

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PRACTICES OF SCRIPTURAL ECONOMY: COMPILING AND COPYING
A SEVENTH-CENTURY CHINESE BUDDHIST ANTHOLOGY

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVINITY SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AUGUST 2018

Dissertation Abstract:

Practices of Scriptural Economy:
Compiling and Copying a Seventh-Century Chinese Buddhist Anthology

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This dissertation reads a seventh-century Chinese Buddhist anthology to examine how medieval Chinese Buddhists practiced reducing and reorganizing their voluminous scriptural tradition into more useful formats. The anthology, *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* (*Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林), was compiled by a scholar-monk named Daoshi 道世 (?–683) from hundreds of Buddhist scriptures and other religious writings, listing thousands of quotations under a system of one-hundred category-chapters. This dissertation shows how *A Grove of Pearls* was designed by and for scriptural economy: it facilitated and was facilitated by traditions of categorizing, excerpting, and collecting units of scripture. Anthologies like *A Grove of Pearls* selectively copied the forms and contents of earlier Buddhist anthologies, catalogs, and other compilations; and, in turn, later Buddhists would selectively copy from it in order to spread the Buddhist dharma. I read anthologies not merely to describe their contents but to show what their compilers and copyists thought they were doing when they made and used them.

A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma has often been read as an example of a Buddhist *leishu* 類書, or “Chinese encyclopedia.” But the work’s precursors from the sixth century do not all fit neatly into this genre because they do not all use *lei* 類 or categories consistently, nor do they all have encyclopedic breadth like *A Grove of Pearls*. The medieval tradition of Chinese Buddhist anthology was ultimately concerned about “collecting extracts” (*chaoji* 抄集), and “categories” allowed for storing and recalling the extracts. I describe how *lei* function in

A Grove of Pearls and other anthologies, situating *A Grove of Pearls* in a longer history of Chinese Buddhist anthology and compilation. I translate and analyze the prefaces of *A Grove of Pearls* and other anthologies to illustrate how they articulate scriptural economy as a problem to be solved.

Practices of scriptural “extraction” (*chao* 抄) and “collection” (*ji* 集) for the spread of the Dharma were not only featured as necessary for Buddhist practice within the scriptures, but Chinese Buddhists imagined themselves as following these traditions when they cataloged scriptures, wrote commentary on them, and built anthologies from them. I catalog excerpts from *A Grove of Pearls* that thematize “extracting” and “collecting” dharma respectively to suggest how anthologies thought they should be used. Finally, I analyze medieval manuscripts from the Dunhuang cache that extract excerpts from *A Grove of Pearls* to show how the practice of reducing anthology for quotidian use can be read as continuous with the practice of building anthologies in the first place; and I look at how Daoshi’s colleague Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) reduced large catalogs for building scriptural canons that could be used in practice, for scholarly consultation and ritual recitation.

My research shows how medieval Chinese Buddhist anthologies justified themselves by employing rhetoric from long-standing Buddhist narratives on the size and difficulty of the Dharma as well as the brilliance and discretion of its exponents. By illustrating how anthologies articulate a need for scriptural economy and then put it into practice by placing quotes from old scriptures under new categories, this dissertation contributes to our understanding of how anthologies participated in a broader culture of textual curation, making the Dharma more available and ready-to-hand in medieval China.

Acknowledgements:

I am grateful to everyone who has supported me in my research. My parents, Maria and Hsiao-Shu Hsu, made all this possible for me, and I need to thank them first.

Paul Copp, my main advisor, introduced me to *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* almost over a decade ago. I've relied heavily on his mentorship. At every stage along the way he pushed me to think harder and told me to "read more Chinese." I am grateful for his sense and style.

Christian Wedemeyer, my other main advisor, introduced me to the concept of "skillful means" a little bit longer ago. He has taught me how to make the most of my limited capacities as a mere *alpasattva*, encouraging me to stay with the big picture.

Wendy Doniger and Tony Yu taught me I could study Asian religions for a living, and they've helped me in many invaluable ways over the years, offering me stories, books, seminars, and jobs to sustain me. Bruce Lincoln, Matthew Kapstein, and Steve Collins taught me many other things in the History of Religions. They all gave me questions that were too difficult for me to answer, but they also showed me it was theoretically possible. My instructors, my cohort, and my classmates at Chicago Divinity: thank you collectively for making Swift Hall the place to be.

Donald Harper encouraged me to read texts as texts, that is to say, in their social, cultural, and material contexts. He introduced me to Chen Ming at Peking University, where I spent my Fulbright year in 2013–2014. Professor Chen and his students Wu Weilin and Zhao Jinchao made homes for me at Beida as well as in *A Grove of Pearls* and its many copies. Thank you for teaching me. Thanks as well to the University of Chicago Center in Beijing for offering study space, kind friends, and coffee.

For answering my e-mails promptly, offering encouragement, and sharpening my mind I thank my friends and colleagues: Zaid Adhami, Katherine Alexander, Tim Barrett, Marcus Bingenheimer, Pablo Blitstein, Alia Breitwieser, Joy Brennan, Adam Bronson, Mandy Burton, Rob Company, Lucas Carmichael, Ling Chan, Lucille Chia, Tamara Chin, Kristel Clayville, Brian Cooper, Abby Coplin, Emily Crews, Austin Dean, Drew Durdin, Anne Feng, Richard Fox, Amanda Goodman, Eleanor Goodman, Allison Gray, Ethan Harkness, Justin Henry, Coleman Hillstrom, Sam Hopkins, Eric Huntington, Chris Jensen, Jason Josephson-Storm, Sonam Kachru, Tom Kelly, Jeffrey Kotyk, David Lebovitz, Alan Levinovitz, Andy Liu, Bryan Lowe, Nabanjan Maitra, Tom Mazanec, Richard McBride, Bill McGrath, Kelly Meister, Anne Mocko, Tom Newhall, Janine Nicol, Evan Nicoll-Johnson, Chris Nugent, Lauren Osborne, Jonathan Pettit, Lucy Pick, Chaz Preston, Michael Radich, Frank Reynolds, Jim Robinson, Alex Rocklin, Rick Rosengarten, Pierce Salguero, Rebecca Scharbach, Koichi Shinohara, H.S. Sum Cheuk Shing, Jeff Stackert, Tanya Storch, Buzzy Teiser, Jeff Tharsen, Nicholas Witkowski, Paul Vierthaler, Jiang Wu, Saadia Yacoob, Zhaohua Yang, Tyson Yost, Stuart Young, Kenny Yu, Boqun Zhou, and Brook Ziporyn.

My work was supported by fellowships and grants from the University of Chicago Brauer Seminar, Fulbright IIE, the Center for East Asian Studies at the University of Chicago, the Alma Wilson Teaching Fellowship for Religious Studies at the University of Chicago, and the ACLS Robert H. N. Ho Family Foundation.

My research took shape while using various digital resources designed to make life easier for Buddhologists and Sinologists. I have cited a few in the dissertation, but I have used many more. I want to thank the communities and institutions that maintain these websites: Marcus

Bingenheimer's "Bibliography of Translations from the Chinese Buddhist Canon into Western Languages" (mbingenheimer.net/tools/bibls/transbibl.html), the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association (cbeta.org), Donald Sturgeon's "Chinese Text Project" (ctext.org), Dharma Drum Buddhist College's "Visualizing and Querying Chinese Buddhist Bibliographies" (buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/biographies/gis), Charles Muller's "Digital Database of Buddhism" (www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/), Academica Sinica's "Scripta Sinica Full-Text Chinese Records Database" (hanchi.ihp.sinica.edu.tw), the International Dunhuang Project (idp.bl.uk), Jim Breen's "WWWJDIC: Online Japanese Dictionary" (nihongo.monash.edu/cgi-bin/wwwjdic?1C), the Research Institute of Tripitaka Koreana's "Tripitaka Koreana Knowledgebase System" (kb.sutra.re.kr), Tokyo University's "SAT Daizōkyō Text Database" (21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/index_en.html), SuttaCentral's "Early Buddhist texts, translations, and parallels" (suttacentral.net), Michael Radich and Jamie Norrish's TACL computer tools for n-gram analysis of digitized Chinese texts (github.com/ajenhl/tacl), and Handian (zdic.net).

I owe a debt of gratitude to North Dakota State University over the past couple years for a teaching position and a warm community of scholars, especially the Departments of English; Anthropology; and History, Philosophy, and Religious Studies. Thank you for getting me to the finish line.

I want to single out Jason Protass for reading early drafts of these chapters, James Benn for reading middle-period drafts, and Daniel Morgan for reading and even copy-editing a late-period draft of the dissertation. Thank you for having enough faith in this project to read your way through it and help me say a little better what I was trying to say.

My brother Adam Hsu and his family, Danielle Zheng, Addie and Teddy, thank you for your perspective and good humor. Greg and Kathy Kowalski, thank you for your love and support and knowing not to ask how the dissertation is going.

Julia, love of my life, I could not have done this without you.

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Introduction: Chinese Buddhist *Leishu* and Scriptural Economy

In his polemical essay “The Indianization of China” (1936) the Republican modernist Hu Shih 胡適 (1891–1962) narrates the story of how China became Buddhist. In this modern myth, over the course of a few centuries in the early first millennium, the earthbound, pragmatic, communitarian Chinese are exposed to the mystifying cosmological and soteriological schemes of Buddhism, and they grew into the selfish, idealistic, and otherworldly Chinese that were presently failing to be modern. According to Hu, the Chinese were bamboozled by the sheer scale of what Buddhism taught: the enormity of Mt. Sumeru and the continents, heavens, and hells that surrounded it; the multitude of Buddhas and audience members in their sermons; and the severity of debt to be paid over multiple lifetimes for the smallest infractions.¹ To be sure, Hu’s psychologizing caricature of Buddhism and its history in China was guided more by ethnonationalist historiography rather than dispassionate exploration of the movement and transformation of religions over time and space.² But it was not wholly inaccurate either to tell the story of Buddhism’s arrival and development in China in terms of universe-expansion. This was how the Buddhists understood its significance.

Buddhism brought with it to China new modes of reckoning number and scale, not only new units with which to measure time and space (*jie* 劫 for kalpa; *youxun* 由旬 for yojana; *shijie* 世界 for “world”)³ to be counted in the hundreds, thousands, myriads, or millions, but

¹ Hu’s breathless narration at times mirrors the hyperbolic tendencies of the literature he criticizes: “These and *thousands of other items* of belief and practice have poured from India by land and by sea into China...”; “Buddhism... was bodily taken over by China on the *high waves* of religious fervor and fanaticism”; “...the whole Indian imaginative power, *which knows neither limitation nor discipline*, was indeed too much for the Chinese mind...” (Hu 1937, 225–229, italics mine).

² To wit, Hu’s correspondence with Tagore and other Indian intellectuals prior to and following “Indianization of China” praise India for its spiritual contributions to Chinese culture. For a recent evaluation of Hu Shih’s shifting views on Indian and Chinese tradition and modernity, see Sheel 2014.

³ On the etymology and modern meanings of *shijie/lokadhātu*, see Chuang 2006 and Barabantseva 2009.

also the promise of qualities so great they “cannot be measured” (*bukeliang* 不可量), “counted” (*bukeshu* 不可數), “compared” (*bukeyu* 不可喻), “explained” (*bukeshuo* 不可說) or even “imagined” (*bukesiyi* 不可思議). The setting of a sermon often begins with extensive counts of beings arrayed around the speaker as an audience; a portion of scripture or treatise might even take vast numbers of lifetimes, Buddhas, or meritorious deeds as its topic. As if to dramatize the grandiosity or intricacy of a phenomenon at hand, scriptures dedicated to it sometimes resemble long, repetitive lists of names and sequences of elements. Highlighting the penchant of Buddhist texts to list and count, one of the early patriarchs of the Chinese Buddhist tradition, Daoan 道安 (312–385), conceived of scholastic, abhidharma-like traditions as the study of “numbers” *shu* 數.⁴ Buddhism introduced the Chinese to the notions that their world was one of many, their teachings were a few of a multitude, or their current individual lives were but grains of silt carried along by the Ganges.

The Buddhist textual tradition would also speak of itself as a gigantic, heterogenous totality, and early Chinese Buddhist bibliographers reproduced various classificatory or enumerative schemes that Indian Buddhists had used to reckon with that totality—the Two Vehicles, Three Baskets, Nine or Twelve Sections, the 84,000 Gates.⁵ Conveniently, Buddhist scriptures provided an account for their own loquacity: the Buddha preached (and his disciples elaborated) the Dharma in so many different ways in order to suit the different capacities and interests of sentient beings who would be Buddhists; and similarly the Dharma could be translated, probed, or adapted by latter-day Buddhists in order to suit new historical moments and audiences.⁶ By the eighth century, Buddhist bibliographers were tallying over 8000 scrolls of over 2000 translated

⁴ Zürcher 2007, 186–7, 203–4.

⁵ For evidence of these schemes in early Buddhism, see Lamotte 1988b, 141–52.

⁶ Salomon 2011, 161–9, elaborates on three features of Buddhist written traditions that result in “An Unwieldy Canon”: “(1) their volume, (2) their diversity, and (3) their flexibility.” “It is indeed a vast canon,” Lopez 1988, 47, agrees. See also Lopez’s opening remarks as editor to that volume, where the “sheer bulk of the canon” is described as a problem across Buddhist traditions and “The Buddha is said to have taught different things to different people” as a justification on the following page (2–3). For medieval Chinese articulation of this narrative throughout the genre of catalog and anthology preface, see Chapters Two and Three.

scriptures⁷, many of which were duplicate translations, but all of which had to some extent achieved the status of the Buddha’s word. The boundless Dharma spoken about by Buddhist texts could be physically bound and displayed in a monastic library as a demonstration of the Buddhist teaching’s impressive scope.⁸

In the everyday practice of Chinese Buddhism, however, the fact that the Buddha had so much to say and so many ways to say it, that there were conceivably 84,000 Gates of Teaching, or that a “Three Baskets” could be collected in Chinese translation, were not always necessarily salient. At certain moments, however, these ideas about the great size and diversity of Buddhist scriptures (that are expressed in many of them) were iterated in thought and deed. Just as the Buddha of the sūtras would reveal the true grandiosity of the reality behind appearance, so would Chinese Buddhists gesture to the supernal breadth and depth of their writings. “Many scriptures” (*zhujing* 諸經; *zhongjing* 眾經), “all of the scriptures” (*yiqiejing* 一切經), and the “Three Baskets” (*sanzang* 三藏) of “scripture, regulation, and treatise” (*jinglüulun* 經律論) were first invoked in translations of the Buddha’s teachings themselves, and then also in prefaces to catalogs, dedications to canons, and paeans to the translators.⁹ The great scholar-monk Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518), for instance, includes in his preface to his scriptural catalog titled *A Collection of Records on the Production of the Three Baskets* (*Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集, *T* no. 2145; or *CSZJJ* hereafter) lines like the following:

In the marvelous [turning of] the wheel [of the Law] there is differentiated the Twelve Sections; in the collections of the Dharma some Eighty-Thousand Gates are found to be of comprehensive importance.¹⁰

⁷ Zhisheng’s 智昇 *Newly Authorized Catalog Śākyamuni’s Teachings of the Kaiyuan Era of the Tang Dynasty* (*Da Tang Kaiyuan shijiao mulu* 大唐開元釋教目錄, or *The Kaiyuan Catalog*, *Kaiyuan lu* 開元錄 for short, *T* no. 2154), completed in 730, recorded in Storch 2014, 116. On *T.* for Taishō, see note 13 below. On the relationships between catalogs and anthologies, whose compositions were often directed by the same individuals, see Chapters One and Two.

⁸ Examples of patronage, physical display, and reading of full Buddhist canons, with comparatively more evidence from late imperial times, can be found in Wu 2015.

⁹ I will discuss sources like these in greater depth in the following two chapters.

¹⁰ *T* no. 2145.j1.97c20–21; cf. Su and Xiao 1995, 1; tr. modified from Link 1960, 37a. This source is discussed in greater length in Chapters One and Two. For this dissertation’s citation methods, see note 13 below.

妙輪區別十二惟部，
法聚總要八萬其門。

These literary invocations, like their scriptural ones, were intended to humble, astound, and incite their audiences.

This dissertation examines a genre of medieval Chinese Buddhist literature that emerged in the sixth and seventh centuries that continually invokes the superlative scale of the Buddhist written tradition as it promises to manage it and make it accessible. Medieval Chinese Buddhist anthologies or *leishu* 類書, I argue, can better be understood as tools for and traces of textual practices engaged in what I call “scriptural economy,” that is to say, the ideal of reducing and organizing a massive religious textual tradition in order to render it more useable. Officially published *leishu*, or “writings organized by category,” emerged in China as early as the third century CE, collected quotations from multiple sources under branching *lei* 類 or categories, and served as multi-scroll reference works for court and literary consultation.¹¹ What was unique about the Buddhist *leishu* that emerged alongside their secular counterparts was how they portrayed themselves as solving religious problems: the presumably overwhelming size and difficulty of the Buddhist written tradition as compared to the thickheadedness of the mortals who would read it, the shortness of their lifespans, and the number and diversity of beings Buddhists dedicated themselves to saving and instructing. By crafting excerpts from the multitude of scriptures, and compiling these excerpts back together in works that sorted and commented on them according to category, anthologists suggested curricular pathways through a morass of religious writing, to provide what text was necessary and essential through scroll and index. If, as Hu Shih insinuated, Buddhism offered “the Chinese” vastly broadened perspectives on the universe and its operations, scriptural economy deigned to rein in that universe and materialize those perspectives in ink on planned sequences of paper scrolls.

¹¹ In Chapter One, Part 2, I discuss the definition of the genre *leishu* and the fitness of various western translations like “encyclopedia” or “anthology.”

The most famous Buddhist *leishu* was completed in the 660s in Chang'an by a scholar-monk named Daoshi 道世 (596–681). Its preface detailed how Daoshi conceptualized his project:

... he with eminent erudition was summoned to reside at Ximing [Monastery], and then taking free time [after studying] the Five Vinayas, he read the Three Baskets extensively. For the benefit of successive generations ancient and modern, [the canon] was designed for the many people. Although its phraseology was in elegant taste, [Daoshi] was not satisfied with its wide recording. So he plucked the best flowers from the garden of literature, sniffed out the jasmine blossoms of the great meaning, and with categories he compiled it. He called it *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* (*Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林), summed up in a hundred chapters and bound into ten wrappers. ...¹²

爰以英博，召居西明，
遂以 五部餘閑，三藏遍覽。
以為 古今綿代，制作多人。
雖 雅趣佳詞，無足於博記，
所以 搦文囿之菁華，嗅大義之瞻蔔。
以類編錄，號曰『法苑珠林』。
總一百篇，勒成十帙。

The titular metaphor offers a key to understanding the work's religious design and the theological dilemma to which it was crafted to respond: the garden is too big and the most important blooms are difficult to access, so Daoshi has reduced the size of the garden to a grove and organized the blossoms. Much of this dissertation involves strolling on selected paths through Daoshi's grove in order to show how and why it was assembled. Illustrating how Daoshi cites, quotes, categorizes, and comments on scripture in *A Grove of Pearls* will better elucidate what was involved in managing scriptural tradition through anthology. The dissertation's seven chap-

¹² See Appendix H and Chapter Three, Part 5 for a translation and fuller analyses of the full preface. In this dissertation I use roman numerals to name chapters (*pian*) from *A Grove of Pearls* ("Chapter 7: Paying Respect to the Dharma") and other Buddhist works, but I spell out the numbers of my own chapters ("Chapter Three: Paratexts to *A Grove of Pearls*"). My dissertation chapters are divided into "parts" to distinguish them from the chapters of *A Grove of Pearls*, which are divided into "sections" (*bu* 部). On the components of *A Grove of Pearls*, see Chapter One.

ters will primarily use materials from transmitted, “canonical” editions¹³ of *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* to shed light on four practices of scriptural economy: the first chapter on *lei* or “categorizing” reads the table of contents of *A Grove of Pearls* as key to both its overall structure and intended use; the second and third chapters on *xu* 序 or “prefacing” interpret the preface to *A Grove of Pearls* as iterating a scriptural economy problematic; the fourth and fifth chapters on *chao* 抄 or “extracting” examine the various ways *A Grove of Pearls* reduces the size of its source texts as it quotes them; and the sixth and seventh chapter on *ji* 集 or “collecting” discuss how *A Grove of Pearls* compiles materials on the Buddhist written tradition’s original “collections” of the Buddhist Councils. I have thematized chapters by selecting four native terms through which these medieval Chinese Buddhists built, used, and discussed their anthologies, divulging some of the culturally and religiously specific connotations held by these terms in medieval China that straight English translations might obscure.

A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma epitomizes dynamics of scriptural economy that I wish to explore. But the desire to manage scriptural proliferation is reflected in other sources surviving from Daoshi’s era of which I will take advantage.¹⁴ These other sources help

¹³ I explore the term “canon” in greater detail below. As for *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* and other works of “canonical” Chinese Buddhism, I will primarily reproduce passages from and make reference to a standard in scholarship on Chinese Buddhist literature, the Taishō Tripiṭaka (*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經). My citations will list text number (*T* no. 2122 for *A Grove of Pearls*, for instance), fascicle number (*j* for *juan*, or fascicle or scroll), page, register (a–c), and line numbers (1–29). For *A Grove of Pearls*, the Taishō makes use of the Koreana print canon edition as its base, and indicates character variants from four other imperial print editions. I will also make cross-references to Zhou and Su 2003, the Zhonghua shuju critical edition of *A Grove of Pearls* that relies on a privately printed edition of *Fayuan zhulin* dating from the early nineteenth century as its base edition and makes note of character variants from a wider range of imperial print canons than the Taishō. For some medieval Chinese Buddhist collections, I will also include fascicle-specific enumeration: *T* no. 2145.j5.2.38b07–16, for instance, refers to text that prefaces the second enumerated item (Daoan’s catalog of spurious scriptures) on the fifth fascicle of Sengyou’s *CSZJJ*.

¹⁴ By focusing on “sources surviving from Daoshi’s era,” I want to highlight the relationships of intertextuality between *A Grove of Pearls* and other works. But I am fully cognizant that transmitted sources also bear the marks of having been transmitted through the time intervening between the 660s and today. “Canonical” editions of texts are copies of copies of copies, continually edited, re-printed, promoted over contemporary “lesser” traditions of text, subject to the censorship and editorial whims of many historical agents. I have operated under the assumption, however, that even transmitted texts bear some traces of their origin, and will treat them provisionally as authored, intended works of a particular era, even as there is evidence that they continued to evolve over subsequent ones. I will even privilege them, from time to time, over manuscript fragments, assuming that a canonical edition of a text more closely represents what the full version may have looked like, and that a manuscript fragment reflects an abbreviated “copy” of some putative original. For better or worse, I have placed my trust in the copyists of the later canonical traditions.

to contextualize the project, not least because they quote it and are quoted in it.¹⁵ First, records of other Buddhist anthologies and two other surviving *leishu*; second, records of contemporary Chinese Buddhist collections organized by category, including scriptural catalogs; and third and finally, evidence of *A Grove of Pearls* and other anthologies in manuscript and early print forms. By situating *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* in a broader intellectual project amidst other famous written works involving other prominent scholar monks and lay Buddhist literati, I reveal how its composition continued, extended, and recycled the textual materials and methodologies of previous and contemporary projects of organizing religious writings. And in Chapter Five, by tracing how copyists at Dunhuang employed *A Grove of Pearls* to build their own scriptural curricula, I suggest that the practices of scriptural economy that made anthology possible were broadly continuous with how anthologies were actually used.

A Grove of Pearls is the largest and latest of early medieval Buddhist *leishu*, and one of four that have survived intact to present day through their inclusion in what was to become the late imperial Chinese print canon.¹⁶ Chapters 1 and 2 especially take detours through the history of Chinese Buddhist *leishu* in order to map out how *A Grove of Pearls* adapts its predecessors' sorting technologies and prefatory rhetoric, respectively. Throughout the dissertation, however, I will read from anthologies and records of anthologies preserved in the Chinese Buddhist canon, primarily from their critical editions in the Taishō Tripiṭaka, drawing occasional evidence from alternative canons and extra-canonical texts.¹⁷ The very first Buddhist *leishu* to appear in the historical record titled *Scriptures from the Garden of Dharma* (*Fayuan jing* 法苑經) was constructed in the Southern Qi dynasty (479–502) capital at Jiankang, amounted to 189 fascicles in length, and was already missing by the Southern Liang (502–557). Of the eight or so Buddhist

¹⁵ On reuse and intertextuality as a concern for Buddhist Studies, see the recent volume of *Buddhist Studies Review* co-edited by Freschi and Cantwell 2016.

¹⁶ See the short history of imperial print canons, translating and adumbrating work by Li and He 2015, produced as an appendix to Wu and Chia 2015. I review the *leishu* genre and the Buddhist appropriation of it in Chapter One.

