyid kyis/ bla med kun tu bzang por 'gyur/*. For the original, which differs only slightly, see PT 837, l. 117 and P 87, 165.4-6: *sangs rgyas tshe gcig gis 'grub pa'i don ji lta bu lags/ lhag mar bcas pa'i lus nyid kyis/ 'tshe la dbang pa'i rigs 'dzin thog/ 'rig pa 'dzin pa'i tshe nyid kyis/ bla med byang chub thob par 'gyur/*. See also KARMAY 1988: 191-192.

¹³² SM: 278.2: *jo bo (gnubs) nam ka'i snying po mkha' 'gro mas bsus nas gshegs/*. The clan name Gnubs is given in an interlinear note.

¹³³ Refer to the discussion of ‘*nirvāṇa* without remainder’ beginning at n. 45 above.

with a similar passage in the *Torch of Meditation* reveals a link to the Rdzogs chen teachings. Gnubs Nam ka'i snying po is presented as an example of one who accomplished the state of Samantabhadra, the supreme ādi-Buddha of the Rdzogs chen teachings, the realization of the *dharmakāya* itself. In the description proffered by the *Torch of Meditation*, a progression may be observed from exhausting the defilements of the aggregates, through becoming a *vidyādhāra* 'with remainder of the aggregates', and finally to becoming Samantabhadra himself, who is beyond any designation and remainder of the aggregates. In this sense, the expression 'nirvāṇa without remainder of the aggregates' might be taken in its literal meaning. This is exemplified by Gnubs Nam ka'i snying po, who abandoned common bondage to the coarse bodily form and passed away escorted by *ḍākinīs*. However, there is no textual evidence that his accomplishment might be taken as a 'rainbow body' (*'ja' lus*), literally understood as designating the complete disintegration of the body and at the same time the supreme realization within the Rdzogs chen teachings.¹³⁴

(3) The *Commentary* explains that all the habitual tendencies of karma are purified through the 'adamantine *samādhi*' (*rdo rje lta bu'i ting nge 'dzin*), which is defined as the co-emergence of serenity and insight.¹³⁵ The term 'adamantine *samādhi*' is used in the causal philosophical vehicles (*rgyu mtshan nyid theg pa*) to describe the final removal of 'cognitive obscurations' (*shes bya'i sgrib pa*) before attaining the eleventh *bhūmi* of a Buddha.¹³⁶ Here, the metaphor of a diamond as an 'indestructible material' (*rdzas kyi rdo rje*) symbolizes the 'indestructibility of primordial wisdom' (*ye shes kyi rdo rje*), which is to be realized in *samādhi*.¹³⁷

In the eighth-century Tibetan translation by Ska ba Dpal brtsegs of the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkārikā* (*Verse Ornament of the Mahāyāna Sūtras*), usually attributed to Maitreya, the realization of the

¹³⁴ On the 'rainbow body', see now KAPSTEIN 2004.

¹³⁵ PT 699: f. 4b.2-3: *zhi nas lhag mthong cha snyoms pa las rdo rje lta bu ting nge 'dzin*.

¹³⁶ 'Emotional obscurations' (*nyon mongs pa'i sgrib pa*) are purified on attaining the first *bhūmi* of 'great joy' (*rab tu dga' ba*). In progressing from the second to the tenth *bhūmi*, the 'cognitive obscuration' is cleansed. The tenth *bhūmi* is threefold, and the complete purification of the third part of the tenth *bhūmi* is accomplished by means of the 'adamantine *samādhi*'. Then all obscurations are purified and the eleventh *bhūmi* of a Buddha is obtained.

¹³⁷ Furthermore, the *vajra* as a ritual object carries the same meaning: the five-pronged *vajra* symbolizes the union of the 'five wisdoms' (*ye shes lnga*).

adamantine *samādhi* is described in terms of the five paths to enlightenment:

If [the fourth path] of meditation is completed, one attains to the final [path] of meditation.¹³⁸ Then the bodhisattva, who is empowered [in the highest stage], obtains the adamantine *samādhi*, which is not to be destroyed by discursive thoughts.¹³⁹

The commentary of 'Ju Mi pham Rin po che (1846-1912) on this passage elaborates further the meaning of the expression 'adamantine *samādhi*' in relation to the path of no-more-learning:

Then the bodhisattva attains to abiding on the final tenth *bhūmi*. Through the great light rays from the Buddhas of the ten directions, he is empowered as the regent of the *dharmarāja*. Through that he obtains the adamantine *samādhi*, which is not destroyed by discursive thoughts apprehending characteristics. Having completely uprooted even the subtle habitual tendencies of the dualistic appearances of apprehended [objects] and apprehending [subject], [the bodhisattva] is freed from the two obscurations and their habitual tendencies. Then, he [attains to] the ultimate transformation, the great abandonment that is without any taint of obscuration. This is the eleventh *bhūmi* of 'no-more-learning' [i.e., Buddhahood]. [The Buddha] abides as long as the sphere of the sky exists for the benefit of all sentient beings and [fulfills] manifold activities.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ The 'five paths' (*lam lnga*) to enlightenment, as taught in the causal vehicles, are: (1) the 'path of accumulation' (*tshogs lam*); (2) the 'path of joining' (*sbyor lam*); (3) the 'path of seeing' (*mthong lam*); (4) the 'path of meditation' (*bsgom lam*); and (5) the 'path of no-more-learning' (*mi slob pa'i lam*). See also DUDJOM 1991: vol. 2, 147. The object of meditation on the final path of 'no-more-learning' (*mi slob pa'i lam*) is the 'adamantine *samādhi*' (*rdo rje lta bu ting nge 'dzin*).

¹³⁹ MAITREYA, *P* 108, no. 5521, f. 23a.4-5: *sgom pa yi ni mthar phyin te/ /sgom ba tha ma thob nas ni/ /byang chub sems dpa' dbang bskur ba/ /rdo rje lta bu'i ting nge 'dzin/ /rtog pas mi shigs pa thob nas ni/*.

¹⁴⁰ MI PHAM RIN PO CHE, *Theg pa chen po mdo sde'i rgyan gyi dgongs don*, in *Mi pham gsum 'bum*, vol. A, f. 194b.4-6: *sgom pa yi lam gyi tha ma sa bcu pa la gnas pa thob nas ni/ byang chub sems dpa' de la phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas rnams kyis 'od zer chen pos chos kyi rgyal po'i rgyal tshab tu dbang bskur ba de la brten pas rdo rje lta bu'i ting nge 'dzin mtshan 'dzin gyi rtog pas mi shigs pa thob nas/ gzung 'dzin gnyis snang gi bag chags phra mo yang drung nas phyung bas sgrib gnyis bag chags dang bcas pa bral ba'i gnas gzhan du gyur ba'i mthar thug pa/ sgrib pa kun gyi dri ba med pa spangs pa chen po dang/ sa bcu gcig pa mi slob pa'i sa gang la gnas na sems can kun la nam mkha'i khams ji srid du/ phan pa'i phyir mdzad pa sna tshogs/*.

Again, we see that in the ‘adamantine *samādhi*’ all dichotomous habitual tendencies are removed. This explanation entirely accords with that of ‘*nirvāṇa* without remainder of the aggregates’ discussed above. Moreover, this passage directly leads us to what Mi pham Rin po che calls the ‘eleventh *bhūmi* of no-more-learning’ (*sa bcu gcig pa mi slob pa’i sa*). The *Commentary*, however, uses the expression the *bhūmi* of ‘all-encompassing light’ (*kun du ’od*), to the meaning of which we now turn.

