

# A Study in the Genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra*

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## Introduction

It is well known that the *Platform Sūtra*, which claims to contain the recorded teachings of Huineng, the sixth patriarch of Chan, has been preserved in a number of different versions.

With the discovery of the Dunhuang version of the text in 1900 and the Kōshōji and Daijōji versions in Japan in the 1930s, scholars began to realize that the received versions of the *Platform Sūtra* found in the Chinese and Korean canons were the products of a long evolution. This, together with the Chinese scholar Hu Shi's discovery that traditional Chan history does not present an accurate picture of the beginnings of the so-called Southern School,<sup>1</sup> caused various scholars to become interested in the provenance of the *Platform Sūtra* and its role in early Chan history; over the years this question has been the subject of much research and discussion.<sup>2</sup> However, the relationship between the actual editions of the *Platform Sūtra* and the question of how the text developed through the centuries are issues that have received much less attention and therefore are not understood as well. But the study of the textual evolution of the *Platform Sūtra* is well worth pursuing because it offers a unique opportunity to observe how a major Chan text changed and expanded through time.

In the following, I address the question of the genealogical relationship between the extant versions of the *Platform Sūtra* and establish the main line of its evolution. I also discuss the sources of the additional material found in the longer editions of the *Platform Sūtra*. In my investigation I

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<sup>1</sup> See Hu Shih, "The Development of Zen Buddhism in China", *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review* 15, No. 4 (1932), pp. 495ff; reprinted in Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Ko Seki zengaku an* (Kyoto: Chūbun Shuppansha, 1975), pp. 721–691.

<sup>2</sup> The latest word in this debate has been had by Yanagida Seizan, who has argued that the *Platform Sūtra* originally was the product of the Niutou School. See his *Shoki Zenshū shisō no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967), pp. 148–212, 253–78.

employ a methodology borrowed from the discipline of textual criticism, and I hope to have shown how valuable a tool this can be in dealing with a text like the *Platform Sūtra* which is extant in several different versions. It has not been possible here to discuss the actual contents of the various versions of the *Platform Sūtra*, or the questions of why various editors made the changes they did, or what doctrinal and historical implications the changes made may have.

The present paper is divided into two main parts. The first is concerned with the shorter, and earlier, versions of the *Platform Sūtra*, and the second with the longer, later, versions. In each part, I first discuss the bibliographical information available; then go on to present the data obtained through comparison of the texts, and discuss their implications.

## The Shorter Versions

### Bibliographical Data

The shorter editions can be divided into two groups, the editions in one fascicle without subdivisions, and the editions in two fascicles and eleven chapters.

Of the first group, at least two editions are extant. The first of these is the well-known Dunhuang manuscript which is now in the British Library collection. The text has the lengthy title, *Nanzong dunjiao zuishang dasheng moheboleluomi jing, Liuzu Huineng dashi yu Shaozhou Dafansi shi fa tanjing yi juan, jian shou wuxiang jie* [Supreme Mahāyāna Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra of the Southern School's Sudden Doctrine, The *Platform Sūtra*, in Which the Great Master, the Sixth Patriarch Huineng, Preaches the Dharma at Dafan Temple in Shaozhou, in One Fascicle, Also Including the Giving of the Formless Precepts].<sup>3</sup> At the end of the fascicle the title is given as *Nanzong dunjiao zuishang dasheng tanjing fa*. At the front of the text, the sentence, “Compiled and recorded by the spreader of the Dharma, the disciple Fahai,” appears. The manuscript appears to be rather carelessly written, with a varying number of characters per line and uneven spacing between the lines. Since the text contains a great number of obviously miswritten, omitted, and superfluous characters, it cannot be read without considerable editing.<sup>4</sup> The manuscript can be dated to the early part of the

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<sup>3</sup> See Wing-tsit Chan, *The Platform Scripture* (New York, 1963), p. 25, and Philip B. Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 125, for different translations of this title.

<sup>4</sup> A photographic reprint of the Dunhuang manuscript is found in Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Rokuso dankyō shohon shūsei* (Kyoto: Chūbun Shuppansha, 1976), pp. 1–47. Several modern editions exist. D. T. Suzuki and Kuda Rentaro, eds., *Kōshōji-bon Rokuso dankyō* (Tokyo, 1934), was the first to appear, and the section divisions proposed by Suzuki and Kuda have been followed by most later editors. An accessible and well-edited version is found attached to Yampolsky, *op. cit.* It is also reproduced and translated in Ishii Shūdō, “Ekinbon ‘Rokuso dankyō’ no kenkyū—teihon shisaku to Tonkōhon to no taishō”, *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu Kenkyū Ronshū* 11 (Nov. 1980), pp. 96–138, and “Ekinbon ‘Rokuso dankyō’ no kenkyū (zoku)—teihon shisaku to Tonkōbon to no taishō”, *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu Kenkyū Ronshū* 12 (Oct. 1981), pp. 68–132.

ninth century.<sup>5</sup> The edition has no prefaces or postscripts attached, but at the end of the text what appears to be a list of patrons is found. This seems to suggest that the manuscript may have been a copy of a printed edition.

A second manuscript edition of the *Platform Sūtra* from Dunhuang, the whereabouts of which were unknown for many years, has very recently reappeared in the collections of the Dunhuang District Museum and now awaits publication.<sup>6</sup> In the 1940s, this copy was in the possession of Ren Ziyi of Dunhuang. The Chinese scholar Xiang Da has described Mr. Ren's Dunhuang texts, which he saw during a visit to the area.<sup>7</sup> The *Platform Sūtra* appears with the title *Nanzong dunjiao zuishang dasheng tanjing*, which is reminiscent of the first part of the title of the British Library Dunhuang manuscript. Xiang Da does not mention whether a compiler is given. The manuscript is included in a volume of ninety-three pages, together with three other early Chan texts.<sup>8</sup> Xiang Da judged the manuscript to be from the Five Dynasties or the beginning of the Song Dynasty, which would put it somewhere in the tenth century. A fragment of a postscript is attached to the volume, and in it a monk Guangfan<sup>9</sup> mentions that he ordered a printing. It is, however, unclear whether he is referring to all the texts in the volume or just the last text.<sup>10</sup> This edition of the *Platform Sūtra* has unfortunately not been available to me.

Furthermore, some fragments of a translation of the *Platform Sūtra* into Tangut, a language used in the Northern non-Chinese state of Xixia, have survived. They date to 1071, and they are almost identical to the corresponding passages in the Dunhuang text, including Huineng's famous verse.<sup>11</sup>

Finally, in a recent catalogue of Dunhuang manuscripts, published in mainland China, a text with the title *Nanzong dingjiao zuishang dasheng*

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<sup>5</sup> According to Professor Akira Fujieda the text is written with a wooden pen (personal communication). After the Tibetans took over Dunhuang, brushes became scarce and such pens were used instead. Thus the text must have been written at a date when the Tibetans had been in Dunhuang for some time. According to P. Demiéville, the Tibetans gained control of Dunhuang about 787. See Paul Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, Vol. 7 (Paris: Impr. Nationale de France, 1952), p. 177.

<sup>6</sup> Professor Tanaka Ryōshō in letter to Henrik Sørensen of the University of Copenhagen, February 6th, 1988. I am grateful to Dr. Sørensen for making this information available to me.

<sup>7</sup> Xiang Da, *Tangdai Chang'an yu Xiyu wenming* (Peking: Sanlian Shidian, 1957), pp. 368–9.

<sup>8</sup> According to Xiang Da the other texts are: the *Putidamo Nanzong ding shifei lun* and the *Nanyang heshang dunjiao jietuo chanmen zilico xing tanyu*, both by Shenhui; and Jingjue's commentary to the *Diamond Sūtra* (Xiang Da, *op. cit.*, p. 368).

<sup>9</sup> Nothing else is known about this person.

<sup>10</sup> Xiang Da, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

<sup>11</sup> These fragments are reproduced in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō*, pp. 401–3, and have been translated and compared to the Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sūtra* in Kawakami Tenzan, “Seikago-yaku Rokuso dankyō ni tsuite”, *Shina Bukkyō Shigaku* II, No. 3 (Sept. 1938), pp. 61–6 (reprinted in Yanagida, *op. cit.*, pp. 433–8).

*moheboreboluomiduo jing* is recorded as belonging to the Lushun Museum. Nothing seems to have been published on this manuscript, which could conceivably be an early edition of the *Platform Sūtra*.<sup>12</sup>

Several historical sources mention other one-fascicle editions of the *Platform Sūtra*. In the Japanese monk Ennin's (794–864) list of books he brought back from China, done in 847, a *Platform Sūtra* in one fascicle appears with the title, *Caoqishan diliuzu Huineng dashi shuo jianxing dunjiao zhiliao chengfo jue ding wuyi fabao ji tanjing* [The Platform Sūtra<sup>13</sup> Recording the Treasure of the Dharma in Which the Great Master, the Sixth Patriarch Huineng of Mt. Caoqi, Preaches the Sudden Teaching of Seeing One's Own Nature, Directly Becoming a Buddha, Definitely and Without Doubt].<sup>14</sup> The compiler is given as Fahai.<sup>15</sup>

A Korean edition in one fascicle with the title *Fabao ji tanjing*, the same as the last part of the title of the edition above, is known from a postscript included in an 1883 Korean edition of the longer *Platform Sūtra*, written by the famous Korean monk, Chinul (1158–1210).<sup>16</sup> The edition for which it was written does not seem to have survived, but the postscript is dated 1207 and mentions that the edition was a recarving. In the postscript, Chinul quotes a sentence from the *Platform Sūtra*, and two more short quotations are found in his *Chōnghye kyōlsa mun*.<sup>17</sup> These quotations can, as will be shown later, give us some idea about the edition of the *Platform Sūtra* that was known to Chinul.

In the same Korean edition from 1883 there is another postscript preserved, following Chinul's, which also gives the title *Fabao ji tanjing*.<sup>18</sup> To the title the following sentence is added, "This is the Sixth Patriarch from

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<sup>12</sup> Shangwu Yinshu Guan, ed., *Dunhuang yishu zongmu souyin* (Peking: Zhonghua Shuju, 1983), p. 317. "Ding" may be a mistake for "dun", as suggested in Komazawa Daigaku Zenshū Kenkyūkai, ed., *Enō kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1978), p. 402b. I have not yet been able to identify the museum.

<sup>13</sup> *tan* (*dāna*) as *tan* (platform).

<sup>14</sup> Hu Shi has translated this title as "The Dana Sūtra of the Treasure of the Law, Preached by Hui-neng, the Sixth Patriarch, the Great Master of Ts'ao-hsi Hill, Teaching the Religion of Sudden Enlightenment Through Seeing One's Own Nature, That Buddhahood Can Be Achieved by Direct Apprehension without the Slightest Doubt". See Hu Shih, "An Appeal for a Systematic Search in Japan for Long-hidden Tang Dynasty Source Materials of the Early History of Zen Buddhism", Yamaguchi Susumu, ed., *Bukkyō to bunka* (Kyoto, 1960), p. 16; reprinted in Yanagida, *Ko Seki*, pp. 667–59.

<sup>15</sup> *Nittō shin-gushōgyō mokuroku*, T. 55, p. 1083b. The version in the *Taishō* actually has "translated by Ruhai", but a note tells us that another edition has "compiled by Fahai".

<sup>16</sup> Chinul's postscript is found attached to an 1883 Korean edition of the *Platform Sūtra* which is one of the editions included in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō*; see p. 160b. The postscript is also quoted in Kuroda Ryō, *Chōsen kyūsho kō* (Tokyo, 1940), p. 104.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted in *Enō kenkyū*, p. 622. On Chinul's work, see Komazawa Daigaku Nai Zengaku Daijiten Hensansō, ed., *Zengaku daijiten* (Tokyo, 1978), p. 528f (*hereafter Zengaku daijiten*). It is included in the *Sōnmun ch'walyo*, published in Korea in 1908. See *Zengaku daijiten*, p. 705a. I have not been able to locate a copy of this work.

<sup>18</sup> Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō*, p. 161.

*Caoqi* explaining the Dharma of seeing one's own nature and becoming a Buddha definitely and without doubt,"<sup>19</sup> which seems to be derived from a title similar to the one mentioned above in Ennin's list. This suggests that the full title of this edition (and possibly of Chinul's edition as well) was similar to that of Ennin's edition. The postscript is signed by a Hoedang Angi,<sup>20</sup> and is dated with the astrological name for the cyclical date *bingchen*, on the 2nd day of the 3rd month. Because the postscript mentions Chinul, the date cannot be earlier than 1256, and since the edition it refers to seems to be an early one, it is thought that 1256 is indeed the year that is meant.<sup>21</sup> The number of fascicles of the edition for which it was written is not mentioned in the postscript.

There is evidence of yet another Korean edition which seems to be related to the ones previously mentioned. It was in the possession of the Japanese scholar and monk, Muchaku Dochu (1651–1744). Muchaku describes it as being in one fascicle, with the title *Fabao ji tanjing*, and with the subheading, “Caoqishan diliudai zushi Huineng dashi shuo jianxing dunjiao zhiliao cheng fo jueing wuyi fa, shi shamen Fahai ji”, which is almost identical to the title found in Ennin's list.<sup>22</sup> Muchaku further reports that the work was not divided into chapters, and that Huineng's *gāthā*, which earned him the patriarchship, was completely different from that of the version current in Muchaku's day.<sup>23</sup> We are also told that towards the end of the copy the following sentence is added, “The great Master had the surname Lu, he passed into Nirvāṇa in Xiantian 2 (713),<sup>24</sup> which is already separated from Baoli 2 (826) by 127 years.”<sup>25</sup> The present whereabouts of Muchaku's copy, if it has survived, are not known.

In the *Yiwenzhi* section of the *Xin Tangshu* (completed around 1060) a *Liuzu fabao ji* in one fascicle is listed, with “the monk Fahai”, given as the author.<sup>26</sup>

The Japanese monk Enchin (814–91+) records in his list, compiled in 854, of books he brought from China a *Caoqishan diliuzu Neng dashi tanjing* in

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<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, p. 161a–b.

<sup>20</sup> Nothing further is known about this person.

<sup>21</sup> Kuroda, *op. cit.*, pp. 104–5; *Enō kenkyū*, p. 410. It is interesting to note here that there is a text attributed to Dazhu Huihai (8th century) with the title *Tanjing fabao ji*, listed in Komazawa University Library, ed., *Shinsan zenseki mokuroku* (Tokyo: Komazawa Daigaku Toshokan, 1962), p. 449a.

<sup>22</sup> This and the following information comes from Nakagawa Taka, *Rokuso dankyō*, Zen no Goroku Series, No. 4 (Tokyo, 1976), p. 237.

<sup>23</sup> Of course, one of the most striking differences between the Dunhuang version and the other versions is found in this poem.

<sup>24</sup> The cyclical date is given as *renzi*, which would make the date 712 instead of 713.

<sup>25</sup> Muchaku Dōchū, *Hōbō dankyō shō chōsō*, quoted in Nakagawa, *op. cit.*, p. 237. The calculation is obviously wrong.

<sup>26</sup> Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu* (Peking: Zhonghua Shuju, 1975), Vol. 5, fasc. 59, p. 1529. See also *Enō kenkyū*, p. 523a. This title is similar to one of Qisong's three fascicle editions. See the section on the longer editions of the *Platform Sūtra* in this paper, pp. 76ff.

one fascicle with Fahai given as the compiler; his list of 857 has a *Caoqi Neng dashi tanjing* in one fascicle, with no compiler given; and, finally, in his list of 859, he records yet another *Caoqi Neng dashi tanjing* in one fascicle, with the compiler's name given as Hai.<sup>27</sup>

The second group of shorter editions of the *Platform Sūtra* is those in two fascicles and eleven chapters. Several editions of the *Platform Sūtra* which belong to this category have been found in recent decades in Japanese monasteries, while none seems to have survived in China or in Korea.

The best known of the extant two-fascicle, eleven-chapter editions of the *Platform Sūtra* is the Kōshōji edition.<sup>28</sup> It is kept at the Kōshōji in Kyoto, and, in the 1930s, was the first of the Japanese editions of the *Platform Sūtra* to be discovered by the scholarly community. It is a printed edition and bears the simple title *Liuzu tanjing*; no compiler is given. One page of it is missing. It appears to be a reprinting of a Gozan edition, and probably dates to the end of the Muromachi period (beginning of the 16th century).<sup>29</sup> The character *jun* is frequently carved on the plates, and appears to be a book-case reference. Because of this, it has been considered to be based on a Song canon edition.<sup>30</sup> However, none of the Song canon catalogues that are known today lists a *Platform Sūtra*.<sup>31</sup>

Two prefaces are attached to the text: one by the monk Huixin<sup>32</sup> dated 967; and another, dated 1153, by the scholar Chao Zijian.<sup>33</sup> The prefaces are handwritten and by mistake the two separate pieces are merged into one. They were copied from some other source by the Japanese monk Ryōnen (1559–1619), who was the founder of the Kōshōji temple.<sup>34</sup> In a note to the text Ryōnen gives the year 1599.

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<sup>27</sup> *Fukushū Onshū Daishū gotoku kyōritsu ronshoki gesho tō mokuroku*, T. 55, p. 1095a; *Nihonbiku Enchin nottōguho mokuroku*, T. 55, p. 1100c; *Chishō daishi shōrai mokuroku*, T. 55, 1106b.

<sup>28</sup> A photographic reproduction of the Kōshōji edition is found in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō*, pp. 49–66, and it has also been published by D. T. Suzuki and Kuda Rentaro, eds., *op. cit.* An edited and commented version is found in Nakagawa, *op. cit.* It is also one of the editions used in Ishii, “Rokuso dankyō”.

<sup>29</sup> See *Zengaku daijiten*, p. 1142b; Ui Hakuju, *Zenshūshi kenkyū*, Vol. 3 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1941), p. 60; and *Enō kenkyū*, p. 407. On Grozan editions, see *Zengaku daijiten*, p. 341a.

<sup>30</sup> *Enō kenkyū*, p. 408, and *Zengaku daijiten*, p. 1142b. See also Ishii Shūdo, “Shinpukuji bunko shozō no ‘Rokuso dankyō’ no shōkai—Ekinbon ‘Rokuso dankyō’ no sohon to no kanren”, *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu Kenkyū Ronshu* 10 (Nov. 1979), p. 78b.

<sup>31</sup> See the catalogues reproduced in Ono Genmyo, ed., *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* (Tokyo: Daito Shuppansha, 1932–6), suppl. vol., pp. 674–930.

During the reign of Emperor Daozong (1032–1101) of the Liao dynasty, the *Platform Sūtra* as well as the *Baolin chuan* were burned as spurious works. This may be one of the reasons why the *Platform Sūtra* does not seem to have been included in the Song canons. See Yampolsky, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>32</sup> Biography unknown.

<sup>33</sup> See Chang Bide *et al.*, *Songren chuanji ziliao souyin* (Taipei: Dingwen Shuju, 1975), Vol. 3, p. 1947, for a list of references to him.

<sup>34</sup> See Matsumoto Bunzaburo, *Bukkyō-shi zakko* (Tokyo, 1944), p. 101. See also Yampolsky, *op. cit.* p. 99.