¹⁷ For difficulties with this approach, see note 14 above.

anthologies assembled in the Southern Liang, the full texts of the five-fascicle *Genealogy of the Śākya* (*Shijia pu* 釋迦譜, T no. 2040; or *SJP*) by Sengyou and the fifty-fascicle *Anomalous Phenomena from the Scriptures and Regulations* (*Jinglü yixiang* 經律異相, T no. 2121; or *JLYX*) by Baochang 寶唱 (?–519?) have been transmitted down to present, and *A Grove of Pearls* shares materials with both. A seven-fascicle Buddhist anthology titled the *Golden Basket Discourse* (*Jinzang lun* 金藏論; or *JZL*) by a Northern Qi (550–577) monk named Daoji 道紀 (fl. mid-6th c.) is narrated by Daoshi's more famous lineage brother Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) in his collection of monastic hagiographies. Daoxuan describes how Daoji employed the anthology he built as a tool for preaching on a sermonizing tour around the Northern capital at Ye, and, in 2012, scholars were able to reconstruct parts of this anthology through remnants surviving in the Dunhuang cache and in monastic libraries of Korea and Japan.¹⁸ What survives of the *Golden Basket Discourse* suggests that it shared contents, categories, and motivations with its successor *A Grove of Pearls*. Finally, both famous Buddhist anthologies of the early Tang, *A Grove of Pearls* and a second, shorter, twenty-fascicle anthology titled *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures* (*Zhujing yaoji* 諸經要集, T no. 2123, or *ZJYJ*) also attributed to Daoshi, can be consulted in full today. Notably, as concerns my project on scriptural economy, *Collected Essentials* appears to have been designed as an abridgment of *A Grove of Pearls*.¹⁹

The impulse to collect writing through reducing and reorganizing exemplified in *A Grove of Pearls* is shared by other works from the Southern Liang through the early Tang (618–907) when Daoshi lived: scriptural catalogs, compilations of Chinese-authored apologetic work, regulatory manuals, and monastic hagiographic collections or other miracle-tale compendia. Not only are they quoted, with and without attribution, by Daoshi in *A Grove of Pearls*, they were produced by the same group of authors, usually scholar-monks specifically trained in *vinaya* (*lü* 律) textual traditions, that is, the study and implementation of monastic regulations. Throughout *A*

¹⁸ Miyai and Motoi 2012.

¹⁹ See Chapter Five, note 50 for more studies on this topic.

Grove of Pearls, Daoshi makes continual reference to his renowned dharma brother Daoxuan, who seems to have shared a birthyear, trajectory through ordination, and a monastic library with Daoshi.²⁰ Daoxuan is known today as a founder of the Nanshan Regulations School, which has dominated the practice of East Asian monasticism since the mid-Tang, and his famous commentarial manuals on the now standard *Four-Part Regulations* or *Dharmaguptakavinaya* (*Sifen lü* 四分律, T no. 1428), share quotations and sequences of quotations with *A Grove of Pearls*, under similar taxonomies of categories.²¹ Daoxuan was also responsible for the ten-fascicle *Catalog of the Inner Books of the Great Tang* (*Da Tang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄, T no. 2149; or DTNDL); the thirty-fascicle *Expanded Collection on Propagating and Clarifying [the Dharma]* (*Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集, T no. 2103; or GHMJ); the (now) thirty-fascicle *Continued Traditions of Eminent Monks* (*Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳, T no. 2060; or XGSZ); a work collecting miracle tales classified by the Three Treasures, *Records Collecting Miraculous Connections of the Three Jewels on the Sacred Continent* (*Ji shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* 集神州三寶感通錄, T no. 2106; or GTL); and a few late works recording visions wherein Daoxuan takes instruction from the gods. All of these works are directly quoted in, or share significant strings of text with, *A Grove of Pearls*. Daoxuan's collections, like Daoshi's anthologies, consciously follow Southern Dynasties precedent: with regard to scriptural catalogs, *Inner Books* builds on Sengyou's landmark *A Collection of Records on the Production of the Three Baskets* (*Chu sanzang jiji*, T no. 2145) in fifteen fascicles and its successors; as for apologetic compilations, the original *Collection on Propagating and Clarifying [the Dharma]* (*Hongming ji* 弘明集, T no. 2102; or HMJ) in fourteen fascicles was also compiled by Sengyou; and as for hagiographic collections, a Liang Period monk named Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554) wrote the original *Traditions of Eminent Monks*

²⁰ On their relationship, see Fujiyoshi 2002, 163–9. On the appearance of Daoxuan's written works in *A Grove of Pearls*, see Kawaguchi 1978, 304–6. Though historical records are silent about Daoshi's birthyear, Fu 1994 argues for 596 in his study of Daoshi's biography.

²¹ Chen 2007 is the first and only book-length study of Daoxuan in the English language, and a few dissertations have delved into a selection of his works. On the rise and application of the *Four-Part Regulations* in medieval China, see Yifa 2002, 8–28; and Heirman 2007.

(*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, T no. 2059; or *GSZ*) in fourteen fascicles, itself a reworking of Baochang's lost *Traditions of Famous Monks* (*Mingseng zhuan* 名僧傳) in thirty fascicles.²² The literary output of Sengyou, Baochang, and Daoshi, among others, is a proximate context for the compilation of *A Grove of Pearls* and other scriptural anthologies of the period—of continual reference and quotation for the anthologist. These other works share strategies of classification with *A Grove of Pearls* and, crucially, present the work of “collection” they all perform as hugely important endeavors for the management of holy writings. For ease of reference, Appendix A charts these authors and their works in relation to one another.

A small body of around twenty manuscript fragments from Dunhuang have been identified by East Asian scholars as related to *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* or *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures*, and they range in quality from a well-preserved four-foot-long scroll to scrap pages of booklets.²³ All of the fragments have been identified as deriving from Daoshi's anthologies as the text more closely resembles Daoshi's rewritten scriptural tradition than the “originals” from which he is quoting, the telltale signs being the inclusion of category headings, prefatory commentary, and citation (“as X scripture says...”), the summary of and deletion from original passages, and their juxtaposition with quotes from other scriptures. What is more, all but one of the fragments deviate significantly from the transmitted editions of the anthologies, with manuscripts on one end of the spectrum representing abbreviated digests of *A Grove of Pearls* or *Collected Essentials* and at the other end of the spectrum resembling non-sequential excerpts taken from multiple sections of Daoshi's anthologies. Chapter Five offers a survey of such manuscript evidence and presents, as appendices, a transcription and translation of a double-sided, two-page scroll fragment from Dunhuang called S. 4647. It appears to have adapted *A Grove of Pearls* as a sourcebook for passages related to bathing monks on the

²² Many of these works have been very well studied, and I will review relevant secondary scholarship in the course of closer discussion.

²³ See Chapter Five, Part 2.2 for identification by previous secondary studies.

recto, and for miscellaneous chapter prefaces on the verso. I argue that this particular use of *A Grove of Pearls* reverberates with its aim of locating passages of text under schemes of their proposed use-value. This is to say that the body of religious writing reduced and reorganized by Daoshi through his anthologies was not merely intended for a reader's passive consumption, but also for further written and oral circulation—further selection, reduction, and reorganization.

Scriptural Economy and Skillful Means

In his *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), Michel de Certeau uses the term “scriptural economy” (*l'économie scripturaire*) to dramatize the self-mythologizing role of writing as a technology in the development of Western modernity, parasitic off of (and striving to obscure) a premodern, not fully articulate, but ever-present orality.²⁴ By “scriptural economy,” in this dissertation, I mean to speak to something far simpler: “scriptural” refers to Buddhist scriptures (*jing* 經 or less frequently *xiutuoluo* 修陀羅; *sūtra*), and “economy” to their efficient management. Given that their scriptural tradition presented Buddhists with “too much to know,” anthologies and catalogs could allay confusion and orient readers to the essentials.²⁵ Modern standard Chinese

²⁴ The tenth chapter theorizing “scriptural economy” bears the concept as its title, tr. Rendall 1984, 131–54. My use of the term draws inspiration from de Certeau's theoretical elaboration insofar as it forays into elucidating the “semiotic” or “language ideologies” of early medieval Chinese Buddhists vis-à-vis their various Others: what was it to write down, edit, or excerpt from Buddhist scriptures? What powers and limits did ink, brush, and paper have in comparison with a highly developed oral scriptural culture from which Buddhism emerged? In prefaces to their works, Buddhist catalogers, collectors, and anthologists adapt themes from classical Chinese myths about the origins and development of writing as well as from Buddhist accounts of how religious language manifests itself and works on the world and its denizens, in order to convince and remind readers about how to regard written scriptures and anthologies thereof. In my use of the term, “scriptural economy” is a language ideology that underscores how the technologies of Chinese manuscript culture allow for scriptural texts to be reduced and reorganized while preserving some, if not enhancing, their efficacy. On “language ideologies,” a term deriving from linguistic anthropology, see Judith Irvine's 2010 bibliographic essay, where she defines language ideologies very broadly as “conceptualizations about languages, speakers, and discursive practices... pervaded with political and moral interests... shaped in a cultural setting.”

²⁵ “Too much to know” I borrow from the title of Ann M. Blair's 2010 study of early modern European information management through reference works like dictionaries, bibliographies, indices, and encyclopedias in *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age*. The title of Blair's work nicely articulates with Zürcher 1980, 145–6, on what kinds of challenge the “Buddhist canon” represents to scholars of Chinese Buddhism—a problem of knowing too much: “One of the great problems in the study of early Chinese Buddhism is that we know too much about it—as far as the canonical scriptures are concerned. Of some *sūtras* we know that they were very popular and had a wide circulation, but there are hundred of texts containing innumerable points of doctrine, of which we cannot measure the actual impact. Many may have been obscure texts with hardly any circulation, surviving in some remote corner, eventually to be saved by their inclusion in the printed canon. In other words: the

translates *jingji* 經濟 for “economy,” a borrowing of Meiji Period *keizai* 經濟 for translating the modern sense of economy meaning the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services of a given region.²⁶ Still, these meanings reverberate with older uses of *jingji* in early modern Chinese and Japanese political discourse as a classical allusion to the government’s imperative to “order the world and provide for the people” *jingshi jimin* 經世濟民.²⁷ My use of “scriptural economy” also plays off the genealogy of *jingji*, not so much in the sense that the two characters that compose it could be read as “scripture” and “providence” respectively, but rather in the notion that anthropologists believed themselves to be acting under the Buddhist imperative to propagate the Dharma and save lives by doing so.

Before the realm of the “economic” became domained as “public” and “worldly” (as opposed to “private” and “religious”),²⁸ its use in ancient Greek as *oikonomia* originally denoted household management (extending by analogy to the management of other realms—the management of language in rhetoric, for instance), and early Christian theologians employed the term

actual impact is difficult to measure.” My study of scriptural economy makes no claims about the “actual” circulation of texts, quotes thereof, or the knowledge they meant to impart. Rather, it proposes to apprehend “too muchness” alongside an anthology’s implied audience, attending to its internal strategies of reduction, organization, popularization, and access. Though it may seem otherwise—scriptures copied into anthologies demonstrate “actual” reading of scriptures, after all—mine is a study less of “actual” than “imagined impact.”

²⁶ Economic histories of Chinese Buddhism in this sense begin with Gernet 1999. Walsh 2010, 142n15, opines that few other works in this vein have appeared since. Both Gernet and Walsh aptly illustrate how religious ideals and social practice were mutually imbricated in the premodern period. A conference in June 2017 at the University of British Columbia (“Buddhism and Business, Market and Merit”) was dedicated to fostering interdisciplinary research on the relationship between Buddhism and economics in the modern standard sense.

²⁷ See the appendices in Liu 1995, 265–380. *Jingji* can be found in appendix D, p. 315, with other “return graphic loans,” that is to say, “classical Chinese-character compounds that were used by the Japanese to translate modern European words and were reintroduced into modern Chinese” (302), a category of modern Chinese loanwords Liu distinguishes from words first coined in missionary-Chinese context (appendix A); words borrowed from modern Japanese *kanji* coinages that were meant to translate European words (appendix B); and words borrowed from Japanese *kanji* coinages that did not necessarily involve European languages (appendix C). For a brief portrait of the lexicographic and semantic diversity of terms for “economy” and “economics” in the period of *keizai/jingji*’s ascendancy (the late Qing), see Lippert 2004. Both Liu and Lippert suss out diverse origins for *jingji* in classical Chinese works like the official histories, the *Zhuangzi*, the *Book of Documents*, and *The Master Who Embraces Simplicity*.

²⁸ Howard 2015 traces a genealogy of the distinction between public and private to Aristotle’s dichotomy between *polis* (the political community) and *oikos* (the household). Two appendices to Agamben’s study of theological *oikonomia* summarize how this concept may be related to key concepts of modern political thought, the Rousseauvian “general will” and Adam Smith’s “invisible hand.” See Agamben 2011, 261–88. The literature on the genealogy of secularism is vast; Asad 2003 is a critical node in the conversation.

to articulate the role of the Trinity (and eventually, providence) in managing the affairs of the world.²⁹ Medieval Chinese Buddhists may have seen *jingji* as a role to be fulfilled by the emperor—the term blooms in usage during the early medieval period—but they too saw the far-seeing Buddha and his foremost disciples as extending their diverse teachings outward in order to save future beings. Catalogers, collection-builders, and anthologists took it upon themselves to play the role of scriptural managers, appraising, selecting and parsing out what the Buddha and centuries of translators and other intercultural brokers had provided them.³⁰ For Mahāyāna Buddhists of medieval China, an analogue to the providential *oikonomia* of the Christian fathers’ God was the Buddha’s “skillful means” (*shanquan fangbian* 善權方便 or simply *fangbian* 方便 for *upāyakauśalya* or *upāya*), the manifold provisional teachings and practices deemed pedagogically necessary to varied beings’ spiritual progress. “Skillful means” is an expansive Buddhist concept that extends from early mainstream Buddhist attempts to account for and harmonize all the various teachings of the Buddha, to Mahāyāna ideological attempts to label mainstream Buddhist thought and practice as “provisional” and supplant them with “higher” teachings, to antinomian Buddhist justification of quick, dirty, deceptive, even otherwise karmically deleterious practices to achieve liberation.³¹ In modern standard Mandarin, *fangbian* pre-

²⁹ Agamben, *The Kingdom and The Glory*, 1–143. The *Oxford English Dictionary* preserves many of the theological uses of English “economy” as well, see definitions 5a (“The method of divine government of the world, or of a specific aspect of part of that government”) and 5b (“A method or system of divine government suited to the needs of a particular nation or period of time”) under “economy, n.” *OED Online*. (Oxford University Press, June 2017).

³⁰ *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 36 (2014) features work that grew from a conference on “Authors and Editors in the Literary Traditions of Asian Buddhism” and theorizes the role of the “tradent” which encompasses various modes of authorship, collection, and commentary responsible for building and maintaining literary traditions.

³¹ My understanding of “skillful means” is developed from Pye 2003; Tatz 1994; Keown 1998; Schroeder 2004; Federman 2009; and Cheung 2015. Pye pioneered the study of *upāya-kauśalya* as a concept that is most clearly elucidated in the Mahāyāna *Lotus* and later *Lotus* traditions, but can be discussed as having a diverse genealogy that runs through “early Buddhist” scriptures and Buddhist traditions at large. Keown’s typology of the “four senses of skillful means” (202), emphasized differently across analytically distinct scriptural traditions of Buddhism, has also been influential. And Federman’s reading of “skillful means” specifically as Mahāyāna ideology, read in conjunction with other scholars’ more suspicious takes on Mahāyāna traditions, has afforded me greater critical purchase on the discursive power of the concept. My use of the adjective “antinomian” is borrowed from Wedemeyer’s 2013 analysis of “transgressive antinomianism” in tantric Buddhist discourse. “Transgressive antinomianism” as an ironic, self-conscious semiology to my mind nicely overlaps with Keown’s fourth meaning of “skillful means as normative ethics sanctioning breaches of moral precepts” that he finds articulated in the *Upāyakauśālyasūtra* among other

serves something of its Buddhist origins by meaning “convenient” or “to make easier or suitable.” This dissertation will refer to “skillful means discourse” to denote language that Buddhist scriptures and Buddhists use to discuss the adaptation of the Buddhist teaching to specific occasions and audiences, whether it refers to the diversity of approaches used by the Buddha and his followers, their presumed equivalence or provisionality, or the preeminent speed or ease of some teachings over others.

Chinese Buddhist *leishu* instantiated scriptural economy by privileging diversity over consistency, summaries for full disquisitions, scriptural parts over scriptural wholes, and speed for thoroughness. Their prefaces weave skillful means discourse into their accounts of the proliferation of the Buddhist written tradition and the implications of this proliferation for contemporary readers.³² Moreover, their very forms suggest that the way scriptures communicate holy truths can be written with less ink and told over less time, and that there is no single scripture that possesses the whole truth for all time and every audience member. These modes of regarding multiple pedagogic forms and contents at some remove in order to evaluate their relative efficacies are not altogether distinct from better studied exegetical or hermeneutic strategies of medieval Chinese Buddhist thought, whether articulated in the more general terms of scriptural interpretation and commentary, the specialty of eminent monks that Huijiao and Daoxuan would have classified as “exegesis” (*yijie* 義解), or more specifically in terms of scholastic *panjiao* 判教 (“doctrinal classification,” literally “judging/discriminating/dividing teachings”)—Tiantai and Huayan schemes of setting the multiple doctrines of Buddhism (and sermons of the Buddha) into a non-contradictory sequential hierarchic totality.³³ While Peter Gregory has highlighted Chi-

Mahāyāna sources (203–4). See also the analysis of sexual transgression and its associations with the “sudden teaching” in the Chan and Zen traditions in Faure 1991, 231–57.

³² Much has been written about Buddhist reading practices, which as might be expected, can differ radically between Buddhist traditions no less individual Buddhists. As I discuss below, my interpretation of Buddhist reading as imagined by Chinese anthologies builds off of scholarship suggesting that “reading” in premodern Buddhist contexts is more aural, public, and pedagogical than previously (protestantly?) assumed.

³³ *Panjiao* schemes preceded and co-existed alongside the representatives produced by figures who would later become known as the patriarchs of the Tiantai and Huayan “schools” of Chinese Buddhism. For a recent attempt at cataloging and elucidating various exegetical attempts at *panjiao*, see Mun 2006). Previous elucidation of various

nese-authored doctrinal classification as a preeminent solution to what he refers to as “the hermeneutical problem in Buddhism”—the vastness and heterogeneity of teachings available—anthologies like *A Grove of Pearls* negotiate the teachings as passages of text rather than as gnostic content or spiritual accomplishment.³⁴ At any rate, themes of efficiency or efficacy were already woven into the fabric of pre-Buddhist classical thought,³⁵ and such rhetoric continued to inform and be informed by Buddhists who composed and used anthologies as well as those who did not. Skillful means discourse can be read as indigenous theorization of Buddhist praxis and pedagogy, and anthologies represent a privileged site where such theorization manifests itself and attempts to make itself effective.³⁶

Making Buddhist Canon (Practicable)

The problematic of scriptural economy is couched throughout, or can be interpreted through, the master concept of Buddhist skillful means, which in its Mahāyāna manifestations often serves to irenically recode difference or contradiction in Buddhist thought and practice as identity.³⁷ Skillful means discourse in turn iterates Buddhist instruction as such: it is “meta-pedagogic” in the sense that it conceives of itself as teaching about teaching.³⁸ Medieval Chinese Buddhists did

medieval thinkers’ *panjiao* (Kumārajīva; Sengzhao; Sengrui; Zhiyi; Zhanran; Fazang; Zongmi) form an important current in the modern study of Chinese Buddhism: among some earlier major works, see Hurvitz 1960–1962, 214–29, Liu 1988, and Gregory 2002, 93–170.

³⁴ Gregory 1983, 231–49; reworked into a section titled “The Hermeneutical Problem in Buddhism,” *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, 2002, 93–104; and originally in dialogue with Thurman 1978, 22–3.

³⁵ Jullien 1995, 9–10, employs *dispositif* as a translation for *shi* 勢, a concept the English translator Janet Lloyd renders variously as “setup,” “instrument,” “position,” “potential,” “circumstances.” The concept of *shi* as elaborated by Jullien bears family resemblance, on the one hand, to Mahāyāna thought on “skillful means,” conceptualized as various “tools” fit for heterogenous “circumstances”; on the other, in contemporary European thought, Agamben traces a genealogy of Foucauldian “apparatus” back through *dispositif*, *dispositio*, and “the complex theological sphere of *oikonomia*” in Agamben 2009, 11.

³⁶ Schroeder 2004, 5–7, suggests “metapraxis,” a term coined by Thomas Kasulis referring to philosophical reflection on or within religious praxis, as a kind of synonym for skillful means. See also the application of “metapragmatics” from linguistic anthropology to the study of reflexivity in religious ritual in Patton 2012, 366–8, which also draws a connection to Kasulis’s “metapraxis.”

³⁷ See also the reading of “original foundation, manifest traces” *honji suiijaku* 本地垂迹 in early modern Japanese religion as “hierarchical inclusion” in Josephson 2012, 24–9.

³⁸ See note 36 above on “metapraxis.”

not have the term “religion” to conceptualize their role as Buddhists: they envisioned Buddhism as a “teaching” (*jiao* 教), they followed and transmitted the Dharma (*fa* 法) or the “way” (*dao* 道) of the Buddha (*Fo* 佛), and they became or supported monks (*seng* 僧) composing a sangha.³⁹ By labelling medieval Buddhist Chinese *leishu* as religious anthologies alongside late antique Christian anthologies or modern Hindu liturgies, scholars can attend to how communities across time and tradition similarly manage religious textuality for pedagogic aims. But by insisting on Buddhism’s self-understanding as a “teaching,” however, I wish to highlight how Buddhist *leishu* communities conceptualized the movement and efficacy of Buddhist text over time and space. From the Buddha’s mouth outward in space and forward through time via the ears, minds, and brushes of Buddhism’s tradents, and from the vocalizations of inked or memorized characters by preaching monks to their apprehension by lay auditors, the teaching as a linguistic object would transform and purify the very ethical substance of all dharmic media forming a chain from the Buddha source to the final target. Granted, this narrative about how dharma ideally circulates is only made explicit in certain passages of certain sūtras. While it is repeated by authors of prefaces to scriptures, catalogs, and anthologies, the reader of a scripture, catalog, or anthology may not even read a preface before diving into a work for their own purposes. Nonetheless, ideas about how the Dharma-as-text is generated, transmitted, learned, taught, and practiced structure the composition and use of Buddhist anthologies, and so Buddhist anthologies remain a privileged site for sounding out how the mass of instructional texts were reckoned with as such.

A recent volume of studies on Chinese Buddhist canon addresses earlier scholarly doubts about the representativeness, popularity, and centrality of a mainstream Buddhist scriptural tradition conserved to the present day through sequential state-sponsored printing from the tenth century onward.⁴⁰ In short, Sino-Buddhologists of the past few generations have encouraged schol-

³⁹ See Company 2003.

⁴⁰ Wu and Chia 2015.

arship to turn from literati doctrine to popular practice; from the Sangha's relationship with the state to a broader cultural history; and from the body of received print tradition in the form of the Taishō canon to the realia of surviving manuscript and archaeological evidence.⁴¹ Each of these turns frames “canonical Buddhism” as less representative of “real” Buddhism than originally imagined, and seek to provincialize its importance in light of what alternative sources suggest. In response, the various contributors to the 2015 volume approach canon as “event”—something continually formed and reformed through social practice rather than as a static, closed textual entity expressing timeless truths.⁴² Canons, the contributors also suggest, had perduring significance not only for the elite medieval scholastics who composed scriptural prefaces and catalogs, but also for ordinary monastics who raised merit for family members through participation in a “cult of the canon,” and lay sponsors of diverse social groups who paid to have woodblocks carved for the local monastic production of print canonical scriptures.⁴³

This dissertation takes seriously these scholars' framing of Chinese Buddhist canon as plural, contingent, and contested, the definitions, contents, and forms of which often diverge dramatically. In fact, it emphasizes that medieval Chinese Buddhists themselves recognized that Buddhist writings and collections thereof were objects with specific karmic histories; that the scriptures they inherited had been translated, edited, and otherwise adapted with specific audiences in mind; and that dharma in its written aspect admitted of and often necessitated further commentary, summary, recollection, and propagation. Specifically, it attempts to trace how medieval Chinese Buddhists “imagined Tripiṭaka” as a vast body of sacred text that could be

⁴¹ McRae's 1995 report on the state of the field in the study of “Buddhism” bisects in its discussion of recent work on doctrine (“Chan” and “mainstream”) and politics from a chapter-part titled, “Expanding the Boundaries of the Study of Chinese Buddhism,” in “Chinese Religions—the State of the Field, Part II.” The second half of his report kicks off with a discussion of attempts to situate Buddhism as “a fluid system of processes in discourse with its cultural environment” (358) and moves on to consider recent studies on so-called Buddhist apocrypha and “nonelite manifestations of Chinese Buddhism.”

⁴² Lancaster 2015 articulates this framing in the volume's preface, xii–xiii. This terminological move has worthy precedent in the study of Chinese religions: “scripturality” offers purchase on “scripture” (Levering 1989), and “ritualization” clarifies “ritual” (Bell 1992; 1997).

⁴³ See Jiang Wu's and Lucille Chia's two contributions to the 2015 volume.

economized and otherwise put to work.⁴⁴ Rather than assuming *a priori* the existence of “impractical” versus “practical” canons, scholars could explore how Buddhists themselves sought to make impractical canons practicable, and thus how they imagined “impractical” and “practical” on their own terms.

The development of woodblock printing (and the contemporaneous abatement in production of new scriptural translations) beginning in the mid-Tang made it possible to produce, and conserve through reproducing, vast quantities of scriptures that were regarded in their own time as “canons” (*dazangjing* 大藏經, literally “the scriptures of the great basket[s]”).⁴⁵ But the early medieval period was an age of manuscripts, and the catalog and anthology were tools employed to visualize and manage an inconsistent and proliferating scriptural tradition, a “canon” that was continually open to accept new or emended translations and may have only physically existed as a “complete” scriptural collection in very few times and places.⁴⁶ Even whenever “all of the scriptures” could be brought together to audit and catalog, their size, scope, and difficulty would have remained cumbersome⁴⁷—what would using a “canon” even look like? Besides installing it in a bookcase and spinning it around—a perfectly legitimate use of scriptures—what might it mean to read it?⁴⁸ Richard Salomon in an article titled “An Unwieldy Canon” argues that Buddhists encounter a problem with the size of scriptural tradition that stems from uniquely Buddhist conceptions of the scope and flexibility of the Dharma—that the teaching of the Buddha can be continually translated, restated, expanded, and contracted. These very same conceptions about the adaptability of dharmic text would have influenced how Gandhāri Buddhists recorded their

⁴⁴ I borrow this language from the title of Wu 2013, “Imagining Tripiṭaka: Legends about the Buddhist Canon in Chinese Sources.” My gratitude to Jiang Wu for sharing his unpublished talk with me.