(4) The locution ‘*bhūmi* of the Buddha, [that of] all-encompassing light’ (*sangs rgyas kyi sa kun du ’od*) is a distinctive appellation for the attainment of the eleventh *bhūmi*. In Mi pham Rin po che’s commentary on the *Man ngag lta ba’i ’phreng ba* (*Quintessential Instruction [Called] the Garland of Views*), an early Rdzogs chen text attributed to Padmasambhava, the term ‘all-encompassing light’ is traced back to its original source in the system of the causal philosophical vehicles. Mi pham Rin po che argues as follows:

Spontaneously entering into the ‘*bhūmi* of the great accumulation wheel of the [seed] syllables’, which is the fruition [of the Rdzogs chen teachings],¹⁴¹ is according to the general causal philosophical vehicles named the *bhūmi* of a Buddha, that of ‘all-encompassing light’. By means of emanating a great amount of light, those who are to be tamed are made into a suitable vessel. This is the reason why [the attainment of this *bhūmi*] is so-called. In the general *vajrayāna* it is renowned as the thir[teenth] *bhūmi* of a Buddha.¹⁴² Here, ‘all-encompassing light’ means that the *dharmakāya*, which is without characteristics and naturally illuminating, is all-pervading.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ The original passage in PADMASAMBHAVA (attr.), *Man ngag gi rgyal po lta ba’i ’phreng ba*, in *P* 83, no. 4726, f. 418b.4 reads: *de ltar tshul ’di ni rdzogs pa chen po’i mthar phyin pa’i don/yi ge ’khor lo tshogs chen gyi sa la lhun gyis ’jug pa ste/*.

¹⁴² Here, for the third *bhūmi* read the thirteenth. See MI PHAM RIN PO CHE, *Slob dpon chen po padma ’byung gnas kyi mdzad pa’i man ngag lta ba’i phreng ba’i mchen ’grel nor bu’i bang mdzod*; in *Mi pham gsum ’bum*, vol. DA, f. 20a.3: ‘The great accumulation, which is spontaneously accomplished, is the Dharmamaṇḍala of the fruition. It is also named the “*bhūmi* of the great accumulation wheel of [seed] syllables” and the “thirteenth *bhūmi* of a Buddha”. (*’di lta bu’i ’bras bu’i chos kyi dkyil ’khor gyi tshogs chen por lhun gyis grub pa ni yi ge ’khor lo tshogs chen gyi sa zhes kyang bya/ sangs rgyas kyi sa bcu gsum pa zhes kyang bya’o/*)

¹⁴³ MI PHAM RIN PO CHE, *ibid.*, f. 19b.4-6: *lam ’di’i ’bras bu ni yi ge ’khor lo tshogs chen gyi sa la brtsal med lhun kyis ’jugs pa ste/ de yang spyir mtshan nyid kyi*

Even though the expression ‘*bhūmi* of all-encompassing light’ originates in the system of the causal philosophical vehicles, its meaning nonetheless corresponds to the thirteenth *bhūmi* in the *vajrayāna* or to what is called in Rdzogs chen terminology ‘*bhūmi* of the great accumulation wheel of the [seed] syllables’. This last term *yi ge ’khor lo* (‘wheel of the seed syllables’) has to be understood as the maṇḍala of the central seed syllable A, which is, in the Rdzogs chen teachings, a symbol of *śūnyatā* and the essence and origin of all.¹⁴⁴ In the commentary of Klong chen rab ’byams pa (1308-1363) on the *Guhyagarbhatantra* (*Rgyud gsang ba snying po*), the seed syllable A is defined as follows:

In the *’Jam dpal mtshan brjod* (*Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, the *Litany of the Names of Mañjuśrī*), it is said: ‘A is the supreme letter. Arising from within, it is not born. [...]’ In the [*Prajñāpāramitā*]sūtra it is said: ‘Oh Subhūti, ultimately [all] letters are unborn and of the nature of A. The nature of A is the self-nature of mind, completely beyond all existents and non-existents’.¹⁴⁵

Let us recall again the passage in question in our Dunhuang manuscript, the *Commentary*. Here it is said that the *bhūmi* of ‘all-encompassing light’ is attained after the antidote to the *śrāvaka*’s one-sided quiescence is fully comprehended and one has accomplished the adamant *samādhi*. It is further said that all movement of mind is equipoised simply in A.¹⁴⁶ We know that the author of the *Commentary* at least came into contact with early Rdzogs chen thought as it was transmitted, for instance, in the Dunhuang manuscript of the *Questions and Answers of Vajrasattva*.

theg pa spyi las sangs rgyas kyi sa kun tu ’od ces bya ste/ ’di ltar ’od zer mang po bkye bas ’dul ba’i ’gro ba snod du rung bar mdzad pa’i phyir de skad ces grags po/ rdo rje theg pa spyi las ni sangs rgyas kyi sa gsum du grags te/ de la kun tu ’od ni chos kyi sku mtshan ma med pa rang bzhin gyis ’od gsal bas kun la khyab pa’o/

¹⁴⁴ Geshe Pema Tsering (Dge bshes Padma tshe ring), in his oral explanation, confirms this interpretation of the seed syllable A in regard to the Rdzogs chen term *yi ge ’khor lo*.

¹⁴⁵ KLONG CHEN RAB ’BYAMS PA, *Gsang snying ’grel pa*, f. 65a.3-4: *mtshan brjod las/ a ni yig ’bru kun gyi mchog/ khong nas ’byung ba skye ba med/ [...] mdo las/ rab ’byor yi ge ni don dam par ma skyes pa ste a’i ngo bo nyid do/ a’i ngo bo nyid gang yin pa de ni sems kyi rang bzhin te dngos po dang dngos po med pa thams cad las yang dag par ’das pa’o/*

¹⁴⁶ PT 699: f. 4b.2: *gyur ba yang a tsam du cha bnyam/*. Compare the passage cited at n. 116 above.

Karmay has already shown that this text is an early example of the intermingling of Mahāyoga doctrines with such early Rdzogs chen materials as the *Sbas pa'i rgum chung* (*The Small Collection of Hidden Precepts*).¹⁴⁷ Therefore, we might even see the statement of our *Commentary* that the ‘movement [of mind] becomes equipoised simply in A’ in the light of the previously mentioned Rdzogs chen interpretation of the letter A, that is, as the realization of *śūnyatā*, the basic nature of all. Finally, the attainment of the ‘*bhūmi* of all-encompassing light’, which is used here to mean the result, is also affirmed in a tantric text and not only in the sūtras, as Mi pham Rin po che has stated. For instance, in Klong chen pa’s commentary on the *Guhyagarbhatantra*, it says:

The fruition, the omniscient Buddha, abides on the eleventh *bhūmi* of ‘all-encompassing light’ and effortlessly accomplishes the two aims [of oneself and others].¹⁴⁸

(5) The *Commentary* concludes the last sentence of the root text, which confirms primordial gnosis of intrinsic awareness, with the pithy expression *i ti yin no*.¹⁴⁹ The term *i ti*, which in its Sanskrit transcription is not very common in the later *Bka’ gyur* and *Bstan gyur* literature—it is usually represented instead by the Tibetan equivalent *ces bya ba*—is, however, found in early Rdzogs chen texts. The *Bi ma snying thig* (*Innermost Essence of Vimala-*

¹⁴⁷ KARMAY 1988: 68. The *Rdo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan* incorporates almost one third of the early Rdzogs chen text named *Sbas pa'i rgum chung* (*The Small Collection of Hidden Precepts*, lines 19-26). This text, attributed to Buddhagupta, is today only available in the Dunhuang manuscript IOL Tib J 594 and is studied in detail in NAM MKHA’I NOR BU 1984 and KARMAY 1988: 59-76. The *SM* quotes the *Sbas pa'i rgum chung* three times (*SM*: 382.2, 404.1-2, 440.5-6), though not referring directly to the same text we find in IOL Tib J 594, but indirectly to other works incorporating parts of it, namely, the *Lta ba rgum chung* (*The Small Collection of the View*) and *Man ngag rgum chung* (*The Small Collection of Quintessential Instruction*), on which see above, n. 104. KARMAY 1988: 60-61 identifies the passages of the *Sbas pa'i rgum chung* concerned. For a facsimile of IOL Tib J 594, see also KARMAY 1988: appendix. It is of interest that there appears to be a striking similarity between IOL Tib J 594 and our *Commentary* (PT 699) in regard to their layout. Apart from the handwriting of IOL Tib J 594, which resembles the *dbu can - dbu med* mixture of the *Commentary*, brief interlinear annotations are also added, – just as in the last two folios of the *Commentary*.

¹⁴⁸ KLONG CHEN RAB ’BYAMS PA, *Gsang snying ’grel pa.*, f. 50b.6: ‘bras bu rnam pa thams cad mkhyen pa’i sangs rgyas bcu gcig kun du ’od kyi sa la bzugs nas don gnyis lhun gyis grub pa/.