Huixin writes in his preface that the old text of the *Platform Sūtra* was obscure,<sup>35</sup> and students who first picked it up with delight later came to dislike it. Huixin then states that he divided the text into two fascicles and eleven chapters. The preface bears a cyclical date which Hu Shi has identified as the year 967.<sup>36</sup> The preface was written in a temple in Yongzhou, which according to Ui Hakuju was at present day Nanning in Guangxi province in South China.<sup>37</sup>

In his preface, Chao Zijian relates how, travelling in Sichuan, he found a copy of the *Platform Sūtra* written in the hand of his ancestor Wen Yuan. At the end of the text occurred the statement, “I am now eighty-one years old and have read [the *Platform Sūtra*] sixteen times.” Later Chao had this manuscript published in Qizhou, in the south-eastern corner of Hubei province, near present-day Qichun. Hu Shi has shown that Wen Yuan was the famous scholar Chao Jiong,<sup>38</sup> and that he turned eighty-one in 1031.<sup>39</sup>

The next two-fascicle edition is the Daijōji version, which was discovered at the Sōtō temple Daijōji in Kaga in the 1930s.<sup>40</sup> It is a manuscript copy, and has the title *Shaozhou Caoqishan Liuzushi tanjing* [The *Platform Sūtra* of the Master, The Sixth Patriarch, from Mt. Caoqi in Shaozhou]. No compiler is given. It is in eleven chapters, but the chapter titles are somewhat at variance with those of the *Kōshōji*.<sup>41</sup> At the end of the manuscript there is a note saying “written by Dōgen”. Dōgen (1200–53) was the founder of the Japanese Sōtō sect, but it seems more likely that the real copyist was his disciple Tettsu Gikai (1219–1309), the founder of the Daijōji as a Sōtō temple, who may have made the copy during his stay in China from 1259 to 1263.<sup>42</sup> The text has a lacuna at the end where Huineng’s last *gāthā* and a few sentences following it are missing. At the end of the first fascicle, the character *ning* and the words “benefactor nun, Mugu” are added. The character *ning* seems to be a book-case reference, but as mentioned above, none of the Song Canon catalogues lists a *Platform Sūtra*.<sup>43</sup> The nun mentioned may be identical to the

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<sup>35</sup> The Chinese word that I have translated as “obscure” is *fan*, which normally is translated as “troublesome”, and which carries connotations of “many” and “complex”. It has therefore been understood by Ven. Yinshun to mean that Huixin complained that the text had been *expanded* and that he abbreviated it. See his *Zhongguo chanzong shi* (Taipei, 1971), p. 278.

<sup>36</sup> Hu Shi, “Tanjing kao di er”, *Hu Shi wencun* VI, p. 304; reprinted in Yanagida, *Ko Seki*, p. 78. See Yampolsky, *op. cit.*, p. 100, n. 28. Nothing further is known about Huixin.

<sup>37</sup> Ui, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–9.

<sup>38</sup> See *Songren chuanji ziliao souyin*, Vol. 3, p. 1946.

<sup>39</sup> See Hu Shi, “Tanjing kao di er”, *Hu Shi wencun* VI, pp. 304–5; reprinted in Yanagida, *Ko Seki*, p. 78.

<sup>40</sup> This edition has been photographically reproduced in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō*, pp. 89–113. A printed edition is found in Suzuki Daisetsu, ed., *Shōshū Sōkeizan Rokusoshi dankyō* (Tokyo, 1942).

<sup>41</sup> See Appendix B for a list of the various chapter titles.

<sup>42</sup> See Ui, *op. cit.*, p. 61. On Gikai, see *Zengaku daijiten*, p. 194a.

<sup>43</sup> See Shiina Kōyū, “Kinzan Tenneiji kyūzō ‘Rokuso dankyō’ ni tsuite”, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 23.2 (Mar. 1975), p. 294, and *Enō kenkyū*, p. 403.

person who financed the publication of Guishan Lingyou's (771–853) *Guishan jingze* by the founder of the Daruma sect, Dainichibō Nōnin (n.d.).<sup>44</sup> At the front of the text there has been placed a preface by a Bhikṣu Cunzhong from Futang, in present-day Fujian province.<sup>45</sup> The preface is dated 1116, and in it Cunzhong states that the edition is a second printing.

Then there is the Tenneiji edition, from the Rinzai temple Kinzan Tenneiji, now in the library of Tohoku University.<sup>46</sup> Like the *Daijōji*, this edition is a manuscript copy, but there is no indication of who the copyist was. Its title and chapter headings are the same as those of the *Daijōji* edition, and again no compiler is given. At the end of each fascicle, two seals in *shittan* (Skt. *siddham*) script are stamped, in the style often found in works from the Kamakura period (1185–1333).<sup>47</sup>

At the end of the text a note giving the names of various donors, and also mentioning two monks who solicited donations, is attached. One of the fundraising monks can probably be identified with Baoshou Zuile of Fuzhou, who was a 14th generation descendant of Nanyue Huairang (677–744),<sup>48</sup> while nothing is known about the other monk. Like the *Daijōji* edition, the Tenneiji edition also has the 1116 preface by Cunzhong. An additional preface, written in a hand different from the rest of the text, and signed by the Japanese monk Hakuei Egyoku,<sup>49</sup> is placed at the front of Cunzhong's piece. In this preface, which is dated 1747, Egyoku states that the edition comes from the library of the Kinzan Tenneiji, and that it differs from the version of the text that was otherwise circulating in his day. He also says that the text of this edition does not differ from that of the *Daijōji* by as much as a word, and that he replaced missing parts using the *Daijōji* edition.<sup>50</sup>

The Shinpukuji edition is the most recently discovered two-fascicle copy of the *Platform Sūtra*. It was named after the Shingon temple in the library of which it was found. It was first described and made available in 1976 by Ishii Shūdo.<sup>51</sup> The Shinpukuji edition has the same title as the *Kōshōji*, *Liuzu tanjing*, but its chapter headings are almost identical to those of the *Daijōji* and the *Tenneiji*.<sup>52</sup> The sentence, “Yizhen xiaoshi Yongzhou Luoxiushan Huijin chanyuan shamen Huixin shu” is added at the front of Fascicle 2. Like the *Kōshōji*, the *Shinpukuji* also includes Huixin's 967 preface, here with the

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<sup>44</sup> See Ōkubo Dōshū, *Dōgen zenjiden no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1966), pp. 545–6.

<sup>45</sup> Ui, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

<sup>46</sup> A photographic reproduction of the manuscript is found in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō*, pp. 67–86. It is also one of the editions used in Ishii, “Rokuso dankyō”. See Shiina, *op. cit.*, for a discussion of this edition.

<sup>47</sup> See Shiina, *op. cit.*, p. 292b.

<sup>48</sup> See Shiina, *op. cit.*, p. 293b. See also *Xu chuandeng lu*, fasc. 18, T. 51, p. 587a.

<sup>49</sup> I have found nothing else on this person.

<sup>50</sup> He is obviously referring to about 800 characters in the first part of the second fascicle which are in his handwriting.

<sup>51</sup> Ishii, “Shinpukuji”, pp. 91–112.

<sup>52</sup> See Appendix B.

name “Shaozhou Caoqishan liuzu tanjing xu”. The sentence quoted above, which appears at the front of Fascicle 2, is found again here, between the text of the preface and its title, clearly indicating the author of the preface.<sup>53</sup> The text also has a short postscript by Zhou Xigu, dated 1012. In this postscript, the title of the *Platform Sūtra* is given as *Caoqi Liuzu dashi tanjing*, and the names of three people involved in the publication are mentioned. Not much is known about Zhou Xigu, but it appears that he was from Changxi in Fujian province, and that he gained his Jinshi degree in 988.<sup>54</sup> Ishii suggests that one of the monks mentioned, Baochang, may be identical to Baoshou Zichang, who died at the age of 52 in the Dazhong xiangfu period (1008–16),<sup>55</sup> but nothing is found on the two other persons mentioned. The copy is, according to Ishii, probably from the Nanbokuchō period (1336–92), or the late Kamakura period.<sup>56</sup>

Then there is the Kan’ei edition, which is an edition printed in Japan. There is no title or information found at the front of the text, but after each of the fascicles the title *Liuzu tanjing* is given. No prefaces or postscripts are attached, but at the end of the text there is a note giving the year Kan’ei 8 (1631), and the name of the Japanese publisher. In the last fascicle of the *Hōbōdankyō kōkan* by Ekijun from 1697,<sup>57</sup> the Kan’ei edition is listed and said to be the reprint of a Chinese Song edition from the Qingyuan period (1195–1200).<sup>58</sup>

Finally, there is the Kanazawa Bunko manuscript.<sup>59</sup> Only three fragments of this edition, totalling eight pages, are still extant. One of the extant fragments contains the beginning of Chapter Three, the title of which is identical to the same chapter in the *Kōshōji*. According to Yanagida Seizan the Kanazawa edition can be dated to the Kamakura period.<sup>60</sup>

In addition to the editions described above, there are at least three other extant two-fascicle, eleven-chapter editions, which I unfortunately have not been able to see.

The first of these is the Kishizawa Bunko edition.<sup>61</sup> This edition has the same title as those of the *Daijōji* and the *Tenneiji*, but the chapter headings are a little different, and it is in only one fascicle. It is a manuscript copy done by the Japanese monk Guchū (d. 1737)<sup>62</sup> in 1734. The edition includes

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<sup>53</sup> The same sentence appears at the beginning of Huixin’s preface in the *Kōshōji*.

<sup>54</sup> *Songren chanji ziliao souyin*, Vol. 2, p. 1476. See also Ishii Shūdō, “Shinpukuji”, pp. 78b–79a.

<sup>55</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 79a. See *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* by Li Cunxu (d. 1038), ZZ. 2b, 8, 5, p. 447a.

<sup>56</sup> Ishii, “Shinpukuji”, p. 75b.

<sup>57</sup> See *Zengaku daijiten*, p. 142c, on this work.

<sup>58</sup> Quoted in Ui, *op. cit.*, p. 60, and *Enō kenkyū*, p. 408b.

<sup>59</sup> A photographic reprint of this edition is found in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō*, pp. 395–400.

<sup>60</sup> See Yanagida, *Rokuso kenkyū*, table at the front of the book.

<sup>61</sup> See *Enō kenkyū*, p. 406, for a description of this edition. It is listed in *Shiman zenseki mokuroku*, p. 448c.

<sup>62</sup> See *Zengaku daijiten*, *op. cit.*, p. 250b.

Cunzhong's preface, and attached to the end of it is an essay on the *Platform Sūtra* by Guchū. This edition appears to be a direct copy of the Daijōji edition, but the *Kishizawa* includes the part which is missing from the *Daijōji*.

Next, there is the Murayama edition.<sup>63</sup> According to Professor Nakagawa, this is a printed edition, with no preface. Professor Nakagawa was able to see it in 1954, and states that it is the complete edition of the *Kōshōji*, including the part that is missing in that work. Unfortunately, she also states that the present whereabouts of the Murayama edition are not known.

Lastly, there is the Jōkyō edition. It is listed in the *Shinzan zenseki mokuroku*, which reports that it is in the Komazawa Library, and that it was published in Jōkyō 5 (1688) in Kyoto. It is also said that it is a direct copy of the edition from Kan'ei 8.<sup>64</sup>

Three historical sources mention editions of the *Platform Sūtra* which belong to this group. The first is Eichō's catalogue of 1094, where an edition of the *Platform Sūtra* in two fascicles is listed with the title *Liuzu tanjing*. In a note to the entry it is said, "Written by Huineng. I suspect that it may actually have been written by Huineng's disciple Huixin."<sup>65</sup>

A couple of other references to the *Platform Sūtra* must also be considered to belong to this group. In Chao Gongwu's *Junzhai dushu zhi* from 1151, a *Liuzu tanjing* is listed twice. In Wang Xianqian's edition of Chao's work,<sup>66</sup> the first entry says that the *Liuzu tanjing* is in three fascicles, while the same entry in the Yuanzhou edition of Chao's work gives two fascicles.<sup>67</sup> Both editions say the work is in sixteen chapters, that it is compiled by the Tang priest Huixin, and has a preface by Zhou Xifu (Zhou Xihou in the Yanzhou edition). In Ma Duanlin's *Wenxian tongkao* there is also a notice of a *Liuzu tanjing* which claims to quote information from the *Junzhai dushu zhi*. This entry says that the edition is in three fascicles and sixteen chapters, and has a preface by Zhou Xihou.<sup>68</sup> Ishii Shūdo has suggested that the "three fascicles" in Wang's edition is a mistake for "two fascicles", that "sixteen chapters" is a mistake for "eleven chapters", and that "preface by Zhou Xifu" (or "Zhou Xihou") is a mistake for "postscript by Zhou Xigu". Zhou Xigu was the person who wrote the postscript to the *Platform Sūtra* that is included

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<sup>63</sup> See Nakagawa, *op. cit.*, p. 239. It is also mentioned in Nakagawa Taka, "Dankyō no shishoshiteki kenkyū", *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū*, 3.2 (Sept. 1954), pp. 281–4, where it is said to be a Gozan recarving of a Song edition. It is further mentioned in Yampolsky, *op. cit.*, p. 90, n. 3. Finally, it is listed in *Shinzan zenseki mokuroku*, p. 447a, c, where no information on it is given.

<sup>64</sup> *Shinzan zenseki mokuroku*, p. 448c. It is also mentioned in *Enō kenkyū*, p. 408b, as a reprinting of the Kan'ei edition, and there it appears that this information is derived from the *Hōbōdankyō kokan*.

<sup>65</sup> T. 55, p. 1164c.

<sup>66</sup> Chao Gongwu (Wang Xianqian ed.), *Junzhai dushu zhi* (Taipei: Guangwen Shuju, 1967), fasc. 16, pp. 27b–28a (pp. 962–3).

<sup>67</sup> Chao Gongwu, *Junzhai dushu zhi* (*Sibu zongkan*, ser. 3, case 19, ch. 3B), pp. 36b–37a.

<sup>68</sup> Ma Duanlin, *Wenxian tongkao* (Taipei, 1959), p. 1819c.

in the Shinpukuji edition. The above references would then be to an edition of the *Shinpukuji*.<sup>69</sup>

The *Platform Sūtra* is mentioned a second time in the *Junzhai dushu zhi*, the entry being identical in both editions of the work. The title of the *Platform Sūtra* is again given as *Liuzu tanjing*, and it is in two fascicles. The number of chapters is not mentioned. The work is said to have been compiled by Huineng's disciples and there is no specific mention of either Huixin or Fahai. The entry also reports that numerous copies of the *Platform Sūtra* were in circulation in China.<sup>70</sup>

## Textual Data

In the previous section, bibliographical information on the various editions of the shorter editions of the *Platform Sūtra* was presented. However, only very tentative ideas about the history of the text and its editions can be formed on the basis of the bibliographical data. This is partly due to the incompleteness of our information, but also because the information we do have cannot be taken at face value. Prefaces and postscripts are often found attached to editions with which they did not originate; a later editor may have chosen to retain or restore the name of an earlier editor and himself remain anonymous; outside references to a text with a specific title could also be to a text completely different from the one that today bears this title. Also, the fact that one edition is older than another does not mean that the text it conveys is more “original”. Thus any information derived from sources like these must be used with great care.

Every time a text is reset or recarved for printing, or copied by hand, we must assume a textually unique version as the product, i.e. the person or persons involved will almost invariably either intentionally or unintentionally have introduced changes into the text. These changes can be anything ranging from a mistaken or omitted word, or a correction of what was judged to be a previous mistake, to an extensive rephrasing or rewriting of the text.

To find out more about the history of a text that exists in different versions, it is necessary first to make a word for word comparison of the texts of all the editions available, evaluating the evidence obtained independently of any bibliographical information. The branch of textual scholarship which traditionally has concerned itself with this sort of comparison and evaluation is textual criticism, and the methodology used in the present paper borrows from the logic of this discipline.

Textual criticism is a “technique of restoring texts as nearly as possible to

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<sup>69</sup> See Ishii, “Shinpukuji”, p. 78. For Hu Shi's earlier interpretation of this entry, see below in the section on the longer editions.

<sup>70</sup> *Junzhai dushu zhi* (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1967), fasc. 16, p. 28a (p. 963); *Junzhai dushu zhi* (*Sibu zongkan*, ser. 3, case 19, ch. 3B), p. 39a. See also *Enō kenkyū*. p. 531b.

their original form”;<sup>71</sup> it has been used extensively in New Testament Studies, and on the works of Greek and Roman classical writers, Shakespearean plays, etc. Very briefly, in the genealogical approach to the task of restoring texts to the most original form possible three steps can be discerned. The textual critic first compares all editions to establish a *stemma codicum*, a sort of family tree, then examines the variant readings to decide which one is the most likely to be original, and finally makes an emendation, i.e. tries to restore the text to its authentic state, a task which often requires extensive use of conjecture and educated guesswork. Various rules of textual criticism have developed over time, but even though these rules are helpful they can only be considered as guidelines, and each case must be treated as unique.<sup>72</sup>

My present concern in dealing with the various editions of the *Platform Sūtra* differs from that of the textual critic, because I have not sought to restore the *Platform Sūtra* to an “original” or early form, but rather have tried to find out as much as possible about how the extant editions are related to each other. What I have attempted to do, then, corresponds fundamentally to the first step of the textual critic’s task, the construction of a *stemma codicum*, even though special concerns make my approach somewhat different from that of the textual critic. It is thus convenient for present purposes to make a distinction between editions that have introduced major intentional changes in the text, as opposed to those that only have made unintentional or minor intentional changes.<sup>73</sup> I will here use the word “edition” to refer to any recopying or recarving/reprinting of the text, while the word “version” is used to refer to an edition, or a group of editions stemming from the same work, in which the editor (here actually becoming co-author) has made major additions or omissions, or rephrased entire sentences, creating a text which differs from its ancestor in a substantial way.

In the following section, the texts of the extant shorter editions just introduced are compared, and the relationship between the editions is discussed. The editions in question are: the *Dunhuang*, the *Kōshōji*, the *Kan’ei*, the *Shinpukuji*, the *Daijōji* and the *Tenneiji*. In addition, the Kanazawa fragments are dealt with, and the sentences quoted by Chinul from his *fabao ji tanjing* are also brought into the discussion.

This study has been greatly facilitated by an edition prepared by Professor Ishii of Komazawa University and his collaborators.<sup>74</sup> Mostly using the

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<sup>71</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th ed., s.v. “History—textual criticism”, by E. J. Kenney, p. 676.

<sup>72</sup> On the stemmatic method, see Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, translated from the German by Barbara Flower (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958); and Vinton A. Dearing, *A Manual of Textual Analysis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), pp. 9–50. See also William G. Boltz, “Textual Criticism and the Ma Wang tui Lao tzu”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (June 1984), which demonstrates the methods of textual criticism as applied to a Chinese text.

<sup>73</sup> This is of course clearly a matter of judgement and degree. However, the present cases are fairly clear and should not give occasion for much disagreement.

<sup>74</sup> Ishii, “Rokuso dankyō”.

*Shinpukuji* as their basis, they have prepared an edition of the *Platform Sūtra* in which all differences between the *Kōshōji*, the *Kan'ei*, the *Shinpukuji*, the *Daijōji* and the *Tenneiji* have been listed. In addition, the text of the Dunhuang manuscript has been inserted for easy reference, and finally translations into Japanese of both the Dunhuang text and the base text used for the comparison have been included. Since I have found this edition extremely convenient and very reliable I will use it for reference in the following, calling it the Ishii edition.