⁴⁵ On the appropriateness of “canon” to describe *dazangjing*, see Jones 2015.

⁴⁶ See the call for research on monastic libraries and “the actual possession and use of texts” in the study of Pāli Buddhist traditions in Collins 1990, 81–2.

⁴⁷ See Salomon 2011.

⁴⁸ Even contributors to Wu and Chia seem to regard the “complete written or printed sets of the canon, when available at all, to serve more as symbolic or ritual objects than as reference tools or objects of study,” as Salomon 2011, 180, puts it, citing Levering’s 1988 classic observation on how modern Taiwanese monastics regarded physical canons.

scriptures in writing: like Buddhists across the tradition, they made “selections, abridgments, and anthologies” in order to form what some scholars of Buddhism have referred to as “practical canons,” that is to say, more wieldable forms of text that a given community would actually be expected to read and use.⁴⁹

To consider an anthology as a “practical canon” on the face of it may be perilous on two fronts: first, it casts actually existing canons as “impractical” or “unreadable,” even as actually existing Buddhists might “practice” or “read” them by physically leafing through them; second, it might obscure the symbolic or ritual functions of anthologies at the expense of their presumed usefulness and usability. In this dissertation, I embrace the perspectives afforded by this new concept even as I have shied from using the term more explicitly. In the case of *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*, while the work won much praise in its time and throughout the second millennium, it is not clear to what degree it ever reached as broad an audience as, say, the *Lotus* or the *Flower Adornment* sutras. As its own set of a hundred scrolls contained in ten wrappers, it would have been more cumbersome than either of these famous Mahāyāna classics (eight and eighty fascicles respectively). Not intended to be committed to memory as a whole, it constituted a massive repertoire of text in its own right, impractically large for many functions, even in the age of print.⁵⁰ What *A Grove of Pearls* does show, however, is a pronounced concern for disciplining a scriptural body that it considered unwieldy and difficult into something more manageable. Daoshi imagined a demand for making “all of the scriptures” accessible, and this dream remains part of the story of how Buddhists imagined a role for scriptures in their society.

⁴⁹ See Blackburn 1999 for inaugurating “practical canon” in the study of Theravāda Buddhism; the framing of the para-canonical Lao manuscripts under investigation as such by McDaniel 2008, 14–15; the literature review on “practical canons” of Theravāda traditions, Berkwitz 2009, 42.

⁵⁰ On anthologies intended for memorization, see Chapter One, Part 3. I carefully borrow the language of “repertoire” from recent scholarly discussion in the study of East Asia religions that situates religion or culture as “tool kits” or “repertoires of resources” from which individuals may “negotiate their lives,” inspired by the work of qualitative sociologist Ann Swidler (Campany 2003, 317–18; 2009, 40–1; 2012, 106–11); for a similar approach to “culture as repertoire,” see Hymes 2002, 5–11. What interests me about these theories about religion and culture are less their accuracy in describing social worlds or religious practice than how similar they are to Buddhist ideas about scripture: text is imaginable as tools, resources, and stuff worth listing and storing in a literal repertoire.

Even if *A Grove of Pearls* never grew popular beyond a relatively small set of hyperliterate Buddhists, its intention was to popularize the Dharma, to offer brilliant pearls of holy text to attract, inform, and transform their carriers and auditors.

On “Basic Buddhism”

In the previous two sections I have argued that Chinese Buddhist anthologies themselves have perspectives to contribute about what “scripture” and “canon” even are. More than the mere adaptation of a “native” Chinese genre of *leishu* by a “foreign” Buddhist scholastic community, Buddhist *leishu* saw themselves as Buddhicizing agents in the world, making the “skillful means” approach of the Buddha’s pedagogy more transparent and encouraging their readers to evaluate their own circumstances in locating scriptural passages to study and teach. In curating a selection of topics and scriptural passages, however, Buddhist *leishu* also offer perspectives about the contents of Buddhist teaching as well. Like many of the scriptures and treatises they draw from, they purport to offer up texts that are essential to Buddhist thought and practice. One of the goals of this dissertation is to delineate how Daoshi’s anthologies frame and figure what scriptures and what about texts are “essential.” Through practices of scriptural economy—in defining systems of categories by which to store and recover scriptural excerpts; by commenting on scriptural excerpts as plants, “pearls” (*zhu* 珠), and “essentials” (*yao* 要); and through the reductive process of excerpting itself—anthologies pronounce what kinds of Buddhist texts and textuality are relatively accessible, elementary, and indispensable in opposition to what kinds of Buddhist texts and textuality are relatively difficult, advanced, or ancillary. Even more than this, the anthology argues to its medieval audience (not just to modern scholars guided by our own “protestant presuppositions”!) that Buddhist text, scripture, and canon matter—that dharmic text itself is a basic component of the Buddhist endeavor.⁵¹ It claims that all of it matters because all

⁵¹ Schopen 1991 argues that “protestant presuppositions” of Buddhology that privileged transmitted texts had distracted historians from archaeological evidence. Schopen 1975 also popularized the term “cult of the book” for postulating the putatively unique role of written scriptures as objects of worship in Mahāyāna traditions, inaugurating a new era in thinking through the roles of textuality in various historical Buddhisms. Anthologies show how so-called

of it is always potentially useful material, but it needs to be managed because of the limits on human capacity with regard to lifespan, memory, and discretion.

When Stephen Teiser wrote in 1985 that “[Daoshi’s anthologies] ...introduce the reader to ‘basic’ Buddhism—the dramas, personalities, and teachings of early Buddhism in India, very much alive in Chinese translation to men and women of the Tang,” the adjective “basic” is in scare-quotes because Buddhologists had already been reevaluating what if anything was fundamental and common to various Buddhist traditions.⁵² In Daoshi’s anthologies, “basic Buddhism” bases itself both in early Buddhist India and early Tang China, and the link between the two were the scriptures contained by or related to the vast *āgama* or *nikāya* scriptural traditions of mainstream Buddhism.⁵³ The aforementioned scholarly concerns about Buddhist canon and canonicity too were centered on the question of how to conceive of what was basic to Buddhist instruction, sometimes inverting elite, emic hierarchies by emphasizing “lay” over “monastic” teachings; “kammatic” over “nibbanic” doctrines; “mainstream” over “Mahāyāna” perspectives; and miraculous narratives or fables over philosophical disquisitions.⁵⁴ As a result, new generations of scholarship have amply shown that what a learned scholar-monk considers “basic” Buddhism does not necessarily map onto what a lay believer may consider “basic.” Furthermore, various passages in Buddhist scriptures are famous for touting the supreme necessity and ease of the

canonical Buddhist scriptures were not merely disobeyed (as in Schopen 1991, among others) or read as cult objects (as in Schopen 1975, among others), but in some cases, probed and circulated for their contents.

⁵² In a recent review essay on college textbooks on Buddhism, Berkwitz 2015 identifies “textbook Buddhism” as a site where scholars in Buddhist studies contest or find consensus about what is basic to Buddhism. Not only do the textbooks differ in how much they emphasize coherence or diversity across Buddhist traditions, they also make different choices in materials’ accessibility or complexity, presuming different kinds of readers and pedagogical situations. Five of the ten recent textbooks he surveys have “introduce” in their title, one is titled *Buddhism: the Basics* (Cantwell 2010), and another the *Foundations of Buddhism* (Gethin 1998). Positions and dichotomies staked out by experts in contesting the contours of “basic Buddhism” impact the contents and form of “textbook Buddhism” packaged for mostly Western college students.

⁵³ The Four Āgamas (*si ahan* 四阿含) were translated into Chinese as full collections at the beginning of the fifth century, but versions of the component scriptures had long been circulated previously. The Four Āgamas in Chinese (*T* nos. 1, 26, 99, and 125 often represent them) seem to have derived from different South Asian “schools” of Buddhism. On where in Pāli and Chinese sources the “four āgamas” appear, see Anālayo 2015, 12–16.

⁵⁴ Spiro 1971 famously distinguishes “kammatic” from “nibbanic” doctrinal emphases in his treatment of modern Burmese Buddhism.

scriptures they are found in; and treatises have been written and debates held throughout the Buddhist world to contest the basics of the Buddhist teaching's epistemology, ontology, and soteriology.⁵⁵ Though it may be helpful for scholars to conceptualize “basic Buddhism” broadly as narratives, concepts, dispositions, and practices that are commonly known, easy to learn, and considered necessary for inclusion and advancement by a Buddhist community, they might also agree that what is “basic” to Buddhism would depend on who is asking and why they need to know.

The medieval Chinese Buddhist anthology takes a similar perspective: its tabular categories face the reader as if to ask them what tasks they confront and what kinds of text they have interest in, and generates passages that respond to those concerns. If what it presents is “basic” Buddhism, “basic” is not defined by scriptural genre, monastic status, or place of origin so much as it is dictated by the anthology's own categories. There is no sense either that the chapters in Daoshi's anthologies proceed sequentially from simpler to more advanced material.⁵⁶ a reader can begin anywhere because every chapter has its own introduction and suffices as its own “dharma gateway” (*famen* 法門) to better Buddhist literacy. In *A Grove of Pearls*, passages filed under cosmological stage or station of being explain what they are and where to find them, in text and in the universe. Passages classified by virtue or vice list rewards and punishments and offer illustrative stories. Quotations listed under chapters on cultic objects—monastic clothing, flowers and incense, śārirā relics—or pulled into service of chapters on religious practices—paying respect to monks, praying for rain, taking precepts—will recount origin stories, indicate sequences of procedures, list prominent examples, and promise spiritual efficacy for their righteous handling or performance.⁵⁷ And technical disquisitions on the finer functioning of

⁵⁵ Cole 2005 explores the strategies of textual supersession in a few of the major Mahāyāna scriptures that became popular in China—naturally, not all scriptures that employ self-aggrandizing rhetoric denigrate other scriptural traditions, and a scripture or practice's “basicity” can be articulated in a myriad ways.

⁵⁶ This is in contrast to other surviving Chinese Buddhist anthologies, which have different ordering principles. See Chapter One, Part 4 on the overall organization of *A Grove of Pearls*.

⁵⁷ See Chapter One, Parts 3 and 4 for a discussion of *A Grove of Pearls*'s chapter structure and titles as well as Appendix A.

karma and rebirth appear in more doctrinally focused sections of the anthology. In most chapters, passages from the “Three Baskets” and “Two Vehicles” co-exist side-by-side with each other along with Chinese-authored essays and miracle-tales, and while strings of passages or even entire chapters may seem to address themselves to monastics or laypersons exclusively, the overall position of the anthology is that monastics ought to know what in the scriptures concerns laypersons because they will have to teach them. In other words, the very form of *A Grove of Pearls* militates against any one-doctrine/practice/scripture/scriptural passage-fits-all ethos: it would claim that the base of basic textual Buddhism is not expressed as any one discipline or idea, but diffused over a vast scriptural body of writing.⁵⁸

Nonetheless, throughout *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* and other surviving Buddhist anthologies appears a common thread of concerns that monks and especially laypeople are benighted and in need of instruction; that the Dharma they contain is or is one important facet of that instruction; and that the ligament that unites the Buddhist teaching is knowledge of the iron law of karma wherein good actions are rewarded and bad actions are punished in this life or another. Less so the chain of dependent origination, the odyssey of meditative accomplishments, or the dialectics of emptiness and suchness one might think of in considering “basic” Buddhism, for instance, what Chinese Buddhist *leishu* contain are teaching stories and other instructions structured by karmic cause and effect: X did Y so Z happened to X (and if you do Y, Z will happen to you). Buddhist *leishu* will label and refer to scriptural narratives on this subject *yuan* 緣, usually “karma” or “fate,” which I will translate in this context as “account”; *A Grove of Pearls* uniquely appends Chinese-authored miracle tales to its selections from Buddhist scriptures, and consistently titles them “Accounts of Stimulus-Response” (*ganyingyuan* 感應緣

⁵⁸ This sentence reworks metaphors in the scholarly definition of Chinese “popular religion”—Zürcher’s depiction of the three institutionalized religions of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism as three pyramid-shaped peaks emerging from an undifferentiated common mountain base (Zürcher 1980, 146, elaborated in Ebrey and Gregory 1993, 11–18) and C. K. Yang’s 1961 characterization of Chinese religiosity as “diffused” rather than “institutionalized.” Just as Zürcher and Yang figure popular practice as religion’s “base,” so do anthologies imagine mass, heterogenous scripturality as a foundation for the Dharma.

), making reference to these individual accounts—not always recorded by Buddhists—as “proof-tales” (*yan* 驗). By anthologies’ own account, the explicit “basic” Buddhist teaching is that of karma, and all the teachings that illustrate the various forms and modes by which karma operates to structure the trichillioscosm also teach simply that it is real and has material consequences.

Anthologies envision teachings rationalized and made accessible, having travelled from ancient times via foreign tongues to be recorded in Chinese and sifted through several times moreover. As quotes in a book, “basic” teachings form a grove for respite, enjoyment, and passive consumption. But anthologies’ contents themselves—in addition to their prefaces and manuscript traces—suggest that quotes were meant to be lifted up, embraced, and recited again in monasteries and on preaching tours. Sermonizing (*changdao* 唱導) and scriptural recitation (*dujing* 讀經; *zhuandu* 轉讀) as monastic specialties are implicated in the composition and use of Buddhist anthologies: the latter constitute helpful tools for copying or sketching materials in developing colorful cycles of interest-garnering tales.⁵⁹ Beyond winning alms and popular support, these activities won souls via the pedagogic practice of the Buddha as imagined in the scriptures: illustrating to nominal Buddhists and others alike how karma and the Dharma are at the base of everything. Anthologies highlight and, in part, construct the self-understanding of the Sangha as a proselytizing body, replicating the Buddha’s role in spouting salutary speech. In doing so, they underscore the degree to which monastics sought to both isolate and refine the Buddha’s teachings, to follow in an age-old tradition of adapting to circumstances in order to make Buddhism basic.

Plan of the Dissertation

Chapter One begins by evaluating the genres under which late imperial bibliographers and modern scholars have apprehended *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*. It argues that

⁵⁹ See Chapters Five and Six.

even if generic terms like “encyclopedia,” “anthology,” or *leishu* may not have been recognizable to authors and users of such works in their own time, they still shed light on how they were imagined and employed. The cohort of scholar-monks who assembled what we would now call Buddhist *leishu* also wrote scriptural catalogs and other forms of compilation, the projects of cataloging and categorizing scripture going hand in hand. *Lei* were used to rubricate Chinese Buddhist compilations from the Southern Liang through the early Tang, and multi-scroll collections in particular featured tables of contents (*mulu* 目錄) at the opening of every scroll to guide and prepare readers. The overall structure of *A Grove of Pearls* was to facilitate easy and occasional reference and copying, and the hierarchy and sequence of *lei* represent not so much a systematization of abstract knowledge as they represent places to store useful passages of scripture. Reflecting back on the broader traditions of Chinese Buddhist *leishu* and collection, *A Grove of Pearls* adapted the *lei* format to promote scriptural economy.

Lei are not the only paratext that comment on passages in *A Grove of Pearls* or the anthology as a whole: what Daoshi himself identifies as “commentary” (*shu* 述) form introductions to, and articulate metatextual space outside of, the work’s body of scriptural quotations.⁶⁰ Chapters 2 and 3 argue that the titles and general prefaces (*xu* 序) of Chinese Buddhist anthologies are the best sources for reconstructing how they were imagined in relationship to their sources, authors, and audience. Prefaces to Daoshi’s anthologies have remained the main source for Buddhist catalogers and historians discussing *A Grove of Pearls* from the mid-Tang forward, as well as for modern scholars of Daoshi and his work; more importantly, they articulate what anthologists thought they were doing while they anthologized. Daoshi’s anthological prefaces extend from a centuries-long prefatorial tradition of reckoning with dharma—conjuring, counting,

⁶⁰ Much theoretical work around the “paratext” (and related terms “intertext,” “metatext,” “hypertext,” “architext”) has grown in reference to the structuralist insights of Genette 1991 and 1997. See Richard Macksey’s cataloging of Genette’s critical terminology in his preface in Genette 1997, xviii–xx. I use “paratext” to describe an instance where certain forms of writing bifurcate texts into “insides” and “outsides” (Genette’s “epitext” and “peritext”), and I propose that titles, headings, commentary, and citations identify an “outside” to the quoted text from scriptures and other sources. I would use “metatext” in the first instance as a synonym for “commentary,” but especially where commentary underscores text as such.

measuring, and evaluating the aggregation of scriptures by employing the allusive parallel prose characteristic to the preface genre. I identify three themes presented sequentially in the prefaces to Daoshi's anthologies, tracing their trajectories back through earlier Buddhist *leishu* and other parascriptural writings. First, the prefaces portray the Buddhist scriptural tradition as gloriously capacious, overwhelming other traditions of writing (Confucianism and Daoism), suitable to elaborating the profundities and complexities of the Dharma, and matched to the diverse capacities, temperaments, and historical needs of Buddhist audiences. Second, they subsequently develop this theme of scriptural proliferation as a problem: the welter of texts is difficult to master for a learned monk, no less for an illiterate layperson. Finally, the scholarly work of scriptural economy couches the work of anthology as skillful means, reducing readers' efforts and broadening their access to the Dharma.

Reducing effort was purportedly effected by reducing text. Chapters 4 and 5 focus on the strategies of selecting and transcribing quotes into and out from anthologies. A native term for "copying"—*chao* 抄—underscores the extractive relationship between a textual original and its copy as well as how transcription can transform a text by shortening it through selection and summary. By elucidating the strategies of *chao* in *A Grove of Pearls*, I argue that scriptural economy is visible not only in paratextual commentary and headings but also in the quoted text itself. The first part of Chapter Four delineates what the word *chao* has meant across pre-Buddhist and Buddhist literatures, and how it has carried both negative and positive associations throughout its history of use—*chao* as violent and distorting versus *chao* as pragmatic and restorative. We turn from there to a survey of how *A Grove of Pearls* draws attention to its strategies of reductive transcription in its commentarial paratext. In Chapter Five, we move from there to several case-studies comparing extracts gathered in *A Grove of Pearls* with their putative source texts as well as with their abbreviated manifestations in earlier Chinese Buddhist anthologies, the goal of which is to illustrate how anthologists isolate the textual "core" of a scripture burdened with details and repetition. We will end with a survey of Dunhuang manuscripts related

to Daoshi's anthologies, discussing how various readers of *A Grove of Pearls* made new, portable anthologies therefrom via their own selective copying.

Finally, Chapters 6 and 7 take a step back to consider how Daoshi and his cohort can be read as articulating critical perspectives on canonization immanent to a medieval Chinese Buddhist intellectual tradition. If the very form of anthology implicitly argues that the totality of the Buddhist written tradition has to be mediated to be accessible, how is that totality to be considered in the first place? I argue in this chapter that the community that engendered *A Grove of Pearls* thought through “canon” as a repeated and repeatable event where texts and tradents “collect” (*ji* 集) into a disparate unity. Chapter Six recounts how Daoshi collects quotes from multiple sources—including previous anthologies—to provide accounts of the Buddhist councils (*jieji* 結集); he appends a long vision of Daoxuan's where the heavenly bureaucracy assures readers that the totality of Buddhist writings is preserved on multiple supports and in multiple scripts in the stūpas of other worlds. Chapter Seven shifts focus from Daoshi's anthology to Daoxuan's catalog, and provides an account of the canons projected by Daoxuan's “summary” catalogs in his *Inner Books of the Great Tang*: one catalog organizes the titles by vehicle and basket in the space of monastic bookshelves, while the other eliminates so-called “duplicate” translations to create a canon that would take less time to recite in its entirety. Anthology and catalog together figure the collection of scriptures as a process that is governed by karmic conditions, continually requiring reorganization and reduction to efficient ends; and anthology and catalog cast their own “collection” as a religiously motivated activity bringing together the collective labors of previous historians, catalogers, translators, and other transmitters of the Dharma so that they may be preserved and put to work.

The 57th chapter of *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* is titled “Comparing Amounts” (*jioliang*), and like every chapter in Daoshi's anthology, ends with a concluding “praise” (頌 *song*) that not only summarizes the contents of the chapter (ten quotes subdivided

by seven section-headings, the second half of fascicle 52, shared with the 56th chapter on “Fami-ly” [*juanshu* 眷屬]) but also the perspective of the anthologist himself:

It is praised:

The multitudes of evils are difficult to calculate / the paucity of good can be listed,
Gods and humans are indeed few / [those on] the dirty paths [are as numerous] as [grains of] dust.

Noble and base trade places / poverty and wealth have different causes,
Compare by amount the superiority [of one to the] inferiority [of the other] / of the happiness or suffering to which they rise and sink.⁶¹

頌曰。

惡多難算	善少可陳
人天蓋寡	濁趣如塵
貴賤交易	貧富異因
校量優劣	樂苦昇沈

At first glance, this concluding praise offers no opinion about “scriptural economy” or the size and complexity of the Buddhist canon, simply iterating the lessons of “kammatic Buddhism” that link present good and evil action to future fortune and misfortune. It does so in the hyperbolic style of which Hu Shih disapproved: the universe is teeming with inevitable calamities, yet the smallest actions have outsized consequences. “Evil” (*e* 惡) and “good” (*shan* 善) karma take pride of place as the first subjects in the first stanza, and along with other terms denoting passage through and across the Six Paths, and resonate with the section-headings of the chapter—“2. Giving to Fields [of Merit]” (*shitian* 施田), “3. Ten Levels” (*shidi* 十地), “4. Meritorious Deeds” (*fuyue* 福業), “5. Sinful Deeds” (*zuiye* 罪業), “6. Miscellaneous Activities” (*zaxing* 雜行)—as well as other chapter-headings such as “4. Six Paths” (*liudao* 六道), “63. Wealth and Status” (*fugui* 富貴), “64. Poverty and Baseness” (*pinjian* 貧賤), “78. Karmic Conditioning” (*yeyin* 業因), and “84. Ten Evils” (*shi'e* 十惡).⁶²

The praise also underscores the scales of measurement and comparison introduced in the quoted content of “Comparing Amounts”: giving to a monastic at one higher level of spiritual

⁶¹ T no. 2122.j52.681a22–25; cf. Zhou and Su 2003, 4.1575.

⁶² Appendix A offers a general table of contents for *FYZL*.

accomplishment increases the merit received by a hundredfold;⁶³ keeping the Five Precepts for a day nets more merit than giving to the Buddha himself;⁶⁴ the sins of ten brothels are equivalent to the sins of a single tavern;⁶⁵ a clod of dirt in the Buddha's hand is to the Himālayas in amount as those with knowledge of the Four Noble Truths is to those without it.⁶⁶ Different kinds of action, reward, and accomplishment are compared through metaphor and ratio, but the sheer scale of the latter are indeed “difficult to calculate.” Rather than “scriptural economy,” the verse is interested in teaching its auditors to reckon with the complexity of the karmic universe efficiently: perform good, shun evil, become one of the knowledgeable few who reap rewards thereby.

At second glance, the concluding praise envisions the whole (or, rather, “a whole”) of what Buddhism teaches, not simply by yoking ten scriptural quotes from nine different scriptures to the same overall pedagogic point, but also grasping the Six Paths, “good” and “evil,” “poverty” and “wealth,” “happiness” and “suffering,” multitude and paucity in the same universal framework. The praise invites the reader to reckon with the unreckonable in terms of karma, just as the anthology asks the reader to compare, measure, or reckon with extracted quotations from Buddhist scriptures at large. The verb “to reckon,” like the Chinese character *jiao* 校較, has a semantic field that includes “to calculate or tally”; “to evaluate or assess”; and “to edit or correct”; moreover, in (Christian) English “reckoning” brings to mind God's postmortem accounting and judgement of individual or communal conduct.⁶⁷ By deigning to classify, cut apart, and recombine scriptures from the Buddhist written tradition—and affording others opportunities to do the

⁶³ T no. 2122.679a25–679b04; cf. Zhou and Su 2003, 4.1567–8, from *Scripture on the Original Activities of the Bodhisattva* (compare *Foshuo pusa benxing jing* 佛說菩薩本行徑, T no. 155.j2.114c11–25), unknown translator, 4th c.

⁶⁴ T no. 2122.679b08–10; cf. Zhou and Su 2003, 4.1568–9, Same scripture as above, compare T no. 155.j2.115a04–07.

⁶⁵ T no. 2122.680a04–05; Zhou and Su 2003, 4.1571, from *Scripture on the Ten Wheels* (compare *Shilun jing* 十輪經, T no. 410.j4.699c19), unknown translator, 6th c. See Appendix Q, Item 12 for more information on this scripture.

⁶⁶ T no. 2122.680c10–16; Zhou and Su 2003, 4.1574, from the *Connected Āgama Scriptures* (compare *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經, T no.99.j16.114a01–14), attributed to Gunabhadra in 450.

⁶⁷ HYDCD 9.1248–1249.

same—early medieval Chinese Buddhist anthologists took on the role of mediating bodhisattvas and reckoned with both the scriptural proliferation and complexity which confronted them as well as with an undereducated sangha and greater society in need of karmic lessons.

Chapter One: Categorizing Scripture with *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*

1. Two Tables of Contents

Turning to volume 53, page 269, of the Taishō Buddhist canon, one encounters the table of contents of an early medieval Chinese Buddhist anthology compiled in the 660s called *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* (*Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, T no. 2122).¹ Each of the hundred chapter titles of this massive work is two characters long—from “The Length of Kalpas” (*jieliang* 劫量), “The Three Realms” (*sanjie* 三界), and “Sun and Moon” (*riyue* 日月) all the way to the “Extinction of the Dharma” (*famie* 法滅), “Miscellaneous Essentials” (*zayao* 雜要), and “Records” (*zhuanji* 傳記) (see Appendix A for a full listing). The chapter-names are arrayed over seventeen lines with six chapter-titles per line, leaving criss-crossing lines of white space suggestive of avenues for movement through the *Grove*.² This layout in the critical Taishō edition of the 1930s imitates the page layout of the table of contents of *A Grove of Pearls* presented in printed canonical versions of the work from which the Taishō was constructed. For the mid-thirteenth-century Korean Canon edition—the base text for the Taishō—there are twenty columns of five titles each,³ but the contemporaneous Qisha Canon edition resembles the Taishō in page height, and also bears seventeen lines of six chapter titles each (actually sixteen times six, remainder four).⁴

¹ T no. 2122.j1.269bc.