¹⁴⁹ PT 699: f. 5a.5.

mitra), a Rdzogs chen scripture traditionally held to have been concealed by the eighth/ninth century scholar Vimalamitra, though revealed in about the eleventh century and later gathered in the *Snying thig ya bzhi (Four-Part Innermost Essence)* by Klong chen pa,¹⁵⁰ frequently employs the locution *i ti*. Here, we find *i ti* used in order to seal *gter ma* texts, in some cases even followed by the seal *rgya rgya rgya*.¹⁵¹ The term thus appears in relatively early Rdzogs chen literature in conjunction with the most secret teachings.

Furthermore, the same term, transcribed as *i thi*, is also later employed by the Gsar ma schools, once again to seal the most secret instructions. For instance, in 'Jam mgon Kon sprul's (1813-1899) exposition of the Sa skya school in the *Gdams ngag mdzod (Treasury of Instructions and Techniques for Spiritual Realization)* the expression *i thi* is used as follows:

Because the profound path is the pivot, keep it secret to those of lesser intelligence. *I thi*.¹⁵²

Or:

This [teaching] is not a [suitable] object for those of lesser intelligence; therefore, one should investigate it and hand it down to a [heart-]son. *I thi*.¹⁵³

And in the section devoted to the Bka' brgyud schools, the term *i thi* clearly seals the innermost teachings as well:

¹⁵⁰ The *Snying thig ya bzhi (Four-Part Innermost Essence)* compiled by Klong chen Rab 'byams pa Dri med 'od zer (1308-1363), includes the (1) *Bi ma snying thig* (Innermost Essence of Vimalamitra), attributed to Vimalamitra, (2) *Bla ma yang thig* (*Further Innermost Essence of the Spiritual Masters*) by Klong chen pa, (3) *Mkha' gro snying thig* (*Innermost Essence of the dākinī*), attributed to Padma-sambhava and Ye shes mtsho rgyal, (4) *Mkha' gro yang thig* (*Further Innermost Essence of dākinī*) by Klong chen pa, and (5) *Zab mo yang thig* (*Profound Further Innermost Essence*) by Klong chen pa. It is available in a number of editions, including a Sde dge xylograph and KLONG CHEN RAB 'BYAMS PA 1970, which edition I have used here. The traditional history of Klong chen pa's redaction of the collection is given in his biography in DUDJOM 1991: vol. 1, 575-96. For a discussion of the *Bi ma snying thig*, see also PRATS 1984.

¹⁵¹ BI MA SNYING THIG: 1 (*i ti*); 27.6 (*i ti rgya rgya rgya*); 105.6-106.1 (*i ti rgya rgya rgya rgya rgya rgya rgya shu bham*); 34.5 (*a ti rgya*).

¹⁵² 'JAM MGON KON SPRUL 1971: vol. 4 (*Sa skya'i skor*), 786: *zab lam gyi thil yin pas blo dman la gsang ngo/ i thi/*.

¹⁵³ Ibid.: vol. 4 (*Sa skya'i skor*), 782: *dman pa rnams kyi yul min pas brtags te bu la sbyin par bya/ i thi/*.

This is the heart-essence. *I thi*.¹⁵⁴

Therefore, we might say that the author of our *Commentary* used the designation *i ti* in a similar way to seal a secret and essential instruction that directly points to mind's luminosity, to 'self-knowing primordial gnosis' (*rang rig ye she*) itself.¹⁵⁵

Philosophical Considerations

The author of the *Commentary* appears to reside not only in the geographical borderland between Tibet and China, but also in a culturally intermediary space situated between the Chinese Chan Buddhist heritage and the emerging Tibetan Rdzogs chen system. His understanding is in the first instance indebted to a Chinese conception of Buddhist immediacy, but he explains the method of 'gazing at mind', which was meant to be a direct recognition of the nature of mind in the Chinese context, more in terms of a gradual process of realization. Here, he relies on the ceaseless investigation of any movement in the mind and on the practice of 'serenity and insight' (*zhi gnas dang lhag mthong*).

However, the author of the *Commentary* does not adhere solely to the supremacy of the gradual path, for he acknowledges an 'intrinsic awareness' (*rang rig*) whereby he returns to the teaching of immediacy once more: it is simply in understanding the intrinsic awareness of primordial gnosis that the supreme eleventh *bhūmi* of a Buddha is accomplished. In this sense we might regard the *Small Treatise* as being interpreted here from the perspective of the omniscience of mind, an interpretation that is also confirmed by Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes in his *Torch of Meditation*. It is in the chapter on the exposition of the Chan standpoint that he refers to the *Small Treatise* in connection with Lang 'gro Dkon cog 'byung nas, who, as we have seen, is also mentioned in the *Commentary* as an accomplished one.¹⁵⁶ In the *Torch of Meditation*, this same figure is quoted as stating that by virtue of 'discriminative awareness' (*shes rab*) one reaches to the 'natural sphere' (*ngo bo nyid kyi dbyings nyid*) beyond

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.: vol. 5 (*Mar pa bka' brgyud skor*), 69: *thugs kyi nying khu/ i thi*.

¹⁵⁵ PT 699: f. 5a.5. However, this is merely one possible interpretation. In Sanskrit texts *i ti*, meaning 'thus, so', simply marks the end of a quotation. Hence, I am not able to establish definitively the intention the *Commentary*'s author, in his use of term *i ti*. I thank Henk Blezer for his remarks.

¹⁵⁶ PT 699: f. 2a.7. See also above, nn. 99-100.

any conceptualization.¹⁵⁷ Here, Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes comments that this is not the gradual path, but the teaching of ‘simultaneous entrance’ (*cig car zhugs pa*) that reveals omniscience from the very beginning.¹⁵⁸ It is in this context that he also refers to the passage from the *Small Treatise* that states that *samsāra* becomes *nirvāna*.¹⁵⁹

The author of the *Commentary* does not mention a precise doctrinal basis when he refers to the masters of Atiyoga in his concluding lines. Therefore, the question arises, what might have been the connecting thread that enabled the author of the *Commentary* to conjoin elements of Chan meditation with Rdzogs chen? I propose looking again at the final line of the *Small Treatise* which he sealed with the expression *i ti yin no*. It reads:

Nonconceptuality is vividly clear, and [even this] lucidness is not conceptualized. This is the primordial gnosis of intrinsic awareness, which cannot be designated as ‘this’ [existing entity].¹⁶⁰

‘Nonconceptuality’ (*rnam par mi rtog pa*) is the essence of the Chan Buddhist teaching as it is presented both in the *Small Treatise* and by the author of the *Commentary*. It is an oft-repeated matter of discussion in other Chan manuscripts from Dunhuang as well. For instance, the most important Tibetan Chan scroll, PT 116, elaborates in great detail (part VIa, f. 146.2-163.3) the coincidence of non-conceptuality with twenty-three key concepts of Mahāyana Buddhism. Nonconceptuality is the main theme running through additional Dunhuang manuscripts, too. For instance, we find among them three translations of the *Āryāvikalpapraveśanāmadhāraṇī*, one in Chinese (*Foshuo ru wu fenbie zongchi jing* 佛說入無分別總持經, *jiang* 薑 23) and two in Tibetan (*’Phags pa rnam par mi rtog par ’jug pa’i gzungs*, IOL Tib J 51 and 52).¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ Lang ’gro Dkon cog ’byung nas is quoted in a passage discussing the ‘faults of conceptualizing’ (*rtog skyon*). Refer to *SM*: 169.1-170.1.

¹⁵⁸ *SM*: 170.3-4: *dang po nas thams cad mkhyen pa nyid la cig car zhugs pa ste/ de ni bslab pa med pa’i bslab pa zhes bya’o/*.

¹⁵⁹ *SM*: 170.2-3: *lung chung nas gsungs pa ltar/ sems g.yung du ’gyur zhing sdug bsngal nyid byang chub la/ ’khor ba mya ngan las ’das par ’gyur ro/*. This quotation corresponds to PT 699: f. 4a.1 and 4a.3.

¹⁶⁰ PT 699: f. 5a.5: *rnam par myi rtog sa le pa’/ sa le pa la rtog pa myed/ ’di ni rang rig ye shes te/ ’di zhes gdags su myed pa’o/*.