A preliminary investigation reveals that the texts of the five two-fascicle editions follow each other closely, and that 70 or 80 per cent of their texts are in exactly the same wording. Opposed to this we find the Dunhuang edition, which, even though it contains largely the same material and follows the same outline, is considerably shorter and often less detailed than the two-fascicle editions, and seldom corresponds with them in wording. This seems to substantiate the already established view that all the two-fascicle works ultimately stem from the same edition and that the Dunhuang manuscript conveys an earlier, less developed, version of the text. Because Huixin in his preface mentions that he divided the text of the *Platform Sūtra* into two fascicles and eleven chapters, and thus seems to be the first editor to do so, his version is generally considered to be the ancestor of all the other editions that are divided in the same way.<sup>75</sup>

When the texts are looked at more closely, it can be observed that the Kanazawa text fragments (which are not included in the Ishii edition) are very close to the corresponding passages of the *Kōshōji* edition. The two only differ in respect to thirteen single characters, except for one instance where a three character phrase has been repeated in the Kanazawa text.<sup>76</sup>

Furthermore, when the texts of the *Kan'ei* edition and the *Kōshōji* edition are compared they prove to be remarkably alike. The only differences found in the whole text are in isolated instances of fifteen single characters.<sup>77</sup> This means that these three texts, according to the formula outlined above, must be considered to be different editions of the same version, in one way or other.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> See Yampolsky, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

<sup>76</sup> The first fragment of the Kanazawa edition (Yanagida, *Rokuso Dankyō*, pp. 395–400) contains a section of Chapter Two (§10, middle of l. 4, to §12, beginning of l. 8 in the Ishii edition). The second fragment contains the end of Chapter Two and the very beginning of Chapter Three (§15, beginning of l. 3, to §18, beginning of l. 4). The third fragment contains the beginning of Chapter Six (§29, ll. 2–20).

<sup>77</sup> These are found in the Ishii edition on pages 108, 114, 118, 120, 122, 124, and 132; and 72, 73, 91, 96, 109, 112, 115, and 119. As can be seen, the differences are rather insignificant, such as variant characters, miswritten characters, substitution of synonyms, etc. It should be pointed out that I have not had access to a reproduction of the original *Kan'ei* edition, and that some of the differences listed could therefore be mistakes on the part of the editors of the Ishii edition. Likewise, there may be differences not recorded in the Ishii edition.

<sup>78</sup> As we do not have access to the whole of the Kanawaza text, it cannot be ruled out that there were significant differences elsewhere in the text.

A comparison of the texts of the *Daijōji* and *Tenneiji* editions shows that they also are very close to each other, and their differences rarely concern more than one character in each instance. I have counted about ninety readings in which they differ, and in most of these cases the *Tenneiji* appears to be corrupt, as all the other editions agree against it.<sup>79</sup> In addition to these minor differences, the *Daijōji* and the *Tenneiji* differ greatly in their lists of the Indian patriarchs. Here the *Tenneiji* is like the other shorter editions of the *Platform Sūtra*, which in general follows the list of names found in Zongmi's *Yuanjue jing dashu chao*,<sup>80</sup> while the *Daijōji* has the list as found in the *Baolin chuan*, which is the one that later became universally accepted.<sup>81</sup> It would seem that, whoever the copyist of the *Daijōji* was, he changed the list of patriarchs from the original to make it comply with what had become orthodoxy. For our purposes, this difference can be ignored. In all other respects the two editions are sufficiently similar to be considered editions of the same version, and it is actually likely that both are copied from Cunzhong's edition, since they both have his preface.

Finally, a comparison of the *Shinpukuji* with the other texts shows that it is substantially different from all of them, and we must conclude that it is the only edition of the version it represents.<sup>82</sup>

It is not practicable here to make a full textual analysis to establish the most authoritative readings of the *Kōshōji*/*Kanazawa*/*Kan'ei* version and the *Daijōji*/*Tenneiji* version, and it is not necessary for our investigation. In the following I will take the *Kōshōji* as the representative of the *Kōshōji*/*Kanazawa*/*Kan'ei* version, except for the passage that is missing in the *Kōshōji*, where the *Kan'ei* of course has to be used. Likewise, the *Daijōji* will be used as representative of the *Daijōji*/*Tenneiji* version, except for its list of Indian patriarchs, where the *Tenneiji* should be used. Again, where the *Daijōji* is missing a passage, the *Tenneiji* has been used.

This, then, leaves us with three different versions of the *Platform Sūtra* in two fascicles and eleven chapters to compare: the *Kōshōji*, the *Daijōji*, and the *Shinpukuji*. In spite of their differences, these three versions still share 70 or 80 per cent of their texts, as mentioned above, and they clearly are closely related.

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<sup>79</sup> This contradicts Shiina, *op. cit.*, who considers the *Tenneiji* closer to Cunzhong's original edition because it still has the list of donors attached, and because of the patriarchs. Shiina's position is repeated in Ishii, *op. cit.*, p. 73b.

<sup>80</sup> See ZZ. 1, 14, 3, 276b. However, in the *Tenneiji*, Madhyāntika is left out, presumably by mistake. In the Dunhuang edition, the names of the 33rd and 34th patriarchs are reversed, and in the *Kōshōji*, Śaṅavāsa is changed to Basiasita. See Yampolsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–3.

<sup>81</sup> The *Baolin chuan* was compiled in 801 by a monk Zhiju. It was lost for centuries, but parts were rediscovered in the 1930s. The work is in ten fascicles, but fascicles 7, 9, and 10 are still missing. See Yampolsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–9.

<sup>82</sup> It should be noted here and remembered with respect to my following comments that I have not had access to a direct reproduction of the *Shinpukuji* edition, and that furthermore there is a possibility that it is not recorded correctly in every instance in the Ishii edition.

A preliminary investigation shows that in general the text of the *Kōshōji* seems better polished than the others. It is also slightly longer, and contains some extra items that are not found in the two other texts. They are: the mentioning of Huineng’s meeting with Yinzong (though treated in a rather off-hand manner), and the story of the monks discussing the banner and the wind (x16, 1. 2, and supplement 4);<sup>83</sup> the note which relates the question that sparked off Huiming’s enlightenment (attached to the end of Chapter Two, see x15, 1. 5, and supplement 3); and, at the very end of the sūtra, the mentioning of the epitaphs by Wang Wei and Liu Yuxi, and of Huineng’s posthumous title (x64, ll. 4 and 6, and supplements 8 and 9). None of this appears in either the *Shinpukuji* or the *Daijōji*.<sup>84</sup> In addition, in Chapter Five, under the giving of the Repentance of Transgressions (x26, see supplement 5), the *Kōshōji* text has some extra material and is more elaborate than both the *Shinpukuji* and the *Daijōji*, which are almost identical here. Throughout Chapters Five and Six, the *Kōshōji* only once has a note telling the audience to repeat the precepts three times, and here the “three” was even inadvertently left out (x29, 1. 5). In the *Shinpukuji* and *Daijōji* such notes are found three times (x26, 1. 6; x27, 1. 3; and x29, 1. 41), as they are in the *Dunhuang*. Professor Ishii has also noted that the text of the *Shinpukuji* in general is more like the *Daijōji* than it is like the *Kōshōji*. In both the *Shinpukuji* and the *Daijōji*, Huineng always uses the word *moujia* for himself, whereas the *Kōshōji* has “Huineng” (as has the *Dunhuang* version). The chapter headings of the *Shinpukuji* are also almost identical to those of the *Daijōji*, as opposed to those of the *Kōshōji*, which are somewhat different from the other two.<sup>85</sup>

Now turning to a word for word comparison of the three texts, the following observations can be made:

- 1a) The *Kōshōji* and the *Shinpukuji* in about 210 cases have readings that agree against the *Daijōji*. In most cases the differences affect both meaning and style.
- 1b) The *Daijōji* and the *Shinpukuji* in about 430 cases have readings that agree against the *Kōshōji*. Again, in most cases the differences affect both meaning and style.
- 1c) The *Kōshōji* and the *Daijōji* in about seventy-five cases have readings that agree against the *Shinpukuji*. The great majority of these differences are clearly copyist’s errors on the part of the *Shinpukuji*, usually concerning single words, and few of them affect the meaning or style.<sup>86</sup>
- 1d) In about 40 instances the *Kōshōji*, the *Daijōji* and the *Shinpukuji* each

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<sup>83</sup> This and all following references are to the Ishii edition if not otherwise stated.

<sup>84</sup> See Yampolsky, *op. cit.*, p. 101, and Ishii, p. 81a.

<sup>85</sup> See Ishii, “*Shinpukuji*”, p. 77.

<sup>86</sup> See Appendix A for a list of the most significant cases.

have their own readings and do not agree with any of the others. In most of these cases, the *Shinpukuji* seems corrupt.<sup>87</sup>

In addition, when the *Kōshōji*, the *Daijōji*, and the *Shinpukuji* are compared to the Dunhuang version, the following observations can be made:

- 2a) The *Kōshōji* has several readings that are close to the *Dunhuang*,<sup>88</sup> against the *Daijōji* and the *Shinpukuji*, which then coincide.<sup>89</sup>
- 2b) The *Daijōji* also has several readings that clearly are close to the *Dunhuang*, against the *Shinpukuji* and the *Kōshōji*, which then coincide.<sup>90</sup>
- 2c) The *Shinpukuji* has no readings that are close to the *Dunhuang*, against the *Daijōji* and the *Kōshōji*, which then coincide.

Further, the following can be noted:

- 3a) In at least one of the instances where all three texts differ, the *Kōshōji* is closer to the *Dunhuang* than the *Daijōji* or the *Shinpukuji*.
- 3b) In at least three of the instances where all three texts differ, the *Daijōji* is closer to the *Dunhuang* than the *Kōshōji* or the *Shinpukuji*.
- 3c) In at least two of the instances where all three texts differ, the *Shinpukuji* is closer to the *Dunhuang* than the *Kōshōji* or the *Daijōji*.

The above two groups of observations do not necessarily exhaust all the data that may be relevant for the investigation of the relationship between the texts, but any suggestion as to how the texts are related will have to take them into account and accommodate them.

As a way of demonstrating the methodology used in this study, I will here try out a simple *stemma* that might be feasible. One would perhaps think that the *Kōshōji*, the *Daijōji*, and the *Shinpukuji* are all independent editions, based on a common version, presumably Huixin's, which again was based on the Dunhuang version. The *stemma* would then look like Figure 1, overleaf. In a *stemma* like this, we would expect the three texts to have a number of readings in common, and each text to agree with sometimes the one, sometimes the other, against the third text. This is assuming that they would all have retained something from their common ancestor, and that in some cases all three would have chanced to have kept the same reading, or changed the same reading, and in other cases two of the texts would have kept the original reading while the third text would have changed it.

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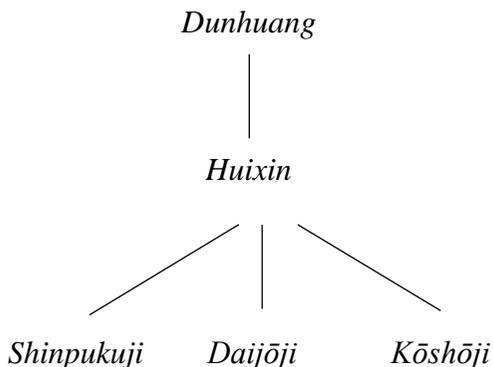
<sup>87</sup> See Appendix A for a list of the most significant cases.

<sup>88</sup> I am using the word “close”, as there is often no word for word agreement here. However, the texts are so close in wording that it is clear that their readings are related.

<sup>89</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>90</sup> See Appendix A.

Figure 1



The three texts do agree extensively, and the *Kōshōji* and the *Shinpukuji* do side against the *Daijōji* (1a, above), just as the *Daijōji* and *Shinpukuji* also side against the *Kōshōji* (1b). There are also quite a few instances in which the *Kōshōji* and the *Daijōji* agree against the *Shinpukuji* (1c), but as mentioned the majority of these are obviously miswritten or mistakenly omitted characters.<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, we rarely have cases where each of the three texts has readings that are substantially different from the others (1d), which in itself is a curious fact that will be returned to later.<sup>92</sup> The most obvious objection to this *stemma* has to do with the fact that the *Daijōji* and the *Shinpukuji* in several instances agree against the Dunhuang reading in the *Kōshōji* (2a), just as the *Kōshōji* and the *Shinpukuji* agree against Dunhuang readings in the *Daijōji* (2b). Any reading that is found in two of the texts would have had to have come from their common source, and in cases like the ones above we would have to explain where the Dunhuang reading in the third text then came from. The only possible answer for this *stemma* is that the editors of both the *Kōshōji* and the *Daijōji* must have had editorial access to an edition of the Dunhuang version: i.e. in addition to basing themselves on the Huixin version, the editors must also have chosen to include material they found in an edition of the Dunhuang version. This phenomenon is in textual criticism called contamination or conflation, and is a common occurrence in most textual traditions. It is not impossible that this is what happened in this case, but it seems highly unlikely that both editors had access to, and chose to include, material from an edition of the Dunhuang version in their editions of Huixin's text.

The above *stemma* can be rejected as very improbable, but unfortunately for our investigation it turns out that it is not possible to construct a satisfactory *stemma* with our present data in which some sort of contamination does not have to be assumed. This makes it impossible to construct a single definitive *stemma*, because if we allow for contamination many different *stemmata* which do not violate our data can be constructed. In a situation

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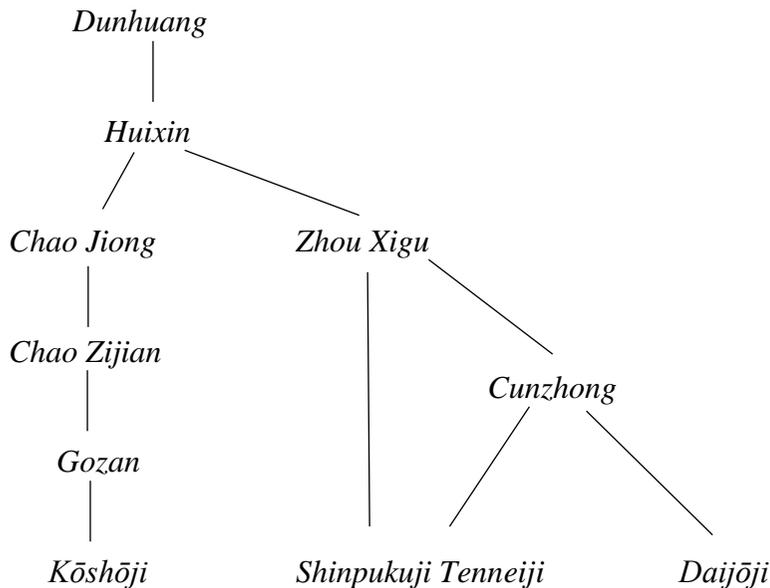
<sup>91</sup> See Appendix A for a list of some of the more significant differences.

<sup>92</sup> See Appendix A for a list of instances where all three texts differ.

like this, the best thing we can do is to judge the various *stemmata* which our data allow us to set up on the basis of how likely scenarios they seem to suggest, and on how they conform to the bibliographical evidence. This approach is demonstrated in the following.

Let us now turn to a *stemma* which has been suggested by Professor Ishii Shūdo, who was the first to describe and publish the text of the *Shinpukuji*. It is reproduced in Fig. 2.<sup>93</sup> From Professor Ishii's discussion and his later

**Figure 2**



reconstruction of the Huixin edition,<sup>94</sup> it is clear that he considers the *Shinpukuji* to be almost identical to the *Huixin*. The situation, then, in terms of the main versions of the text, could be symbolized as in Figure 3, overleaf.

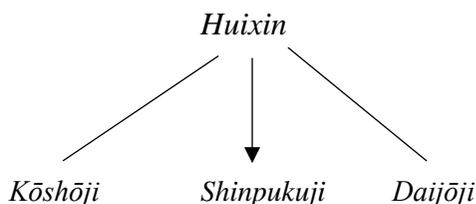
However, this is very much like the *stemma* discussed above. The instances in which the *Kōshōji* and the *Daijōji* agree against the *Shinpukuji* must, in this *stemma*, have been present in the *Huixin*, and at least in those cases the *Shinpukuji* must differ from the *Huixin*. Ishii does take that into consideration in his reconstruction in most instances, but in x45, 1. 4, and x45, 1. 19, he chooses the *Shinpukuji* reading over the common *Kōshōji* and *Daijōji* reading.

Furthermore, Ishii does not seem to be aware of the instances in which the *Kōshōji* or *Daijōji* are close to a *Dunhuang* reading against the other and the *Shinpukuji*. In Ishii's *stemma*, what is common in the *Shinpukuji*

<sup>93</sup> See Ishii, "Shinpukuji", p. 80.

<sup>94</sup> Ishii edition in Ishii, "Rokuso dankyō".

Figure 3



and the *Kōshōji* must also have been present in the *Huixin*, just as what is common to the *Shinpukuji* and the *Daijōji* must have been in the *Huixin*. However, in at least seven instances, the *Daijōji* has readings that are close to the *Dunhuang* against a common reading in the *Shinpukuji* and *Kōshōji* (2b), and I have found another seven instances in which the *Kōshōji* clearly is close to the *Dunhuang* against the *Shinpukuji* and the *Daijōji* (2a). We would therefore again have to assume that both the *Kōshōji* and the *Daijōji* were contaminated by a edition of the *Dunhuang* version.

If we instead see the *Shinpukuji* as representing an edited version of the *Huixin* together with the *Kōshōji*, and the *Daijōji* as based on an edition very much like the *Shinpukuji*, then we would only have to assume that the *Daijōji* was contaminated by an edition of the *Dunhuang*, but not the *Kōshōji* (see Fig. 6, page 77). In that case both the *Kōshōji* and the *Shinpukuji* would have retained some parts of the *Huixin* while changing other parts. The *Daijōji* would be based on an edition like the *Shinpukuji* and would therefore have some of the things the *Shinpukuji* changed in the *Huixin* in common with it against the *Kōshōji*. Therefore, the instances in which the *Kōshōji* is close to the *Dunhuang* against the *Shinpukuji* and the *Daijōji* would have been present in the *Huixin* (as would any *Dunhuang* reading in the *Kōshōji*). This is of course not how Ishii sees it, as is reflected in his reconstruction, where he never chooses a *Dunhuang* reading in the *Kōshōji* over a reading in the *Shinpukuji*.

We would still have to assume that the *Dunhuang* readings that are in the *Daijōji*, but not in the *Shinpukuji*, must be due to contamination. As can be seen in Appendix A, most of these *Dunhuang* readings occur in the beginning of the *Daijōji*, where it in other respects differs quite a lot from both the *Shinpukuji* and *Kōshōji*, sometimes against a *Dunhuang* reading. We might therefore speculate that the editor of the *Daijōji* version had access to an edition which was based on a version like the *Dunhuang*, and which in some respects was like the *Dunhuang*, but in other respects not. The editor, then, mostly used the beginning of this work and took over both *Dunhuang* and non-*Dunhuang* readings from it.