² On the designation of “chapter” by *pian*, originally denoting a roll of bamboo strips, as something distinct from the “fascicle” or “scroll” (*juan*), see below. As paper (beginning in the Han) and then codices (beginning in the Tang-Song) grew in dominance as media for Chinese writing, so did *pian* and *juan* come to denote units of text independent of the media upon which they were classically written. On Chinese writing supports, see Tsien 2004.

³ K1406V39P0216c/ at [kb.sutra.re.kr]

⁴ For a recent English-language survey of print Chinese Buddhist Canons, see Li and He 2015. I have consulted a photo-facsimile reprint edition (影印本 *yingyinben*) of the Qisha Canon 磧砂藏 *Fayuan zhulin* published for individual resale: Daoshi, *Fayuan zhulin* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991). This edition of *A Grove of Pearls* seems to indicate that the production of woodblocks for many fascicles of the hundred-fascicle work at Yansheng Cloister 延聖院 in Pingjiang Prefecture 平江府 (present-day Suzhou, Jiangsu) were among the first works commissioned for the private printing of the canon, the duration of which lasts from 1216 to ca. 1322). By my count,

A modern “abridged” Chinese translation of *A Grove of Pearls*, volume 122 in the series of “Modern Vernacular Editions of Selected Treasures from Chinese Buddhist Scriptures” (*Zhongguo Fojiao jingdian baozang jingxuan baihuaban* 中國佛教經典寶藏精選白話版), published by the Taiwanese humanistic Buddhist organization Foguangshan 佛光山 (“Buddha Light Mountain”) in 1997, also features a table of contents spanning pages 9–11 of the short paperback.⁵ Headings run from right to left across the top of the pages, with Arabic numerals indicating the seven main divisions of the book. These division titles transcribe selected chapter headings from the full *Grove of Pearls*, and include their position in the sequence of the greater work with Chinese numerals: “1. Chapter 5: A Thousand Buddhas” (1千佛篇第五); “2. Chapter 23: Concealment” (2潛盾篇第二十三); “3. Chapter 42: Remonstrance” (3納諫篇第四十二); “4. Chapter 49: Loyalty and Filiality” (4忠孝篇第四十九); “5. Chapter 51: Defying Kindness” (5背恩篇第五十一); “6. Chapter 59: Stupidity” (6愚憨[戇]篇第五十九); “7. Chapter 60: Fraudulence” (7詐偽篇第六十). With smaller font subheadings beneath every division heading transcribing selected section-headings within the selected chapters: under “4. Chapter 49: Loyalty and Filiality,” for instance, there are “Section 4: Śyāma” (睽子部第四); “Section 5: Karmic Causes” (業因部第五); and “Accounts of Stimulus-Response” (感應緣), again mirroring the rubrication of the work from which these titles derive. Dotted lines dangle down from the chapters and sections to a second set of Chinese numerals indicating the page numbers running along the bottom of pages 9–11 where the reader can locate the excerpted, translated materials.

The table of contents of the late twentieth century *Grove of Pearls* explicitly recognizes itself as such: “TABLE OF CONTENTS” (*mulu* 目錄) read the two bold characters at the head of page 9, four times the size of any other character on the page. The work’s “table of contents”

twenty-five of the hundred fascicles contain dated colophons, dating from as early as 1233 to as late as 1256, and involving a diversity of copyists (*shu* 書), carvers (*kan* 刊), patrons (*shi* 施), and prayers; but I have not estimated the dating of non-dated fascicles reproduced in this volume. For some recent studies analyzing Qisha colophons (including those for *FYZL* fascicles) for evidence of “popular” involvement in Buddhist printing in the Southern Song (1127–1279) and beyond, see You Biao 2011 and Lucille Chia 2015, 183–6. My thanks to Lucille Chia for sharing her piece with me before it had been published.

⁵ Ed. Wang Bangwei (Taipei: Foguang wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1997).

at once guides readerly movement through the *Grove* at hand as well as the *Grove* it is meant to stand in for. Two sets of numbers, Arabic division numbers and Chinese page numbers, help readers orient themselves to how the printed paperback book of 127 pages is organized, while another set of Chinese numbers, written into the headings, index the internal organization of a fuller *Grove of Pearls*, nearly 3000 similarly-sized paperback pages over six volumes according to the twenty-first-century critical edition.⁶ Whether one turns to page 97 of the late twentieth-century translation or Chapter 49 of a full print *Grove of Pearls*, a reader will look for the same title, “Chapter 49: Loyalty and Filiality,” and expect material pertaining to that topic on the pages that follow.

The premodern tables of contents, from which the 1997 table derives, do not come with numbers. A thirteenth-century reader of the thirteenth-century table of contents would not find the right page number to turn to from simply reading the table. In fact, if he had the whole work in front of him and looked for “Chapter 60: Fraudulence,” he would find it in fascicle 54 of 100, because most of the hundred chapters share single fascicles, while a minority extend over more than one.⁷ But the thirteenth-century reader could still expect to find the work to be in the general sequence laid out in the table of contents, just like the seventh-century reader who would have likely encountered the work as a set of ten “wrappers” (帙 *zhi*) each containing ten literal scrolls.⁸ Either premodern reader, depending on his familiarity of the work, would eventually be able to locate the chapter he was looking for through the work’s system of headings and tables of

⁶ For Zhonghua shuju’s *Annotated Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* (*Fayuan zhulin jiaozhu*, edited by Zhou Shujia and Su Jinren and published in 2003, the exact figure is 2909 pages. This dissertation will cite both the Taishō and Zhou and Su editions, the latter of which relies on a privately commissioned woodcut edition of *A Grove* from 1827, on which, see Chen Yuan 2001 [1942], 54–5; Zhou 2003; and Inagaki 2008.

⁷ In the thirteenth century, an independent “fascicle”—*juan* 卷, lit. “roll”—would have appeared not as a *roll* but as an accordion-bound (or “sutra-bound”) booklet. For examples of stray “fascicles” of *A Grove of Pearls*, see “Fascicle 11” and “Fascicle 76” from the Waseda Daigaku toshokan 早稲田大学図書館 collection, representing printings from the 12th c. Pilu 毘盧藏 (= Taishō “Palace edition”) and 13th c. Puning Canons 普寧藏 (= Taishō “Yuan edition”) respectively. They are digitized at http://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/ha04/ha04_03111 and http://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/ha04/ha04_00562/.

⁸ Later the character for “wrapper” would come to refer to the folding cloth case for the storage of booklet-*juan*. On scroll-wrappers from the Dunhuang cache, see Rong 2013, 126–7.

contents.⁹ The hundred scrolls (which were often reproduced as concertina-bound booklets in late imperial print form), not uniform in page-length, would enumerate the chapters and sub-chapter sections contained therein at their heads; chapters would announce their enumerated contents where they began (often, with the beginning of a fascicle); and even the “Accounts of Stimulus-Response” heading would immediately run to a table of miracle tales that appended the majority of chapters in *A Grove of Pearls*. While the page layout can differ slightly between premodern editions, every witness to the *Grove of Pearls* preserves in part its use of rubrications and indentations to attract and direct a reader’s eye through an otherwise unpunctuated mass of categories, quotations, and characters. Like the modern tables of contents with which we are intimately familiar, the tables and headings of *A Grove of Pearls* invite the user to read text at a distance, as patterned space worth deep study, light skimming, or skipping altogether, depending on one’s needs of the moment.

To “look something up” in a reference work like an encyclopedia through a table of contents can feel distinctly modern. It feels fast to metaphorically travel through written materials by topic, number, or hyperlink, especially when one compares such movement to plodding one’s meandering way through a body of literature or interviewing a panel of experts. In a reference work, knowledge feels both solid and located. “Authority *x* says *y*” might offer a reader the “*y*” she was looking for, but it also offers her the “*x*” to consult, contextualize, or challenge. For beginners, a reference work entry offers an epistemic foothold; and for beginners who want to become experts, it offers the signposts to further textual sites. The phenomenology of a table of contents recapitulates the epistemology of the reference work: not everyone can or needs to know everything, but a great many things are knowable in principle and can be learned through reading about them.

⁹ According to evidence from Dunhuang, *leishu* before the age of print took many formats and sizes, and what survives is largely fragmentary, untitled, handheld, and excerpted. Nonetheless, their layouts—how headings and quotations are organized over page-space through indentation, highlighting, and adjustment of character-size—very often resemble their transmitted forms. See Wang Sanqing 1993.

But what was *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* for its authors and early audiences in the Tang dynasty? How did it feel to read and use it? And what does the very existence of the work presume about Buddhist knowledge, its transmission, and use? I argue in this chapter that sixth- and seventh-century Chinese Buddhist anthology developed as a tool for organizing and reducing the troublesome proliferation of Chinese Buddhist written tradition. While previous scholars have explained the development of the Chinese Buddhist *leishu* 類書 (“writings organized by category”) as a simple cooptation by Buddhists of an indigenous Chinese genre dedicated to organizing quotations by category, Chinese Buddhist anthologists themselves describe using *lei* for the purposes of taming dharmic disorder and broadening scriptural access. These same religious motivations also guided the compilation of Chinese Buddhist scriptural collections and catalogs (*mulu*), which developed in the same period. Read together, anthology and catalog imagined a space outside of Buddhist textuality from which individual translated scriptures and excerpts therefrom could be compared and evaluated. Both bibliographic genres made visible the titles and contents of scriptures in the form of skimmable lists. To categorize scripture in this mode was not necessarily to “rectify names” or to apprehend the totality of all phenomena: it was to see the vast universe of written dharma as fit for continued description, comparison, and use.

2. Genre: Encyclopedia, Anthology, Leishu

Western scholars of medieval China have referred to *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* as an “encyclopedia” since at least the 1980s, when Stephen Teiser and Donald Gjertson independently labelled it as such in their introductory treatments to the work.¹⁰ Unaware of their American colleagues’ assessments of the work, Taiwanese scholar Chen Yu-jen (陳昱珍) argued in 1992 that previous modern East Asian scholars had taken the work solely to be a “Buddhist

¹⁰ Gjertson 1986, 371; Teiser 1985, 109. Two recent descriptions of *A Grove of Pearls* as “Buddhist encyclopedia” include Zurndorfer 2013, 509, Young 2015, 2.

encyclopedia” (*Fojiao baike quanshu* 佛教百科全書), “anthology” (*leishu*), or “reference work” (*gongju shu* 工具書), when in fact its original purport was to enable apologetics.¹¹ And while Japanese scholars have long fit *A Grove of Pearls* into the genre of “Buddhist anthology” (*bukkyō ruisho* 仏教類書), Ochiai Torinoshi 落合俊典 proposed in 2006 to consider it as one of the more famous “essential compilations” (*yōbunshū* 要文集) of early medieval Chinese Buddhism, works that deigned to select and summarize “essence” from the scriptures and recompile them in new works, often but not always with the help of categories.¹² All of these scholars have grappled with the powers and limitations of modern generic categories for thinking through the specific form and use of this unique Tang period work: Gjertson and Teiser, introducing the work to the Western world, use “encyclopedia” to underscore its tremendous scope and edifying aims; Chen disclaimed the scientific label “Buddhist encyclopedia” as obfuscating Daoshi’s original religious motivations; and Ochiai coined “essential compilations” to in order to place the work in the same frame as otherwise invisible practices of Chinese scriptural compilation.

The contributors to the 2007 volume of *Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident* titled “Qu’était-ce qu’écrire une encyclopédie en Chine?” (What was it to write an encyclopedia in China?), festooned on the cover with the famous passage of Borges’s on “a certain Chinese encyclopaedia” with which Foucault begins his preface to *The Order of Things*, not only problematized the translation “encyclopedia” for *leishu* as presentist and ethnocentric, but also the use of the term *leishu*. The *leishu* genre was first apprehended by late Tang bibliographers to denote

¹¹ As evidence of Japanese scholarly usage, Chen 1992, 234n2 cites the Taishō index reprint. A similar identification can also be found as early as Maeda 1933–6, 10.5b (“Bukkyō no ichidai ruisho” 仏教の一大類書), or in Chinese scholarship where Chen Yuan identifies its “genre” (*tizhi* 體制) as *leishu*, 1999, 51. It is commonplace for modern scholarship in Chinese and Japanese to refer to *A Grove of Pearls* as a “Buddhist anthology”—see, for instance, Zhou 2003, v or Su 2003, xi in their prefaces to the 2003 Zhonghua edition. See also a short paragraph contrasting the “few centuries-old” genre “encyclopedia” (*baike quanshu*) against the “two thousand years-old” *leishu* in Zhao Hankun’s introductory essay to his reference work on Chinese *leishu* (Zhao 2005, 3).

¹² Ochiai 2006, 8–14. For more standard histories situating *A Grove of Pearls* in bibliographic lists of “Chinese Buddhist *leishu*,” see Chen 1992, 249–51; Ōuchi 1998, 22–6; Su 2003, xi–xiii; and Liu 2012, 62–6. See also English-language discussion of “early compilations containing a biography of the Buddha” in Durt 2006, 52–9, and some prefatory remarks on Sengyou’s *Shijiapu* as an “anthology” and works related to it, in Durt 2008, 119–21.

any and all works the bibliographic tradition had listed under the name, especially those dating from before the late Tang.¹³ The early “encyclopedia,” of false Greek etymology, was invented by post-sixteenth century European humanists to conjure the unity of a curriculum of human sciences; the *leishu* genre offers contemporary scholars a mode of imposing patterns onto the past that are of questionable relevance to how pre- and early-Tang compilers went about arranging collections of quotes by category. Thus, as even *leishu* from the early Song to the late Ming differentiated themselves in size, aims, and audience, so much the more should the early medieval works that later bibliographers re-cognized as *leishu* be studied in their specific cultural contexts.

That said, as I will demonstrate below, while the authors and early audience of *A Grove of Pearls* may not have seen the work as a *leishu* per se, they would have been well aware that it was, first, continuing in a Chinese Buddhist tradition of collecting scriptural passages en masse that first emerged in the Southern Dynasties period, and, second, participating in a practice of organizing large written works “by category” shared by Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike. Foreign and anachronistic generic terms can still shed light on what *A Grove of Pearls* was to its original audience, and they can be especially revealing of what it might have become; like Chen and Ochiai, however, I do not think that these categories fully capture what it was.

“Anthology” and its medieval Latin calque “florilegium” are useful descriptions for what we view today as Chinese Buddhist *leishu*. While the term today conjures up images of the collegiate world literature textbooks and greatest hits albums, scholars of early and medieval reli-

¹³ Bretelle-Establet and Chemla 2007, 8–10, and Drège 2007, 20–1. In addition to Drège’s historical survey of the genre which begins with the bibliographic registering of the term in the *Old Tang History* (*Jiu Tangshu*) of 945, see Zurndorfer 2013, 505–28, which considers *leishu* as “encyclopedic” and situates the “intellectual parameters” of encyclopedic textual mastery in Warring States philosophy and Han bibliographic classicism. Zurndorfer builds upon Dewoskin’s entry on *leishu* in the *Indiana Companion* (1986) and Lewis’s chapter “The Encyclopedic Epoch” in Lewis 1999. A modern Chinese reference work on “Chinese *leishu*” also expresses an appreciation for the difficulty of circumscribing the origins of the genre, beginning its survey of *leishu* in the Cao Wei (220–266) with the *Imperial Overview* (*Huanglan*), but appending the chapter on early *leishu* of the Northern and Southern Dynasties with short discussions of earlier works that seem to have been organized by category: extant Han lexicographic works, *Master Lü’s Springs and Autumns*, the *Huainanzi*, and the *Garden of Tales* (*Shuoyuan*) (Zhao 2005, 19–22). For a defense of “encyclopedia” as a translation for early medieval *leishu* (held to be imperfect, but superior to “common-place book”), see Tian 2007, 96n65, and 2017b, 141–2.

gious traditions consistently deploy the term to denote works of “gathered flowers” (*anthos* + *logia*; *flos* + *legium*) that promoted the digestion of holy text.¹⁴ The generic term itself can also be extended to encompass Chinese traditional classics like the *Analects* (Greek and Latin: “things gathered up”) or *Laozi*, which manifest as collections of passages (sometimes in toms, on silk and bamboo, out of canonical sequence), or to Buddhist textuality at large (grand sūtras as collections of smaller sūtras, individual sermons as collections of sayings, etc.).¹⁵ Conversations can even be had about the power of anthology to form and reform literary and religious canons of high culture and church respectively.¹⁶ But I will mostly employ the term in a more restricted sense in this dissertation as a calque for what Chinese bibliographers and historians would come to call *leishu*, and “medieval Chinese Buddhist anthology” or “medieval Chinese Buddhist *leishu*” will denote a small handful of large titled and authored works from the sixth and seventh century CE, *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* being the latest and greatest among them.¹⁷

Recognizing any of these medieval Chinese Buddhist anthologies, or *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* in particular, as an encyclopedia, anthology, *leishu*, or essential compilation can draw attention to certain of its presumed attributes over others: orderliness, comprehensiveness, breadth, selectivity, readability, or distillation.¹⁸ In medieval practice, the

¹⁴ Blair 2010, 186; Griffiths 1999, 97.

¹⁵ See Yu 1990, 171–2, on Confucius as the paradigmatic anthologist and editor of the classics, Lewis 1999, 54, on the relative “fluidity and openness” of sequencing and interpretation of bamboo texts, and Yost 2013, 97–111, on *avadāna* anthology.

¹⁶ On the consideration of Confucian classics and early medieval collections of poetry and belles lettres as “anthology” through the garden metaphor, see Knechtges 2001.

¹⁷ See Row VII of Appendix D for the handful of works I consider in this genre.

¹⁸ Yu 1990, 174–96, reads prefaces to canonical early medieval anthologies of poetry and belles lettres (Xiao Tong’s *Selections of Refined Literature* [*Wenxuan*], Xu Ling’s *New Songs of the Jade Pavillion* [*Yutai xinyong*], Yin Fan’s *A Collection of the Finest Souls of River and Alp* [*Heyue yinglingji*], Rui Tingzhang’s *Collection of the State’s Ripened Talents* [*Guoxiu ji*], and Yuan Jue’s *Portfolio Collection* [*Qiezhong ji*]) to articulate their positions on comprehensiveness, representation, and selectivity. I rely on recent scholarship on medieval Chinese poetry in figuring the anthology or collection (*ji*) as a crucial component in the life of poetry, and their perspectives are crucial to my thinking on text, canon, and power. What I call “Buddhist anthology” as a calque for what scholars of Chinese Buddhism have called *fojiao leishu* originated and circulated contemporaneously with *Selections on Refined Literature* and other literary anthologies, the manuscript cultures which built and employed them (and in some precious cases, the same texts and authors) overlapped. But “Buddhist anthologies” cannot be simply considered as a “reli-

anthologies themselves claimed these attributes, and audiences often accepted, parroted, or amplified their claims. Anthology authors informed their publics that they had subjected scriptures to beneficial textual operations with their prefaces, tables of contents, headings, citations, commentary, and the very titles of their works. In *Too Much to Know*, her study of early modern European reference works as tools for “information management,” Ann Blair isolates the “four crucial operations... the four S’s of text management” of “storing, sorting, selecting, and summarizing” that may be combined variously to produce compilations for use.¹⁹ Medieval Chinese Buddhist scholars had various terms for analogous operations on text, and four of them constitute the practices under investigation in the first four chapters of the dissertation: “categorizing” (*lei*), “prefacing” (*xu* 序), “extracting” (*chao* 抄), and “collecting” (*ji* 集). While comparison with the anthologizing practices of other textual traditions can be fruitful, the dissertation argues that they each embody unique histories of practice in the medieval Chinese Buddhist context that extend beyond the small handful of anthologies that I will discuss. The historians and bibliographers of the Chinese Buddhist written tradition did not have a special verb for “anthologize,” but they did recognize “composing, compiling” (*zhuan* 撰 or *zhuan* 纂 for either) and “collecting” (*ji*) as activities distinct from and complementary to “translation” (*fan* 翻; *yi* 譯), often deserving of authorial attribution.²⁰ These are the verbs they use to describe the making of works like *A Grove of Pearls*. The project of “composing,” “compiling,” or “collecting” anthology involved intertwined processes of selection (*cai* 採; *chao*; *cuo* 撮; *jian* 撿; *qian* 拏; *xuan* 選; *yin* 引; *ze* 擇; *zhai* 摘) and summary (*cai* 裁; *chao*; *chi* 斥; *jian* 剪; *jie* 截; *lue* 略; *shan*

gious” species of literary anthology: besides highlighting the role of *lei* in facilitating their organization, they enhanced the notion of Buddhist scriptures as distinct, diverse, complicated objects worth excerpting from, reorganizing, and circulating separately.

¹⁹ Blair 2010, 3.

²⁰ On scriptural scriptural “compilation” (*henshū* 編輯) in the making of Chinese Buddhist scriptures, Funayama 2013, 149–71, opens an important space between works he calls “Chinese Buddhist Translations (CBT)” and “Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha (CBA).” The intermediary (and often overlapping) “Chinese Buddhist Compilation Scriptures (CBCS)” comprises a category for scriptures whose composition feature more heavily self-conscious Chinese editorial meditation in the extraction/summary (*chao*) of scriptural essences, re-combination of multiple translators’ works or parable collections, or the crafting of practical manuals and doctrinal treatises. On self-conscious traditions of Chinese Buddhist compilation, please refer to Appendix D.

刪; *sheng* 省; *suo* 縮; *yue* 約) at its core; and such actions would produce textual “accounts” (*shi* 事; *yuan* 緣); “pearls” (*zhu* 珠); or “essentials” (*yao* 要) as consequence. By contrast, the range of vocabulary was not as expansive for discussing “sorting” or “storing” these products into and as “baskets” or “treasuries” (*zang* 藏); “groves” (*lin* 林); or “collections” (*ji* 集), suggesting that the “categories” used to organize the anthologies and facilitate their use were not viewed as their defining feature.²¹ Rather, as I argue later in the chapter, they were prized for their essentializing functions, as suggested by the horticultural and mineral metaphors that structure the conception of *A Grove of Pearls* and other anthologies within Buddhist written tradition at large. Again, this does not mean that the works cannot be evaluated as *leishu*. Like the *leishu* that non-Buddhist bibliographers identified and authors compiled after the Tang, these early medieval Buddhist works self-consciously used *lei* to organize their reading for scholarly use. But the *lei* in the works under investigation were very much pressed into the service of Buddhist aims to economize proliferate dharma and to get efficacious religious language out into the world to work its magic.

3. Mise-En-Rouleau: Categories on the Page

Paul Griffiths in *Religious Reading* (1999) portrays the anthology as one of the two quintessential genres suited to reading as a premodern religious. For Griffiths, then, the religious anthology becomes emblematic for his idealized vision for monastic scholasticism before the world’s fall into modernity. In contrast to postmodern, consumerist readers engaged in the secular study of religion whose readings are directed to producing new further text, the premodern religious reader took text to be a different kind of thing altogether. Ancient and medieval anthologies are for Griffiths evidence of a fundamental difference in orientation with regard to the ontology of holy text: scriptural passages were an end to themselves, not a means to an end; they were to be

²¹ For further reflections on the titles of medieval European florilegia and early modern Japanese household encyclopedia and their implications for refiguring the genre, see Harnesse 1990 and Kinski 2014.

slowly, repeatedly, and actively embodied in a fundamentally oral context, not skimmed, reproduced and forgotten entirely on print pages; and they were objects for communal study and adoration, not for individuals to appropriate, re-contextualize, or demystify. Griffiths's is a model of reading that is highly conservative in both senses of the word, not just in how it reifies what the adjectives "medieval," "monastic," or "religious" all might entail,²² but also in how it figures a reader of scriptural text as a recipient and preserver of the eternal, holy word. Regardless of how far his models of religious reading may reflect social realities in his two case studies on the religions of medieval Mediterranean Christianity and Indian monastic Buddhism, in the case of medieval Chinese Buddhism, anthologies like *A Grove of Pearls* reveal scripture not only as an object to be worshipped and conserved, but adapted and communicated outward according to circumstance. Even as scripture was portrayed as "flowers" or "gems" to be collected, memorized, and embraced with one's whole being, in the context of mass scripturality it was also figured as traversable, disposable, and necessary to be shared.

Unlike their contemporaries in sixth- and seventh-century South Asia and Europe, Chinese monastics were awash in the possibilities of scriptures on paper.²³ They seem to have registered the difference between the dominance of the written word in their own culture against the dominance of orality in the western regions where they knew Buddhism originated—Daoan extols the accuracy of aural scriptural transmission in the West;²⁴ Sengyou and Daoshi lament the inability of Chinese characters to preserve constancy in sounds, and their being susceptible to miscopying and erasure over time.²⁵ Compared to the eternal, unitary dharma, paper scriptures were imper-

²² Namely, that they all imply one another.

²³ For a recent English-language summary of how scriptural copyists employed the technology of paper in the history of canon production, Wu 2015, 32–3.

²⁴ Storch 2014, 34–5, translating *CSZJJ*, T no. 2145.j5.2.38b07–16; Su and Xiao 1995, 221–2.

²⁵ For a translation of Sengyou's doubts about Chinese transmission in his prefaces to *A Collection of Records*, see Link 1960, 39, and Link 1961b, 289; Daoshi expresses similar doubts at *FYZL*, T no. 2122.j10.367b17–24, a commentary provided as the tenth subsection to "Chapter 5.11: Going Forth" called "Commensuration" ("huitong" 會同), presumably attempting to account for why there are so many distinct accounts of how old the Buddha was when he "went forth" and how long this stage of his life was.

manent, proliferate, and even deceptive. But on the plane of conventional truth, paper anthologies could imitate the omniscience and skillful means of the bodhisattva, directing readers to useable, shareable, effective passages.