¹⁶¹ Cf. UYAMA, EASTMAN, and BROUGHTON 1983: 32-42. The Chinese Dunhuang manuscript of the *Foshuo ru wu fenbie zongchi jing*, *jiang* 23, and other related texts are translated in MEINERT, C., TAM SHEK-WING, SHEN WEIRONG, and H.

Moreover, an early Rdzogs chen text mentioned earlier, *The Small Collection of Hidden Precepts*, to which the *Mahāyoga Questions and Answers of Vajrasattva* is also indebted, begins with reference to nonconceptuality, declaring:

Homage to the glorious Samantabhadra. To whatever extent profound nonconceptuality appears as an object of the intellect, the experience of this profound nonconceptuality is an experience and not reality itself.¹⁶²

Moreover, if we look again at the important testimony regarding Buddhist currents in ninth- and tenth-century Tibet, which we find in the *Torch of Meditation*, its author clearly emphasizes his aim as being ‘to comprehend thoroughly the expositions of nonconceptuality according to each vehicle’ (i.e., Rim gyis pa, Cig car ba, Mahāyoga and Atiyoga).¹⁶³

Therefore, we might conclude that in the Dunhuang area a regional Buddhist current developed, far removed from the Buddhist mainstreams of both Central Tibet and Central China. This tradition did not identify itself so much in terms of a lineage transmitted from master to disciple within only one tradition; rather, it seems to have developed more around a particular theme, the topic of ‘nonconceptuality’ (*rnam par mi rtog pa*). One result is the syncretic tradition we have just reviewed.

THE TIBETAN CRITIQUE OF THE SYNCRETIC TRADITION

The Tibetan dominion over Dunhuang between roughly 786 and 848 triggered an exchange of different Buddhist currents that developed apart from mainstream Tibetan or Chinese Buddhism and incorporated ideas and terminology derived from the Chan as well as the Rdzogs chen traditions. Our *Commentary* exemplifies this trend.

SHIU forthcoming. For a discussion of the *Āryāvikalpapraveśanāmadhāraṇī* in relation to the *Bsam gtan mig sgron*, see also MEINERT 2003.

¹⁶² *Sbas ba'i rgum chung*, IOL Tib J 594: f. 1b.1-2: *bcom ldan 'das dpal kun tu bzang po la phyag 'tshal lo// ji tsam rtog myed zab mo zhig/ blo yi yul du snang na/ myi rtog zab mo nyams myong na/ myong ba yin phyir de nyid myin/*. The translation follows KARMAY 1988: 71, with some emendations. See also NAM MKHA'I NOR BU 1984: 97-98, 115-40.

¹⁶³ *SM*: 12.5: [...] *theg pa so so'i mi rtog pa'i gzhung gzhi legs par khong du chud pa* [...].

Although this regional, syncretic current of Buddhism did not have a great impact on later mainstream Chinese Chan, in Tibet it remained a topic of argument for many centuries. The most comprehensive source for our knowledge of these developments is still the tenth-century *Torch of Meditation* by Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes. Though the author has only a moderate opinion of the Chinese Chan standpoint, acknowledging it to be an authentic Buddhist path and not a heresy, nevertheless, he does deem it inferior to the Rdzogs chen teachings.¹⁶⁴ This type of gradation of the teachings may even remind us of Zongmi's system of classification (*panjiao* 判教) of the various Chan schools in Tang-dynasty China, which he introduced in his *General Preface to the Collection of Explanations of the Chan Source* (*Chanyuan zhuquan jidu xu*) written in 833.¹⁶⁵

I propose to regard our Dunhuang manuscript of the *Commentary* as an example of the syncretic teaching Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes might have had in mind when writing his *Torch of Meditation*. He himself states:

On the occasion [of writing] the *Torch of Meditation*, I have explained in detail [the Cig car ba tradition], because it might mislead one as it is similar to the Rdzogs chen teachings.¹⁶⁶

In fact, the targets of his critique were those who, in his view, understood clear neither the principles of Chan, nor those of Rdzogs chen. He argued that while some, perhaps even the author of the *Commentary*, claimed their own erroneous views to be the authentic Rdzogs chen doctrine, they were, in fact, mixing together elements of two distinct traditions. Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes went so far as to buttress his argument with a citation from one of the early texts of the *Sems sde bco brgyad* (*Eighteen [Teachings] of the Mental Class*), the *Spyi bcings* (*General Outline [of the Rdzogs chen Doctrine]*):

¹⁶⁴ The different levels of the understanding of 'nonconceptuality' (*mi rtog pa*) in the four systems (Rim gyis pa, Cig car ba, Mahāyoga and Rdzogs chen) are ranged like the rungs of a ladder. See *SM*: 60.6-61.1: *de dag gi khyad par skad* [= *skas*] *kyi gdang bu bzhin te/ dper na skad* [= *skas*] *gdang la mtho dman yod par dang 'dra ste/ mi rtog pa 'di bzhi yang khyad par yod* (*ston tsen mahā a ti*).

¹⁶⁵ See above n. 74.

¹⁶⁶ *SM*: 186.1-3: *rnal 'byor mig gi bsam gtan gyi skabs 'dir/ ston mun dang rdzogs chen cha 'dra bas gol du dogs pa'i phyir rgyas par bkod do/*.

[...] However, there are still those who do not understand the view [of Rdzogs chen]. They have neither confidence in the view nor a genuine transmission of the quintessential instructions. Merely being versed in the lower [teachings] they say: ‘By virtue of intrinsic awareness one does not realize the [true] nature of *dharmatā*, wherein the empty unborn, called “thusness”, is not taken as an object. Hence, neither is it an object of primordial gnosis, and when perceived is non-dual. That actually is [the view of] the Great Perfection (Rdzogs chen), beyond activity and beyond seeing’. These people claim it to be Rdzogs chen, yet they rely on the meditation of the Madhyamaka [system]. The [Rdzogs chen] *Spyi bcings*¹⁶⁷ says: ‘Merely relying on the meditation of the *Ston men* [Chan school], they claim it to be the supreme Rdzogs chen teachings. This is like a prince descending to become a subject and so contradicts the scriptures’. [...] To these people, their own erroneous views appear as Rdzogs chen’.¹⁶⁸

To conclude, we have seen how the *Small Treatise* as an authentic instruction on the nature of mind within the Chinese Chan tradition was translated into Tibetan in Dunhuang, yet due to the translator’s terminological choices the meaning underwent a slight transformation even during its initial journey from Chinese to Tibetan. Subsequently, when the teachings of the *Small Treatise* were interpreted by a Tibetan scholar in the *Commentary*, they were further transformed and also commingled with elements of the Rdzogs chen doctrine. A century later the resulting syncretism became a target of criticism for Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes, who sought to clarify the distinctive qualities of Chan and of Rdzogs

¹⁶⁷ The original passage from the *Spyi bcings* in the *Rnying ma rgyud ’bum* (*Ancient Tantra Collection*) could not be identified. However, the text is identified as the eleventh of the *Sems sde bco brgyad* (*Eighteen Sems sde Texts*) and is described as such in ’JAM MGON KOÑ SPRUL 1971: vol. 1 (*Rnying ma’i skor*), 198.6-199.2 (in *Sems sde bco brgyad kyi dgongs pa rig ’dzin rnams kyis rdo rje’i glur bzhangs pa* [*Vajra-Songs of the Vidyādhara, the Intention of the Eighteen Sems sde Texts*]).

¹⁶⁸ *SM*: 311.1-6: [...] *de lta ba ni ma shes/ lta ba’i gdengs ni bral/ khungs su brgyud pa’i man ngag ni med/ ’og ma la lce sbyangs pa’i gang zag kha cig/ rang rig pas chos nyid kyi ngo bo ma skyes stong pa de bzhin nyid bya ba la dmigs ’dzin med la mi rtogs pas/ ye shes kyi yul yang med/ dmigs pa’i dus na gnyis su med de/ de kho na rdzogs pa chen po yin te/ de la ni bya ba dang mthong ba med do/ zhes smra ba’i gang zag ni/ rdzogs chen du khas ’ches nas dbu ma’i bsam gtan la rten ’cha’ ba yin/ spyi bcings las kyang/ rdzogs chen bla na med par khas ’ches nas/ ston men bsam gtan tsam la rten ’cha’ ba/ rgyal po’i sras ’bangs babs pa lung dang ’gal/ zhes ’byung ste/ [...] de ni rang gi lta ba ’khrul pa rdzogs chen du snang ba [...].*

chen thought.¹⁶⁹ Thus, we have a chain of causality that spans two cultures and at least two centuries.