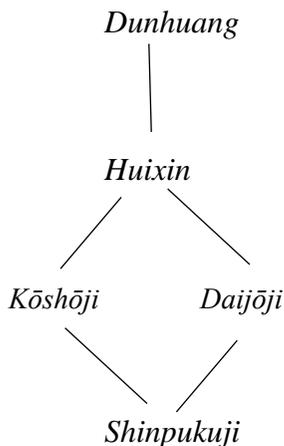
It is, of course, also possible to see the *Kōshōji* as based on the immediate ancestor of the *Shinpukuji*, instead of putting the *Daijōji* in that place (see Fig. 7, page 78). It seems unnecessary to run through that argument here

as it would be identical to that above, substituting the *Kōshōji* for the *Daijōji*, but it should be noted that looking at the titles of the various editions of the *Platform Sūtra*, it might offer a better solution. Huixin's preface is in the *Shinpukuji* called *Shaozhou Caoqishan liuzu tanjing xu*, while in the *Kōshōji* it is just *Liuzu tanjing xu*. In Zhou Xigu's postface the title of the *Platform Sūtra* is given as *Caoqi Liuzu dashi tanjing*. It would seem, then, that the title of Huixin's edition originally must have been something like *Shaozhou Caoqishan liuzu tanjing* or *Caoqi Liuzu dashi tanjing*. The *Shinpukuji* and the *Kōshōji* both have the title *Liuzu tanjing*, while the *Daijōji* has *Shaozhou Caoqishan Liuzu shi tanjing*. Thus the title of the *Daijōji* is the closest to the title that the *Huixin* probably originally had. It seems unlikely that the *Daijōji* should have been based on the *Shinpukuji* without taking over its title, but rather by restoring a previous title—just as it seems strange that both the *Kōshōji* and the *Shinpukuji* independently should have abbreviated the title of the *Huixin* to *Liuzu tanjing*. It would seem better to assume that the *Daijōji* and the *Shinpukuji* were both independent editions of Huixin's version, and that the *Kōshōji* was later based on the *Shinpukuji*, retaining its title.

However, as mentioned above, it seems curious that we so rarely find instances in which the readings in all three texts differ (1d). In most cases, either the *Kōshōji* agrees with the *Shinpukuji*, or the *Daijōji* agrees with the *Shinpukuji*. If, in Ishii's *stemma*, we take the *Daijōji* to be based on the ancestor of the *Shinpukuji*, then it would almost seem as if its editor decided only to introduce changes in the text where the *Shinpukuji* was already identical to the *Kōshōji*. If this is not coincidence then the only explanation would be that the editor of the *Daijōji* actually had a copy of the *Kōshōji* and deliberately avoided changing anything in the *Shinpukuji* when it differed from the *Kōshōji*. It would be difficult to find a reasonable explanation for such behaviour, and it seems a very unlikely scenario. If the *Kōshōji* is seen as based on the ancestor of the *Shinpukuji*, rather than the *Daijōji* taking that role (Fig. 7, page 78), then the lack of uniqueness on the part of the *Shinpukuji* becomes even stranger. Because if the *Kōshōji* was based on a text like the *Shinpukuji*, it would have made twice as many changes in the *Shinpukuji* as the *Daijōji* would have (1a and 1b); and it seems even more unlikely that it could have happened by coincidence that, of all that was changed in the *Daijōji*, nothing was changed in the *Kōshōji*.

If we cannot accept the lack of uniqueness in the *Shinpukuji* as a coincidence, Professor Ishii's *stemma* cannot be accepted, even in its modified form. However, on the basis of our textual evidence it is possible to construct a completely different *stemma*. If the *Shinpukuji* is seen as based on both the *Daijōji* and the *Kōshōji*, the fact that it has so little unique to it would be explained. The *stemma* would then look like Figure 4, overleaf.

**Figure 4**



Here the Huixin is seen as the common ancestor for the *Kōshōji* and the *Daijōji*. The editor of both the *Kōshōji* and the *Daijōji* would have made considerable changes in the text, as is witnessed by their differences. The editor of the *Shinpukuji* then had access to both texts and combined them in his own edition. We might imagine that the editor of the *Shinpukuji* tried to reconstruct an older version of the text by choosing the parts from each text that to him seemed most original. It would therefore at times choose to follow the *Kōshōji* (1a), and at other times choose to follow the *Daijōji* (1b), but rarely, and only in very insignificant details, did it bring in new readings (1c, 1d).

In this *stemma* it is of course not surprising to find that the *Daijōji* and the *Kōshōji* both have their own Dunhuang readings (2a and 2b). But I have also found two instances where the *Shinpukuji* is closer to the *Dunhuang* than either the *Kōshōji* or the *Daijōji*, which should not be possible in this *stemma* (3c). These two cases are in x10, 1. 3, and x12, 1. 15 (see Appendix A under 1d). In the first case, the only disagreement between the *Daijōji* and the *Shinpukuji* is the word “*shan*”. It is possible that the original *Daijōji* version which the *Shinpukuji* based itself on had this Dunhuang reading. But perhaps a later editor of the *Daijōji* version felt unhappy with this reading and changed the “*shan*” into a “*de*”. In the second case the *Daijōji* has no equivalent, and it seems quite possible that it originally had “an *xibi shang*”, which was copied by the *Shinpukuji*, but that this sentence dropped out of later editions of the *Daijōji*. These two Dunhuang readings therefore cannot be considered to invalidate the *stemma*.

However, the bibliographical evidence does not seem to support this *stemma*. First of all, the “packaging” of the *Shinpukuji* edition seems to point to an early date. The *Shinpukuji* edition has a postface dated 1012, which, except for Huixin’s 967 preface, is earlier than any other date that mentions a two-fascicle edition of the *Platform Sūtra*. Also, in his preface, Huixin refers to the chapters with the word “*men*”. This is used in both the *Kōshōji* and

the *Shinpukuji* after the chapter titles, but in addition the *Shinpukuji* has the longer, and seemingly more archaic, chapter titles, which are also used in the *Daijōji*. Furthermore, in the *Shinpukuji* certain passages are given as notes,<sup>95</sup> which in the other two versions are normal text. This also seems an archaic feature, as it is quite common in all textual traditions that notes become incorporated into text, but rarely the other way around.

However, Zhou Xigu's postface may not have originated with the *Shinpukuji*. It is possible that the editor of the *Shinpukuji* copied it from one of the editions he was using, perhaps in the hope that its early date would lend his version authenticity. It is, in any case, not uncommon that prefaces or postscripts from earlier versions are included in later ones, the way Huixin's preface was attached to the *Kōshōji*. Further, the editor of *Shinpukuji* could easily have combined the chapter titles of the *Kōshōji* and the *Daijōji* to arrive at his own, archaic looking chapter titles. Finally, the fact that some of the text of the *Shinpukuji* is in notes could have been carried over from, most likely, the *Daijōji*, which at an earlier stage may have had the items in question as notes, while later copyists changed them into regular text.

In all of the above discussion, we have assumed that the basis for Huixin's edition was the Dunhuang version. However, that is not quite correct. The edition Huixin based himself on must have differed, at least in some instances, from the Dunhuang edition. One of these cases is at the very end of the sutra, where Shenhui's appearance on the scene is predicted. This issue was strictly a concern of Shenhui's school in the eighth and early ninth centuries, and by the time Huixin compiled his edition in 967 the controversy was long over and forgotten. Nevertheless, in the *Daijōji* and the *Shinpukuji* it is said that the man who was going to establish Huineng's school and determine right and wrong in Buddhism would be from Nanyang Xian (x58, 1. 5). This makes it even clearer that Shenhui, who was also known as Nanyang Heshang, is meant, but it is not included in the Dunhuang edition. It cannot have been added by the compiler of the *Shinpukuji* or the *Daijōji*, and must have been present in Huixin's text. But Huixin cannot have added it either, and therefore it must have been something he retained from the text he used as the basis for his own edition.

Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, Chinul quotes a few sentences from the edition of the *Platform Sūtra* that he knew.<sup>96</sup> The first of these sentences is found in his preface to the edition of the *Platform Sūtra* called *fabao ji tanjing*. It says, “Zhenruo xing ziqi nian, fei yan er bi she nengnian.”<sup>97</sup> This sentence is not found in the *Dunhuang*, but is in both the *Kōshōji*, the *Daijōji*, and the *Shinpukuji* (x22, 1. 16).<sup>98</sup>

The *Chōngnye kyolsa mun* by Chinul from 1190 gives two quotations from

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<sup>95</sup> §54, 11. 7–11; §55, 11. 1–8.

<sup>96</sup> This is assuming that he only knew one version of the text.

<sup>97</sup> See Yanagida, Rokuso dankyō, p. 160d. See also Ui, *op. cit.*, pp. 56–7.

<sup>98</sup> The last “nian” is missing in the *Shinpukuji* and the *Daijōji*.

the *Platform Sūtra*.<sup>99</sup> The first quotation has, “(Caoqi yun:) xindi wufei zixingjie. Xindi wu luan zixing ding. Xindi wu chi zixing hui.” This sentence is not in the *Dunhuang* in this form, but corresponds to the *Kōshōji*, *Daijōji* and *Shinpukuji* (x50, 1. 10).

However, the second quotation has, “(Fabao ji tanjing yue:) Xindi dan wu bu jing, xifang qu ci bu yuan. Xing qi bu jing zhi xing, he Fo ji lai yingqing.” The first part of this corresponds quite closely to the *Dunhuang* (*Dunhuang* in the Ishii edition, x37, ll. 7–8), while it is not found in this form in the *Kōshōji*, *Daijōji* or *Shinpukuji* (x44). The last six characters of Chinul’s quotation are not found in any other extant edition.

Chinul’s edition must thus have been similar to both the *Huixin* and the *Dunhuang*. It is highly unlikely that Chinul would have based his one-fascicle edition on Huixin’s edition while incorporating material from the *Dunhuang* version and adding his own changes. It is much more likely that the text used by Huixin was similar to Chinul’s edition, which again was based on an edition similar to, but—because of the remark on Shenhui found in the *Daijōji* and *Shinpukuji*—not identical with the *Dunhuang* version.

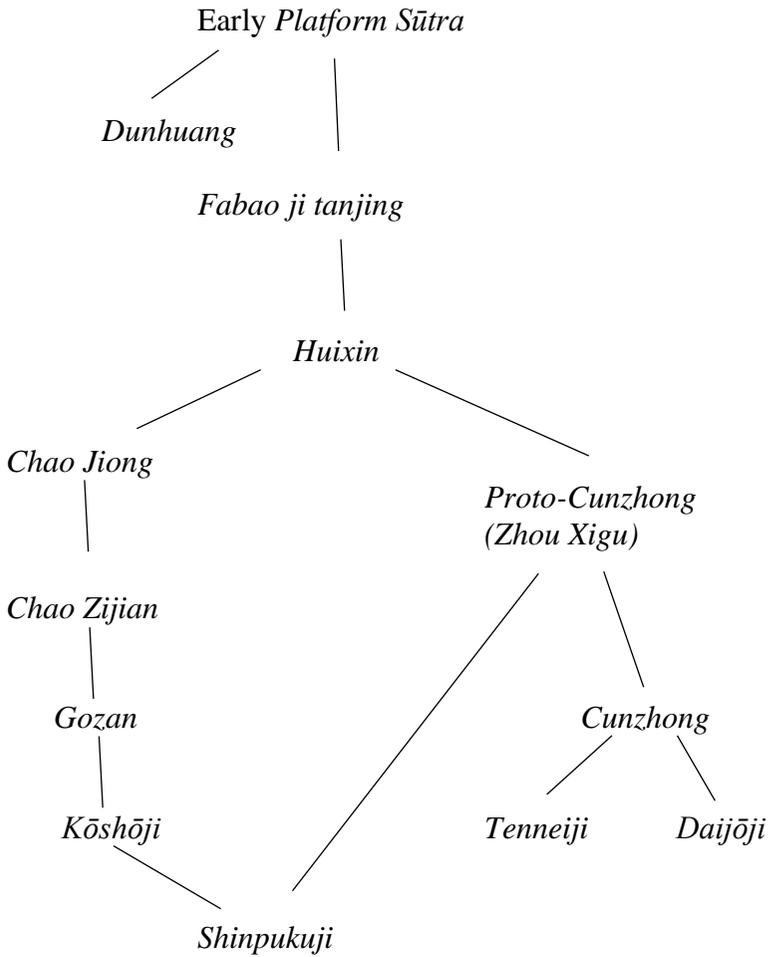
The last *stemma* suggested can then be modified as in Fig. 5 (overleaf), incorporating the main editions of which we have knowledge. Or, if we can accept as coincidence that the *Shinpukuji* has so little that is unique to it, the *stemma* depicted in Fig. 6 (page 77) is also possible. In this *stemma*, the *Daijōji* and the *Shinpukuji* are seen as based on the same text (which, as has been shown, must have been very much like the *Shinpukuji*), while the *Kōshōji* belongs to a different branch. The dotted line symbolizes contamination. However, as discussed earlier, judging from the titles of the various editions, it appears better to place the *Kōshōji* as based on the ancestor of the *Shinpukuji*, as in Fig. 7 (page 78). As mentioned above, the fact that the *Shinpukuji* has so little that is unique to it becomes even harder to accept as coincidence in this *stemma*.

It should again be emphasised that because one or more of the editions we are working with must have been contaminated it is not possible to set up a definite *stemma* for the relationship between the various shorter editions. Nevertheless, on the background of the available textual data and bibliographical evidence, the *stemma* in Fig. 5 seems the most satisfactory, while the *stemma* in Fig. 6 might also be possible. The *stemma* in Fig. 7 appears less likely to represent an accurate picture.

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<sup>99</sup> Quoted in *Enō kenkyū*, p. 545a.

**Figure 5**



## The Longer Editions

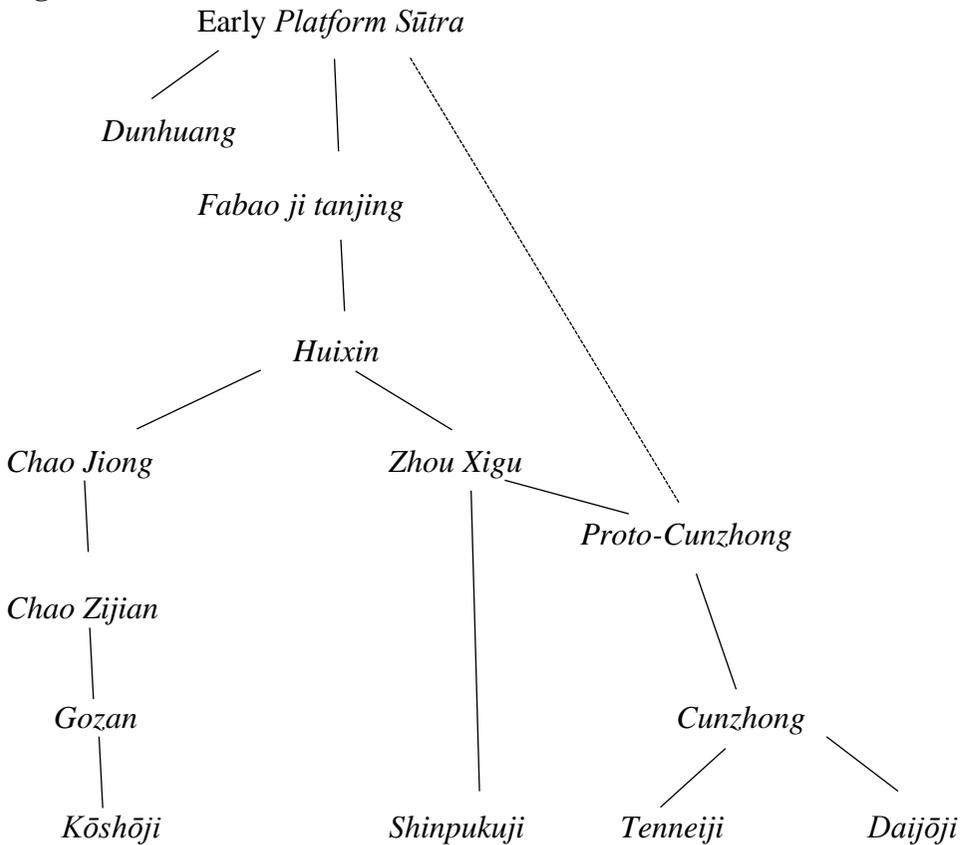
### Bibliographical Data

Before we go on to a description of the extant longer editions of the *Platform Sūtra*, a three-fascicle edition which is no longer extant, prepared by the famous scholar and monk Qisong (1007–72), should be discussed. Qisong’s edition is known from a preface by the *shilang* Lang Jian,<sup>100</sup> which is included in the *Xinjin wenji* compiled by Qisong himself.<sup>101</sup> The preface is entitled *Liuzu dashi fabao ji xu*. In it Lang complains that common people have added to and deleted from the words of the Patriarch and made the style so vulgar and unclear that the text cannot be trusted. Lang then reports that he approached Qisong, who had written a piece in praise of the *Platform Sūtra*, and told him that if he could correct it, he, Lang, would pay for its

<sup>100</sup> For references to Lang Jian, see *Songren chuanji ziliao souyin*, Vol. 3, p. 1804. See also Ui, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>101</sup> Qisong, *Xinjin wenji*, fasc. 11. T. 52, p. 703b–c.

**Figure 6**



publication. Two years later, Qisong acquired an “old Caoqi edition”, edited it, and divided it into three fascicles, whereupon it was published. The preface is dated 1056. Lang calls the work he is prefacing *Liuzu fabao ji*, which is the same title as is mentioned in the *Xin tangshu*, where, however, it is said to be in one fascicle.<sup>102</sup>

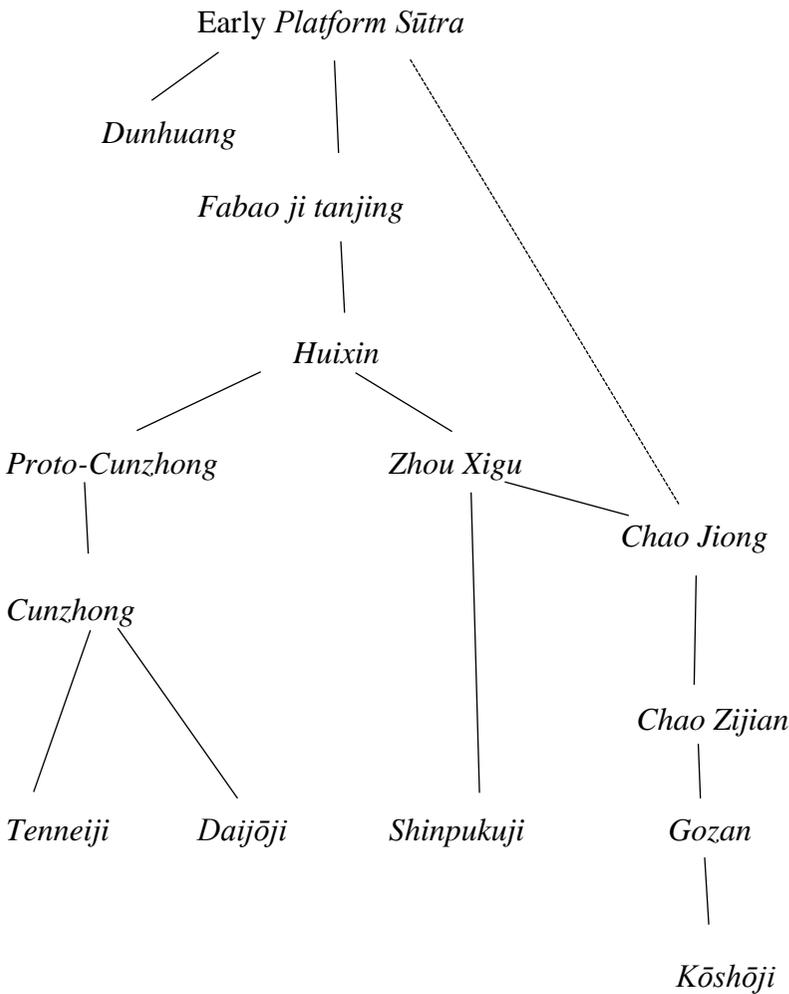
The entries of a *Platform Sūtra* in the *Junzhai dushu zhi* from 1151 and the *Wenxian tongkao*, both described earlier, have previously been thought to refer to Qisong’s edition because they mention that the edition they are describing is in three fascicles.<sup>103</sup> However, with the discovery of the *Shinpukuji* with the postscript by Zhou Xigu, this no longer seems likely.<sup>104</sup> In addition, it seems from Lang’s preface that the title of Qisong’s edition was either *Liuzu fabao ji* or *Liuzu dashi fabao ji*, which is different from the title given in the *Junzhai dushu zhi* and *Wenxian tongkao*. Thus the only mention of Qisong’s edition is in Land’s preface. Qisong’s edition has been the subject of much discussion as it is considered to be the ancestor of the one-fascicle and ten-chapter editions that we will now turn to. I shall return

<sup>102</sup> See above in the section on the shorter versions.