Griffiths walks his readers through two Buddhist anthologies—Nāgārjuna’s reconstructed *Sūtrasamuccaya* and Śāntideva’s *Śikṣasamuccaya*—attending to how their very forms presuppose the kinds of social and institutional context that enable religious reading to flourish: no punctuation or tables of contents for silent skimming, haziness of reference to original sources, and abbreviation in quotation indicate these works’ situatedness in monastic memory and not in monastic manuscripts.²⁶ To underscore his argument, Griffiths tallies the syllables of his sample anthologies and translates these figures into hours of recitation time: four hours to recite 70,000 syllables and eleven hours to recite 192,000. By contrast, what we find in surviving Chinese Buddhist anthologies is almost the complete opposite: a witness not to the internalization but rather the externalization of written scripture. Size-wise, the five-fascicle *Genealogy of the Śākya* approximates the size of the *Sūtrasamuccaya*, but the larger twenty- to hundred-plus-fascicle anthologies may have taken multiple days to recite from beginning to end.²⁷ Even as these works were recited (print canon editions typically include guides for “hard-to-pronounce” characters at the end of fascicles as they do for ordinary translated scriptures), they were largely built for consultation.²⁸ Tables of contents and headings promote quicker rolling through scrolls, while indentations allow for citations to be more efficiently relocated on the page. Scriptural citation does not presume deep scriptural fluency but rather a range of fluencies, while some anthologies’

²⁶ See Griffiths 1999, 109–47.

²⁷ To approximate the number of readable characters in an anthology, I have counted the pages of their Taishō editions, multiplied the standard figures of characters per line (17), lines per column (28), and columns per page (3). As Taishō attempts to reproduce the paragraph-breaks and use of white space of canonical print editions, this over-counts characters per scripture. See the next chapter for discussion of a late 5th c. anthology called the *Golden Basket Discourse*, specifically designed for recitation and preaching, no longer fully extant.

²⁸ Nugent 2010, 116, sketches an argument that paper *leishu* in early and high medieval China might serve similar functions to highly refined and spacializing mnemotechnics in medieval Europe: “if memorial techniques in medieval China were not as well developed as those of medieval Europe, it is perhaps because they did not have to be” (125).

citations go so far as to designate the chapter or fascicle upon which a passage may be found. And scriptural passages are just as often unabbreviated as not, for the citations seem to encourage reference to an original for the full quotation, and the commentator often steps in to regard the quality of the reproduced text, what kinds of materials have been abbreviated and whether or not the Dharma conveyed has other, alternate sources. In *A Grove of Pearls*, they are appended with Chinese-authored historical accounts and miracle tales whose intent was to induce wonder more than whimsy.²⁹ These are not just passages to sit with and ponder—they are for storing and sharing, for consumerist readers of the Dharma.

While surviving evidence for appended master tables of contents for large Buddhist anthologies and collections only begin to appear after Sengyou with Huijiao's *Eminent Monks* and Baochang's *Anomalous Phenomena*, Sengyou's surviving anthologies and collections share the feature of tables of contents inaugurating their individual scrolls. Scrolls and wrappers could carry flexible amounts of text: as there was theoretically no upper limit of pages to append to a single scroll, compilers could employ the scroll as a unit for categorization above, below, or simply parallel to other schemes of organization. The scroll-level tables of contents of surviving collections by Sengyou, Baochang, and Huijiao testify to how scrolls were conceived of as independent units or vessels of dharma, parts of greater wholes that themselves contained parts from other wholes. A quick glance at the head of a scroll with a table of contents could inform the reader whether she had picked up the right scroll, and if so, how far into it she might find what she was looking for. What is further, a table of contents for a scroll, category, or both would educate a holder of the scroll what kinds of text could be thought of as partible, packageable, and conceivable as related to other kinds of text. The table of contents for a scroll of catalog might enumerate the multiple kinds of catalog (*lu*) it records; the tables of contents for the scrolls of Sengyou's *Production of Three Baskets* also specify "notes" (*ji*), "prefaces" (*xu*), and "biographies" (*zhuan*) as the major elements in its three other divisions, comprising fascicle 1, fasci-

²⁹ Campany 1996, 156–9.

cles 6–12, and fascicles 13–15 respectively.³⁰ Tables for anthology scrolls listed the action, phenomena, or personality accounted for in a textual excerpt: “Item 24: A Record of King Prasenjit’s Daughter Building a Golden Image [of the Buddha], from the *Increasing by Ones Āgama Scriptures*” (*Genealogy* fascicle 3); “Item 9: A Record of the Six Heavens of the Realm of Desire, from the *Long Āgama [Scriptures]*” (*Record of the Universe* fascicle 2); “Item Three [of fascicle 2]: A Record Accounting for the Striking of the Ghaṇṭa [Bell], from the *Ten Recitations Regulations*” (*Collection from the Garden of Dharma*).³¹ The holder of the scroll could roll the pages from the left hand to the right to find the matching heading for the item he was looking for—a line break or blank space before and after the heading would indicate the right spot—effectively skipping over all the irrelevant prefaces, anecdotes, or biographies preceding.

The role of *lei* in mediating access to scriptural passages differs from collection to collection in the Liang. Sengyou’s *Collection on Propagating and Clarifying [the Dharma]* (*T* no. 2102), a collection of Chinese Buddhist apologetic and occasional work, for instance, has no system of organization beyond rough chronological ordering over its fourteen (originally ten) scrolls. A century earlier, Lu Cheng’s *Dharma Discourses* had illustrated another way to organize Chinese-authored apologetic material: each of its sixteen wrappers was named for a doctrinal topic, and individually-authored discourses were filed away appropriately. Baochang and Huijiao boasted alternate methods for collecting biographies of important monks: while each one of Baochang’s thirty scrolls of lives of *Famous Monks* indicates a category, subcategory, or both in

³⁰ While the compiler has envisaged the four parts of *A Collection of Records* as partitioned from one another in his preface (see 1b07–09), in practice it was more complicated. Prefatory “notes” included excerpts from translated scriptures and essays by Sengyou himself; “catalogs” included Sengyou’s notes on vinaya transmissions, and essays by Sengyou and others; and “prefaces” included the tables of contents mentioned earlier. See Link 1959 and Appendix D for elaboration on units reckoned by compilations.

³¹ *CSZJJ*, j12.88a07, 88c10, 90c21. For the surviving anthology passage, which offers the title, “A Record of King Prasenjit Building a Golden Image of Śākyamuni,” see *T* no. 2040.j3.66c24–67a01, also available in abbreviated form in *Anomalous Phenomena* at *T* no. 2121.j6.3.30a06–09. The collections containing the second and third accounts no longer survive, but see *T* no. 2121.j1.1b04–2c19 for a passage that shares a title and source with the second excerpt in Baochang’s *Anomalous Phenomena*. Through comparing surviving *leishu* and the surviving tables of contents of non-surviving *leishu*, Japanese scholars have long noted similar passages between existing *leishu* and hypothesized the sharing of passages between other anthologies; see for example Ōuchi 1977.

a “clumsy” system of organization, for Huijiao, who used ten categories to subdivide his collection of *Eminent Monks* over fourteen scrolls, the ten categories took precedence over the scroll, encompassing several scrolls for important categories featuring more detailed biographies and shrinking to share scrolls where the biographical accounts are more sketchy.³² And while two of Sengyou’s anthologies bear a single enumerated series over multiple fascicles (for the *Genealogy and Records on the Universe*, 34 and 20 over five fascicles, respectively), his *Collection from the Garden of Dharma* begins a new enumerated series with every fascicle, and every fascicle bears a *lei* which subordinates its contents: the Buddha Jewel, the Dharma Jewel (upper and lower), the Sangha Jewel (upper and lower) are the labels for the first five fascicles, while meritorious objects and deeds of China’s recent southern dynasts offer the *lei* for the last nine. More recognizably *leishu* for using multiple layers in its taxonomy of organization, *Anomalous Phenomena* also exemplifies the incorporation of the fascicle into the organization of the collection, though because sometimes a category is subdivided into several fascicles (the fourth major category, “Section on the Listeners” subdivides into six kinds of śrāvaka over eleven fascicles, 13–23) and sometimes a fascicle contains many categories within it (the third fascicle is coextensive with the third section [“Earth”] of the first major category [“Heaven and Earth”], and subdivided into two unequal subsections, the first titled “Jambudvīpa” and containing six further categories containing further enumerated accounts [“1. Origins of its Kingdoms”; “2. Monasteries”; “3. Mountains”; “4. Trees”; “5. Rivers and Oceans”; “6. Jewels”] and the second titled “Uttarakuru,” consisting of a single passage), scholars have arrived at alternative figures for the total count of categories employed.³³ In its focus on *juan* as the primary unit of the collection around which *lei*

³² Kieschnick 2011, 541.

³³ I largely follow Durt’s 2006, 148n11, splitting of *Anomalous Phenomena* into twelve major divisions (CBETA counts thirteen, splitting off “Princes” [*taizi*] from “Kings” [*guowang*]). This macro-level of classification is not explicitly on the page, for these are not the categories being enumerated, nor is there an extant master table of contents to check. I might hypothesize, however, that if such a document were to be located, it would conceptualize the enumerated fascicle as the major unit for organization, as we find in Sengyou’s tables of contents for his anthologies in *CSZJJ*. See Dong, 55–8 for a listing of various Chinese scholars’ discrepancies in count, which sometimes reflect differences in rubrication between different canonical printings. Dong’s critical edition relies on the Qisha Canon print as its base, and analyzes the work as reflecting a kind of threefold rubrication, with twenty-two “sections” (*bu*) at the highest level, fifty-one “subsections” (*xiang*) more thinly divided, and 782 enumerated “accounts” (*shi*) with

could be organized, *Anomalous Phenomena* resembles Baochang's *Famous Monks* collection, but in subjecting its entire contents to a sophisticated taxonomy of *lei* coextensive with a Buddhist hierarchy of being (roughly speaking: Heavens, Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Royals, Laypersons, Non-Buddhists, Commoners, Ghosts, Animals, Hells), it represents a new development in the use of *lei* to organize writing.

With regard to its use of *lei* in rubricating scrolls, *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* differs from the Liang collections by insisting on the primacy of the *lei* to the scroll (see Appendix D). It standardized the form of *lei* as two-character words, no longer made use of long narrative headings, and only allowed two (at most three) layers of rubrication across the collection: enumerated "sections" (*bu*), two or more, were consistently filed under the hundred enumerated "chapters" (*pian* 篇). Similar tendencies shaping the design of *lei* are on display in the work of Daoshi's more famous dharma brother and collaborator, Daoxuan. Daoxuan's work, prior and contemporary to Daoshi's anthologizing, featured sequels of Sengyou's collection projects from over a century ago: a ten-fascicle scriptural catalog called the *Catalog of Inner Books of the Great Tang* (*Da Tang neidian lu*, T no. 2149); a thirty-fascicle collection of apologetic and occasional Chinese Buddhist literature titled the *Expanded Collection on Propagating and Clarifying the Dharma* (*Guang hongming ji*, T no. 2103); and several ritual and regulation commentarial digests.³⁴ Unlike their predecessors by Sengyou, Daoxuan's scriptural catalog and apologetic collection were subjected to division by ten: not only were their scroll-counts divisible by ten, but they were also divided into ten, arranged by importance and size (greatest to least). Both works feature an unequal, "top-heavy" distribution of labeled content over scrolls, as both Daoxuan's scriptural catalog and apologetic collection feature early divisions whose content runs

individual headings at the final level. By tallying accounts at a fascicle-by-fascicle level, I arrived at a still larger figure of 807 accounts.

³⁴ Fujiyoshi 2002 begins his study of Daoxuan with a chapter titled "From Sengyou to Daoxuan," examining the relationship between the legend (transmitted through *SGSZ*) that when Daoxuan's mother was pregnant with him, she had been informed by a foreign monk in a dream that she was pregnant with Sengyou, and the continuities of the two scholar-monks' published output.

across multiple fascicles and later divisions whose contents are shared upon single fascicles.³⁵ Huijiao's *Biographies of Eminent Monks* may have been an important precursor in this development, having subjected Baochang's *Famous Monks* collection to a similar decimal logic. Daoxuan had begun his sequel, the *Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Xu gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060) before either of these compilation projects, and while its original layout(s) and editorial history are still being figured out, it appears to have shared in common with the apologetic collection and Daoshi's *Grove of Pearls* a tenfold layout that refers to the master units as "chapters" (*pian*), a designation for unit of collection that may have been inspired at least in part by Falin's 法琳 (572–640) apologetic *Treatise on the Explanation of What is Correct* (*Bianzheng lun*, *T* no. 2110) of the early seventh century, eight fascicles divided into twelve *pian*.³⁶ It is thus that the compilation projects of Daoxuan and Daoshi not only sought to expand and update the efforts of the Liang pioneers,³⁷ but also to make their final written products legible through a shared system of *lei*. These early Tang period collections are unlike their Liang predecessors in featuring master tables of contents in their first scroll (often without indication of which scrolls align to the list of subunits), but collections across both periods share scroll-level tables of contents for the surveying of a scroll's rubricated contents.

At any rate, their design as collections or wrappers of paper scrolls facilitated their being skimmed from the top on down, from the general to the specific. Readers of Chinese Buddhist anthology could theoretically do the same kinds of things with their scrolls that South Asian Buddhists could do with their leaf-stacks—ingest, internalize, reflect upon scriptural "gobbets." But the prominence of rubrication in a paper culture suggests that Chinese Buddhists were al-

³⁵ As some scholars have noted (Liu Linkui 2011), much as Daoxuan's catalog appropriates and recategorizes the scriptural listings found in his predecessors (most heavily reliant upon Fei Zhangfang's *LDSBJ*), the *GHMJ* also reclassifies the component essays of Sengyou's *HMJ* under its ten categories, incorporating the content of the older work in the form of the newer one.

³⁶ Jülch 2014, 1.16–7; Daoxuan quotes from this work extensively in *GHMJ*, and Daoshi quotes from it extensively in *FYZL*.

³⁷ On Daoxuan as representative of the "cultured south" working in Chang'an, see Chen 2007, 13–56.

ready prepared to process scriptural excerpts as written things through a speedier mode of apprehension. By attending to formal features of the Chinese Buddhist anthology—how *A Grove of Pearls* cites, quotes, and comments on the passages it contains—as well as how its prefacers and bibliographers talk about it, I argue that its foremost concern was the speedy reproduction of action-inspiring text, a concern antithetical to Griffiths’s ontology of “religious reading.”

4. Lei and Method: Structure of *A Grove*

Looking at categories is one of the things that contemporary scholars of religion do. They debate whose they are, which ones are better, and how to regard and use them. The category itself becomes the target of scholarly erudition, whether it is attempting to recapitulate primitive structures of thought (à la Durkheim or Lévi-Strauss), inventing ideal types of religiosity to understand kinds of social action (the Weberian tradition), graphing the morphology of the sacred (Eliade’s final project), or documenting the historically contingent “invention,” “making,” or “contestation” of supposedly timeless peoples and practices. The “very idea of religion” is the titular object under discussion in Campany’s classic 2003 article on the applicability of that category to the study of early medieval Chinese history.³⁸ Scholarship on religion accumulates through appropriating, testing, proposing, and negating categories and classification systems for beliefs, practices, groups, and -isms. In scholarly metadiscourse on the ontology of categories, they appear as labels that can be affixed or removed from material phenomena, as containers within which real stuff may be temporarily deposited, or abstract locations in or around which thought in the form of other categories can be cognized.

For the whole preface to his study of the archaeology of knowledge over seventeenth through twentieth century Western Europe, Foucault laughs at the fabulous table of contents of the Chinese encyclopedia that Borges has fabricated. Closely reading a “Chinese” table’s thirteen divisions of animals, he muses, worries, insists that his titular “Order of Things” is bound to his-

³⁸ See also Campany’s 2011 sequel piece and McCutcheon’s skeptical reply in the same volume.

torical circumstance and cultural-linguistic convention. When Sinologist Jean-Pierre Drège cites the same Borges passage on “the ‘Heavenly Emporium of Benevolent Knowledge’” to begin his short article on the history of “books classified by kind,” he provincializes Foucault, his love of incoherence, and the very term ‘encyclopedia’ to exotic late Western Europe in order to relate the brute historical facts that can be known about the Chinese “writings which gather facts classed by categories.” The classes or *lei* that structure these works, Drège observes, do not necessarily reflect a compiler’s conception of the order of things, even when many Chinese *leishu* have tremendous size and universalizing ambitions, or even if, as Sinologists often point out, the categories of *leishu* can be hierarchically ordered in beginning with “heaven,” continuing with “earth,” and ending with “human” phenomena—the “three generative forces” (*sancai* 三才) enumerated by the *Book of Changes*.³⁹ Rather, what matters about the texts that bibliographers came to recognize as *leishu*, Drège insists, is that they organized text for actual use and display. According to its purpose and audience would vary a *leishu*’s size, number and arrangement of categories, and type of information organized. But even *leishu* of restrictive size and restricted access (not designed for general, elementary readership) were still pitched as consultative.

In line with Drège, I regard the *lei* not primarily as an underlying cognitive structure, but as a textual location that is indicated in the headings of chapters, margins of pages, backs of scrolls, and physical tables of contents. Rather than solely taking the heavenly or benevolent Buddha-eye view from above, I approach the Chinese categories as they would have been entextualized on the page.⁴⁰ What did compilers imagine they were doing when they read and wrote the headings and tables of contents to these works? What was it like to learn and look for *lei* as the user of the *leishu*, to learn and recollect sacred text under the sign of one or more *lei*? For medieval Chinese

³⁹ Teiser 1985, 119; Dewoskin 1986, 528–9; Wu 2009, 80–2.

⁴⁰ On a theory of sociology that takes seriously the perspective of the “ant... a blind, myopic, workaholic, trail-sniffing, and collective traveler” as necessary for “reassembling the social,” see Bruno Latour 2005, 9, on “Actor-Network Theory (A.N.T.),”

Buddhists in particular, categories or *lei* appear to be engaged with as a kind of tool or technology, signs for marking textual loci that offered solutions to practical theological dilemmas.

For *A Grove of Pearls* in particular, it is not obvious that there exists any higher order schemata that govern the sequencing of the hundred chapters at large, nor are the sections and subsections that divide the chapters standardized across chapters or necessarily commensurate to one another (Appendix A). Scholars have attempted to impose higher-order classification schemes thereupon in order to make further sense of the table of contents, and they are often astute in piecing together common themes and perspectives that tie together certain clusters of chapter-titles,⁴¹ but the compiler himself never explicitly lays out any logic for the sequence of headings. It is true that the work begins with chapters describing the cosmos and the life of the Buddha (Chapters 1–5, the first fifteen fascicles) and ends with illness, death, funerals, and the extinction of dharma (Chapters 95–98, same fascicle numbers), but none of the chapters in between would appear reflect in any obvious chronological, geographic, linguistic, or processual order. As earlier scholars have outlined, there are clusters of the “miraculous” (Chapters 20–26, fascicles 28–32), “objects worth offering” (Chapters 30–34, fascicles 35–36), “objects of worship [with foreign names]” (Chapters 35–37, fascicles 37–40), “rituals for divine intercourse” (Chapters 68–71, fascicles 60–62), or “elements of karmic causation” (Chapters 68–83, fascicles 68–72), but relations between or among chapters in various clusters are not directly drawn out in the commentarial paratext of the anthology. The surviving preface describes *A Grove of Pearls* as comprising “ten wrappers of ten scrolls each”: assuming the scrolls were collected sequentially, this decimal system would have not only broken some of the continuities in theme (the seeming connection between “Repaying” and “Defying Kindness,” Chapters 51–52 of fascicle 50, and “Good Friends” and “Bad Friends,” Chapters 53–54 of fascicle 51, for instance), it would have

⁴¹ Ding 1985 files chapters under thirteen kinds, but does not list them all. Fu 1986 runs through the hundred chapters sequentially under seventeen groups, while Chen 1992 seems to have modified Fu 1986, dividing three of Fu’s groups in two, adding up to twenty groups total. An 2003 reproduces Fu’s classification system, while Liang 2007 reproduces Chen 1992.

also split the fascicles comprising multi-scroll Chapters 5 on “Thousands of Buddhas” and 85 on “Six Perfections” respectively. One modern scholar has gone so far as to criticize the hundred-chapter format for being illogical and encouraging redundancy in topic. Why not list certain “specialized” chapters under appropriate “generic” chapters? Why so many chapters on karma?⁴² Why is there a “miscellaneous essentials” chapter (Chapter 99 of fascicle 99)—if they are so “essential,” why not find or develop categories for them?⁴³ Like the implied reader of Borges’s *Heavenly Emporium*, stunned by incommensurate, illogical categories (“...[h] those that are included in this classification... [1] etcetera ...”), the modern scholar can be flabbergasted by the seeming disorder of *A Grove of Pearls*’s table of contents.⁴⁴

At lower orders of organization beneath the “chapter” is further seeming disorder: the number, sequence, and kinds of “section” (*bu*) subordinated to every chapter vary widely as functions of the “category” they subdivide and the textual materials they organize. At minimum a chapter contains two sections and can take up less than third of a fascicle. Most chapters are small: fifty-six are smaller than a fascicle and an additional twenty-eight each comprise a single fascicle.⁴⁵ Larger, more complicated chapters up to seven fascicles in length contain at most two additional levels of rubrication, where the intermediate level of section-*bu* practically function as

⁴² Ding Min 1985, 62–9; Chen Shiqiang 1988, 12–17.

⁴³ There are ten sections (*bu*) that comprise this chapter, the majority of which could have easily been relocated under other chapters. In my reading, however, “Miscellaneous Essentials” is an important marker of exhaustiveness, revealing both that the compiler accumulated material above and beyond what the system could accommodate, and that they could have gone further. It also, as I have been arguing all along, is simply a place for storing text.

⁴⁴ As seen in Appendix B, nearly every chapter and section title found in Daoshi’s smaller anthology, *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures*, can be found in *A Grove of Pearls*. And nearly all the material found in *Collected Essentials* can also be found in *A Grove of Pearls*. Several other earlier Buddhist anthologies and compilations appear to share content with Daoshi’s anthologies, often along *lei* lines. Appendix C also reveals similar correspondences between “category” and the contents they contain between *A Grove of Pearls* and its Northern Qi predecessor, the *Golden Basket Discourse*. What this all suggests to me is the utility of *lei* as textual loci for building other *leishu*—non-neutral descriptors to be sure, but tools for finding and containing as well.

⁴⁵ Because fascicles can vary in page-length, by “smaller than a fascicle” I mean chapters that share fascicles with other chapters. Some of these small chapters share a fascicle with two others, some with one other, and some with part of another chapter. I do not know of chapters that begin in the middle of one fascicle and end in the middle of another.

independent chapters and contain additional enumerated *bu* as “subsections.”⁴⁶ 668 categories—chapters, sections, and subsections—structure *A Grove of Pearls* as a whole. Six “megachapters” crowd the chapters in the mid-aughts and mid-eighties, taking up 29 of the *A Grove*’s fascicles and 399 of the categories: “4. The Six Paths” (fascicles 5–7, 54 categories); “5. Thousands of Buddhas” (fascicles 8–12, 105 categories); “6. Paying Respect to Buddhas” (fascicles 13–17, 19 categories); “84. The Ten Evil Acts” (fascicles 73–79, 40 categories); “85. The Six Perfections” (fascicles 80–85, 37 categories); and “87. Accepting Precepts” (fascicles 87–89, 44 categories). Surrounding and contained by these peaks are the majority of shorter chapters, two fascicles large at their longest. Drawing a fascicle out of *A Grove of Pearls* at random, then, one is about 30 percent likely to draw a fascicle from a megachapter, 30 percent likely to draw a fascicle containing two or more chapters on it, and 40 percent likely to draw a fascicle from a chapter of one to two fascicles length. But even as the size and intricacy in rubrication varies as widely as this, there is enough continuity in structural patterning that can keep navigators afloat.⁴⁷

The use of *bu*-headings to subdivide larger *bu*-sections and *pian*-chapters is not so much an activity of classifying subtypes under a broader type as it is a mode for the storage and recall of

⁴⁶ There is a single instance in *A Grove of Pearls* where rubrication extends to the fourth level of hierarchy and invokes the subsubsection, but they are all called *bu*. For typology of *FYZL* chapters by their use of *bu*, see Chen 1992, 254.