TRANSLITERATION OF PT 699

(1a.1) //mtha' yas pa'i sems can thams cad//¹⁷⁰ mtha' yas pa'i sems can [thams] can mang po la bya/ dmyal ba'i 'jig rten gi 'khams ni/ /sa gzhi chen po tsam du mang ngo/ de mang ba las bltas na/ yi dags 'jig rten gi 'khams kyi ni sen/ (1a.2) mo steng gi sa tsam du yod de nyung ngo/ yang na yi dags kyi 'jig rten gi 'khams ni sa gzhi chen po bdal ba tsam du mang ngo/ yang na byol song gi 'jig rten gi 'khams ni sen mo steng gi sa tsam las myed¹⁷¹ de nyung ngo/ yang na byol song gi 'jig rten gi 'khams/ (1a.3) ni sa gzhi chen po bdal pa tsam du yod de mang ngo/ yang na myi'i 'jig rten gi 'khams ni sen mo steng gi sa tsam du nyung ngo/ yang na myi'i 'jig rten gi 'khams ni sa gzhi chen po bdal pa tsam du yod de mang ngo/ yang na lha ma yin gi 'jig rten gi 'khams ni sen mo steng gi (1a.4) sa tsam du las myed de nyung ngo/ yang na lha ma yin gi 'jig rten gi 'khams ni sa gzhi chen po bdal pa tsam du yod de mang ngo/ yang na lha'i 'jig rten gi 'khams ni sen mo steng gi sa tsam du las myed de nyung ngo/ yang na lha'i 'jig rten gi (1a.5) 'khams ni sa gzhi bdal pa chen po tsam du yod de mang ngo/ mar mar ni mang yar zhing nyung ba ni/ myi dang lha bsod nams che bas ni/ yar nyung ba yin no/ byol song man cad¹⁷² bsod nams chung bas ni/ mar zhing yang ba yin no/

'o ni¹⁷³ gzugs su snang ba'i sems/ (1a.6) can dang gzugs su myi snang ba'i sems can gnyis/ gang mang zhe na gzugs su myi snang ba'i sems can ni/ stong sum gi stong chen po ri rabs dul¹⁷⁴ blags pa tsam du yod de mang ngo/ gzugs su snang ba'i sems can ni shing rta'i phang lo'i dmyig gang las myed do/

¹⁶⁹ See also MEINERT 2006.

¹⁷⁰ The original text of the *Lung chung* (IOL Tib J 689-1) is marked with an underline. When the quotations of the *Lung chung* given in the *Commentary* differ from the original manuscript IOL Tib J 689-1, this is indicated in each case. Orthographical variations are marked only at the first occurrence. IOL Tib J 689-1 regularly reads *thams can* instead of *thams cad*.

¹⁷¹ This manuscript uses an orthography which is consonant with many Dunhuang manuscripts. Here, the consonant *m-* is usually written *my-*.

¹⁷² *man cad* = *man chad*.

¹⁷³ 'o ni = 'o na.

¹⁷⁴ *dul* = *rdul*.

byang cub¹⁷⁵ (1a.7) sems dpa' spyang rnam par dag pas gzigs na/
de'i ba spu bu ga na srin bu pi pi ling zhes bya ba grong khyer stug
por yod do/ de'i ba spu bu ga na yang ki ling zhes bya ba mang po
yod de/ de la ni mtha' yas pa zhes bya'o/ sems can gi¹⁷⁶ las dang
nyong mongs (1b.1) pa mtha' yas so/ nam ka¹⁷⁷ yang mtha' yas so/
lung las kyang kyang¹⁷⁸ nam ki¹⁷⁹ mthar thug gyur pa ci tsam bar/
sems can ma las mtha' yang de tsam mo/ ci tsam las dang nyong
mongs mthar gyur pa/ bdag gi smon lam mtha' yang de tsam mo/
zhes 'byung ste/ (1b.2) sems can gi don mang nas gzhag la nyung
nas bya ba ni ma yin no/ snying rje ni thabs cis kyang bya'o/ lung las
kyang myi rtog bzhin du sems can don/ myi lam tshul du skye 'gro
sgrol zhes 'byung ngo/

'khor ba'i btson ra/¹⁸⁰ btson yang myed/ / (1b.3) btson du 'dzin
mkhan yang myed/ /btson bdag kyang myed/ 'du byed sred pas ni
rgyu byas/ /ma rig pa'i sred len gis ni rkyen byas/ /sdug ngal la ni
gnas bcas// rnam par shes pa/ mying dang gzugs/ skye mched drug/
rag pa¹⁸¹ tshor ba/ skye ba dga'i¹⁸² shi la gtugs¹⁸³ (1b.4) nas 'kham
gsum du shing brte'i phang lo¹⁸⁴ bzhin du/ 'khor ba la ni btson zhes
bya'o//

//sdug bsngal gi chu bo// sdug bsngal gsum dang brgyad
du 'byung/ de yang skye ba'i sdug bsngal dang/ na ba'i sdug bsngal
dang/ dga' ba'i sdug (1b.5) bsngal dang/ 'chi ba'i sdug bsngal dang/
gnyen byams pa dang bral gis dogs pa'i sdug bsngal dang/ dgra
stangs ba dang ba 'phrad gyis dogs pa'i sdug bsngal dang/ yod pa
myi thub pa'i sdug bsngal dang/ myed pa myi rnyed pa[']i sdug
bsngal dang/ yang na ni cig la/ (1b.6) 'du byed kyi sdug bsngal la/
sdug bsngal thams bcad¹⁸⁵ nas/ ga las byung zhe na/ sdug bsngal gi
chu bo las/ chu bo la yang bzhi ste/ sred pa[']i chu bo dang/ ma rig

¹⁷⁵ *byang cub* = *byang chub*.

¹⁷⁶ *gi* = *gyi*.

¹⁷⁷ *nam ka* = *nam mkha'*.

¹⁷⁸ The second *kyang* is superfluous.

¹⁷⁹ *nam ki* = *nam mkha'i*. The text often omits ' (*'a-chung*) in the genitive. In what follows, I have usually added it in brackets ['], e.g., *myed pa[']i* instead of *myed pi*.

¹⁸⁰ This passage is not intelligible, but is reconstructed according to IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115a.1.

¹⁸¹ *rag pa* = *reg pa*.

¹⁸² *dga' ba'i* = *rga ba'i*.

¹⁸³ *gtugs* = *thug*.

¹⁸⁴ *shing brte'i phang lo* = *shing rta'i 'phang lo* (cf. f. 1a.6).

¹⁸⁵ *thams bcad* = *thams cad*.

pa[ʔ]i chu bo dang/ lhag ma[*]i chu bo dang/ nga rgyal gi chu bo kun
la zhon nas/ ʼkhor baʼi glung (1b.7) phyogs su zhugs nas/ sdug
bsngal las thar pa[ʔ]i dus myed de/ de la chu bo zhes byaʼo/

/ma rig paʼi rgya mo dral zhing// chu bo thams bcad na ga las
byung/ ma rig pa las byung/ rig pa chen po sangs rgyas bcom
ldan ʼdas thams (2a.1) /cad mkhyen paʼi ye shes dang ldan ba de la/
ma rig pa zhes bya ʼam/ de la yang ma rig pa zhes myi bya/ rig pa
chung na nyan thos ʼphrul gi spyen can de la bya ʼam/ de la yang myi
bya/ rig pa myed pa ste/ thing shing nags mtshal lung du ma bstan
(2a.2) pa de la gdags sam/ de la yang myi gdags/ ʼo na gang la gdags/
thog mar ni ma dad/ tha mar ni ma phyogs/ lha dang slob dpon ni
zhal ma mthong/ rgyu ʼbras kyi chos la ni yid ma ches/ bden ba gnyis
kyi don ma rtogs pas/ ma rig pa zhes (2a.3) byaʼo/ bden ba gnyis la
kun rdzob kyi bden ba dang/ don dam paʼi bden ba ʼo/ kun rdzob ni
srid pa dngos su snang ba la byaʼo/ don dam pa[ʔ]i bden ba ni chos
thams cad sgyu ma tsam du snang baʼi don de ni don dam paʼo/

rgya mo zer na dper na bya rgyar (2a.4) chud na ʼphur baʼi rlabs
myed/ ri dags rgyar chud pa la ʼbros pa[ʔ]i bang myed/ pa dang ʼdra
bar na/ ʼjug pa[ʔ]i tshogs drug phyin cu log du¹⁸⁶ ltas pa des/ ma rig
pa[ʔ]i rgyar chud de/ de dral na ʼdi ltar dral na bdag gi ye shes kyi
dral lo/