<sup>103</sup> See Hu Shi, “Tanjing kao di er”, pp. 305–6, and Yampolsky, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

<sup>104</sup> See above under the discussion of the shorter editions.

**Figure 7**



to this question later.<sup>105</sup>

A large number of one fascicle and ten chapter editions of the *Platform Sūtra* are still extant. They are considerably longer than the Dunhuang editions and the extant two-fascicle editions, and contain many stories about Huineng and his meetings with various people that are not found in the other editions. These longer editions came to enjoy great popularity, and eventually they completely forced the other versions out of existence in both China and Korea.<sup>106</sup>

The relationship between the various longer editions is exceedingly complex and there are many signs of contamination, and it is not possible here

<sup>105</sup> For a summary of this discussion, see Yampolsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 105–6. See also Ishii Shūdo, “Kaisu-bon ‘Rokuso dankyō’ no ichi okusetsu”, *Shugaku Kenkyū* 23, 1981.

<sup>106</sup> But, as we have seen, a few copies survived in Japan.

to present an exhaustive comparative study along the lines of textual criticism.<sup>107</sup> I have here chosen two editions, which appear to be representative of the so-called Zongbao and Deyi versions.

The first is the edition of the *Platform Sūtra* found in the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*.<sup>108</sup> This edition is based on a Ming edition kept in the Zōjōji Hoonzo. Unfortunately, no information on this Ming edition has been available to me.<sup>109</sup>

The *Taishō* edition of the *Platform Sūtra* begins with a table of contents. Then there follows a preface by the monk Deyi (1231–?),<sup>110</sup> which is entitled *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing xu*. In his preface, Deyi complains that later generations have abbreviated the *Platform Sūtra* and thus have made it impossible to know the complete teachings of the Sixth Patriarch. But, Deyi says, when he was young he saw an old edition and, after seeking it everywhere for more than thirty years, he obtained a complete version through a certain Tong *Shangren*.<sup>111</sup> He then had it published at the Xiuxiu Chan Refuge in Wuzhong, which was near present-day Suzhou in Jiangsu province.<sup>112</sup> The preface is dated Spring, 1290. After this a eulogy to the *Platform Sūtra* by Qisong is included.

Next comes the main body of the text. At the front of the text the title is given as *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing*, and the monk Zongbao (n.d.)<sup>113</sup> is mentioned as the compiler. The text is divided into ten chapters.

Toward the end of the main text there is attached a hagiographical account of Huineng's life, entitled *Liuzu dashi yuanji waiji* [Unofficial Life-Story of the Master, the Sixth Patriarch] and attributed to “the disciple Fahai and others”.<sup>114</sup> Then there follows a note which quotes different sources to prove that sixteen years passed from the point when Hongren conferred the robe on Huineng until Huineng was recognized by Yinzong. After this there is a list of the posthumous honorific titles that were bestowed on the Sixth Patriarch. Next, the texts of the epitaphs by Liu Zongyuan and Liu Yuxi are included. After this there follows a note, said to be by Stupa keeper Lingtao, which relates how someone tried to steal the head of Huineng's corpse.<sup>115</sup> Lastly,

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<sup>107</sup> For a description of a number of editions, see Ui, *op. cit.*, pp. 2–28.

<sup>108</sup> T. 48, pp. 345–65.

<sup>109</sup> This edition does not seem to be from the Ming Canon. The entry on Zōjōji in Mochizuki Shinkō, *Bukkyō daijiten* (10 vols., Tokyo: Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai, 1933–6), p. 3071, mentions several canon editions that are found in that temple, but no Ming Canon is mentioned.

<sup>110</sup> For biographical information, see Ui, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13, and *Zengaku daijiten*, p. 947b.

<sup>111</sup> Nothing further is known about this person.

<sup>112</sup> According to Ui, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>113</sup> Very little is known about him. See below.

<sup>114</sup> Fahai's preface is also found in a somewhat different version in the *QTW*, ch. 915 (XIX, 1232–3) with the title *Lizu dashi fabao tanjing luexu*. It has been translated in full by Yampolsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–3.

<sup>115</sup> This Lingtao may be identical to the Xingtao mentioned in the *Caoqi dashi zhuan*. The note is taken from the end of Huineng's biography in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (T. 51, 236c–237a). See Ui, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

a postscript by Zongbao, the monk given as the compiler, is included. In his postscript, Zongbao states that he had in his possession three different editions of the *Platform Sūtra*, each of which had its own faults and merits. He then corrected mistakes and filled out lacunae, and furthermore added material about the disciples' encounters with the Master. The postscript is dated Summer, 1291, and signed "Shi Zongbao of Nanhai". Nanhai was a name for present-day Canton, in Guangdong province.

Because of this postscript and because Zongbao is mentioned as the compiler, this and other similar editions<sup>116</sup> are considered to be his product and are often referred to as the "Zongbao edition". However, with our present knowledge we cannot know how faithful the *Taishō* edition is to Zongbao's original edition, even though also here the *Taishō* will be considered representative of the Zongbao version.

The history of the Zongbao edition and of Zongbao himself is somewhat obscure. In the entry that gives Zongbao as the compiler he is called "Zhuchi (head monk or abbot) of the Guangxiao Chan temple".<sup>117</sup> However, according to Ui Hakuju, Zongbao is not listed as "Zhuchi" in the annals of his temple even though an inscription where he calls himself "Zhushan", its equivalent, also exists. Furthermore, the name of Zongbao's temple is given in the *Taishō* as "Baoen Guangxiao Chansi", using the character for 光 "guang", which is a name that was first used in Ming times. During the Yuan, the character 廣 was used for "guang".<sup>118</sup>

The earliest known edition of the *Platform Sūtra* which gives Zongbao as the compiler is the one in the Southern Ming Canon, which was completed in 1403. However, this canon has not been preserved in full, and the edition of the *Platform Sūtra* that is found in it appears to be incomplete, as it only includes about the first half of the text as we know it from other long editions.<sup>119</sup> The edition gives Zongbao's name as the compiler, but it appears to have been heavily edited by the monk Jingjie (n.d.),<sup>120</sup> who is mentioned as "revisor" at the front of the text, and the text is often different from all the other known longer editions.<sup>121</sup> Zongbao's version of the *Platform Sūtra* also appears to have been the one included in the Northern Ming Canon, which was completed in 1440.<sup>122</sup>

The second edition of the longer *Platform Sūtra* used in this study is the Yanyou edition. It is a Korean edition, which according to its postscript was

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<sup>116</sup> For other editions that are identified with Zongbao's edition, see Ui, *op. cit.*, pp. 2–12.

<sup>117</sup> For the translation of the term *zhuchi*, see Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism*, Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967, pp. 484–6.

<sup>118</sup> Ui, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>119</sup> Reproduced in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō*, pp. 165–88.

<sup>120</sup> See his biography in *Zengaku daijiten*, p. 531c.

<sup>121</sup> It is often similar to the Deyi edition. See the discussion in *Enō kenkyū*, pp. 412–14

<sup>122</sup> The title of this work was *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing*. Most secondary sources which discuss Zongbao's edition seem to consider the *Taishō* edition to be a direct copy of the Northern Ming Canon edition. See, e.g., *Enō kenkyū*, pp. 411ff.

published in Yanyou 3 (1316). It was reproduced and described in 1935 by Ōya Tokujō.<sup>123</sup> The Yanyou edition begins with the preface by Deyi. Then the title of the *Platform Sūtra* is given as *Luizu dashi fabao tanjing* and “the disciple Fahai” is listed as the compiler. After this follows a “Brief Preface” understood to be composed by Fahai. This preface contains essentially the same text as the “Unofficial Life-Story’s in the *Taishō* edition. The note that tries to prove that sixteen years passed before Huineng was finally recognized is attached to the end of the preface.

Then comes the main body of the text, divided into ten chapters. The chapter titles are quite different from those of the *Taishō* edition, and the chapter divisions are somewhat different as well. Attached to the end of the sutra text is the note by Stupa Keeper Lingtao. Next, a piece in which it is mentioned how various posthumous titles were bestowed on Huineng is included. It is followed by the sentence, “From 713, when the Chan Master the Sixth Patriarch entered Nirvāṇa, to 1290 it has already been 578 years.”

Then there is a postscript by a Sōnam Ong, at the end of which it is mentioned that Chugok donated money to publish this edition. This postscript is not dated. Finally a postscript by Sōgwang Ch’ōmgyōng is included, in which Pōguk Chugok is again mentioned as the person behind the publishing. This piece is dated Yanyou *bingchen* (1316). The three Koreans mentioned have not been identified and nothing further is known about them.<sup>124</sup>

The Yanyou edition is considered to be based on Deyi’s edition because it has Deyi’s preface, but not Zongbao’s postscript; neither does it mention Zongbao’s name at the front of the text. In addition, there is the note after the main text which mentions the date 1290. At the same time it can be seen from the chapter titles that the text of this edition at least in some respects is different from that of the Zongbao edition.<sup>125</sup>

Apparently the Deyi edition made its way to Korea even before 1316. A postscript to the *Platform Sūtra* by the Korean monk Manhang,<sup>126</sup> dated Dade 4 (1300), has been preserved in a Korean edition from 1558. In this postscript, Manhang states that he received a copy of Deyi’s edition in 1298, whereupon he had it published.<sup>127</sup> This would mean that the Deyi edition appeared in Korea only ten years after it was first published in China.

It is at this point not possible to tell whether the Yanyou edition was based directly on Manhang’s 1300 edition, just as we cannot know how faithful Manhang’s edition was to Deyi’s original. But being so close in time it is

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<sup>123</sup> See Ōya Tokujō, “Gen En’yu Kōrai kokubon Rokuso daishi hōbō dankyō ni tsuite”, *Zengaku kenkyū*, No. 23 (July 1935), pp. 1–29. The text of the Yanyou edition follows immediately after Ōya’s article.

<sup>124</sup> For some discussion, see Ōya, *op. cit.*, pp. 2–3.

<sup>125</sup> For a discussion of the identification of the Deyi edition, see Li Jiayan, “Liuzu tanjing Deyi kanben zhi faxian”, *Qinghua xuebao* X, No. 2, (April 1935), pp. 483–90.

<sup>126</sup> No biography.

<sup>127</sup> Quoted in Kuroda, *op. cit.*, pp. 95–4.

quite possible that the Yanyou edition conveys a text very much like that of Deyi's original edition. However, it should also be pointed out here that we at this point cannot know exactly how faithful the Yanyou edition is to Deyi's original edition. Again, in this study, the *Yanyou* is nevertheless considered representative of the Deyi version.

### Textual Data

When the two longer editions used in this study, the *Yanyou* and the *Taishō*, are compared, it can be readily observed that they both convey what is basically the same text. The two editions are clearly very closely related, and it may be assumed that they either are based on the same text or that one is derived from the other. The relationship between these two editions and their differences are discussed later in this section. At this point, however, the relationship between the shorter versions just discussed and the longer versions should be dealt with. For that purpose we may, because of its convenience for reference, consider the *Taishō* edition representative of the longer versions of the *Platform Sūtra*.

When the text of the *Taishō* edition is compared with each of the shorter versions, it soon becomes clear that it is closely related to the Kōshōji version, while no direct influence from the Dunhuang, Daijōji or Shinpukuji versions is detectable. About 90 per cent of the text of the Kōshōji edition is found almost word for word in the *Taishō* edition. It has been completely rearranged, however, and the *Taishō* edition contains much additional material, which will be discussed later.

The fact that an edition of the Kōshōji version was the primary source for the compiler of the longer version of the *Platform Sūtra*, who took over most of its text almost unedited, seems to have been overlooked until now, and I will therefore deal with the relationship of the two texts in some detail.

The first five lines of Chapter One of the *Taishō* [347a, ll. 25–9]<sup>128</sup> correspond to Chapter One of the *Kōshōji* [50a-b],<sup>129</sup> but the *Taishō* is worded somewhat differently. Then the *Taishō*, from five lines into Chapter One to five lines into Chapter Two [347c–350a], contains virtually all of Chapter Two of the *Kōshōji* (except for the first two lines) [50c–53b]. The *Taishō* corresponds here for the most part word for word with the *Kōshōji*. However, there are some differences and, in addition, there are several passages not found in the *Kōshōji*. The most important deviations from the *Kōshōji* are:

*Taishō* 349a, l. 7: the last line of Huineng's poem has “re” instead of “you”.

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<sup>128</sup> References are to the *Platform Sūtra*, T. 48, pp. 245–65.

<sup>129</sup> These references are to the page and columns of the copy of the Kōshōji edition of the *Platform Sūtra*, which is reproduced in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō*, pp. 49–65.

*Taishō 349a, l. 11*: the following items are not found in the *Kōshōji*: Hongren’s wiping out Huineng’s poem with his shoe, his visit to Huineng in the kitchen, that Huineng is working with a stone tied to his waist, and their conversation.

*Taishō 349a, l. 25*: Hongren’s transmission *gāthā* and the sentences that precede and follow it are not found in the *Kōshōji*.

*Taishō 349b, l. 3*: Hongren’s telling Huineng to stop at Huai and hide at Hui is not in the *Kōshōji*.

*Taishō 349b, l. 15*: the note that describes how Hongren tells the assembly that the robe has been given to Huineng is not in the *Kōshōji*.

*Taishō 349b, l. 18*: the episode with the fierce Huiming, found in *Kōshōji* 52f, is worded differently and contains several more elements in the *Taishō*.

*Taishō 349c, l. 6*: Huineng is with the hunters for fifteen years, not five as in the *Kōshōji* 52f, and the episode contains some more elements. *Taishō 349c, l. 12*: the long piece describing Huineng’s recognition by Yinzong has no equivalent in the *Kōshōji*.

Then, from Chapter Two, 1. 5 [350a], to the end of Chapter Three [352c] the *Taishō* corresponds for the most part word for word to the *Kōshōji* Chapters Seven and Eight [56e–60e].<sup>130</sup> Two major exceptions are:

*Taishō 351b*: the poem here is not the poem found in the *Kōshōji* in the corresponding place [58e]. It is taken from the end of Chapter Eight in the *Kōshōji* [60b].

*Taishō 352b–c*: this poem is not in the *Kōshōji*. At this place in the *Kōshōji* [60b] the poem that was moved to *Taishō 351b*, above, is found.

Following this, Chapters Four through Six [352c–355a] in the *Taishō* correspond with the closeness seen earlier to Chapters Three through Six [53b–56c] in the *Kōshōji*. The major exceptions here are:

*Taishō 352c, l. 21*: the simile of the lamp and its rays is not found at this place in the *Kōshōji*, but comes from the *Kōshōji* 53e, which otherwise corresponds to 353a in the *Taishō*.

*Taishō 354c, 355a*: this poem comes from the end of Chapter Seven in the *Kōshōji* [58e–f].

There is no poem at this place in the *Kōshōji* [56c]. *Taishō 355a, ll. 7–10*: the passages following the poem are based on the passage in the *Kōshōji* at the end of Chapter Eight [60e].

Thus, up to Chapter Seven by far most of the material in the *Taishō* edition of the *Platform Sūtra* has obviously been taken in almost unmodified form from an edition of the *Kōshōji* version, though it has been considerably

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<sup>130</sup> For the missing columns a, b, and c on p. 57 of the *Kōshōji* in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō*, I have used the *Kan’ei* as reproduced in the *Ishii* edition.

rearranged. However, in Chapter Seven in the *Taishō*, “Potentiality and Conditions” [355a–358b], which describes Huineng’s encounters with various disciples, only two out of fourteen episodes have a parallel in the *Kōshōji*. The first is the story of Fada’s encounter with Huineng [*Taishō* 355b], but only parts of it are also found in the *Kōshōji* [61e]. The second is the story involving Zhichang [*Taishō* 356b], which is also mentioned in Chapter Ten of the *Kōshōji* [62c], but only the last paragraph of this episode in the *Taishō* corresponds to what is found in the *Kōshōji*.

Chapter Eight in the *Taishō* [358b–359c] “Sudden and Gradual,” begins with the episode involving Zhicheng [358b–c]. It corresponds in wording to a large degree to the same episode in the *Kōshōji* in the beginning of Chapter Ten [60f–61e], but contains more material. The episode with Shenhui in the same chapter of the *Taishō* [359b] corresponds quite closely in wording to the *Kōshōji*, Chapter Ten [62d–e], except for the first four lines and the last six lines. The last paragraph of Chapter Eight [359c] parallels the diminutive Chapter Nine in the *Kōshōji* [60e–f], but only the last part coincides in wording. The episode with Zhizhe [359a] has no parallel in the *Kōshōji*.

Chapter Nine, “The Imperial Invitation”, does not contain any material found in the *Kōshōji*.

Chapter Ten in the *Taishō* [360a–362b] corresponds for the most part word for word to the *Kōshōji*, Chapter Eleven [62f–65e]. Thus *Taishō* 360a–361a, l. 14, corresponds to *Kōshōji* 62f–64a, except for *Taishō* 360c, l. 11, where warnings about the transmission of the *Platform Sūtra*, found in *Kōshōji* 63e, have been left out. After the poem on 361a, the *Taishō* begins to follow the *Kōshōji* only loosely, and it contains additional material. The list of patriarchs is, as mentioned earlier, not the same in the two texts [*Taishō* 361c and *Kōshōji* 64e]. Then from 361c, l. 23, to 362b, l. 1, the *Taishō* again corresponds closely to the *Kōshōji* 64e–65c. The last seventeen lines of the *Taishō*, which form the end of the sutra, are more elaborate than the corresponding passage in the *Kōshōji* [65c–d] and contain several elements not found there.

It can be concluded that about 90 per cent of the text of the *Kōshōji* is contained almost verbatim in the *Taishō* edition of the *Platform Sūtra* (which in this respect is representative of all the longer editions), even though the material has been considerably rearranged. About 65 per cent of the text of the *Taishō* is practically identical with what is found in the *Kōshōji*, and it is clear that the compiler of the longer editions of the *Platform Sūtra* must have used an edition of the *Kōshōji* version as his most important source.