⁴⁷ For evaluations evaluating the “classificatory thought” (*fenlei sixiang* 分類思想) of *A Grove of Pearls*, especially in comparison with extant *leishu* from the period, see Wu 2009, 2010, and 2011. Over this work, Wu compares the classificatory systems of *Grove of Pearls* with those of four other *leishu*: a second, shorter Buddhist *leishu* attributed to Daoshi, the twenty-fascicle *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures* (*Zhujing yaoji* 諸經要集, *T* no. 2123); a shorter Buddhist *leishu* of the early sixth century attributed to Baochang, the fifty-fascicle *Anomalous Phenomena from the Scriptures and Regulations* (*Jinglü yixiang* 經律異相, *T* no. 2121); the famous early Tang imperially-sponsored hundred-fascicle *Categorized Collection of Literary Works* (*Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚), spearheaded by Ouyang Xun beginning in the 620s and completed in 662; and a Daoist *leishu* attributed to Meng Anpai from the late seventh century, the ten-fascicle *Pivotal Meaning of the Daoist Doctrine* (*Daojiao yishu* 道教義樞). Much of Wu’s 2009, 90, analyses hinge on enumerating the kinds and ordering of each *leishu*’s top-level classifications to determine how and whether they exemplify “traditional Chinese” or “Buddhist systems of knowledge” (*zhongguo chuantong... fojiao zhishi tixi* 中國傳統佛教知識體系) or both. In this dissertation, I will offer further comparisons between *A Grove of Pearls* and other Buddhist and non-Buddhist *leishu*—including comparisons between how they rubricate textual space—in the service of other aims.

written text.⁴⁸ An introductory “Explaining the Meaning” section (*shuyi bu* 述意部) begins nearly every chapter and many of the larger sections containing subsections, while many sections begin with commentary rather than quotation, offering unofficial prefacing of a sort. These parallel-prose epideictic compositions are varied in length, have typically been attributed to Daoshi as previewing the “meaning” of the excerpts collected in a chapter, and I will have more to say about them in the following chapter. There are 142 official “explaining the meaning sections” in *A Grove of Pearls*, ninety-three at the heads of *pian*-chapters,⁴⁹ three seemingly misfiled beneath the first sections of the first, second, and eighty-first chapters (rather than coming before the first section),⁵⁰ and forty-six at the heads of the large *bu*-sections (“4. The Six Paths”; “5. Thousands of Buddhas”; “6. Paying Respect to Buddhas”; “12. Laymen and Laywomen”; “84. Ten Evil Acts”; “85. The Six Perfections” and “87. Accepting Precepts”).⁵¹ The minimally rubricated *pian*-chapter (or large *bu*-section) features just two sections: “1. Explaining the Meaning” and “2. Selected Quotations” (*yinzheng* 引證): thirty-three *pian*-chapters are organized in this way, as are eight sections representing eight of the “Ten Evil Acts.”⁵² Where *pian*-chapters come to feature three or more *bu*-sections, “Selected Quotations” is often abandoned to feature more specific two-character *bu*-section titles; where a “Selected Quotations” *bu*-section is retained, it can

⁴⁸ The labelling of *bu*-sections subordinate to *pian*-chapters appears to reverse the precedent of the “first” and paradigmatic *leishu*, *Imperial View* (*Huanglan*), which reportedly contained “over forty *bu*-divisions, with each *bu* having several tens of *pian*-chapters,” Tian 2017b, 134, reporting an account from the *Sanguo zhi*, “Biography of Yang Jun (–291).”

⁴⁹ Excepting the following seven *pian*-chapters: 1, 2, 4, 5, 12, 81, 85.

⁵⁰ “Measurements of Kalpa-Length”; “The Three Realms”; “Desire as Obstruction”

⁵¹ These *bu*-sections include: six *bu* representing the six paths of Chapter 4; fifteen *bu* enumerating a biography of the Buddha in Chapter 5; two *bu* for Amitabha and Maitreya in Chapter 6; two *bu* for laymen and laywomen respectively in Chapter 12; ten *bu* for the ten evil acts of Chapter 84; six *bu* for the six perfections of Chapter 85; and five *bu* for the following sets of precepts of Chapter 87: “Three Refuges”; “Five Precepts”; “Eight Precepts”; “Ten Good Acts”; and the “Three Categories [of Pure Precepts].” Chen 1993, 254-5, writes that when there is only one layer of *bu*, the first *bu* will typically be a *shuyi bu*; when there are two layers of *bu*, Chen says that in the first case there can be two layers of *shuyi bu*, in the second case there is a *shuyi bu* listed after the first large *bu*, and in the third case there is no top layer and every large *bu* features its own *shuyi bu*.

⁵² “Theft” (85.5) and “Lust” (84.6) feature more articulated structures, with seven and three subsections respectively.

remain as the second *bu* (15 additional cases) or as the final *bu* (five additional cases).⁵³ The names of *bu* can be shared across parallel units of organization: headings shared like “Collecting the Names” (*huiming*), “Place of Residence” (*zhuchu*), “Size of Bodies” (*shenliang*), and “Enduring Suffering” (*shouku*) discuss the terminology, habitations, bodily forms, and karmic fates of denizens along the six paths of existence, but the number and sequence of subsection under each of the six *bu* that comprise “Chapter 4: The Six Paths,” have not been completely standardized across the six supersections. Section-headings may indicate a logical or ritual sequence over a chapter, but this is not always the case.⁵⁴ Some sequences of *bu*-headings iterate a single character from the *pian*-category, articulating the match between the specificity of one or more scriptural excerpts and the abstraction of the master category: consider the section titles of “Chapter 48: Enjoining Morality” (“admonishing and encouraging” *jiexu*) (...2. Training Horses [*jiema*]; 3. Enjoining Study [*jiexue*]; 4. Enjoining against Theft [*jiedao*]; 5. Enjoining against Sin [*jiexue*]; 6. Miscellaneous Enjoinments [*zajie*]) or “Chapter 60: Fraudulence” (*zhawei*) (...2. Fake Kin [*zhaqin*]; 3. Fake Poisoning [*zhadu*]; 4. Fake Nobility [*zhagui*]; 5. Fake Fear [*zhabu*]; 6. Fake Animals [*zhaxu*]). Sometimes the meanings of section-titles (not to mention chapter-titles) are obscure until one becomes familiar with the excerpts they flag; in some cases, upon closer investigation, the categories seem to bear only a tangential relationship with their excerpts.⁵⁵ While they may happen to indicate the likeness of multiple passages they collect under singular “meanings,” at the very least they break up chapters and fascicles to make text easier to find.

⁵³ My language here would seem to imply a teleological narrative of small, simple chapters growing larger and more complex over time. In truth, processes of compilation may have featured the conscious reduction of quoted material and structural articulation over time as well. The end result is the same: shorter chapters tend to feature fewer sections with unspecific names.

⁵⁴ The sections of some chapters proceed chronologically forward (“Chapter 1: Measurements of Kalpa-ages” and “Chapter 5: Thousands of Buddhas”); others proceed spatially downward (“Chapter 3: Suns and Moons” and “Chapter 4: The Six Paths”); and the “Six Perfections” and “Ten Evils” appear in familiar, “canonical” orders. “Chapter 89: Taking Precepts” proceeds from smaller sets of precepts to larger sets, putatively paralleling an intensification of religious commitment. See Appendix A for a full table of contents of *FYZL*.

⁵⁵ See for instance “Section 5: Dharma Masters” of “Chapter 7: Paying Respect to Dharma” (my Appendix P), which overall collects quotes that articulate the efficacy of scripture independent of its author, speaker, or teacher. “Dharma Masters” may have been selected as the section-heading because it is the first subject described in the first quotation.

The various *pian*-chapters, and even the *bu*-sections categorized beneath them, are often better approached on their own terms than as parts of a system that might add up to a greater whole. This is because while quotes are rarely shared between loci (which is to say that *A Grove* rarely repeats itself) and there are a few paratextual comments directing the reader to another part of *A Grove*, chapters differ and resemble one another based on the kinds of material they draw from. The work does not task itself with anything like the classification of all Buddhist knowledge: it purports to draw from the vast well of Buddhist written tradition and make efficacious parts of it better known and more accessible. To this end, different kinds of chapter cite and quote texts from different kinds of Buddhist scripture. Its early “cosmographic” “Chapter 2: The Three Realms” or “Chapter 4: The Six Paths” draw more on abhidharma and āgama scriptures (as well as from earlier cosmographic *leishu*) and to modern eyes look more “encyclopedic”; certain chapters on virtues and devotion draw more from collections of parables; more doctrinally focused chapters draw from *sāstras*, while sections about monastic behavior draw from the full codes of regulations (and Chinese-composed *vinaya* digests); and chapters reproducing ritual formulae like “9. Extending Respect” and “68. Spell Arts” draw from scriptures and collections that arrange themselves around producing and explaining these formulae.

Some chapters quote more widely across the three baskets than others; all of them contain explicitly Chinese-authored materials in the forms of commentary, miracle tale, and ending verse. Attending solely to the organization of *lei*, chapter- and section-headings detracts from attention to how these other diverse materials are organized alongside and separate to scriptural quotations. While previous scholarship has articulated a basic pattern of elements through which *A Grove of Pearls* organizes text at a sub-chapter level,⁵⁶ there is still further to go in detailing how these patterns manifest the anthologists’ stated aims to broaden access to text, how they

⁵⁶ Chen 1992, 253–5, provides an outline of “eight elements” (*xiang* 項) structuring *A Grove of Pearls*: “chapters, sections, explaining the meaning, selected quotations, it is commented, it is versified, question-answer format, and accounts of Stimulus-Response.” Earlier and later authors recognize and enumerate fewer of these structural elements (Ding 198, 64a–65a; Chen Shiqiang 1988, 12b–13b; An 2003, 64–8; Su 2003, 3–4)

structure an anthology reader's experience, and how they mask deeper heterogeneities of content and purpose across section and chapter.

The form and structure of some chapters are dominated by the commentarial voice while others let the collected citations speak for themselves: “78. Karmic Conditioning” and “43. Inspection,” for instance, resemble a doctrinal disquisition and a string of allegorical anecdotes respectively. Commentary does not manifest in one single style across *A Grove of Pearls*, and can manifest in different ways even across a single chapter: the compiler's commentary can insert itself as a few small characters glossing a term in a quoted scriptural passage, or extend for several pages as an essay that contains and compares shorter scriptural quotations.⁵⁷ Broadly and negatively defined, commentary could be conceived as all the text in an anthology that finds itself “outside” the citational scheme that marks quotations as such (“The *Perfection of Wisdom Treatise* says:” 智度論云). In this view of anthological commentary as extraquotational, all paratextual elements, including rubrication itself, can be seen as commenting on the supposed pith of anthology, its scriptural quotes.⁵⁸ In many cases it may have been difficult for a premodern reader to differentiate “commentary” from “quotation,” and a reader may have had to rely on feeling for presumably different kinds of writing and their familiarity with (what they took to be) the original texts quoted. In other cases, depending on what the reader was reading a passage for, the distinction may not have mattered.

But *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* also takes steps to flag commentary as such: where scriptural quotations identify themselves by making a line break and announcing that “as *x* scripture says” 如/依/又 『*x*』 云, a commentarial voice also announces itself with an-

⁵⁷ Commentary also seems to append scriptural quotes with no indication that it is commentary at all. In the absence of the final quotation mark in premodern Chinese writing, and without access to a shorter scriptural “original,” a reader would likely consider these elaborations as part of the scriptural quotation. For examples of unannounced commentary that could be mistaken for scripture, see items 7, 29, 41, 43, and 45 in Appendix Q, cataloging “Chapter 16: Preaching and Hearing.”

⁵⁸ There is a great deal more to say about how scriptures are quoted and cited across *A Grove of Pearls*, other Buddhist anthologies, and other commentarial genres. More so in *A Grove of Pearls* than other surviving Buddhist anthologies, there is considerable diversity in how long quotations are, how closely they reproduce a source-passage, and how they indicate a passage's source. See Chapter Four on quotation as “extraction and epitome.”

other character 曰 *yue*. The “Explaining the Meaning” heading and the opening tag “it is commented” (述曰 *shuyue*) prepares a reader to regard the text that follows as somehow extra-scriptural. A part of a section or chapter can also sometimes be phrased in the form of an interview of the commentator’s own devising where the characters “it is questioned” (問曰 *wenyue*) are matched with “it is answered” (答曰 *dayue*), and various styles of scriptural citation can be employed to complete the responses. Besides employing these phrases, text can also take commentarial stance through the interlineal small-character form, punctuation (use of line-breaks and indentation, primarily), parallel-prose style, allusions to Warring States textual traditions, or markers of time and place (“nowadays” or “in the Western Regions”). It may also be assumed that sections of text that begin without scriptural citation can be read to function as introductory commentary.⁵⁹ The main bodies of the hundred chapters are concluded with a capping verse purportedly authored by Daoshi, of eight, sixteen, or twenty rhyming couplets of four or five characters each, all introduced by the phrase “it is versified” (頌曰 *songyue*).⁶⁰

Seventy-four of the hundred chapters append Chinese-recorded miracle tales to their bodies of excerpts from translated scripture under a heading titled “Accounts of Stimulus-Response” (*ganyingyuan* 感應緣), usually complete with an indication of the number of accounts appended and a summarizing table of contents immediately following it.⁶¹ The miracle-tale content at

⁵⁹ See for instance the introductory essays to Section 6 of Chapter 7 (Appendix P); Section 5 of Chapter 16 (Appendix Q); or Sections 2 and 3 of Chapter 22 (Appendix R).

⁶⁰ Technically speaking, only 99 out of 100 chapters feature ending verses, and “Chapter 84: Ten Evil Acts” features pairs of ending verses for the ten sections (84.4–84.13) named after the ten evil acts. And Chapter 100 features an ending verse composed of 40 rhyming couplets of four characters’ length, double the length of next longest ending verse. *Quan Tangshi bubian* harvests a poetic corpus for Daoshi from his two anthologies. See Appendix B for a listing of verses from *Collected Essentials* and their relationships to verses found in *A Grove of Pearls*.

⁶¹ While every listing of “Accounts of Stimulus-Response” in *A Grove of Pearls* offers a numerical figure for “accounts” per collection, various editions of *A Grove of Pearls* sometimes record different figures, and the summary figures and listings do not always match the content provided. On top of this, the content sometimes differs slightly from canon to canon. While the summary of totals provided by the Koreana Canon would amount to 849, I personally count 866 “accounts of Stimulus-Response.” See Paper 1973 for an index to the accounts, arranged by collection-title cited; see Chen 1993 for a detailed survey of “extracanonical works” (*waidian*) cited in *A Grove of Pearls*. See Sharf 2002, 77–133 for *ganying* as “stimulus-response”/“sympathetic resonance” constituting the “indigenous terrain” of Chinese Buddhist traditions; and Company 2012b, 30–7 for qualifying the style of “stimulus-response” Buddhism expressed through the miracle-tale collection *Signs from the Unseen Realm* as especially lay-oriented and anxiety-provoking. *Ganying* is practiceally synonymous with *gantong*, translated variously as “stimulus-connection,”

times overwhelms the scriptural content of a chapter, in two cases providing the sole content for sections (Sections 6.6 and 6.7 on Bodhisattvas Universal Worthy [Puxian] and Sound Observer [Guanyin] respectively) and in another three cases providing the sole content for an entire fascicle (fascicle 14 contains exclusively thirty-eight miracle tales appended to “Section 6.3: Viewing the Buddha,” continuing from fifteen miracle tales recorded at the end of fascicle 13; fascicle 18 contains exclusively forty-two miracle tales appended to the “Chapter 7: Paying Respect to the Dharma”; fascicle 61 contains exclusively twenty-two miracle tales appended to “Chapter 68: Incantations”).⁶² They also occasionally bleed out of the appendices into the body of a chapter, featured alongside other quotations from translated scriptures.⁶³ Beyond these “tales of the strange,” *A Grove of Pearls* also features series of excerpts from Buddhist genres of recognized Chinese origin: the gazetteer (“Chapter 21: Miraculous Connections,” which quotes exclusively from Xuanzang’s 玄奘 (602–664) *Great Tang Record of Western Regions* [*Da Tang xiyu ji*, *T* no. 2087]);⁶⁴ the apologetic treatise (the “Accounts” section of “Chapter 62: Destroying Heresy” features heavily from Falin’s *Treatise on Destroying Heresy* [*Poxie lun*, *T* no. 2109] and quotations of Falin from his separately circulating biography, *T* no. 2051);⁶⁵ and Chinese Buddhist bibliography (several sections of “Chapter 100: Records” summarize figures from Daoxuan’s scriptural bibliography, *Catalog of the Inner Books of the Great Tang* [*Da Tang neidian lu*, *T* no.

“miraculous connection,” “miracle,” or “wonder worker” depending on context. See Chapter Three, notes 90 and 15 on translating *gantong*.

⁶² See Appendix P for a catalog of fascicle 18. Many interpreters of the “Accounts of Stimulus-Response” in *A Grove* see them as having been packaged for apologetic aims, and they read Daoshi’s essay preceding his first “Accounts of Stimulus-Response” following “Chapter 4.1: Heavens” to this end (*T* no. 2122.j5.303b18–c08; Zhou and Su 1.143–4). The parallel-prose essay describes the karmic effects of good and bad actions, recounts the plots of some choice miracle tales, and finishes by listing the titles of Daoshi’s many sources. The essay in fact appears to have been pieced together from multiple prose works written by famous Chinese Buddhists Xiao Gang, Emperor Wu of Liu Song, Daoxuan, and Falin. See Chen 1992, 256 for reproduction and reading of this essay; Chen 1993 for a study of how Daoshi cites “outer works” in *FYZL*.

⁶³ See Appendix P, Item 18, for an example of *Traditions of Eminent Monks* being cited outside the “Accounts of Stimulus-Response.”

⁶⁴ See also Ray 2011, 102–19, for a translation of all its excerpts from Wang Xuance’s *Travel Accounts in Western Countries* (*Xiguo xingzhuan*), scattered across its sections.

⁶⁵ Jülch 2014, 1.173–4. *A Grove*’s shared quotations with Daoxuan’s *GHMJ*, which features even more “native” apologetic work by dozens of Chinese Buddhists, are extensive and worth further discussion.

2149]). A small handful of accounts bear no citation and appear to be the compiler's own recollection; another small handful of accounts cite various works recording Daoxuan's personal communications with spirits.⁶⁶ While the columns and rows of two-character *lei* of a table of contents represent *A Grove of Pearls* in a tidy tabular aspect, the material contained in the grove is diverse in source, presentation, and intent. The *lei* are not meant to order the cosmos, but to order a diversity of text.

Any overarching order that *A Grove of Pearls* would be trying to communicate is one that may only be appraised in consultation with a table of contents—the map to the work provided on the first scroll with which I began the chapter, or the correlate maps of chapters and sections included at the beginning of most every scroll and chapter head. More so than depicting an atlas of the universe or listing an inventory of all of its existents, what these tables of contents offer is a guidebook to *A Grove of Pearls*: they lay out where one is, where one can go, how far, page- and scroll-wise, “Frugality” is from “Indolence.” This is not to deny the cognitive pleasure a reader might derive from seeing “Chapter 63: Wealth and Status” and “Chapter 64: Poverty and Base-ness” juxtaposed on the same scroll (fascicle 56), or counting the enumerated subdivisions of “Three Realms,” “Six Paths,” “Ten Evil Actions,” or “Six Perfections.” It is not to say that there are not interesting distinctions a historian of the miraculous might want to draw between Daoshi's ideas about “Chapter 20: Divine Wonders” (*shenyi*, fascicle 28) versus “Chapter 21: Miraculous Connections” (*gantong*, fascicle 29),⁶⁷ that there are not further ways to further classify the kinds of *pian* Daoshi has put together under his hundred *lei*-headings.⁶⁸ It is only to in-

⁶⁶ Chapters 44, 65, 73, 76, 77, 84.4, 84.10, 85.6, and 97 each feature as their final account a story that the compiler says he heard personally; for the miracle tales appending “Chapter 65: Debts,” Daoshi acknowledges separate tellers for each of the final three stories. See Kawaguchi 1978, Tomita 2001, and Shinohara 2000 and 2003b. I discuss more on one of these works in Chapters Five and Six, below.

⁶⁷ Literally “stimulus-connections.” See Chapter Two, note 61 for my decisions translating the practically synonymous *ganying* 感應.

⁶⁸ See Chen Yu-jen 1992 for one of the most detailed explorations of *A Grove of Pearls*' structure: like many subsequent scholars, he lists which chapters have what kinds of sections (and subsections) and which chapters append “Accounts of Stimulus-Response.”

sist on the quotidian fact that while *A Grove of Pearls* may resemble an abhidharmic or śāstric treatise in its seeming ambition to relate or enumerate the order of dharmas (it in fact cites a great many), the main function of the categories is to place and find important text. A reader of *A Grove of Pearls* is in search of one or more passages stored under one or more *lei*; while at any given moment he may stop and marvel at the path he took to get to where he is, he is ultimately questing for edifying text.

Appendices B and C also suggest that *lei* offered compilers modes by which to shuttle written contents—preeminently scriptural—between Chinese Buddhist anthologies.⁶⁹ Appendix B shows that *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures*, a smaller anthology of twenty fascicles also attributed to Daoshi, consolidates around a quarter of *A Grove of Pearls*' contents with around a third of its main categories, but smuggles other *lei* from *A Grove of Pearls* in at lower levels of organization. And Appendix C suggests that the Northern Zhou-period (557–581) *Golden Basket Discourse* may have been or may have shared a source with *A Grove of Pearls* because similar excerpts share similar category names.

5. Scriptural Bibliography: Tables of Contents and Catalog (*mulu*) in the Liang Dynasty

Kumārajīva's encyclopedic *Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom* (*Da zhidu lun* 大智度論, *T* no. 1509), two-hundred years older, would have been around the same size as *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*, a hundred scrolls containing ninety chapters of detailed commentary on the ninety chapters (*pin* 品) of the *Mahāprajñāpāramīta Scripture* (*Mohe banruo boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經, *T* no. 223), also translated by Kumārajīva (344–413).⁷⁰ While it boasts a shorter page count than *A Grove of Pearls* of around ten percent per scroll (3016 to 3338 print Goryeo pages total, similar range in pages per fascicle), it also would

⁶⁹ Shinohara 1990, 1991a, 1991b, and 1998 explore how categories used to organize hagiographic and miracle tale collections can correspond with categories found in *A Grove of Pearls*.

⁷⁰ Chou 2004; Lamotte 2001 is a study and translation of the first *pin*-chapter, subdivided into 52 parts.

have been stored in the form of ten wrappers of ten fascicles each⁷¹, equally as cumbersome to navigate for the novice reader. Like *A Grove of Pearls*, the first pages of Kumārajīva's *Treatise* also feature title and author-lines, a preface, and a heading for the very first chapter and section⁷²; but unlike *A Grove of Pearls*, it lacks a master table of contents with which to navigate the work and imagine its entirety on a single page.

To approach any of Chinese Buddhism's mega-scriptures in the age of manuscript without a table of contents readily available, one would already need to know where one was headed. A Chinese Buddhist could gradually gain bibliographic fluency—a sense of a work's components and organization—through spending time with a scripture, though presumably their teachers and religious community at large would have offered pointers on what and how to read. A reader of the *Treatise* might begin by looking for the section of the *Prajñāpāramīta Scripture* he wanted elucidated; he might follow a citation to the scroll to find the context for a story the commentator related; she might begin at the beginning and chant through to the end. She might work on memorizing it, internalizing her own idiosyncratic system of digestion and recall. A table of contents was not strictly necessary to the practice of medieval Chinese Buddhism. The large scriptures featured many internal, enumerated divisions which could be learned in the flow of coming to master scriptural curricula. Under what conditions, then, does a table of contents seem not only advantageous, but necessary to the construction of a Buddhist *leishu*?

Though it can be a straightforward task to create a table of contents for a modern critical edition of a translated Chinese Buddhist scripture, surviving evidence does not suggest that meaty, multi-scroll scriptures—sūtra collections in many cases—had tables of contents attached

⁷¹ T no. 2149.4 accords a whole shelf for holding the *Treatise*, and separate catalogs tally its page count as 2043. A similar page-count for the manuscript *A Grove of Pearls* cannot be found in medieval catalog witnesses. The range of page-count per scroll for *A Grove of Pearls* was 18 to 64, with a mean of 33.4 and a standard deviation of 9.3, while the range for the *Treatise* was 17 to 48, with a mean of 30.2 and a standard deviation of 5.3. In the Taishō canon, the hundred fascicles of *Treatise* run across pages 57 through 756 of volume 25 (700 pages), while *A Grove of Pearls* runs from page 269 through 1030 (761 pages) of volume 53, which approximates the ratio of the Koreana base edition.

⁷² The Taishō edition notes various discrepancies in the headings and enumerations of the work according to print canon witnesses.

to them. By contrast, it is the Chinese Buddhist cataloging tradition that seems to take interest in laying out on the same page or scroll the various partible portions of individual scriptural collections on the one hand and scriptural corpuses on the other. Beginning near the end of the second fascicle of the fifteen-fascicle *A Collection of Records on the Production of the Three Baskets*, the Southern Liang scholar-monk Sengyou charts multiple translations of the “same” scripture not according to date or translator but by scripture.⁷³ His several catalogs of scriptures whose “translator has been lost” (*shiyi* 失譯, in other words, unattributed but putatively attributable) trace short scriptures (the vast majority of which were a single fascicle or even a single page in length) back to better known master scriptures or scriptural collections, using small characters to indicate their having been “extracted” (*chao*) or “issued” (*chu* 出) from a putative foreign or Chinese original.⁷⁴ Catalogers from the Liang through the Tang continued in this tradition of cataloging “separately produced” (*biesheng* 別生) or “extracted” (*chao*) scriptures in order to relate scriptural variety back to its unitary origins, adapting the structures or literal listings of their predecessors’ attempts. By the time of the *Kaiyuan Catalog* (*T* no. 2157) of 730, Zhisheng 智昇 (669–740) not only featured his own catalog of “branches separately circulating” (*zhipai biexing* 支派別行) which could pinpoint scriptural sources using specific numbered fascicles from named scriptures, he also listed in detail the full contents of giant works like the *Great Heap of Jewels Scriptures* (*Da baoji jing* 大寶積經, *T* no. 310: 49 assemblies in 120 fascicles) and the *Great Universal Great Collection Scriptures* (*Da fangdeng daji jing* 大方等大集經, *T* no. 397: seventeen chapters in sixty fascicles), whose individual chapters had originally been

⁷³ Storch 2014, 62–3.