(2a.5) lung las kyang spar thabs gcig gis khyu mchog glang po
glad ʼgems pa/ gcan zan rgyal po gangs kyi seng chen mthu/ nyon
monggs mye ngan gcig car skems byed pa/ myi g.yo shes rab pha rol
phyin pa[ʔ]i dang/ thob dang bngon rtogs¹⁸⁷ gang (2a.6) zhig brjod
myed pa/ ma rig glang po glad pa ʼdra pa la/ rig pa[ʔ]i ye shes seng
ge spar thams kyis dral bas¹⁸⁸/ ma rig pa[ʔ]i rgya mo dral la/ don gis
na bdag gi ye shes skad cig mas nyon monggs pa skems par byed pas/
ma rig pa[ʔ]i rgya mo dral (2a.7) zheg byaʼo/

phung po lhag ma ma lus par yongs su mya ngan las bzla baʼi don
du¹⁸⁹ /phung po lhag ma ma lus pa ni/ gnubs nam ka[ʔ]i snying po
dang/ rlang su ga ta go ba dang/ lang ʼgro dkon cog ʼbyung nas¹⁹⁰
dang/ dbu na a nang dang/ (2b.1) ʼbrom za sril pa dang/ mar kong za
rin cen dang/ grub pa po de rnam kyang phung po[ʔ]i lhag ma ma

¹⁸⁶ *phyin cu log du = phyin ci log du.*

¹⁸⁷ *bngon rtogs = mngon rtogs.*

¹⁸⁸ Before *dral* is the syllable *bra*, which is yet crossed out.

¹⁸⁹ This passage is not intelligible, but is reconstructed according to IOL Tib J
689-1: f. 115a.1 2.

¹⁹⁰ Lang ʼgro Dkon cog ʼbyung nas = Lang ʼgro Dkon chog ʼbyung nas.

lus pa yin na/ don gis na ci srid rnam par shes pa'i sems la/
gzung 'dzin gi bag chags myi gnas pa ni/ phung po lhag ma ma lus
pa zhes (2b.2) bya ba yin no/ de yan cad ni glad rgyangs so/

rka lag ni bsnol/ tshigs pa ni bsrang/ lus ni myi bskyod/ ngan ni myi
brjod¹⁹¹ //phyag rgya rnam pa lnga dang sbyar ste/ myi rtog par
bsgom mo/ phyag rgya rnam pa lnga la/ dmyig sna gong du dbab/
(2b.3) lce rkan la gnan/ lag pa g.yas kyis g.yon bnan/ rkan pa g.yas
kyis g.yon bnan/ tshigs pa bsrang ste bsgom/ dmyig sna gong du
dbab/ pa ni lta ba[']i yul bcad pa yin la/ lce rkan¹⁹² la gnan pa ni/
smra bsam gi yul (2b.4) bcad pa yin la/ lag pa g.yas kyis g.yon bnan
pa ni gzung 'dzin gi yul bcad/ rkang pa g.yas kyis g.yon bnan ba
ni/ 'ongs [']gro gnyis kyi yul bcad pa yin no/ spyir bsus¹⁹³ na rnam
par myi rtog par bsgom mo/

(2b.5) sems kyi sgo drug 'khrul ba'i¹⁹⁴ yul la myi 'jug par bzlog
nas// lus 'khrul te rag bya la 'jug pa'i dpe ni/ bye'u rnyong la zin
pa 'dra/ yid 'khrul te chos la 'jug pa[']i dpe ni rkyang la dar phyar
ba 'dra/ dmyig 'khrul (2b.6) yul la 'jug pa[']i dpe ni/ bya gyi myed
rang gi mjug ma la lta ba 'dra/ rna ba 'khrul te sgra la 'jug pa'i dpe
ni/ sha ba la khos btab pa 'dra/ 'sna 'khrul te dri la 'jug pa'i dpe ni/
gshed dri bo gsur la skru ba 'dra/ lce 'khrul te dri la (2b.7) 'jug pa[']i
dpe ni/ dug 'chang 'thungs pa 'dra/ lung las kyang yul drug bslu la
mkhas/ rnam shes ni 'phyar la g.yeng/ de rnam las bzlog nas
myi 'jug par bya'o/ skyes bu gang gis sems chol/ rtog dpyod lam las
bzlog (3a.1) /nas/ sems mye ngan las 'das pa¹⁹⁵ yin nam/ de ltar ma
yin te/ lung las kyang ci ltar rtogs pa'i don de ni/ rang gi rim pa tsam
du zad/ ces 'byung ngo//

//rang gi sems la bltas na/ sems kyi ngo bo¹⁹⁶ ci yang ma (3a.2) yin
bas/ [ci la yang myi bsam ba ni]¹⁹⁷ //rang gi sems la bltas na ni/
thabs yin la/ de tsam la myi gnas pa ni/ sems yod myed rnam pa

¹⁹¹ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115a.2 reads *rka lag bsnol/ tshigs pa bsrang/ lus ni myi bskyod/ ngan ni myi brjod/* instead of *rka lag ni bsnol/ tshigs pa ni bsrang/ lus ni myi bskyod/ ngan ni myi brjod/*.

¹⁹² Before *n* (in *rkan*) is a crossed out *l*.

¹⁹³ *bsus* = *bsdus*.

¹⁹⁴ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115a.2 reads *'khrul ba* instead of *'khrul ba'i*.

¹⁹⁵ *mye ngan las 'das pa* = *mya ngan las 'das pa*.

¹⁹⁶ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115a.3 reads *dnos bo* instead of *ngo bo*.

¹⁹⁷ The *Commentary* omits this passage, which appears in IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115a.3, as *cir yang myi bsam/*. However, it is discussed in the *Commentary* further below (f. 3b.3).

brgyad do/ sems rnam pa brgyad kyis gtan tshigs kyis gtan la phab
la/ sems 'di gzung 'dzin (3a.3) gcig yin nam/ rtag chad yin nam/
skye 'gag yin nam/ kha dog rnam bzhi yin nam/ dbyibs rnam pa
brgyad yin nam/ shes rab gcig yin nam/

gzung ba ma yin bas ni yul rnam pa kun la 'jug pa[']i phyir ro/
(3a.4) gzung ba yang ma yin no/ 'dzin pa yang ma yin no/ sems kyi
khyad bar las yul bye brag gcig yin nam/ de yang ma yin te mang po
zhig 'dzin pa yang ma yin no/ sems rtag pa zhig yin nam byas na/
(3a.5) rtag pa ma yin bas/ se gol brdabs pa tsam zhig la yang/ nyan
thos kyi 'phrul gi spyen can ni/ brgya' drug bcur 'grang ngo/ dper na
shog shog sum rgya' drug bcur bltas na/ smyung gis¹⁹⁸ thal gis phug
na/ phugs kyang phugs la (3a.6) bgrang du yod pa dang 'dra bar/
sems kyi rgyun la yang de bzhin du yod do/ 'o na chad pa zhig yin
nam byas na/ de yang ma yin/ mye mar rlung gis ma bskyod pa tsam
zhig phyi'i yul la breng nge 'jug pas/ chad pa yang ma yin [n]o/ 'o na
sems (3a.7) 'di skye ba yin ni/ skye ba yang ma yin no/ dngos por ma
grub/ mtshan mar ma grub/ dbyibs su ma grub/ skye ba ma yin/ 'gag
pa ma yin/ chu glung bzhin sems ni/ rnam pa yul kun la rgyu zhing/
skyod cing 'jug pa'o/ sems 'gag (3b.1) pa ma yin no/ 'o na sems
myed pa zhig yin nam/ zab mo nyag gcig gi[s] spyod yul la/ shes rab
kyi thal gis bsgoms te/ rtog go/ skeyes bus brtags na/ gzhan la btsal du
yod dam/ btsal dang myed ste/ lung las kyang ci ltar chud pa don de
ni/ (3b.2) rang gi rig pa[']i don der zad/ rig pa de yang 'di ltar ste/
mying du brtags shing brjod du myed/ don chud 'di tsam snyon
myed de/ sems la myong ba rdul tsam myed/ gzhan du myong dang
rig ces bya ba ni/ nyan thos rang rgyal phyal bar ltung ngo
zhes 'byung ngo//