The other sources which the compiler of the longer *Platform Sūtra* version must have used will now be discussed. There is, of course, a large number of texts, compiled before 1290, which conceivably may have served as sources for the longer edition of the *Platform Sūtra*, and it has not been possible here to identify and compare them all. However, *Enō kenkyū* includes a section

where passages pertaining to Huineng, from more than a hundred works, are quoted.<sup>131</sup> This extremely valuable compilation has been my main source in the search for parallels to the *Platform Sūtra*, and I have limited myself to the works quoted herein. The attempt has been to find passages that are identical, or nearly identical, to passages in the longer *Platform Sūtra*, and identify the earliest works in which such passages occur.<sup>132</sup>

I have found passages that parallel the longer *Platform Sūtra* in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*,<sup>133</sup> the *Zongmen liandeng huiyao*,<sup>134</sup> and the *Chodang chip*.<sup>135</sup> In addition, one passage in the *Platform Sūtra* appears to be a paraphrase of a passage in the *Caoqi dashi [bie] zhuan*.<sup>136</sup> The *Chuandeng lu* appears to have been the most important source for the compiler of the longer *Platform Sūtra*, second only to the *Kōshōji*, and much of the extra material in the longer *Platform Sūtra* is found in almost exactly the same words here. This was already noted by Ui Hajuku in Volume 2 of his *Zenshūshi kenkyū*,<sup>137</sup> but has unfortunately not been paid much attention to since. The *Liandeng huiyao* was clearly less influential, but appears to be quoted in several places. The *Caoqi dashi zhuan* and the *Chodang chip* may also have been used, but there is not enough evidence to be certain of this.

As shown above, Chapters One to Six of the longer *Platform Sūtra* largely consist of material taken from the *Kōshōji*. As for the passages not found in the *Kōshōji* I have made the following observations:

*Taishō 349a, l. 7*: the last line of Huineng's poem has “re” as the third character. The only other place I have found the verse like this is in the *Liandeng huiyao* [231b, l. 11].<sup>138</sup>

*Taishō 349a, l. 13*: Hongren's conversation with Huineng in the kitchen is found in somewhat similar form in the *Chodang chip* [43a, l. 5], even though there is no word for word correspondence. Hongren's wiping out Huineng's poem with his shoe, and that he sees Huineng working with a stone tied to his waist, are items that I have not found elsewhere.

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<sup>131</sup> *Enō kenkyū*, pp. 491–628.

<sup>132</sup> Chan works and especially Chan histories often tend to copy whole passages or biographies word for word from each other, as well as from other sources, without giving any indication of it. It is therefore important to find the earliest work in which a given passage occurs.

<sup>133</sup> T. 51, pp. 196–467. This work was written by the monk Daoyuan in 1004.

<sup>134</sup> ZZ. 2b, 9, 3–5. Written by Huiweng Wuming in 1183.

<sup>135</sup> Also known under its Chinese title *Zutang ji* (Jap., *Sodōshū*). This work was compiled in Quanzhou in China in 952 by two monks, probably Koreans. It was included in the Korean Canon of 1245. The work does not seem to have been known in China. *Sodōshū* (Kyoto: Chūbun Shuppansha, 1984).

<sup>136</sup> A reproduction of a manuscript copy of this work, taken back to Japan by Saicho in 804, is included in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō*, pp. 405–24. The work was written around 782 by an unknown author, belonging to the school of Xingtao, who was supposedly a disciple of Huineng. It is also in ZZ. 2b, 19, 5, pp. 483–8.

<sup>137</sup> Ui, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–44.

<sup>138</sup> References are to ZZ. 2b, 9, 3–5. Huineng's famous poem is worded somewhat differently in the various histories. See *Enō kenkyū*, p. 129, for a list of the different versions.

*Taishō 349a, l. 25* Hongren's transmission *gāthā* is found in this form in both the *Chodang chip* [43a, l. 11] and the *Chuandeng lu* [223a, l. 17]

*Taishō 349b, l. 3*: Hongren's telling Huineng to stop at Huai and hide at Hui is found in the *Chuandeng lu* [223a, l. 25] in almost the same words.

*Taishō 349b, l. 15*: the text of the note that describes how Hongren tells the assembly that the robe has been given to Huineng is not found in those words anywhere else, but in both the *Chodang chip* [43b, l. 12] and the *Chuandeng lu* [223a, l. 27] similar passages are found.

*Taishō 349b, l. 18*: the episode with Huiming is found in large part in the same words in the *Chuandeng lu* [232a, l. 7],

*Taishō 349c, l. 6*: the extra elements in the description of Huineng's life with the hunters do not seem to be found anywhere else.

*Taishō 349c, l. 12*: the description of Huineng's recognition by Yinzong parallels what is found in the *Caoqi dashi zhuan* [410, l. 11],<sup>139</sup> and is partly put in the same words. It does not seem to be found anywhere else.

*Taishō 352b–c*: this poem I have not been able to find anywhere else.

The material contained in the longer *Platform Sūtra*, Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine, is for a large part found in almost exactly the same words in the *Chuandeng lu*. In some cases biographies and other passages from this work seem to have been included almost unedited in the *Platform Sūtra*; in others, passages from the *Chuandeng lu* seem to have been used together with material from the *Kōshōji*, the *Chodang chip* and the *Liandeng huiyao*. There are also several passages that I have not been able to find anywhere else. Below, all the passages in Chapters Seven to Nine that are not taken in full from the *Kōshōji* are discussed:

*Taishō 355a, l. 14*: the episode with Liu Zhiliie and his sister at the beginning of Chapter Seven is found in similar form in the *Chuandeng lu* [235, l. 161], but it is found only partly in the same words.

*Taishō 355a, l. 22*: it is here related that Huineng later had to flee from pursuers again; that the forest he hid in was burned down; and that the rock he climbed to escape the fire still bears the marks of his knees and robe. This passage I have not been able to find anywhere else.

*Taishō 355a, l. 27*: the episode with Fahai is identical with his biography as found in the *Chuandeng lu* [237a].

*Taishō 355b*: the long piece involving Fada appears to be put together from the accounts found in the *Kōshōji* and in the *Chuandeng lu*. The first part of this episode [ll. 8–22] is almost identical to the beginning of Fada's biography in the *Chuandeng lu* [237c, l. 21–238a, l. 6]. The next ten lines [355b, l. 23–355c, l. 3] are a mixture of sentences from the *Kōshōji* [61e, l. 5–61f, l. 6] and the *Chuandeng lu* [238a, ll. 7–12].

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<sup>139</sup> Reference to the version reproduced in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō*.

The next five lines [355c, ll. 3–8] are found in almost the same form in the *Kōshōji* [62a, ll. 1–5]. The following seven lines [355c, ll. 8–16] are found in the *Chuandeng lu* [238a, ll. 13–19], Then the next passage [355c, ll. 15–21] is from the *Kōshōji* [62a, l. 5–62b, l. 2]. The rest of the episode [355c, l. 21–356a, l. 25] appears to have been based on the *Chuandeng lu* [238a, l. 19–238b, l. 20] and coincides to a large degree in wording.

*Taishō 356a–b*: the episode with Zhitong is practically identical with his biography in the *Chuandeng lu* [238b], including an added note on the eight types of consciousness.

*Taishō 356b–c*: the story involving Zhichang is for the first part [356b, l. 29–356c, l. 17] very close to Zhichang’s biography in the *Chuandeng lu* [239a–b]. However, for the first seven lines, the *Platform Sūtra* is often phrased differently and contains sentences not found in the *Chuandeng lu*. Some of this material seems to come from the *Liandeng huiyao*, for example the phrases “fuwang heshang zibeizhishi” and “ru shi jukan” [238a, ll. 7, 8]. The last part of the episode [356c, ll. 19–25] is almost identical to the *Kōshōji* [62c, l. 3–62d, l. 1].

*Taishō 356c–357b*: the encounter with Zhidao is for the most part identical to his biography in the *Chuandeng lu* [239b]. However, the first four lines are phrased somewhat differently from what is found in the *Chuandeng lu*, and the text here appears to be closer to the *Liandeng huiyao* [239c, l. 17].

*Taishō 357b*: the description of Huineng’s short encounter with Xingsi is for the most part also found in the *Chuandeng lu* [240a], where the episode is, however, much longer.

*Taishō 357b*: Huineng’s encounter with Huairang is also very short, and appears to be based on the *Chuandeng lu* [240c], which again, however, is much longer.

*Taishō 357b–c*: the story of Yongjia Xuanjue appears for the first eight lines [357b, l. 30–357c, l. 7] to be based on the *Liandeng huiyao* [236d, ll. 3–81], except for the remark on “Tiantai zhiguan” which comes from the *Chuandeng lu* [241a, l. 29]. The last part of the story [357c, ll. 8–18] is based mainly on the *Chuandeng lu* [241b, ll. 2–11], but with some influence from the *Liandeng huiyao* [236d, l. 11–237a, l. 1] (the two accounts are very similar).

*Taishō 357c–358a*: the story of Zhihuang follows the account given in the *Liandeng huiyao* [237c, l. 12–237d, l. 8] (under the biography of Xuanze) very closely. The *Chuandeng lu* [243c, ll. 15–27; 237c, ll. 17–20] has a similar account, but it does not correspond as closely in wording. At the end of this episode in the *Taishō* some lines [358a, ll. 4–7] appear that are not found anywhere else.

*Taishō 358a, l. 10*: the short exchange of words between a monk and Huineng is found in the *Liandeng huiyao* [232b, l. 2], where, however, it

is longer.<sup>140</sup> It is also found in the *Chuandeng lu* in exactly the same words under the biography of Shitou [fascicle 14].<sup>141</sup>

*Taishō 358a, l. 13*: the episode of Huineng washing his robe and the appearance of a monk from India who makes a statue of him is for the latter part somewhat similar to the *Chuandeng lu* [236b, l. 22]. The first part seems only to be found here.<sup>142</sup>

*Taishō 358a, l. 27–358b, l. 3*: Huineng's response to a poem by Wolun is identical to the *Chuandeng lu* [245b, ll. 6–12].

*Taishō 358b*: the story in Chapter Eight of Zhicheng's being sent to Caoqi by Shenxiu is a conglomerate of material, much of it quoted directly, found in the *Kōshōji* [60f–61e] and in the *Chuandeng lu* [232b]. The composition is too involved to set out fully here.

*Taishō 359a*: the whole episode of Zhizhe, who came to kill Huineng, is found in almost exactly the same wording in the *Chuandeng lu* [238c].

*Taishō 359b*: the episode with Shenhui corresponds for the first four lines [359b, ll. 12–15] with the *Chuandeng lu* [245a, ll. 15–19]. However, this passage also appears somewhat influenced by the *Liandeng huiyao* [237d, ll. 10–11]. Then, from 359b, ll. 16–30, the *Taishō* follows the whole episode with Shenhui in the *Kōshōji* [62d] quite closely. The next couple of lines [359c, ll. 1–3] follow the *Chuandeng lu* [245a, ll. 22–5]. The last three lines have no direct parallel, but appear to be based on the remainder of the biography in the *Chuandeng lu*.

*Taishō 359c*: the text of Chapter Nine, “The Imperial Invitation,” up to 360a, l. 16, is for the most part found in exactly the same words in the *Chuandeng lu* [235, 25–236a, l. 23]. However, in the middle of the piece, several lines which are not in the *Chuandeng lu* appear [359c, l. 25–360a, l. 5]. These lines are found in either the *Chodang chip* (1.94, ll. 2–10] or the *Liandeng huiyao* [232a, ll. 3–9], and influence from both works appears to be present. The last part of the episode appears to come from the *Chodang chip* [1.95, ll. 11–1.96, l. 6] even though the wording often differs somewhat.

Chapter Ten, the last chapter of the longer version of the *Platform Sūtra*, is, as shown above, mainly based on the *Kōshōji*. However, a large part also comes from the *Chuandeng lu*. As mentioned earlier, the passage after the poem in Chapter Ten [361a, ll. 15–26], does not follow the *Kōshōji* very closely. I have not found a matching text anywhere else. But the next passage [361a, l. 27–361b, l. 13] is almost identical to the *Chuandeng lu* [26a, l. 28–236b, l. 18]. The passage that follows [361b, ll. 14–24] is again very close to the *Chuandeng lu* [236b, l. 24–236c, l. 5]. The next passage, which

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<sup>140</sup> It is found in the longer form in the so-called *Caoqi yuanben* edition of the *Platform Sūtra*. See Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō*, pp. 277–314.

<sup>141</sup> See also Ui, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–9.

<sup>142</sup> See Ui, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–40.

deals with Huineng's enumeration of the Indian and Chinese patriarchs, is not found anywhere else in this form. But the list of patriarchs is the one that seems to have come into being with the *Baolin chuan*, and which later became the orthodox one.<sup>143</sup> The last part of the text [361b, l. 1] appears to be based on the *Kōshōji*, but is much more elaborate and does not appear anywhere else in this form.

There cannot be much doubt that we are dealing with borrowings from the *Chuandeng lu* by the longer *Platform Sūtra*, and not the other way around. This is attested to by the fact that whenever the longer *Platform Sūtra* uses material from the *Kōshōji* in the biographies, it deviates from the *Chuandeng lu* even if other parts of the biography are identical to what is found in the *Chuandeng lu*. Likewise, in Chapter Ten of the *Taishō* edition of the *Platform Sūtra* passages that are also found in the *Chuandeng lu* never show any influence from the *Kōshōji*. In other words, the *Chuandeng lu* never has any passages in common with the *Kōshōji*. If Daoyuan, the compiler of the *Chuandeng lu*, had used the *Platform Sūtra* as his source, he could not have consciously avoided passages that are originally found in the *Kōshōji*. It is much more likely that the compiler of the *Platform Sūtra* used the *Chuandeng lu* together with the *Kōshōji* to form his own text. In addition, after the biography of Fahai, which is completely identical to the one found in the *Platform Sūtra*, the *Chuandeng lu* has a note saying, "This Chan master is the person who is called the 'disciple Fahai' in the *Platform Sūtra*." If the note was not added by later editors, it can be taken as a further indication that Daoyuan, the author of the *Chuandeng lu*, did not have his information about Fahai from the *Platform Sūtra* which was known to him.

The nature of the relationship between the *Platform Sūtra* and the *Liandeng huiyao* is unfortunately not as clear. The *Liandeng huiyao* mainly bases its stories of Huineng's disciples on the *Chuandeng lu*<sup>144</sup> and if this text was influenced by the *Platform Sūtra* it obviously still held the *Chuandeng lu* to be the more authoritative. As with the *Chuandeng lu*, the *Liandeng huiyao* never has anything in common with the *Kōshōji*. However, because it shares much less material with *Taishō* than the *Chuandeng lu* does, this is not as conclusive. But even if it cannot be ruled out that the *Liandeng huiyao* borrowed from the *Platform Sūtra*, it seems more likely to me that it was the *Platform Sūtra* which borrowed from the *Liandeng huiyao*. If the *Liandeng huiyao* had used the *Platform Sūtra*, it seems strangely sporadic in the sentences and passages it would have copied, and it would have been natural if it had borrowed more extensively, since the *Platform Sūtra* must have been a text of great authority. Thus, at the beginning of Zhichang's biography and in the description of Huineng's conversation with the imperial envoy,

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<sup>143</sup> For a discussion of this work and the line of patriarchs it promotes, see Yampolsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–52.

<sup>144</sup> In the preface to the *Liandeng huiyao*, the *Chuandeng lu* and the *Guangdeng lu* are mentioned as sources. See ZZ. 2b, 9, 3, p. 218b.

the *Liandeng huiyao* is mainly based on the *Chuangdeng lu*, and only has a few sentences which it would have borrowed from the *Platform Sūtra*. Other sentences in the same passages in the *Platform Sūtra*, which are not in the *Chuangdeng lu*, are not included in the *Liandeng huiyao*. And even if it is not conclusive, it still seems strange that the *Liandeng huiyao* would not have included any of the material in the *Platform Sūtra* which comes from the *Kōshōji*, but which is not found in the *Chuangdeng lu*. Thus the *Liandeng huiyao* includes the extra passage in Yongjia's biography which is found in the *Taishō*, and not in the *Kōshōji*, but it does not include any of the additional passages of the biographies of Fada, Zhichang, Zhicheng, and Shenhui that are found in the *Taishō*, but not in the *Chuangdeng lu*, and which are all originally from the *Kōshōji*.

This pattern of borrowing bits and pieces from various sources is on the other hand typical of the composition of the longer *Platform Sūtra*. As has been shown above, the compiler clearly felt free to use any source to put together what he must have seen as the best and fullest accounts. Because the *Chuangdeng lu* in general must have been the most elaborate and well-written work he had access to, he naturally used it extensively, but when passages from other works seemed more complete or better written, he probably used them. It seems quite likely that the compiler of the *Platform Sūtra* would in such cases borrow from the *Liandeng huiyao*.

Another question that must be addressed is whether what appear to be quotations from the *Chuangdeng lu* and the *Liandeng huiyao* are not really quotations from some other works which are now lost, but which were used by both the compiler of the *Platform Sūtra* and the authors of the *Chuangdeng lu* and *Liandeng huiyao*. Such a work could for example have been the *Baolin chuan*, which may have contained biographies of some of Huineng's disciples in the lost fascicle 10.<sup>145</sup> However, judging from fragments of the *Baolin chuan* that have been preserved as quotations in various commentaries and recently published,<sup>146</sup> neither the *Chuangdeng lu* nor the *Liandeng huiyao* seems to have followed the *Baolin chuan* very closely. It therefore seems unlikely that the *Baolin chuan* was the direct source for any of the material found in the longer *Platform Sūtra*, unless some of the passages that I have not been able to identify actually came from this work. There is of course no way of knowing this.

The relationship between the *Taishō* and the *Yanyou*, here considered to be representative of the Zongbao and Deyi versions respectively, remains to be discussed. As mentioned above, the texts of the two editions are almost

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<sup>145</sup> This is suggested in Yampolsky, *op. cit.*, p. 106. Ishii seems also to think that Qisong (whose edition he considers the ancestor of the *Taishō*) was influenced by the *Baolin chuan*. See Ishii, "Kaisū-bon 'Rokuso dankyō'", p. 205.

<sup>146</sup> See Shiina Kōyū, "Bōrinden, itsubun no kenkyū", *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu Ronshū* 11 (Nov. 1980), pp. 242–9.

identical in wording and contents, and it is obvious that they are either ultimately based on the same text or that one is derived from the other.

In the *Taishō* edition, differing readings in a number of other editions are recorded in notes. Comparing the instances in which the *Yanyou* differs from the *Taishō* in these notes, it can be observed that a manuscript edition found in the Japanese Imperial library, the Kunaisho edition,<sup>147</sup> marked in the *Taishō* with the character is in most cases similar to the *Yanyou*. As the *Yanyou* edition is not easily accessible, I will in the following use the *Kunaisho* for reference.

When the relationships between the *Kōshōji* and the *Taishō* on the one hand, and the *Kōshōji* and the *Yanyou* on the other, are closely examined, it can be observed that in a number of features the *Yanyou* is closer to the *Kōshōji* than is the *Taishō*. The most obvious examples of this are the chapter titles.<sup>148</sup> It can be seen that the title of Chapter One in the *Kōshōji* is in essence the same as that of Chapter Two of the *Yanyou*. Chapter Two in the *Yanyou* also has a title close to that of Chapter Eight in the *Kōshōji*, and the same is true of Chapters Four and Five in both.