⁷⁴ These catalogs of unattributed scriptures include those inherited from Daoan as Catalogs j3.1 (“ancient variant”); 3.2 (“anonymous”); 3.3 (“from Liang region”); and 3.4 (“from Guanzhong”); as well as the “newly collected” Catalog 4. “Issued [from *x* scriptural collection]” is the preferred commentarial gloss on scriptural titles in catalogs inherited from Daoan, though it is unclear if these interlineal notes are Daoan’s originally. “Extracted” appears as the major designation in Sengyou’s Catalog 4. For a study of the seventeen short scriptures that survive from the 142 listed in Catalog 3.2, see Zürcher 2013, 457–75. Zürcher hypothesizes that this core of unattributed, single-fascicle scriptures may represent a “huge mass of short texts, devoted to one or a few topics, less sophisticated, and more easily digestible” characteristic to “Buddhism at the sub-elite level,” analytically separable from lengthier, multiple fascicle “prestigious scriptures” associated with eminent translator-monks (459, 461). I take Sengyou’s much larger “anonymous” catalog of 460 “newly collected” titles as reflecting a similar situation.

translated as individual scriptures by a variety of translation teams over several centuries and only more recently aggregated into their “complete” forms.⁷⁵

The Buddhist bibliographers took it as their province to fit scriptural contents into tabular form, offering a view from “above” to see various editions as versions of the same scripture, various smaller scriptures as components of greater scriptures, or large scriptural collections as so many parts and scrolls. While researchers of Chinese Buddhist catalog have typically imagined the catalog as an ideological cudgel, wiping out or making invisible the heterodox or the popular, the variant or the mixed, it is primarily an instrument for envisioning scriptures’ histories and relationships to one another. Besides instructing the Sangha which scriptures seemed “suspicious” or “forged,” catalogs also tracked the division and distribution of the Dharma in the form of titles and scrolls. Besides Buddhist scriptures’ own insistence on the partibility of dharma into vehicle, basket, scripture, sermon, skandha, assembly, chapter, gāthā, or even syllable, the catalogs offered Chinese Buddhists further units of dharma to reckon with—characters, pages, fascicles, wrappers, titles, translators, and dynasties. Like the table of contents with which they share a name in Chinese, catalogs informed their readers what all was readable and where to find it, under which names and on what scrolls. It was a bibliographic episteme in which physical books could be copied, consulted, and compared that made possible the Buddhist anthology, scriptural catalog, as well as the table of contents.

Sengyou’s *Collection of Records* also preserves tables of contents of other kinds of Chinese Buddhist collections (see Appendix D for a chart of Chinese Buddhist compilations discussed in this study).⁷⁶ Its twelfth fascicle, the seventh of seven fascicles mostly bearing the prefaces written for mostly Chinese Buddhist scriptures, begins by listing in detail the full contents of Buddhist layman Lu Cheng’s sixteen-wrapper *Dharma Discourses (Falun)*, mostly

⁷⁵ T no. 2154.j11.584a14–586b23 and 588a05–b24. Cf. *Ratnakūṭa* translations by Chang 1983. For further details on the translations and recomplings of these two mega-scriptures, please consult their many citations in the chapter synopses of Appendices O–R. In Daoshi’s time, the *Great Collection Scriptures* had been compiled as such, while the *Great Heap of Jewels Scriptures* had not yet been.

⁷⁶ The following chapter discusses the preface to this collection in light of its organization and contents.

apologetic work by monastics and laypersons from the Jin (266–420) through the Liu Song (420–479); continues with the sixteen-wrapper and 116-fascicle collection of Prince Xiao Ziliang’s personal collection of Buddhist material (and the two fascicle collection of Ziliang’s younger brother Zilun); and ends with extensive tables of contents for Sengyou’s self-authored *Dharma Collection (Faji)* of eight titles of eight wrappers totaling sixty-two fascicles.⁷⁷ Among these eight titles is the *Collection of Records* itself; its own master table of contents is not provided here, nor can one be found in the transmitted editions.⁷⁸ Neither do the two other surviving works—the *Genealogy of the Śākya* and the *Collection for Propagating and Clarifying Buddhism*—bear tables of contents. But supposing that *A Collection of Records* and its twelfth fascicle were in the same physical library as a copy of one of the multi-wrapper collections it outlines, it would have been an excellent guide for finding material with which one had passing or no familiarity. Though, like the scriptural catalog proper, it could also be used to repair a collection with pieces missing, or commission a copy of a collection anew. The twelfth fascicle demonstrates the broad continuity between the practices of cataloging scripture writ large, cataloging large collections of Chinese Buddhist materials, and preparing a table of contents for smaller collections.

These practices of assembling, evaluating, and collecting by category, are of course also broadly continuous with the kinds of operations that make Buddhist anthology possible. And it is in twelfth fascicle where Sengyou adumbrates the contents of three anthologies he put together, some of the earliest surviving anthological tables of contents to survive to present day. Here are listed by fascicle and individually enumerated single line summary titles for the “accounts” that make up the Buddha’s biography (*Genealogy of the Śākya*), a Buddhist cosmography (*Records on the Universe*), and an anthology of Buddhist origin myths (*Collection [of Origins in Miscel-*

⁷⁷ CSZJJ.j12, see Appendix D.

⁷⁸ Later catalogs starting with Fei Zhangfang’s *LDSBJ*, T no. 2034 do however begin to transcribe the table of contents to the *Collection of Records* in their catalogs of catalogs.

laneous Opportune Conditions] from the Garden of Dharma). Small characters run beneath the title of every item, indicating the title of its original source. In size and scope these line-items resemble somewhat many of the tiny “anonymous scriptures” that Sengyou has traced the origins for in an earlier part of the catalog, some of which are also named after the protagonist they feature or the practice for which they account. The formal resemblance between Sengyou’s “anonymous scripture” catalogs (like the entirety of fascicle 4) and his scriptural anthology table of contents reflects not only a similar bibliographic impulse to classify and contain what might otherwise be messy in its proliferation, but also a similar attention to scriptural use and reuse. Sengyou would seem to have recognized that there was a healthy impulse in extracting passages from larger scriptural traditions as their own scriptures, under their own titles, for purposes and audiences who required a targeted approach.⁷⁹ Sengyou’s anthologies appear at a moment when purpose and audience could be registered in the forms of a collection genre and *lei*, when it became possible for users and builders of monastic libraries to record more useful or more popular pieces of scriptural text while also labelling them with proper citations to ensure their authenticity.

In the *Collection of Records* is witnessed the cataloging of works along a spectrum of size, from the cataloging of individual scriptures under translator’s name (tens of fascicles) to the cataloging of an author’s personally authored Buddhist literature (eight to sixteen wrappers), from the cataloging of Chinese Buddhist scriptural writ large (over 4000 fascicles) to the cataloging of a single anthology’s table of contents (five to ten fascicles). These were projects viewed as both separable and imbricated, beginning before Sengyou and forecasted after him: like the language of the Buddha itself, these lists were theoretically amenable to expansion, reduction, and recombination. Such counting, labeling, and listing was not mere intellection, but reflected past and projected future material practices of scriptural tracking, copying, storing, and consultation. A *mulu* found in the Taishō is a physical trace not just of an imagined system of discursive ob-

⁷⁹ See also my reading of Sengyou’s catalog of *chaojing* in Chapter Four, Part 2.2.

jects, but of paper guides for navigating very real “gardens of dharma.” The Taishō unfortunately only registers tables of contents being part of multi-fascicle Chinese Buddhist collections slightly after Sengyou with Huijiao’s *Traditions of Eminent Monks* (T no. 2059), excepting Baochang’s scriptural anthology *Anomalous Phenomena from the Scriptures and Regulations* (T no. 2121), which no longer boasts an additional five-fascicle table of contents as reported by early catalogs and hagiographies. But simply that tables of contents could be detached, circulated separately, or written anew would indicate that individual collections and anthologies (unlike full scriptures) were thought to be indexible kinds of things, and that indices (attached or not) were thought useful to make and to share.

Chapter Two: Prefacing Anthology I—Chinese Buddhist Anthologies before the Tang

1. Scriptural Economy

By the early Tang, in the prefaces of the Buddhist anthologies that comprise the focus of this dissertation (and the subject of this chapter), Daoshi describes the aim of the *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures* (*Zhujing yaoji* 諸經要集) in sixteen characters, midway through the preface:

...the old rules and regulations have been substituted with errors while the traces of the Teaching are drowned in the depths; the literary phrases were vast in scope, and in the end they were difficult to find and survey.¹

彝章訛替，教迹淪潛；
文句浩汗，卒難尋覽。

Likewise, Li Yan 李巖 uses a parallel sixteen characters to describe *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* (*Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林), also midway through his preface:

...the spooling of scrolls proliferated immensely, and the flow of strips grew deeply vast—the Real Nature and True Origin in the end were difficult to survey thoroughly.²

卷軸繁夥，條流深曠；
實相真源，卒難詳覽。

Both Daoshi and Li Yan portray scripture through synecdoche—the “literary phrases” they contain or the “spooling of scrolls” upon which they are contained—and conjure them in their oceanic form. The final “in the end it is difficult” (*cunan* 卒難) indicates that the present is at the end of a long accumulative process, more tinged with dharma-decline tropes for Daoshi (“drowned in the depths” *lunxu* 淪潛) and less so for Li Yan (“vast in scope” *haohan* 浩汗).

¹ Appendix I, paragraph 6.

² Appendix H, paragraph 7.

What the parallel sets of sixteen characters communicate is a particular problematic whereby the proliferation (*fan* 繁) and vastness (*haohan*) of written dharma are cast as difficult (*nan*) for surveying (*lan*). Where Griffiths assumes that a religious reader can and already has mastered a manageable body of religious literature and requires the assistance of metaworks to plumb the depths of and relationships between known phrases, these metaworks at the outset challenge the very notion of a fully knowable body of religious literature. Chinese Buddhist readers did, after all, internalize scriptures and devote themselves to revealing their hidden meanings, for scriptural memorization and exegesis would remain highly meaningful practices. But these anthology preface-lines made an issue of the unwieldy size and scope of the presently existing Chinese Buddhist written tradition, something these same Buddhists in other contexts would pride themselves on. They also describe its “reading” as primarily a scopic (the “eye” radical 見 in “survey” [*lan* 覽]) or haptic (the “hand” components in “find” [*xun* 尋]) but not an oral act (the “word” radicals 言 in the words for “recitation” [*du* 讀; *song* 誦]).³ In other words, the difficulty proposed and solved by Griffiths’s anthologies could be expressed as the distance that between scripture and its being fully understood, whereas the difficulty imagined and resolved by Daoshi’s anthologies could be envisaged as the literal over-availability of scriptures. The challenges were in finding and knowing how to find materials pursuant to a topic given the shortness of lives, forgetfulness of minds, exigencies of the moment, and size of the canon.

Early in their tradition, Chinese Buddhists seem to have been sensitive to the potentially textual limitlessness of their founder’s teachings. *How Master Mou Resolves Our Doubts* (*Mouzi lihuo lun* 牟子理惑論, T no. 2102.1), the first document found in Sengyou’s apologia collection, stages a debate between a Chinese Buddhist sage and his detractors in a territory on the edge of civilization (Jiaozhi, present-day Vietnam) at the end of the second century.⁴

³ On changes in the depiction of the act of reading as seen through the early medieval Chinese poetic tradition, Chen 2009.

⁴ Where modern scholars have disputed the age of this work, I am more interested in the fact that sixth- and seventh-century monks were able to locate this work at the beginning of their tradition. The preface locates the text as

A critic asked: what is most important is not flowery, and the best words are not ornate. Words are beautiful when concise and well chosen. Deeds are illustrious when few and carried to completion. Thus jewels and jade, being rare, are precious, while pieces of tile, being plentiful, are cheap. The sages established the texts of the Seven Classics at not more than thirty thousand words, yet everything is complete in them. But the scrolls of Buddhist scriptures are reckoned by the tens of thousands and their words by many hundreds of thousands. This is beyond the capability of any individual. I consider them troublesome and not important!

Mouzi said: Because of their depth and breadth, rivers and oceans differ from the rain flowing in the gutter. Because of their height and size, the Five Mountains differ from hillocks and mounds. [...] You will be disappointed if you try to find bright pearls by splitting half-inch oysters, or a phoenix's brood by searching for its nest in the brambles. This is because the small cannot contain the large.

The Buddhist scriptures presage the events of a hundred thousand generations and in retrospect lay open the basics of another ten thousand generations. [...] Since there is nothing not recorded [in them], the scriptural scrolls are reckoned by tens of thousands and their words are counted by hundreds of thousands. Their very abundance makes them complete and their being legion makes them rich. Why do you not deem them important? They are indeed important, although they are beyond the grasp of any individual. Isn't it enough that when you approach a river to take a drink, your thirst is quenched? Why fret about the rest?⁵

問曰：夫至實不華，至辭不飾。言約而至者麗，事寡而達者明。故珠玉少而貴，瓦礫多而賤。聖人制七經之本，不過三萬言，眾事備焉。今佛經卷以萬計，言以億數。非一人力所能堪也。僕以為煩而不要矣。

牟子曰。江海所以異於行潦者，以其深廣也；五岳所以別於丘陵者，以其高大也。[...] 剖三寸之蚌，求明月之珠；探枳棘之巢，求鳳皇之雛，必難獲也。何者？小不能容大也。

having been composed in 190, but according to Zürcher, this is likely a fifth c. attribution if not forgery. For recent reviews of scholarship on dating, see Keenan 1994, 3-6; Beecroft 2010, 269-270.

⁵ *Hongming ji*, T no. 2102.j1.2a29-b16; tr. adapted from Keenan 1994, 73-4; cf. also Ziegler 2015, 10-11.

佛經前說億載之事，却道萬世之要。[...] 靡不紀之，故其經卷以萬計，言以億數。多多益具，眾眾益富。何不要之有？雖非一人所堪，譬若臨河飲水，飽而自足。焉知其餘哉？

Now it is doubtful that in second century Vietnam, Confucian traditionalists would have witnessed “tens of thousands of scrolls” of Buddhist scripture⁶—Daoshi and Daoxuan would calculate the total number collected thus far as 3361 scrolls; the Kaiyuan catalog of 730 would only count a total of 8642 scrolls.⁷ What is key here is that both parties can successfully claim an impossible magnitude of Buddhist scriptures and that there is confusion about what to do about it. The critic offers both floral and jewel metaphors in his appraisal of Buddhist writings: they are excessive like flowers (*hua* 華) and cheap like plentiful tiles.⁸ Mouzi, on the other hand, argues that excess and plenty are wealth precisely: flowers and jewels and texts that are like them are beautiful, wise, and life-providing. He agrees with his detractor that no one person could grasp the totality, but then he states that only a minimal portion—maybe any old portion—of the whole is necessary to quench thirst.⁹

⁶ Other things “reckoned” in the myriads (*yiwanji*) on the surviving textual record in this period—the heads of executed in times of war (*Baopuzi*; *Sanguo zhi*).

⁷ *FYZL* ch. 100, “Records,” *T* no. 2122.j100.100.1.1020b02, copying *Inner Books Catalog of the Great Tang, Da Tang neidianlu* (*DTNDL*), *T* no. 2149.j8.302c22—the third of ten catalogs composing the *Inner*. For a study of prefaces in this catalog, see Chapter Seven. Other works citing or commenting on this line and dialogue in the *Mouzi* approvingly include Shenqing in his *Beishanlu* (mid-Tang, *T* no. 2113.j2.583a10, in “Chapter 3: Arising of the Dharma Books” [Fajixing 法籍興]), and Nianchang in *Fozu lidai tongzai* (*T* no. 2036.j5.511a11 in his chronicle of the Eastern Han), and Zicheng (with Shizi’s commentary appended) in the *Zheyi lun* (1351. *T* no. 2118.j2801a4 in “Chapter 4: The Raising of Parable” [*yuju* 喻舉]).

⁸ On the ethics of excess (literary and otherwise), see Tian 2007, 162–210 on the Liang preference for the “superfluous” (*yu* 餘), and Tamara Chin 2014, 69–123, on “lavish expenditure” (*chimi* 侈靡) in the Han economic imagination and prose-poem genre (*fu* 賦).

⁹ Mouzi iterates this theme in the twenty-sixth exchange in the dialogue: “Mouzi said: A thirsty person does not need a great river or a sea to take a drink. A hungry person does not need the Ao Granary to satisfy himself. 牟子曰：渴者不必須江海[河G]而飲，飢者不必待敖倉而飽。” *T* no. 2102.j1.05c2–03; cf. Keenan 1994, 137. Here, however, Mouzi justifies his practice of quoting non-Buddhist classics rather than the proliferate and beautiful Buddhist scriptures—one can lead a Confucian to water but needs to speak Confucian to get him to drink it.

Mouzi doubles the language of his interlocutors back to them:¹⁰ “the scriptural scrolls are reckoned by tens of thousands, and their words are counted by hundreds of thousands” (*jing juan yi wanji, yan yi yishu* 經卷以萬計，言以億數) and they are indeed “important” (*yao* 要); they are “plentiful,” “abundant” (*duo* 多; *duoduo* 多多) and “contain everything” (*zhongshi* 眾事) in their “legions” (*zhongzhong* 眾眾) to the point that “no individual can grasp” (*fei yiren suokan* 非一人所堪). Master Mou does not however repeat his interlocutors’ judgement that all this scripture is “troublesome” (*fan* 煩). There is no need to be annoyed at a river that offers far more water than any one person can possibly consume: it can ever provide what is “important,” in other words what is “essential” or “necessary” (*yao*). The large is so magnificent, Master Mou reframes (“is it not beautiful?”) rather than negates (“it does not make for more trouble”). The Buddhist ignores his questioners’ own rhetorical repetitions that strengthen semiotic links between truth, beauty, and economy: “truthful not flowery” (*shi buhua* 實不華); “articulate not ornate” (*ci bushi* 辭不飾); “concise and well-chosen” (*yue er zhi* 約而至); “few and completed” (*gua er da* 寡而達); “rare and precious” (*shao er gui* 少而貴); “plentiful and cheap” (*duo er jian* 多而賤) all resonate with one another to stick the pointed landing: Buddhist scriptures—their literal scrolls no less the words and teachings contained upon them—are “troublesome and not important” (*fan er buyao* 煩而不要). How should we take the Confucians’ understanding of the relation between “trouble” and “importance”? The phrase “troublesome and not important,” depending on how the English translator wants to render the tricky “and” (*er* 而), may also be read “troublesomely unimportant,” or “troublesome, therefore not important,” or, I suggest, in light of the concept pairings just mentioned, “unnecessary because troublingly proliferate.”¹¹

¹⁰ On Mouzi’s exclusive use of allusions to the non-Buddhist scholarly canon of Ruism and the Three Mysteries (“Daoism”), see Keenan 1994 and Beecroft 2010. Doubling back, “cultural translation,” could have been considered an apologetic strategy of “skillful means” adequate and appropriate, in the minds of medieval Chinese readers, for early attempts to win an unlearned gentry, and, for contemporary attempts to win more support for Buddhism.

¹¹ This back-and-forth—the fifth of thirty-seven—encapsulates thematic contrasts that are opened and resolved throughout the *Mouzi lihuolun*: the relationship between truth and beauty, truth and simplicity, and most crucially for the theme I pursue here, truth and diversity, which is to say, skillful means and holy ends. Beauty (*mei* or *li*) or

Fan 煩 (“troubled,” “annoyed,” “perplexed,” “bothered,” “occupied”) is one of the most common characters in the Chinese Buddhist canon, usually paired with the character *nao* 惱 to translate *kḷeṣa*, or “affliction,”¹² a mental object that right Buddhist practice did not merely manage but ideally eliminated. The *Shuowen jiezi* etymological dictionary “explains” the character as a “combined meaning” (*huiyi* 會意) character: “fire” or “inflammation” plus “head.”¹³ Far more often than describing literal headaches does the word stand for figural headaches: messy, fussy, tedious busywork.¹⁴ In ancient, medieval, as well as modern Chinese, *fan* is homophone, sometimes synonym, for a character for “proliferation” 繁.¹⁵ That the two characters often stand in for each other on the pre-Buddhist written record suggests that the two concepts would be read through each other: to be occupied could be to have too much to deal with; to grow and spread could be to get out of hand. When Mou’s literati judge the imaginary Buddhist

floweriness (*hua*) (Articles 20, 25); simplicity or silence (Articles 17, 18, 22, 28); skillful, expedient, appropriate means for differing audiences, ethnicities, historical moments, and seasons (Articles 6, 15, 20, 23, 25, 26, 33, 38). For an exploration of how these dynamics play out specifically in early medieval Chinese Buddhist translation discourse, see Cheung 2006, esp. 60–3, a discussion of Zhi Qian’s preface to the translation of *Dharmapada* he helped produce, which seems to establish a vocabulary centered around the dichotomy of “unhewn” versus “refined” (*zhi/wen*) translated Chinese scriptures. As Cheung points out, terms like “unhewn” and “refined,” among others she identifies such as “straightforward,” “trustworthy,” “direct,” “embellished,” “elegant,” “beautiful” and “strict” have “no clear definition” (61, also intro), and neither is it clear whether they would refer to the relationship between a Chinese translation and its Indic original or the projected reception of the Chinese translated text by its imagined audience, though they are often used as relative rather than absolute pronouncements on the quality of a translation. Finally, it is unclear what if any lexical, grammatical, formal or stylistic features a modern Buddhistologist may be able to pin down as referents for these terms of evaluation, though clues— elements such as translation/transliteration; addition of glosses / excision of repetition; versification / prosaicization; pre-Buddhist topoi / clearly post-Buddhist topoi—can be and have been pursued where there are surviving works to compare.

¹² *Fan* appears often in early Warring States classics like the *Book of Rites*; *nao* seems to have only become popular after the Han.

¹³ See *SWJZZ*, 755.

¹⁴ Legge 1885 renders *fan* as “importunate”: “Sacrifices should not be frequently repeated. Such frequency is indicative of importunateness; and importunateness is inconsistent with reverence. Nor should they be at distant intervals. Such infrequency is indicative of indifference; and indifference leads to forgetting them altogether” 祭不欲數，數則煩，煩則不敬。祭不欲疏，疏則怠，怠則忘 from *Book of Rites* 24; cf. tr. Legge 1885, 2.210.

¹⁵ Kroll 2017b, 106a suggests “bjon” for both characters’ Middle Chinese pronunciation. *SZJZZ* 1156 reads silk-radical *fan* as a “combined meaning” character too: silk and sprouts. For semantic overlap, see *HYDCD* 7.188–9; 9.982–3. Students of modern Chinese may be familiar with this character *fan* in the word for “Traditional Characters,” *fantizi*. As the title of one recent news item puns, “‘Traditional’ (‘complicated’) Characters are Really Annoying” 「繁」體字真煩, quoting ROC President Ma Ying-jeou’s preference for referring to *fantizi* as *zhengti Hanzi* (“orthodox-style Chinese characters”), for which the Ma government sought UN World Heritage status in late 2009, originally published in KMT-friendly *China Times*, byline Ch’in and Chiang, Dec 27, 2009].

mass of written words to be “troublesome,”¹⁶ they are merely calling it like they see it: an awful lot to manage.

By the time of the advent of Chinese Buddhist catalogs and anthologies three centuries later in the early Liang, lines about scriptural proliferation might have rung even truer to the readers of these works, witnesses to shelves of thousands of rolls of canonized scriptures stored at imperially sponsored monasteries on the one hand, and wide variations between and among scriptural holdings at various sites on the other. Scripture would be “troublesome” not merely because an individual could not be expected to memorize it all, but because there was simply so much of it to store and keep track of, no less gain mastery over. Catalogs, collections, and anthologies emerge at this moment to manage the breadth and diversity of scriptural materials. Rubrication served as a means by which holy writings could be sorted, stored, and otherwise reckoned with. They trained Chinese Buddhists to regard translated scriptures and other religious writings as objects with unique qualities and histories that could be compared, counted, cited, and reproduced in altered form. Catalogs, for instance, did not simply separate “apocryphal” from the “genuine” canon of authorized scriptures, but offered their users the tools to set various works in relationship to one another or as products of a particular translation team and historical moment. Scriptural anthologies presumed the sacred authority of the scriptures they quoted—and sometimes they quoted scriptures that the catalogs condemned as apocryphal—but they viewed specific passages from specific sources as especially edifying with regard to certain topics. Thus, while catalogs sought to deal with the proliferation of mass scripturality by setting the terms for its organization (how to regard multiple translations of the “same” scripture; how to conceptualize the relationship of a short scripture and the larger scriptural collection from which it derives;

¹⁶ This is the only instance of the character 煩 in this dialogue, perhaps an unsurprising finding given that Mouzi and his interlocutors never cite a single Buddhist scripture. Even the interlocutors find this strange when they question Mouzi on this very fact in the twenty-sixth exchange: “A critic asked: you say that the Buddhist scriptures are like the rivers and seas, that their style is like brocade and embroidery. Why then do you not use these Buddhist scriptures in reply to my questions? Why do you prefer to quote the *Book of Poetry* and the *Book of Documents*? And thus make different things appear to be the same?” 問曰：子云經如江海，其文如錦繡。何不以佛經答吾問。而復引『詩』『書』。合異為同乎。T no. 2102.j1.5b29–c01; cf. Keenan 1994, 137.

how to copy and store a “canon”), anthologies sought to reckon with proliferation through organizing categories with which to approach it and reducing it to essential, useable passages.

When prefacers and bibliographers discuss the composition of their anthologies, they speak about their practices of scriptural economy in stereotyped terms. “Using categories to order it” (*yilei xiangcong* 以類相從) is an act not just to help the compositor keep track of his work in progress, but ultimately an aide for the work’s audience to be able to navigate it. Ultimately however, while anthologists often discuss the “meaning” of the specific categories they have chosen to organize their works—see the next chapter on the introductory “Explaining the Meaning” (*shuyi* 述意) sections that preface every chapter in *A Grove of Pearls*, or the general and chapter prefaces of Sengyou’s, Huijiao’s, and Daoxuan’s hagiographic and apologetic collections—the using of categories to make compilations is not a process that is heavily remarked upon. The earliest extant use of the phrase “using categories to order it” to describe the writing of the first *leishu* is found in the secular official history *Records of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguozhi* 三國志) to describe the composition of the enormous thousand-fascicle *Imperial Overview* (*Huanglan* 皇覽) from the “five classics and many writings” (*wujing qunshu* 五經群書) in 220–222 under the command of Emperor Cao Pi of Wei 曹丕.¹⁷ In Chinese Buddhist literature, one witnesses the “using of categories” (*yilei*) to arrange the *Dharma Garden Scriptures* of the Southern Qi (*Fayuan jing* 法苑經);¹⁸ to “consolidate accounts” (*shi...he* 事和) in Sengyou’s *Dharma Collection*, (*Faji* 法集);¹⁹ to “divide items and examples as varied and dense as in a thicket” (*tiaoli congza... qu...bie* 條例叢雜取別) preface to Sengyou’s *Collection from the Dharma Garden*;²⁰ to “epitomize the essential accounts from the scriptures and regulations”

¹⁷ See Drège 2007, 24, on what little is known about this work. In Warring States and early imperial texts, “using categories to order *x*” (*yilei xiangcong*) appears in contexts of discussing correlative cosmology on one end and the fair administration of punishment and rewards on another, but not to discuss textual compilation.