(3b.3) nyon mongs pa rnams¹⁹⁹ pa yid la myi byed pas ni ci la yang
myi rtog/ da ni lung gsum man ngag gsum 'bru gsum dang sbyar ro/
sems kyi ngo bo ci yang ma yin bas/ ci la yang myi bsam ba ni²⁰⁰
bsam myed dang sbyar ro/ sems kyi ngo bo bsams du (3b.4) myed
pas/ nyon mongs pa rnams ci la yang myi rtog pas/ rtag pa²⁰¹ myed
pa dang sbyar ro/ sems gang na yang myi gnas pas²⁰² gnas myed
dang sbyar ro/

da ni man ngag gsum dang sbyar ro/ sems kyi ngo bo gang du
yang ma grub pa ni/ sems myed (3b.5) dang sbyar ro/ sems dran bar

¹⁹⁸ *smyung gis = smyugs gis.*

¹⁹⁹ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115a.3 reads *pa'i rnam pa* instead of *pa rnams*.

²⁰⁰ Cf. n. 197 above to 3a.2.

²⁰¹ *rtag pa = rtog pa.*

²⁰² Cf. n. 205 below to 3b.7.

bya ba'i yul myed pas/ dran myed dang sbyar ro/ dran bar bya ba'i yul myed pas/ sgyu ma dang sbyar/

yang na sems kyi ngo bo ci yang ma yin bas ni/ tshul khirms dang sbyar/ nyon mongs pa rnams yid la myi byed pas ni/ (3b.6) ting nge 'dzin dang sbyar/ de ltar sems kyi spyod yul yongs su dag pas/ ci la yang myi gnas zhes bya ba ni/ shes rab dang sbyar/ dpe ni snod ma chags pa dang 'dra bar/ chu blugs pa dang/ gnyi zla'i gzugs brnyan gsal bar snang ba bzhin du/ (3b.7) ting nge 'dzin cha cig du bdag gis bsgoms la/ ting nge 'dzin bsgom du bdub²⁰³ nas/ lhag mthong gi shes rab skye'o/ de yan cad sems gzhag pa[']i thabs bstan pa lags so/

de ltar sems kyi spyod yul/ yongs su dag nas²⁰⁴// [ci la yang myi gnas/]²⁰⁵ (4a.1) yun ring du gnas na²⁰⁶/ sems g.yung du 'gyur ro²⁰⁷/ lung las kyang sems ni glog dang rlung dang sprin dang 'tshungs/ rgya mtsho chen po rlabs dang 'dra/ rnam par myi rtog pa[']i sems nyams su ma lon gi bar du/ bsgom ba'i don ni/ (4a.2) sgyun²⁰⁸ can gi spyod yul 'dra bas/ dga' zhing 'phyar ba dag rtag du gdul bar bya'o/ sems ni dngos po myed cing rnam par myi rtog pa'i ngang du gyur pa'i dus na/ g.yo myed par ni gdul ba ltar/ de bzhin du rang gi sems rtag du gdul/ (4a.3) bar bya'o/

ma skyes ma byung sdug bsngal nyid kyang byang cub²⁰⁹ 'khor ba nyid kyang mye ngan las 'das²¹⁰ ste/ ye shes kyi rang bzhin gdod ma nas ma byung ba'o²¹¹/ sdug bsngal las ma gtogs pa byang cub kyang logs na myed do/ ye nas bdag du (4a.4) myed pa'i chos la gdod ma nas ma byung ba ni/ chos nyid rtogs pa'i dus na/ shes rab kyis rig cing chos nyid kyi don phyin cu ma log par yongs su rtogs pa'o/

²⁰³ *bdub = thub.*

²⁰⁴ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115a.4 reads *spyod yul yongs su dag pas/* instead of *spyod yul/ yongs su dag nas/*.

²⁰⁵ The *Commentary* omits this passage which appears in IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115a.4 as *ci la yang myi gnas/* instead of *gang na yang myi gnas pas*. However, it is discussed earlier in the *Commentary* (f. 3b.4).

²⁰⁶ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115a.4 reads *'dug nas* instead of *gnas na*.

²⁰⁷ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115a.4 reads *'gyur* instead of *'gyur ro*.

²⁰⁸ *sgyun = rgyun.*

²⁰⁹ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115b.1 reads *byang chub* instead of *byang cub*.

²¹⁰ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115b.1 reads *mya ngan las 'das* instead of *mye ngan las 'das*.

²¹¹ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115b.1 reads *gdod nas ma byung/* instead of *gdod ma nas ma byung ba'o/*.

mthar' mar²¹² myi 'gag/ da ltar myi gnas/ myi 'gag pa'i sems rtogs pa[']i 'og du['] da ltar myi gnas zhes bya ba ni yang 'di kho na yin go zhes gdags su myed pa[']i don/ don 'di kho na lta bu yin go zhes gdags su myed pa[']i don no//

(4a.5) dus sum du bnyam bar stong nas²¹³/ (4a.6) dus sum rabs kyis stong pa ma yin gi/ (4a.7) dus sum gi bnyam ba nyid du stong ngo/

(4a.5) stong pa nyid kyang stong la²¹⁴/ (4a.6) chos kyis dbyings sto[ng] pa nyid du (4a.7) stong la/

(4a.5) stong pa nyid la stong pa nyid myi rtog²¹⁵/ (4a.6) stong pa cig la stong pa 'di ma yin gis stong pa zhes (4a.7) bya ba'i don ni stong pa tsam du ma grub bo//

(4a.5) byung tshor zhi ba'i rjes la/ (4a.6) tshor ba ni skyid sdug nyams su myong ba'o/ byung ba ni rkun po dang 'dra/ (4a.7) tshor ba ni myel che 'dra/ phyi tshor ba ni sems 'dod pa[']i yon tan (4a.8) lnga la 'phro//

(4b.1) sems dang kun gzhi bag chags brgya' cu rtsa bzhi²¹⁶ ched du dgag cing nan kyis gnan myi rgos te²¹⁷/ (4b.2) nyan thos zhi ba[']i ngyen po ste ngang du gyur pa[']i dus na/ 'gyur ba yang a tsam du cha bnyam²¹⁸/ myi rgos pa ste sems chos nyid lha[g] mthong myed pa[']i (4b.3) tshul gi lhag mthong/ de zhi [g]nas myed pa'i tshul gis cha snyoms te bsgom mo//

(4b.1) khad kyis byang zhing shugs kyis rang grol te²¹⁹ (4b.2) zhi [g]nas lhag mthong cha snyoms pa las rdo rje lta bu (4b.3) ting nge 'dzin sangs rgyas kyis sa kun du 'od skad cig la sbyor ro//

²¹² IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115b.1 reads *mthar* instead of *mthar' mar*.

²¹³ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115b.1-2 reads *dus gsum mnyam bar stong zhing/* instead of *dus sum du bnyam bar stong nas/*.

²¹⁴ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115b.2 reads *stong pa nyid kyis stong la/* instead of *stong pa nyid kyang stong la/*.

²¹⁵ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115b.2 reads *myi rtog go/* instead of *myi rtog/*.

²¹⁶ The root text IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115b.2 gives a more intelligible version: *sems dang kun gzhi bag chags rgyu ba rtsing zhib tu 'byung ba//*.

²¹⁷ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115b.3 reads *ched dud gag ching/ /nan kyis gnan myi dgos ste/* instead of *ched du dgag cing nan kyis gnan myi rgos te/*.

²¹⁸ *cha bnyam = cha mnyam*.

²¹⁹ In the original text this passage follows after *ting nge 'dzin myi g.yo bar mnyam pas* (IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115b.3 4).