When the texts of the *Yanyou* and *Taishō* differ, the *Yanyou* is usually closer to the *Kōshōji* than the *Taishō* is. In Table 1 overleaf I list some of these instances. For the sake of convenience of reference, I have only listed those that are also found in the Kunaisho edition, included as notes to the *Taishō* edition, where it is marked with the character *gong*.<sup>149</sup>

Many more examples of how the *Yanyou* is closer to the *Kōshōji* than the *Taishō* is could be given, but the ones listed in the table should be sufficient. However, there are also some instances in which the *Taishō* is closer to the *Kōshōji* than the *Yanyou* is, even though they are not as numerous. Most of them are listed in Table 2.

So even though the *Yanyou* in most cases is closer to the *Kōshōji* than the *Taishō* is, there are some important cases in which the opposite is true. Because both the *Taishō* and the *Yanyou* can be shown to have features that are close to the *Kōshōji*, but which are not contained in the other, we can conclude that both must be independent editions of a common source. This common source must have contained everything that is found in both the *Taishō* and the *Yanyou*, together with the features each has which are close to the *Kōshōji*. As the *Yanyou* has more features that are close to the *Kōshōji* than the *Taishō* does, it can be concluded that it is closer to the original source, and must have been very much like it.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> See T. 47, p. 345, n. 6.

<sup>148</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>149</sup> References are to the *Platform Sūtra* in T. 48, the *Kōshōji* edition in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō*, and the *Yanyou* edition in Ōya, *op. cit.*

<sup>150</sup> It should be mentioned that the edition of the *Platform Sūtra* known as the *Caoqi Yuanben* does not have either Deyi's preface or Zongbao's postscript, and in some cases appears to be closer to the *Kōshōji* and the *Jingde Chuandeng lu* than both the *Taishō* and the *Yanyou* are. It is possible that this is an edition based on a pre-Deyi and pre-Zongbao edition of the *Platform Sūtra*. It has not been possible here to explore this interesting option further. The *Caoqi Yuanben* is included in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō*, pp. 277–314.

Table 1

<i>Taishō</i> (p./note)	<i>Kōshōji</i> (p./line)	<i>(Yanyou)</i> (p./line)
348a/5	50d/4	(6/13)
349a/1	52a/5	(10/1)
349b/10	52d/6	(11/7)
351a/4	58c/2	(17/10)
351c/8	59b/2	(20/10)
352b/4	60a/1	(22/6)
352c/12	53c/1	(24/2)
352c/13	53c/3	(24/3)
353a/3	53e/4	(24/10)
353a/6	53f/4	(25/6)
353c/19	54f/5	(27/14)
354c/8	56a/5	(30/7)
360b/8	63a/4	(52/13)
360c/10	63c/7	(53/12)
360c/19	63f71	(54/10)

Table 2

<i>Taishō</i> (p./note)	<i>Kōshōji</i> (p./line)	<i>(Yanyou)</i> (p./line)
348a/14	50e/7	(7/6)
348b/21	51b/2	(8/4)
351a/1, 2	58b/2	(17/5)
353b/9, 13	54a/7–e/2	(26/1–12) <sup>151</sup>
354c/9	56a/5	(30/7)
59c/9	62e/1	(49/12)

Returning to what Deyi and Zongbao have to say about their respective editions, it can be noted that Deyi simply claims to have acquired an old edition that he had published, and admits only to having “opened fascicles and raised titles”. As just noted, it does indeed seem that Deyi did very little editing.

Zongbao, on the contrary, talks about extensive editing based on three different versions: how he added to and deleted from them, and filled in

<sup>151</sup> The two paragraphs occur here in the in the order they have in the while in the *Yanyou* they are reversed.

stories of the disciples' encounters with the Master. This last item was, as has been shown, one of the main additions to the *Kōshōji* version which the longer version features. However, if Zongbao really is the editor of the text we know from the *Taishō*, then we have to dismiss his claims. Even if he introduced more alterations than Deyi did, the changes he made only involved new chapter titles, some re-arrangement of the chapter divisions, and some fairly light editing of the text.

The final question to be discussed is the edition which must have been the ancestor of the *Taishō* and *Yanyou* editions. It is usually assumed that this edition was the one by Qisong, which is known from the preface by the *Shilang* Lang, discussed in the beginning of this part of the present paper.<sup>152</sup> All we know is that this edition was in three fascicles, and probably had the title *Liuzu dashi fabao ji*. It could possibly have been in ten chapters, with chapter names and divisions similar to what we know from Deyi's edition. It is also possible that both Zongbao and Deyi hit upon the same idea of including the whole text in one fascicle, even though it is somewhat longer than what is normal for one fascicle.

However, several things suggest that Qisong's editions cannot have been the ancestors of Deyi's and Zongbao's editions. First of all they both have the same title, which must have derived from their common source, but this title probably differs from the title of Qisong's edition. Secondly, Qisong's *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* (from 1061) has several passages that are parallel to the passages in the longer *Platform Sūtra* which come from the *Chuangdeng lu*. However, in the *Chuanfa zhengzong ji*, all of these are worded differently from the *Platform Sūtra* and the *Chuangdeng lu*. It seems unlikely that Qisong in 1056, when he made his edition of the *Platform Sūtra*, would have been content with copying from the *Kōshōji* and the *Chuangdeng lu*,<sup>153</sup> when in 1061, in producing the *Chuanfa zhengzong ji*, he rewrote everything and did not use any material from the *Kōshōji*. It would be especially remarkable if he had changed Huineng's poem in his *Platform Sūtra* edition, but kept it in its earlier form in the *Chuanfa zhengzong ji*. Furthermore, if Qisong's text was the ancestor of Zongbao's and Deyi's editions, then he must have used the *Kōshōji* as his main source. But it is uncertain whether Qisong could have known the *Kōshōji* version. If the *Kōshōji* text represents an edited version of Huixin's text, as is reasonable to assume, it is likely that Chao Jiong was the editor. If so, then the *Kōshōji* version was first published in 1153, the year Chao Zijian's preface is dated. But Qisong already published his edition in 1056, and thus could not have known it. It is, of course, possible that the *Kōshōji* version is not the work of Chao Jiong, and that this version was known in other editions before 1056, one of which Qisong had access to.

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<sup>152</sup> See above, p. 76; cf. also, for example, Yampolsky, *op. cit.*, p. 106, the *stemma* in *Enō kenkyū*, p. 399, and Ishii, "Kaisū-bon 'Rokuso dankyō'".

<sup>153</sup> The *Chuangdeng lu* was published in 1008 and was known to Qisong, who mentions it in his *Zhengzong ji*. See T. 50, p. 715c2.

Finally, if we accept that the longer *Platform Sūtra* has borrowed material from the *Liandeng huiyao*, it is impossible that the predecessor of the Deyi and Zongbao editions could have originated with Qisong, since the *Liandeng huiyao* was first published in 1183.

It therefore seems very unlikely that Qisong's edition was the one that was used as the basis for Deyi's and Zongbao's editions. Rather, the two editors must have used another edition compiled by someone whose name has long been lost or who perhaps never laid claim to his work. This edition was probably done after 1183, when the *Liandeng huiyao* was first published. The edition must of course have been in existence by 1290 when Deyi made his edition, but there may be even earlier evidence of its existence. The *Chanyuan mengqiu*,<sup>154</sup> written in 1225 by the monk Cuohan Zhiming (n.d.), claims to be quoting a passage from the *Platform Sūtra*. The first part of this quotation [148b, ll. 15–17] is identical to the *Taishō* [348a, ll. 14–17]. Then comes a passage that has no direct parallel in the *Taishō*. But most of the latter half of the quotation [148c, ll. 1–5] is again identical to the *Taishō* [349a, ll. 12–17]. The last few lines of the passage in the *Chanyuan mengqiu* have no direct parallel in the *Taishō*.

It is clear that the version of the Platform Sūtra used by Cuohan Zhiming must have been an edition of the longer *Platform Sūtra*, similar, if not necessarily identical, to the one used by Dejd and Zongbao as the basis for their editions. Figure 8 (page 96) is a *stemma* which shows the development of the longer versions of the *Platform Sūtra*.

### Summary and Conclusion

In this paper, I have discussed a number of different editions of the *Platform Sūtra*. Bibliographical information on the various editions has been presented, and the texts of a number of extant editions are closely compared. With the data obtained through the comparison of the texts it has been possible to cast some new light on a number of issues concerning the genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra*.

Thus it can be shown that some contamination is present in the two-fascicle and eleven-chapter editions of the *Platform Sūtra*; i.e., one or more of these editions are based on more than one previous edition. Because of this situation, it is not possible to determine with certainty how these editions are related. However, I have shown how some previous theories do not accommodate the textual data, and suggested possible solutions. I have also determined some principles that should be followed in reconstructing an earlier stage of the *Platform Sūtra* on the basis of the two-fascicle editions. In addition it has been shown that the ancestor of the two-fascicle editions, probably compiled by Huixin, was not based on the Dunhuang version, but on

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<sup>154</sup> ZZ. 2B, 21, 2. See *Zengaku daijiten*, p. 700a, and *Enō kenkyū*, p. 624.

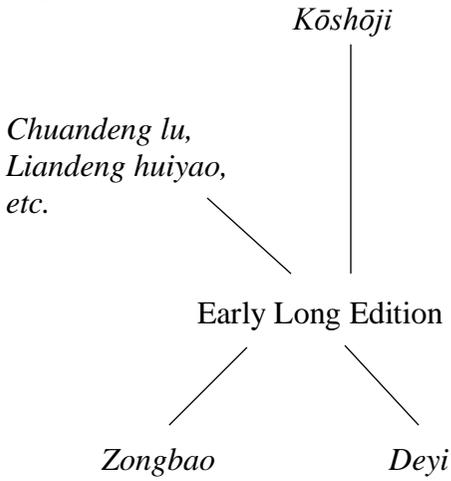
a somewhat different text, which can probably be identified with the *Fabao ji tanjing*, mentioned by Chinul and others. A *stemma*, or family tree, of the two-fascicle editions, which is in accordance with the textual data, is presented in Fig. 5 (page 76), together with two other *stemmata* (Figs. 6 (page 77) and 7 (page 78)), which may also offer possible solutions, but which to the present writer seem less satisfactory.

The longer, one-fascicle, ten-chapter editions are also discussed. The *Taisho* and *Yanyou* editions are here taken to be representative of respectively the Zongbao and Deyi editions and it is pointed out how similar they are. I have then shown that they must both derive from a common source, which in all probability was not identical to Qisong's edition, as has previously been thought. The editor of the common ancestor for Zongbao's and Deyi's versions based himself on the Kōshōji version, the text of which he copied almost unedited. He did, however, rearrange it and add much new material. I have shown how a large part of this material was taken from the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, while other parts probably came from the *Zongmen liandeng huiyao*.

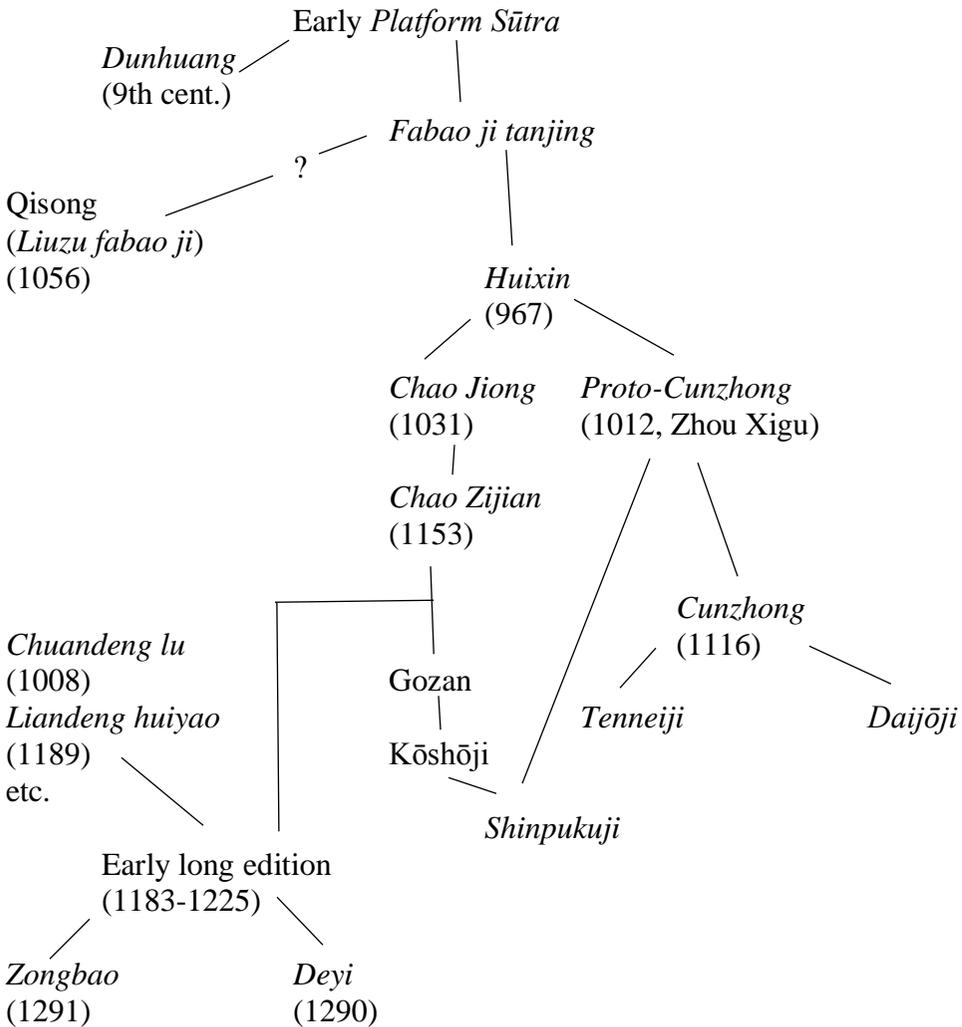
The most important findings and theories presented in this paper are shown in the *stemma* in Fig. 9, overleaf. While this *stemma* may not be conclusive in all its details, it incorporates a large amount of data obtained from close study and comparison of a number of extant editions of the *Platform Sūtra*. These data must be considered in any suggestion as to how the various editions of the *Platform Sūtra* are related. It is quite possible that more work on the texts could yield new data, just as it is to be hoped that in the future more editions of the *Platform Sūtra* will become available for analysis.

The study of the genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra* is important for the study of the history of Chan in China. With a correct genealogy established, it will be possible to observe how the text changed and expanded through time, and how its purpose, message, and method of teaching evolved.

**Figure 8**



**Figure 9**



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## List of Characters

an xibi shang	安西壁上
Baoli	寶歷
<i>Baolin chuan</i>	寶林傳
Baoshou Zichang	寶壽子昌
Baoshou Zuile	寶壽最樂
bingchen	丙辰
<i>Caoqi dashi [bie] chuan</i>	曹溪大師[別]傳
<i>Caoqi liuzu dashi tanjing</i>	曹溪六祖大師壇經
<i>Caoqi Neng dashi tanjing</i>	曹溪能大師壇經
Caoqi yun: xindi wufei zixing jie. Xindi wu luan zixing ding. Xindi wu chi zixing hui.	曹溪云心地無非自性戒心地無亂自性定心地無癡自性慧
Caoqi	曹溪
<i>Caoqi Shan di liudai zushi Huineng dashi shuo jianxing dunjiao zhiliao chengfo jue ding wuyi fa. Shi famen Fahai ji</i>	曹溪山第六代祖師惠能大師說見性頓教直了成佛決定無疑法釋沙門法海集
<i>Caoqi Shan di liuzu Huineng dashi shuo jianxing dunjiao zhiliao chengfo jue ding wuyi fabao ji tanjing</i>	曹溪山第六祖惠能大師說見性頓教直了成佛決定無疑法寶記檀經
<i>Caoqi Shan di liuzu Neng dashi tanjing</i>	曹溪山第六祖能大師壇經
<i>Chanyuan mengqiu</i>	禪苑蒙求
Chao Gongwu	晁公武
Chao Jiong	晁迥
Chao Zijian	晁子健
Chinul	知訥
<i>Chodang chip</i>	祖堂記
<i>Chuandeng lu</i>	傳燈錄
<i>Chŏnghye kyŏlsa mun</i>	定慧結社文
Cunzhong	存中
Cuoan Zhiming	錯庵志明
Dafan	大梵
Daijōji	大乘寺
Dainichibō Nōnin	大日房能忍
Daoyuan	道原
Daruma	達磨
Dazhong xiangfu	大中祥符
De	得
Deyi	德異
ding	頂

dun	頓
Dunhuang	敦煌
Dōgen	道元
Eichō	永超
Enchin	圓珍
Ennin	圓仁
<i>Fabao ji tanjing</i>	法寶記壇經
<i>Fabao ji tanjing yun: Xindi dan wu bu jing, xifang qu ci bu yuan. Xing qi bu jing zhi xing, he Fo ji lai yingqing</i>	法寶記壇經云心地但無不淨西方去此不遠心起不淨之心何佛即來
Fada	迎請
Fahai	法達
fan	法海
Futang	繁
fuwang heshang zibei zhishi	福唐
Gozan	伏望和尚慈悲指示
Guangfan	五山
Guangxi	光範
Guchū	廣西
<i>Guishan jingze</i>	愚中
Guishan Lingyou	瀉山警策
Hai	瀉山靈祐
Hakuei Egyoku	海
Hoedang Angi	白英惠寶
Hongren	晦堂安其
Huairang	弘忍
Huiming	懷讓
Huineng	惠明
Huixin	惠能
<i>Hōbōdankyō kōkan</i>	惠昕
<i>Jingde chuandeng lu</i>	法寶壇經肯款
jinshi	景德傳燈錄
juan	進士
jun	卷
Jōkyō	軍
Kaga	貞享
Kanazawa	加賀
Kan'ei	金澤
Kinzan Tenneiji	寬永
Kishizawa Bunko	金山天寧寺
Kōshōji	岸澤文庫
Lang Jian	興聖寺
Lingtao	郎簡
	令韜

Liu Yuxi	劉禹錫
Liu Zhilüe	劉志略
<i>Liuzu dashi fabaoji</i>	六祖大師法寶記
<i>Liuzu dashi yuanji waiji</i>	六祖大師緣記外記
<i>Liuzu fabaoji</i>	六祖法寶記
<i>Liuzu tanjing xu</i>	六祖壇經序
<i>Liuzu tanjing</i>	六祖壇經
Lu	盧
Lüshun	旅順
Manghang	萬恆
men	門
moujia	某甲
Mugu	無求
Murayama	村山
Muromachi	室町
Nanbokuchō	南北朝
Nanghai	南海
Nanyang Heshang	南陽和尚
Nanyang Xian	南陽縣
Nanyue Huairang	南嶽懷讓
<i>Nanzong dunjiao zuishang dasheng mohebore boluomi jing. Liuzu Huineng dashi yu Shaozhou Da fan Si shi fa tanjing</i>	南宗頓教最上大乘摩訶般若波羅蜜經六祖惠能大師於韶州大梵寺施法壇經
<i>Nanzong dunjiao zuishang dasheng tanjing fa</i>	南宗頓教最上大乘壇經法
<i>Nanzong dunjiao zuishang dasheng tanjing nian</i>	南宗頓教最上大乘壇經念
Ning	寧
Pōguk Chugok	報國秋谷
Qichun	蘄春
Qingyuan	慶元
Qisong	契嵩
Qizhou	蘄州
re	惹
Ren Ziyi	任子宜
renzi	壬子
Rinzai	臨濟
ru shi jukan	汝試舉看
Ryōnen	了然
shan	善

<i>Shaozhou Caoqi Shan liuzu shi tanjing</i>	韶州曹溪山六祖師壇經
<i>Shaozhou Caoqi Shan liuzu tanjing xu</i>	韶州曹溪山六祖師壇經序
<i>Shaozhou Caoqi Shan liuzu tanjing</i>	韶州曹溪山六祖壇經
Shaozhou	韶州
Shenhui	神會
shilang	侍郎
Shingon	真言
Shinpukuji	真福寺
Shitou	石頭
Sōtō	曹洞
Sōgwang Ch'ōmgyōng	瑞光庵膽席
Sōnam Ong	所南翁
<i>Sōnmun ch'walyo</i>	禪門撮要
tan (dana)	檀
tan (platform)	壇
Tenneiji	天寧寺
Tettsū Gikai	徹通義介
tiantai zhiguan	天台止觀
Tong Shangren	通上人
Wang Wei	王維
Wen Yuan	文元
Wolun	臥輪
xian	縣
Xiantian	先天
Xingsi	行思
Xiuxiu	休休
Xixia	西夏
Xuanze	玄策
Yanyou	延祐
Yinzong	印宗
<i>Yiwen zhi</i>	藝文志
<i>Yizhen xiaoshi Yongzhou Luoxiu Shan Huijin Chanyuan</i>	依真小師邕州羅秀山慧進禪院沙
<i>shamen Huixin shu</i>	門惠昕述
Yongjia Xuanjue	永嘉玄覺
Yongzhou	邕州
you	有
<i>Yuanjue jing dashu</i>	圓覺經大疏
Yuanzhou	袁州
zhenruo xing ziqi nian, fei yan er bi she nengnian	真如性自起念非眼耳鼻舌能念
Zhichang	智常

Zhicheng	志誠
Zhidao	志道
Zhiju	智炬
Zhitong	智通
Zhizhe	志徹
Zhou Xifu	周希復
Zhou Xigu	周希古
Zhou Xihou	周希後
zhuchi	住持
zhushan	住山
Zongbao	宗寶
<i>Zongmen liandeng huiyao</i>	宗門聯燈會要
Zongmi	宗密
<i>Zutang ji</i>	祖堂記
Zōjōji Hōonzō	增上寺報恩葺

### Appendix A

1c) Below some of the more important of the instances in which the *Kōshōji* and the *Daijōji* have readings that agree against the *Shinpukuji* are listed. The *Dunhuang* readings are included for reference.

Sec. 6, line 7.

Kōshōji: / Daijōji:	買柴
Shinpukuji:	買某甲柴
Dunhuang:	買柴

Sec. 9, line 3.

Kōshōji: / Daijōji:	作偈頌
Shinpukuji:	作偈誦
Dunhuang:	No equivalent

Sec. 11, line 19.

Kōshōji: / Daijōji:	神秀作禮
Shinpukuji:	秀乃作禮
Dunhuang:	秀上座去

Sec. 12, line 4.

Kōshōji: / Daijōji:	即付衣法
Shinpukuji:	即付衣鉢
Dunhuang:	即付衣法

Sec. 22, line 9.

Kōshōji: / Daijōji:	百物不思
Shinpukuji:	百物不生心莫思
Dunhuang:	百物不思

Sec. 27, line 10.  
Kōshōji / Daijōji:  
Shinpukuji:  
Dunhuang:

如是度者  
如是善度  
如是度者

Sec. 43, line 12  
Kōshōji / Daijōji:  
Shinpukuji:  
Dunhuang:

離念是德  
離心念是德  
No equivalent

Sec. 28, line 4  
Kōshōji / Daijōji:  
Shinpukuji:  
Dunhuang:

勸善知識  
勸吾善知識  
勸善善知識

Sec. 44, line 15  
Kōshōji / Daijōji:  
Shinpukuji:  
Dunhuang:

若悟無生頓法  
若悟衆生頓法  
若悟無生頓法

Sec. 29, line 4  
Kōshōji / Daijōji:  
Shinpukuji:  
Dunhuang:

於自色身  
於自色身中  
於自色身

Sec. 29, line 26  
Kōshōji / Daijōji:  
Shinpukuji:  
Dunhuang:

念念圓明  
念念圓滿明  
No equivalent

Sec. 34, line 9  
Kōshōji / Daijōji:  
Shinpukuji:  
Dunhuang:

不修此行  
不修行此行  
不修此行

Sec. 35, line 9  
Kōshōji / Daijōji:  
Shinpukuji:  
Dunhuang:

修此行者  
修行此行者  
No equivalent

Sec. 40, line 11  
Kōshōji / Daijōji:  
Shinpukuji:  
Dunhuang:

若得解脫  
No equivalent  
即得解脫

Sec. 42, line 6  
Kōshōji / Daijōji:  
Shinpukuji:  
Dunhuang:

各自性中真懺悔  
各自性中真懺悔  
各自世中真懺悔

Sec. 45, line 3 Kōshōji / Daijōji: Shinpukuji: Dunhuang:	又問 曰 問和	Sec. 53, line 10 Kōshōji / Daijōji: Shinpukuji: Dunhuang:	吾見自知 自知 吾不自知
Sec. 45, line 4 Kōshōji / Daijōji: Shinpukuji: Dunhuang:	若不依此行 若不修行 No equivalent	Sec. 55, last line Kōshōji / Daijōji: Shinpukuji: Dunhuang:	餘問悉皆如此 餘問未悉皆如此 三十六對亦復如是
Sec. 45, line 19 Kōshōji / Daijōji: Shinpukuji: Dunhuang:	到頭還性懊 No equivalent 到頭還性懊	Sec. 56, line 3 Kōshōji / Daijōji: Shinpukuji: Dunhuang:	若看壇經必當見性 若有壇經必當見性 得者必當見性
Sec. 47, line 3 Kōshōji / Daijōji: Shinpukuji: Dunhuang:	一切盡除無名可名 一切盡除無名 No equivalent	Sec. 58, line 3 Kōshōji / Daijōji: Shinpukuji: Dunhuang:	心地 一地 心地
Sec. 48, line 3 Kōshōji / Daijōji: Shinpukuji: Dunhuang:	東四十五里 東西十五里 東三十五里		
Sec. 49, line 8 Kōshōji / Daijōji: Shinpukuji: Dunhuang:	又恐輪迴 又悲輪迴 No equivalent		
Sec. 51, line 5 Kōshōji / Daijōji: Shinpukuji: Dunhuang:	汝取經來 汝取經來誦 汝將法華經來		
Sec. 52, line 3 Kōshōji / Daijōji:  Shinpukuji: Dunhuang:	無四乘法  法無四乘 元無四乘法		
Sec. 52, line 5 Kōshōji / Daijōji: Shinpukuji: Dunhuang:	名最上乘乘是行義 名最上乘行也 是最上乘乘是最上行義		

Sec. 62, line 10

Kōshōji / Daijōji:	淨性常在化身中
Shinpukuji:	即性常在化身中
Dunhuang:	淨性常在化身中

1. d. Below most of the instances in which the *Kōshōji*, the *Daijōji*, and the *Shinpukuji* each have a different reading are listed. The *Dunhuang* readings are included for reference.

Sec. 5, line 2

Kōshōji:	大師唐時初從南海上
Daijōji:	大師從南海上
Shinpukuji:	大師初從南海上
Dunhuang:	No equivalent

Sec. 5, line 4

Kōshōji:	頓教法
Daijōji:	摩訶頓法
Shinpukuji:	頓教
Dunhuang:	No equivalent

Sec. 5, line 4

Kōshōji:	直了見性無礙
Daijōji:	直下見性了然大悟
Shinpukuji:	直了見性無疑
Dunhuang:	No equivalent

Sec. 5, line 7

Kōshōji:	教授
Daijōji:	傳受
Shinpukuji:	傳授者
Dunhuang:	傳受

Sec. 6, line 5

Kōshōji:	左降流于嶺南
Daijōji:	左降嶺南
Shinpukuji:	降流于南
Dunhuang:	左降遷流南

Sec. 6, line 10

Kōshōji:	馮母山
Daijōji:	馮茂山
Shinpukuji:	憑母山
Dunhuang:	馮墓山

Sec. 8, line 5

Kōshōji:	若如此者輪刀上陣亦得見之 (The 輪 here is by a mistake left out in the <i>Ishii</i> edition. See the Kōshōji in Yanagida, Rokuso dankyō, p.50f.)
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Daijōji:	若掄刀上陣一般
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Shinpukuji:	若此輪力上陣亦不得見 (The edition in Ishii, “Shinpukuji,” p. 92, has 刀上陣 instead of 力上陣 here. I have not been able to see the original in any form, but it is likely that the more unusual reading is the correct.)
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Dunhuang:	No equivalent
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Sec. 10, line 3

Kōshōji:	求法即善
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Daijōji:	即得求佛
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Shinpukuji:	即善求佛
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Dunhuang:	即善求法
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Sec. 10, line 8

Kōshōji:	從他
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Daijōji:	從
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Shinpukuji:	彼他
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Dunhuang:	No equivalent
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Sec. 11, line 8

Kōshōji:	依此修行人
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Daijōji:	No equivalent
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Shinpukuji:	依此修行人天
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Dunhuang:	依法修行人
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Sec. 12, line 4

Kōshōji:	令門人作偈来看
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Daijōji:	令門人作偈来呈
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Shinpukuji:	令門人作偈来者看
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Dunhuang:	令門人等各作一偈来呈看
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Sec. 12, line 11

Kōshōji:	因自言
Daijōji:	啓曰
Shinpukuji:	即言
Dunhuang:	No equivalent

Sec. 12, line 14

Kōshōji:	若輕人即有無量無邊罪
Daijōji:	(若輕人即有無量無邊罪) This sentence is added in small writing to the text of the Daijōji. See Yanagida, <i>Rokuso dankyō</i> , p 92b. It is not in the <i>Tenneiji</i> .
Shinpukuji:	即有無量無邊
Dunhuang:	No equivalent

Sec. 12, line 15

Kōshōji:	于壁上
Daijōji:	No equivalent
Shinpukuji:	安西壁上
Dunhuang:	於西間壁上

Sec. 17, line 6

Kōshōji:	須求大善知識示導見性善知識
Daijōji:	須求大善知識示導
Shinpukuji:	須求大善知識示道
Dunhuang:	須求大善知識示道見性善知識

Sec. 19, line 5

Kōshōji:	妄不起心
Daijōji:	除妄不起心
Shinpukuji:	即除妄不起心
Dunhuang:	除妄不起心

Sec. 23, line 1

Kōshōji:	元不看心
Daijōji:	亦不看心
Shinpukuji:	亦不不看心
Dunhuang:	元不著心

Sec. 24, line 7

Kōshōji:	即時
Daijōji:	其時 (No equivalent in the <i>Tenneiji</i> )
Shinpukuji:	No equivalent
Dunhuang:	即是

Sec. 25, line 3		Sec. 45, line 3	
Kōshōji:	無疾妬	Kōshōji:	韋公
Daijōji:	無嫉妬	Daijōji:	使君
Shinpukuji:	無嫉無妬	Shinpukuji:	韋氏
Dunhuang:	No equivalent	Dunhuang:	使君
Sec. 25, line 4		Sec. 45, line 9	
Kōshōji:	無劫害	Kōshōji:	門性
Daijōji:	無刻害	Daijōji:	性法
Shinpukuji:	無劾害	Shinpukuji:	法性
Dunhuang:	No equivalent	Dunhuang:	No equivalent
Sec. 38, line 3			
Kōshōji:	元有般若之智		
Daijōji:	亦有般若之智		
Shinpukuji:	還有般若之智		
Sec. 38, line 6			
Kōshōji:	若開悟頓教		
Daijōji:	聞其頓法		
Shinpukuji:	若聞頓教		
Dunhuang:	聞其頓教		
Sec. 40, line 7			
Kōshōji:	No equivalent		
Daijōji:	即是自心		
Shinpukuji:	即是自若心		
Dunhuang:	No equivalent		
Sec. 43, line 5			
Kōshōji:	公曰		
Daijōji:	使君曰		
Shinpukuji:	No equivalent		
Dunhuang:	No equivalent		
Sec. 44, line 17			
Kōshōji:	各願見否		
Daijōji:	願不願		
Shinpukuji:	不願		
Dunhuang:	使君願見否		
Sec. 44, line 22			
Kōshōji:	自性覺即是佛		
Daijōji:	雜迷即覺覺即是佛		
Shinpukuji:	離迷覺即是佛		
Dunhuang:	No equivalent		

Sec. 49, line 1

Kōshōji:	秀聞能師說法
Daijōji:	秀聞能說法
Shinpukuji:	秀聞師說法
Dunhuang:	神秀師常見人說惠能法

Sec. 58, line 4

Kōshōji:	法寶壇經記
Daijōji:	法寶壇經
Shinpukuji:	法寶記
Dunhuang:	No equivalent

Sec. 49, line 7

Kōshōji:	和尚大慈
Daijōji:	和尚大慈悲
Shinpukuji:	和尚慈悲
Dunhuang:	和尚慈悲

Sec. 58, line 8

Kōshōji:	據此偈頌之意
Daijōji:	據此偈意
Shinpukuji:	據此頌意
Dunhuang:	No equivalent

Sec. 50, line 21

Kōshōji:	有何次第
Daijōji:	有何漸次
Shinpukuji:	有何次
Dunhuang:	No equivalent

Sec. 58, line 12

Kōshōji:	還用先聖大師偈意
Daijōji:	亦用先聖大師偈意
Shinpukuji:	用先聖大師偈意
Dunhuang:	No equivalent

Sec. 51, line 19

Kōshōji:	自心止惡行善
Daijōji:	No equivalent
Shinpukuji:	自心正行善
Dunhuang:	No equivalent

Sec. 52, line 5

Kōshōji:	不在口爭
Daijōji:	不在口誦
Shinpukuji:	不在口諍
Dunhuang:	不在口諍

Sec. 52, line 6

Kōshōji:	自性自如
Daijōji:	自性自知自悟自行
Shinpukuji:	自性自知
Dunhuang:	No equivalent

Sec. 53, line 9

Kōshōji:	汝自迷不見自心
Daijōji:	汝迷不見自心
Shinpukuji:	汝不見自心
Dunhuang:	汝自名不見自心

Sec. 64, line 2

Kōshōji:	林變白
Daijōji:	林木變白
Shinpukuji:	林草變白
Dunhuang:	林木變白

2. a. Below instances in which the *Kōshōji* has readings that are close to the *Dunhuang* against the *Daijōji* and *Shinpukuji* are listed.

Sec. 13, line 1

Dunhuang:	五祖夜知三更
Kōshōji:	五祖夜至三更
Daijōji: / Shinpukuji:	五祖其夜三更

Sec. 17, line 6

Dunhuang:	須求大善知識示道見性善知識
Kōshōji:	須求大善知識示導見性善知識
Daijōji: / Shinpukuji:	須求大善知識示導(道)

Sec. 38, line 3

Dunhuang:	因何聞法即不悟
Kōshōji:	因何聞法不自開悟
Daijōji: / Shinpukuji:	因何聞法亦有悟不悟

Sec. 44, line 20

Dunhuang:	內有意門心即是地
Kōshōji:	內有意門心是地
Daijōji: / Shinpukuji:	內有意識心為地

Sec. 46, line 1

Dunhuang:	依偈修行
Kōshōji:	依偈修行
Daijōji: / Shinpukuji:	依此偈修

Sec. 51, line 21

Dunhuang:	向下分三為名人故
Kōshōji:	向下分之為三乘者蓋為迷人
Daijōji: / Shinpukuji:	向下為迷人故

Sec. 62, line 11

Dunhuang:	當來員滿真無窮
Kōshōji:	當來圓滿真無窮
Daijōji: / Shinpukuji:	當來性智更無窮

2. b. Below instances in which the *Daijōji* have readings that are close to the *Dunhuang* against the *Kōshōji* and the *Shinpukuji* are listed.

Sec. 10, line 2

Dunhuang: 我將心偈上五祖呈意

Daijōji: 我將心偈呈師

Kōshōji / Shinpukuji: 我呈偈意

Sec. 8, line 3

Dunhuang: 自看有知惠者

Daijōji: 自看有智惠者

Kōshōji / Shinpukuji: 自看智惠(慧)

Sec. 8, line 4

Dunhuang: 各作一偈呈吾吾看汝偈若吾大意者

Daijōji: 各作一偈來呈吾看汝等偈若悟大意

Kōshōji / Shinpukuji: 各作一偈來呈吾看若悟大意

Sec. 6, line 10

Dunhuang: 山禮拜五祖弘忍和尚 見令在彼門人有千餘衆

Daijōji: 山禮拜五祖和尚 見在彼山門人一千餘衆

Kōshōji / Shinpukuji: 山來其山是第五祖弘忍大師在彼土(主)此門人一千有餘

Sec. 6, line 12

Dunhuang: 即得見性

Daijōji: 即得見性

Kōshōji / Shinpukuji: 即自見性

Sec. 10, line 10

Dunhuang: 三更於南廊下中間壁上秉燭題作偈人盡 不和

Daijōji: 三更於南廊下中間壁上秉燭書題所作之偈人盡不知

Kōshōji / Shinpukuji: 三更不使(便)人知自執燈燭於南廊中間壁上書無相偈呈心所見神秀

Appendix B\*

〔六祖壇經諸本項門對照表〕

大藏寺本 (經本卷九 三三)	金山寺本 (經本卷九 三三)	龍藏寺本 (經本卷九 三三)	法苑珠林本 (經本卷九 三三)	三寶本 (經本卷九 三三)
一、 慧持別師等語要語區門	一、 慧持別師等語要語區門	一、 慧持別師等語要語區門	一、 慧持別師等語要語區門	一、 慧持別師等語要語區門
二、 大德自說性德區門	二、 大德自說性德區門	二、 大德自說性德區門	二、 大德自說性德區門	二、 大德自說性德區門
三、 自說性德區門	三、 自說性德區門	三、 自說性德區門	三、 自說性德區門	三、 自說性德區門
四、 慧持別師等語要語區門	四、 慧持別師等語要語區門	四、 慧持別師等語要語區門	四、 慧持別師等語要語區門	四、 慧持別師等語要語區門
五、 自說性德區門	五、 自說性德區門	五、 自說性德區門	五、 自說性德區門	五、 自說性德區門
六、 說一偈一偈區門	六、 說一偈一偈區門	六、 說一偈一偈區門	六、 說一偈一偈區門	六、 說一偈一偈區門
七、 說一偈一偈區門	七、 說一偈一偈區門	七、 說一偈一偈區門	七、 說一偈一偈區門	七、 說一偈一偈區門
八、 說一偈一偈區門	八、 說一偈一偈區門	八、 說一偈一偈區門	八、 說一偈一偈區門	八、 說一偈一偈區門
九、 說一偈一偈區門	九、 說一偈一偈區門	九、 說一偈一偈區門	九、 說一偈一偈區門	九、 說一偈一偈區門
十、 說一偈一偈區門	十、 說一偈一偈區門	十、 說一偈一偈區門	十、 說一偈一偈區門	十、 說一偈一偈區門
十一、 說一偈一偈區門	十一、 說一偈一偈區門	十一、 說一偈一偈區門	十一、 說一偈一偈區門	十一、 說一偈一偈區門

\*Reproduced from: Ishii Shūdō, "Shinpukujū bunko shōzō no 'Rokuso dankyō' no shōkai—Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no sohen to no kanren", Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu kenkyū ronshū 10 (Nov. 1979), p. 77.