(4b.1) shes rab myi dmyigs pa dang// (4b.2) shes rab myi dmyigs pa ni zhi gnas nyin lan gsum mtshan (4b.3) lan gsum du myi rtog par bsgom mo//

(4b.4) ting nge 'dzin myi g.yo bar bsnyoms pas²²⁰/ (4b.5) ting nge 'dzin myi g.yo ba ni lhag mthong tsam zhig mthong cha ma snyoms pas ni ri rabs tsam (4b.6) zhig mthong bas kyang myi 'grub ste/ de ltar ci bzhi²²¹ zhe na rdo rje sems pa[']i zhush lan las kyang/ (4b.7) bdag du 'dzin pa[']i de ni yongs ma spangs/ chos su 'dzin pa de ni rang dbang bdag myed par (4b.8) mthong zhing gnas pa de ni phyi'i yul la yang myi gnas/ nang gi sems la yang (4b.9) myi gnas gang la yang myi gnas s.ho//

(4b.4) 'byung ba la myi rtog/ (4b.5) 'jug pa[']i tshogs drug la myi rtog/ yang na (4b.6) bdag sems kyi rtsing zhib la yang myi rtog go/

(4b.4) myi 'byung ba la myi gnas/ ma tshor ma byung ba la myi gnas/ (4b.6) byar ni rdul tsam yang myed pas/ skad cig kyang (4b.7) yengsu myi rung//

(4b.4) nyin mtshan thun sum²²² du/ brtson 'grus kyi yu ba bcad de²²³// (4b.5) nying lan gsum du mtshan lan gsum du myi rtog par bsgom mo//

(4b.9) bsam gis²²⁴ myi khyab pa'i ye shes la bsam du myed myed²²⁵ par bsgom²²⁶// (4b.10) de ltar bsgom pa[']i tha cig go/

(4b.9) lung las kyang²²⁷ bsam bya bsam par myi bya ste/ bsam ba²²⁸ ma yin par yang myi bsam mo/ (4b.10) rnam par myi rtog pa'i don 'di bsam ba ma yin ba gzhan la bsam du myed do//

²²⁰ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115b.4 reads *myi g.yo ba cha mnyam pas* instead of *myi g.yo bar bsnyoms pas*.

²²¹ *bzhi* is superfluous.

²²² IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115b.4 reads *thum gsum* instead of *thun sum*.

²²³ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 115b.4 reads *bcad te/* instead of *bcad dell*.

²²⁴ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 116a.1 reads *bsams gis* instead of *bsam gis*.

²²⁵ The second negation particle *myed* is superfluous (see IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 116a.1).

²²⁶ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 116a.1 reads *bsgom mo/* instead of *bsgom/*.

²²⁷ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 116a.1 reads *lung las* instead of *lung las kyang*.

²²⁸ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 116a.1 reads *bsam bya* instead of *bsam ba*.

(5a.1) lung las kyang soms shig 'gal bar ma sems shig/ (5a.2) rnam par myi rtog pa'i don la gsal bar ma sems shig pa'o//

(5a.1) [yang lung las] je phra je zhi je gsal je bnyam dag^{229/} (5a.2) kun [g]zhi gnas gyur nas chos kyi dbyings kyi ngang du bnyam mo^{230/} (5a.3) kun [g]zhi bag la nyal ba'i cha phra mo yan cad yang bya'o/ sems kyi ye shes (5a.4) rang gsal zhing byung ngo/

[/rnam par myi rtog dbyings na bdag myed gsal/]²³¹

(5a.1) 'od srungs che la chos gtad pa/ (5a.2) rgya gar gi mkhan po nyi shu rtsa brgyad khungs brgyud pa'i (5a.3) mtha' ma dar ma ta la gtad do/

(5a.1) dar ma ta la de ltar bsgom^{232/} (5a.2) gang zag la bdag myed pa dang chos la bdag myed par gsal lo//

(5a.5) rnam par myi rtog sa le pa'/ sa le pa²³³ la rtog pa myed/ 'di ni rang rig ye shes te^{234/} 'di zhes gdags su myed pa'o/ /rdzogs so^{235/} i ti yin no//

(5a.6) /khyung chen nam lang gcod kyang skyes 'gro ma lus shes/ theg pa so sor gsal yang/ spyi rgya rlabs kyis gcod// gsal la ma 'dres che ba[']i don ston pa/ 'kha'²³⁶ lding khyung ltar don gi che ba 'byin/ bgrod par bya ba[']i lam gi bye brag la// (5a.7) a ti yo ga 'chad pa[']i slob dpon ci lta bu zhe na//

(5a.7) mdo sde 'chad pa[']i slob dpon ci lta bu zhe na// (5a.8) ngang pa[']i rgyal po myi 'g.yog²³⁷ gnas su gcod/ de bzhin blobs dpon²³⁸

²²⁹ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 116a.2 reads *yang lung las je phra je gsal je mnyam dag/* instead of *je phra je zhi je gsal je bnyam dag/*.

²³⁰ *bnyam mo* = *mnyam mo*.

²³¹ The *Commentary* omits this passage completely (see IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 116a.2).

²³² IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 116a.3 reads *'di lta sgom/* instead of *de ltar bsgom/*.

²³³ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 116a.3 reads *sa le ba/ sa le ba* instead of *sa le pa'/ sa le pa*.

²³⁴ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 116a.3 reads *ye shes ste/* instead of *ye shes te/*.

²³⁵ IOL Tib J 689-1: f. 116a.4 reads *rdzogs s+ho/* instead of *rdzogs so/*. Cf. n. 117 above and comments in the chapter of KAPSTEIN, p. 242, §27.

²³⁶ *'kha'* = *mkha'*.

²³⁷ *'gyog* = *mgyogs*.

²³⁸ *blobs dpon* = *slob dpon*.

rgyud kyi don 'chad pa// tshig gi bde sbyor myi 'khyog²³⁹ gnas su
 gcod/ smad pa[']i rna bu brag la 'dzeg pa'i/ myi 'tsham 'tsham
 bar 'chad pas/ skyon nyid yon btan²⁴⁰ yin// (5a.9) mang po 'dus
 so 'dus pa[']i nang na/ chos 'chad pa/ skad byings don dang ldan bas/
 khong bkrar go/ ru sbal skungs pa²⁴¹ lta bu'i blos 'chad pa/ gab pa'i
 sbas pa de shes slob dpon yon [tan] yin// // (5a.10) zhes 'byung
 ngo//

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 P. chin. Chinese Dunhuang manuscripts from the Pelliot collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France
 S. chin. Chinese Dunhuang manuscripts from the Stein collection in the British Library, London
SM *Bsam gtan mig sgron* [*The Torch of the Eye of Meditation*], by Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes
ZLJ *Dunwu dacheng zhengli jue* 頓悟大乘政理決 [*Ratification of the True Principle of the Mahāyāna Teaching of Sudden Enlightenment*], P. chin. 4646

Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscripts

- IOL Tib J 51 'Phags pa rnam par mi rtog par 'jug pa'i gzungs, the *Āryāvikalpapraveśanāmadhāraṇī*.
 IOL Tib J 52 'Phags pa rnam par mi rtog par 'jug pa'i gzungs, the *Āryāvikalpapraveśanāmadhāraṇī*.
 IOL Tib J 468 The Beginning of the *Bsam gtan cig car 'jug pa'i sgo* (*The Gate of Simultaneous Entrance into Meditation*), by Hwa-shang Mahāyāna, additional fragments of which are preserved in IOL Tib J 709, PT 116, PT 117, PT 812 and PT 813. Refer to n. 14 above.
 IOL Tib J 470 *Rdo rje sems pa'i zhus lan*, attributed to Gnyan Dpal-dbyangs.

²³⁹ 'kyog = mgyogs.

²⁴⁰ yon btan = yon tan.

²⁴¹ skungs pa = skug pa.

- IOL Tib J 594 *Sbas pa'i rgum chung*, attributed to Buddhagupta.
 IOL Tib J 689-1 Tibetan Chan treatise, cited in later sources as the *Lung chung (Small Treatise)*.
 IOL Tib J 710-2 Tibetan translation of the *LJSZJ*.
 PT 21 Tibetan Chan text.
 PT 116 Florilegium including major Tibetan Chan works.
 PT 121-3 A second copy of the text given in IOL Tib J 689-1.
 PT 699 The *Commentary* on IOL Tib J 689-1.
 PT 819 Fragmentary copy of the *Rdo rje sems pa'i zhus lan*, attributed to Gnyan Dpal dbyangs.
 PT 823 Tibetan fragment of the *ZLJ*.

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