¹⁸ CSZJJ.j5. See Appendix D and Chapter Three for more on this work and its catalog listings.

¹⁹ CSZJJ.j12. See Appendix D and below for more on this work and its preface.

²⁰ Appendix E, paragraph 7.

(*chao jinglü yaoshi* 鈔經律要事, preface to Baochang's *Anomalous Phenomena*;²¹ parroted in later catalog entries and Daoxuan's biography of Baochang); to “synthesize many authors” (*zonghui qunzuo* 總會群作, preface to Daoxuan's *Catalog of the Inner Books of the Great Tang*);²² to “sketch pointers” (*lüezhi* 略旨, prefatory essay to Daoxuan's *Epitome on Conduct and Procedure*); and finally to “compile the best flowers” (*jinghua... bianlu* 菁華編錄, preface to Daoshi's *Grove of Pearls*).²³ In these formulations, using *lei* was practically synonymous with the act of composition.

But near these formulations of using *lei* to compose anthologies and other kinds of collection, prefacers described the heart of their compositional practice as pulling text from other texts, and pushing it back together to make new ones so as to transmit the tradition. Sengyou, in his preface to *Genealogy of the Śākya* juxtaposes two four-character phrases to describe what he thought he was doing when he anthologized: “Presently, I have collected my extracts from the many scriptures so as to transmit without creating” 今抄集眾經，述而不作。²⁴ Sengyou does not discuss *lei* in his preface because the *Genealogy* does not employ this technology. He instead brandishes the famous Confucian slogan (*Analects* 7.1) to claim pedagogical continuity through textual recombination.²⁵ More at the heart of anthological composition were the processes of “extracting”

²¹ Appendix F, paragraph 6.

²² *DTNDL*, T no. 2149.j1.219a19; Japanese translation by Ōuchi 2013, 29–31.

²³ Appendix H, paragraph 11.

²⁴ For more on this preface, Chapter Two, Part 2.2.1. As for the verbal phrase “collect extracts [from many scriptures]” (*chaoji*) as a synonym for compilation, it appears throughout Sengyou's catalog to describe Fasui's 法邃 composition of the ten-fascicle *Parable Scriptures* (*Piyu jing* 譬喻經) (T no. 2145.j2.10a21); the composition of the *Dharma Garden Scriptures* (j5.38b02–03); Fayuan's 法願 two doubtful scriptural compilations (j5.39b03–07); Wangzong's 王宗 doubtful five-fascicle *Scripture on Names and Numbers Instituted by the Buddha* (*Fo suozhi mingshu jing* 佛所制名數經) (j5.39b08); Sengrui's preface to the *Chan Scriptures from Guanzhong* (*Guanzhong chu chanjing xu* 關中出禪經) (j9.13.65a27–b02, Young 2015); the anonymous preface to *Samghavarman's *Miscellaneous Heart of Abhidharma Treatise* (*Za apitan xin lun* 雜阿毗曇心論) (j10.17.74b06); and Sengyou's preface to his lost *Records on the Universe* (*Shijie ji* 世界記) (j12.4.88b25–7). For Sengyou and his successors, this textual operation is implicated from the legitimate assembly of scripture to the more dubious, but sometimes necessary assembly of scriptural compilation.

²⁵ Other Buddhist brandishers of the slogan to refer to textual practices include Sengzhao 僧肇 in his preface to his annotations to the *Vimalakīrti* (T no. 2145.j8.12.58b18–19); Huijiao in his postface to *Eminent Monks* on composing *Eminent Monks* (T no. 2059.j14.419a19); and Daoxuan in his disquisition on “Clarifiers of the Regulations” (*minglü* 明律, T no. 2060.j22.a25–26) defending monks' textual elaborations on vinaya.

(*chao*), “collecting” (*ji*), and “transmitting” (*shu*). The practices imply one another, for to collect and extract “from the many scriptures” was not “creating” new scripture whole cloth, but judged as necessary for the preservation of the faith. It is to these three practices that the next six chapters of this dissertation turn.

2. Prefaces to Buddhist Anthologies of the Northern and Southern Dynasties

Troublesome proliferation is the major problematic early medieval Chinese Buddhist bibliographers and anthologists addressed in practicing scriptural economy: they say as much in the prefaces introducing the massive compendia they wrote. But every succeeding preface introduced a new work composed for historically specific audiences and the problems they faced. By making translations and summary studies of prefaces to anthologies that precede *A Grove of Pearls*, I describe how anthologists imagine projects of anthologizing in those prefaces: they praise the glory of ancient dharmic proliferation, lament how that same dharma has become inaccessible in present circumstances, and celebrate the final project as the fruit of their own thoughtful labor in practicing scriptural economy, in so doing allow the Dharma to become accessible again. The overarching narrative of this myth plots “compiler” and “users” of the anthology as the latest iteration in a line of Buddhist teachers performing the role of the bodhisattva in transforming what was formerly vast and inaccessible into something appropriate and edifying for lesser audiences. How prefaces portray empire, Buddhism, the anthologists, and their anthologies vary: Sengyou’s three anthologies, five to fifteen fascicles long, branch out from his *Dharma Collection* project and scriptural cataloging activities, and were compiled as instruments for the Sangha’s curation and use in the early sixth century; Baochang’s fifty-fascicle *Anomalous Phenomena* was directly overseen by the “Bodhisattva Emperor” Wu of Liang and embraced imperial ambitions to comprehensiveness; Daoji’s seven-fascicle *Golden Basket Discourse*, on the other hand, was composed without imperial support in hostile North China half a century later in putative response to lack and loss of the Dharma. The prefaces by these three authors,

however, all anticipate prefatory strategies pursued in Daoshi's anthologies: like the prefaces of Sengyou and Baochang's anthologies, the prefaces to Daoshi's anthologies claim to preserve ancient Buddhism's emphasis on meeting a host of needs while solving the modern problem of scriptural overabundance; like Daoji's preface, they also emphasize the anthology's usefulness in teaching karma by invoking an end-times urgency.

Because the sixth-century prefaces also describe the structure and content of the anthologies they precede, this chapter will use the opportunity of analyzing the prefaces to highlight, in brief, the structures and contents of these pre-Tang anthologies. As many scholars have documented, *A Grove of Pearls* appears to share both structural elements and whole passages of text from Sengyou, Baochang, and Daoji's anthologies. Daoshi was likely a reader of these earlier anthologies, so this chapter attempts to make them more legible too. Prefaces were attempts of anthological communities to make anthologies legible to themselves: Sengyou wrote his own in the first person, and Baochang and Daoji's prefaces write about the compilers and compilations at a distance, but all the prefaces outline features of the anthologies they describe including their source material and category-headings. While an anthology's user could choose to ignore the preface entirely before diving into its tables of contents or a fascicle at random (and Chapter Five shows that parts of anthologies certainly circulated independently of their wholes, no less their prefaces), it is also the case that anthological prefaces could be read and enjoyed independently of the anthology—Sengyou and Daoxuan preserved decapitated anthology prefaces in their collections for posterity's sake, and Daoshi would repurpose earlier anthology prefaces to introduce certain chapters in *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* and *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures*.²⁶

²⁶ Sengyou collected anthology prefaces in the twelfth fascicle to his catalog, *Collection of Records*, discussed below; Daoxuan collected anthology prefaces (including Li Yan's preface to *A Grove of Pearls*) in his *Expanded Collection for Propagating and Clarifying*; and Daoshi's chapter introductions ("Explaining the Meaning" *shuyi*) are discussed in Chapter Three, Part 4.

2.1 *The Preface Genre and Parallel Prose Style*

Early medieval Chinese Buddhist anthology prefaces, like prefaces to Buddhist catalogs and other compendia, may be considered a special subset of the scriptural preface.²⁷ Like the scriptural preface, they commemorate the work that follows by showing how it emerged as the result of a chain of causes and conditions distant (the Buddha's decision to preach what to whom), medial (foreign evangelists or native pilgrims bringing Buddhist teachings to China), and proximate (a patron's or scholar-monk's interest in translation or retranslation of certain holy texts). As historical documents, scriptural prefaces were important sources of information for Buddhist bibliographers, not merely identifying who translated the scripture commemorated when and where, but also adumbrating the broader plot behind the scripture's entry into the life of Buddhism in China. Who helped? Which text was used? Why this scripture, at this time, in this way? These details could have profound theological consequences as well, determining the reading of not merely the scripture prefaced, but also key terms and ideas contained therein and entire genres of other scriptures. As an expressive genre, scriptural prefaces dramatized an encounter between a "foreign" scripture and a "local" audience the translators deemed needful of the new translation: the preface (*xu* 序) as an "antechamber" could serve as a space for the preface-author to introduce readers to a strange new home, underscoring themes they might not think to look for or drawing equivalences between its ideas and those espoused in "Chinese" classics.²⁸ Thus, the pioneering translations and studies of Chinese Buddhist scriptural prefaces by Arthur Link and others highlight prefaces as a theological genre in their own right, uniquely Sinitic, and thus a prime location for witnessing the reception and localization of "foreign" modes of thought by and for "Chinese" audiences.²⁹ In short, scriptural prefaces as a genre taught their readers

²⁷ For a collection of Chinese Buddhist scriptural prefaces translated into Modern Standard Mandarin, see Su Zhixiong 2012.

²⁸ For the distinction between "documentary" and "work-like" functions of historical texts, see LaCapra 1990. For a recent discussion of what translators of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese thought they were doing when they translated in terms of "strategies" and "tactics," see Salguero 2014, 51–60. For the clearest recent articulation of Chinese Buddhism as "localization," see Young 2015, 1–4.

²⁹ On the prefaces of Daoan 道安 (312–385), see Link 1957; Link and Hurvitz, 1974; on prefaces of earlier figures An Shigao and Kang Senghui, see Link 1974 and 1976; for translations of prefaces authored by Kumārajīva's co-

how to interpret both text and history, interpolating them as the latest recipients in a lineage of tradents and instructors.

In speaking on behalf of the scriptures they preface, however, scriptural prefaces claim their own necessity as letters of recommendation: even if the scripture has been translated into the local language, the locals would not recognize its importance or meaning without having been formally introduced to it in the antechamber. And what authorizes prefaces as letters of recommendation, in conjunction with the identity of the recommender, are their highly formal style. Scriptural prefaces are characterized by the parallel-prose or *pianwen* 駢文 style that also characterizes many other contemporary Chinese Buddhist belletristic genres.³⁰ To understand what Chinese Buddhist prefaces say, one needs to account for how they say it, and this in turn requires a few words on the unique affordances and confusions of the *pianwen* style. In a strictly formal sense, as explored by James Robert Hightower (1959), parallel prose consists of series of parallel couplets of shared character length and syntactic structure, broken into paragraphs by “an unpaired line, phrase, or word: as a mode of expression, it is less suited for narrative or argumentation as it is for “the idle display of erudition and the construction of elaborate puzzles.”³¹ Historically, *pianwen* emerged as a style in the late Han, came to prominence in the early medieval period, lost some of its prestige in the mid-Tang when partisans of the “return to antiquity” *fugu* 復古 movement targeted it as corrupt, and it has often been defined by its proponents and detractors by what it is not: not verse, because it is not so strictly metered, rhymed, or toned; not “free prose” *sanwen* 散文, which emphasized “clarity and content over euphony and prosody”;

hort, see Robinson 1967, 200–12; on prefaces to the Chinese *Dharmapadas*, *Nirvana* and *Great Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom*, Willemen 1973, Shih 1981 and Lai 1982, respectively; for excerpted translations from many scriptural prefaces that shed light on Chinese Buddhist translation practice, see Cheung 2006, 52–201. More recently, Young 2015, 30–64, reads how Indian patriarchs are portrayed across several prefaces for translations of works attributed to them.

³⁰ On “belletristicization” and “Buddhicization” as dependently originated currents in the development of early medieval Chinese literary criticism, Mair 2001. Like *leishu*, the term *pianwen* and synonyms like *piantiwen* 駢體文 or *liusiwen* 六四文 appear long after people start writing in *pianwen*.

³¹ Hightower 1959, 68–9.

and not “ancient-style prose” *guwen* 古文, because it was judged frivolous and ornamental rather than privileging moral seriousness through an economy of expression.³² Even as “parallel prose” became associated with the early medieval period and “ancient-style prose” gained cachet in the mid-Tang, many formal genres including prefaces continued to be written in *pianwen* up through the twentieth century: Buddhist liturgies recovered from Dunhuang, for instance, utilize *pianwen* to “write and speak like members of the elite”³³ and charge the illocutionary lines of the ritual with beautiful language. A Chinese Buddhist *pianwen* composition could be judged as needlessly ornamental and obfuscatory from the perspective of a communicative style that encourages directness. But as a piece of writing that begins a scroll or larger collected work of Buddhist writing, a *pianwen* preface would have also contrasted with the alternately direct or highly hypotactic narrative style of the *sūtra*, the baroque unraveling of the *śāstra*, or the lineated poetry of unrhymed *gāthā*. A parallel-prose preface at the head of a scroll would be read as a gesture of Sinification, addressing the body of the scroll, “welcome to China.”

Parallel phrasing has another rich context in the texts of philosophical traditions like Dark Learning *xuanxue* 玄學 or Buddhist Madhyamaka and Prajñāpāramitā literatures: these traditions employed parallelism in their rhetoric not merely for play or praise, but more importantly to communicate insight about the nature of being (or emptiness) and the path to wisdom, in a more logically exhaustive or highly dialectical fashion.³⁴ Style likewise buttresses content and purpose for Chinese Buddhist scriptural prefaces: parallel prose suggests that despite mismatches between the Buddha’s time and the present, scriptural accessibility and human capacity, the

³² Nienhauser 2013 surveys the changing fortunes of *pianwen* through imperial Chinese history. Bol 1992, 22–7, dramatizes the triumph of *guwen* over *pianwen* by comparing two pieces of rhetoric from mid-eighth century, but note how the *pianwen* example held up for inspection just happens to be a Buddhist temple stele. For an elaboration of a “mainstream” approach to eighth-century literary politics that imagined *guwen* partisans as extreme, see also DeBlasi 2002.

³³ Teiser 2014, 369–70. For the affordances of *pianwen* style in medieval Japanese Buddhist prayer *ganmon* composition, see also Lowe 2017, 57–79.

³⁴ See Wagner 2000, 53–114, on Wang Bi’s 王弼 (226–249) commentaries on Daoist classics. Incidentally, Wagner writes that he first began to think about Scholarly Exploration of the Dark (*xuanxue*) and Interlocking Parallel Style in his doctoral studies on the thought of early Chinese Buddhist masters of the Eastern Jin, Daoan and Huiyuan (1).

Buddha's teachings and the world of *samsāra*, the compositor can still manage to balance everything, and make it look and sound good on top of it. Parallel prose connotes the organic holism of the *Classic of the Way and its Power* as well as the logics of stimulus-response and skillful means; even when Buddhists use it to promote Buddhism against the traditions of their religious opponents, they literally juxtapose allusions to the *Analects* and the *Book of Changes* alongside allusions from the Buddhist scriptures. Through parallel prose, foreign myths, personalities, and ideas can be cut to fit the lengths of lines in Chinese characters. Buddhist anthology and catalog prefaces can take an even wider view, pairing names and allusions from various scriptures or the identities of multiple translators and exegetes, conjuring the idea of an identifiable, masterable Buddhist canon.

To take prefaces seriously is not to ignore that they strike moderns (or Confucians) as “idle displays of erudition,” but to imagine what that display of erudition means to effect. Parallelism as a literary strategy allows authors to affirm both the binary structure and underlying unity that constitutes the cosmos, to claim that everything is in its place, unlike the “isolated fact” which “unmatched is like the monster *kui* which hobbles and limps.”³⁵ What may look to us as so many mixed metaphors or lily-gilding was in fact regarded by admirers of parallelism as entirely appropriate, well-balanced, euphonious, or smoothly operational. The style works by piling it on, so to speak, every repeated line seeming to suggest, “What I tell you two times is true.”³⁶ Hightower's stylistic analysis also offers clues about how to interpret Chinese Buddhist parallel prose prefaces: if they seem to be ineffectual at narrating events or explaining concepts, that is because these functions are not parallel prose's strong suits, which are, in point of fact, mood-setting: dazzling with verbal precocity and paying homage to or excoriating something. Nonetheless, an-

³⁵ 若夫事或孤立，莫與相偶，是夔之一足，踟蹰而行也，tr. Shih 1959, 194. Liu Xie's thirty-fifth chapter in the *Literary Mind and Carving of Dragons* (*Wenxin diaolong* 35) takes on the topic of *lici* 麗辭, “Linguistic Parallelism” (Shih 1959, 190) or “Parallel Phrasing” (Owen 1992, 255).

³⁶ Hightower 1959, 62.

thology prefaces argue that they solve problems of scriptural proliferation and inaccessibility by telling stories of dharma being rescued from decline through bibliographic efforts.

2.2 *Sengyou's* Dharma Collection

In discussing Western European High Renaissance sixteenth- and seventeenth-century encyclopedism, Ann Blair discusses how the first-century Roman author and natural philosopher Pliny the Elder was popularized as a hero for early modern collectors. The bibliographer Conrad Gesner, for instance, explicitly cited the Elder's nephew, Pliny the Younger, who reported that his uncle "used to say that there is no book so bad that some good cannot be got from it," in justifying his *Bibliotheca universalis* (1545), a bibliography of some 10,000 works, listing barbarian books that Renaissance humanists may have found alternately sacrilegious or useful.³⁷ Various other authors and users of bibliographic catalogs, collections of anecdotes, and florilegia performed their work of scholarly collection and textual preservation with Pliny the Elder's dictum in mind. To justify exhaustive collecting that extended to the realm of seemingly "bad" or "useless" books, Gabriele Naudé (1627) invoked Pliny alongside arguments from Christian natural theology wherein even snakes, weeds, and thorns "served a purpose according to the plan of a benevolent God."³⁸ In trusting providence to ensure that whatever happened to be collectable could be salvaged for the ultimate good, authors of encyclopedic collections also trusted providence to guide their works to the proper readers, and for individual, future readers to make proper use of what they would find collected. We have already seen how theology intertwines with scholarship for Daoan and Sengyou in their prefaces, and we can draw several parallels with Blair's Renaissance humanists. In the first place there is the effort to juxtapose classical and contemporary texts, "secular" and "religious" schools of learning in the same overall frame. Secondly, there is a recognition of great textual depth and diversity that has historically come

³⁷ Blair 2013, 383–4.

³⁸ Ibid, 384–5.

into being because it was guided by superhuman wisdom. Third, the compilers recognize that their audiences are also diverse and differently interested, but that they too will be interested in preserving texts with future, unforeseen uses.³⁹

2.2.1 *Genealogy of the Śākya*

Pliny's line about "no book so bad" may not have echoed with Chinese Buddhist bibliographers: certainly forged scriptures were beyond the pale and were not worth preserving even as a negative example, though the tradition of cataloging does seem to have operated under a similar principle of preserving redundant, less artfully translated or confusingly recondite adaptations for later, differently oriented scholars to enjoy and puzzle over. Just as Christian Europeans brandished the name of the pagan Pliny the Elder to underwrite their religiously motivated scholarship, so did Chinese Buddhists find inspiration from the heroes of classical Chinese textualism and bibliography, Confucius and the Han-period bibliographer Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BCE). Rather than operating under a full-throated "no book so bad" ethos, Chinese Buddhist bibliographers and anthologists performed their work under Confucius's famous slogan to "transmit but not create" (*shu er buzuo* 述而不作). Just as annotators and commentators of the evolving Confucian canon throughout the intellectual history of imperial China embraced "transmit but do not create" as an ethos in order to create startling new interpretations of the "Confucian" tradition,⁴⁰ so did Chinese Buddhist anthologists fashion themselves as tradents,⁴¹ compiling excerpts under the description of "transmitters." Sengyou himself quotes the line in the preface to his *Genealogy of the Śākya* (*Shijia pu* 釋迦譜, T no. 2040) in describing how and why he put the book together. His preface ends with the following lines and a verse prayer:

³⁹ Ibid, 385–6, introduces Theodor Zwinger's auto-commentary on his collection of anecdotes (*Theatrum humanae vitae*) to make this point: Zwinger analogized his work to a public botanical garden where "Italians... Germans... Scythians" can pick which plants please them the most.

⁴⁰ Makeham 2004.

⁴¹ *JIAS* 2015.

As for the origins of [the Buddha's] lineage and birth; the essentials of his obtaining the Way and rescuing others; the evidence of his nirvana, stupas, and images; and the signs of the Dharma bequeathing and its future extinction,⁴² I have amalgamated from the many scriptures to serve as the correct root text, and stitched on secular accounts as appended branches. This is to divide holy word and common talk along separate strips, while allowing the ancient lore and present-day tracks to corroborate each other. Although a myriad *li* is a great distance, it can be [as close and personal] as a bend or step; and if a thousand years ago is honestly hidden from view, it can be made gapless so as to directly face it. Presently I have collected my extracts from the many scriptures so as to transmit without creating. I hope to dispense with [unnecessary] searching, to halve the effort and double the effectiveness. Respectfully obeying with my faithful heart, I briefly express a small prayer here...⁴³

若夫 胤裔託生之源；得道度人之要；
 泥洹塔像之微；遺法將滅之相，
 總眾經以正本，
 綴世記以附末。
 使 聖言與俗說分條，
 古聞共今跡相證。
 萬里雖邈，有若躬踐，
 千載誠隱，無隔面對。
 今 抄集眾經，述而不作。
 庶脫尋訪，力半功倍。
 敬率丹心，略敷誓願。

Sengyou bows before the Supreme Revered One,
 Kowtows purely to the unparalleled Dharma,
 And next returns to the dirt-free Sangha of the Perfected:
 The Three Jewels that mercifully protect us, forever abiding in the world.

⁴² In the Table of Contents of the received *SJP*, these four categories seem to align with headings 1–9 of j.1; 10–18 of j.2; 19–32 of j.3; and 33–34 of j.3 respectively. For an introduction to this work and secondary scholarship on it (mostly Japanese), see Durt 2006.

⁴³ *T* no. 2040.j1.1a20–26 and *CSZJJ*, *T* no. 2145.j12.4.85c03–08; or Su and Xiao 1992: 459–60. See Su 2012, 795–7, for a critical edition with modern translation. Su breaks up the preface into three paragraphs where neither Taishō reproductions take this step, and the portion I have translated here corresponds to Su's third paragraph.

At the End of the Semblance [Dharma period], faith is short and faith is impure,
 The heterodox are lost and sunk, fallen to hosts of sufferings.
 The Three Baskets are far-reaching and vast, impossible to search through,
 And laziness among other obstructions cause the Dharma to sink.
 Therefore I have collected the roots, the records of conditions for the origins of the teaching:
 Scripture and regulation transmit and evidence the roots for increasing faith!

I humbly bear in mind the vow of the Great Hero [Bodhisattva],
 Daring to rely on spreading ideas⁴⁴ to later generations.
 I pray as well for merit for those who see and hear of them and rejoice.⁴⁵
 May the Dharma Lantern extend its shining to the ends of time.⁴⁶

僧祐前禮最勝尊	稽首清淨無比法
次歸離垢應真僧	三寶慈護永住世
像末少信信不純	邪見迷沒陷眾苦
三藏遐曠難究尋	懈怠障礙令法沒
故集本師源緣記	經律傳證增信根
仰承大士誓願心	敢厝弘意於後世
願同見聞隨喜福	法燈延照盡來際

This anthological preface verse prayer is unique in the Taishō corpus, and unique in Sengyou’s corpus for situating his scholarly activities within the Three Refuges (*sangui* 三歸) in the first two couplets, the Dharma decline narrative in the next three, and the bodhisattva vow in the final two couplets. The prayer strings together a chain of transmission from the ancient and eternal Three Jewels at its beginning to the “later generations” (*houshi* 後世) and “the ends of time” (*jin*

⁴⁴ “Ideas” *yi* 意 or “intentions,” on which see analysis of “Explaining the Meaning” (*shuyi*) in *FYZL* in Chapter Three, Part 4.

⁴⁵ “Merit in rejoicing” *suixi fu* can be glossed as Skt. *punyānumodanā*, the merit that results from delighting in the Buddha’s teaching and others’ good karmic behavior.

⁴⁶ *T* no. 2040.j1.a27–b04. The *CSZJJ* version of the preface does not have the verse.

laiji 盡來際) at its conclusion, connected by the present-day compiler anticipating an imminent time of troubles. The third and fourth couplets insinuate that the reader of the prayer too may find herself at the turn of a dispensation, the “End of the Semblance Era” (*xiangmo* 像末), where faith is weak, heterodoxy strong, laziness overpowering, and baskets too broad.⁴⁷ It is not clear what if any causal sequence there might obtain between these events, only that “sunken dharma” is happening or soon arriving, so the time for “collecting roots” (*jiben* 集本) has arrived.

The prose preface preceding the prayer makes reference to the extinction of the Dharma (“future extinction” *jiangmie* 將滅) because it is an important topic covered in the *Genealogy*, the “signs” (*xiang* 相) of which are meant to complete the quartet with the Buddha’s clan “origins” (*yuan* 源), the “essentials” (*yao* 要) of his saving mission, and the “evidence” (*zheng* 徵) of the Buddha’s decease and relics.⁴⁸ But the prose preface reflects less eschatological anxiety and more optimism in the ability of the anthology to reduce otherwise impassible time and space (“a myriad *li*”; “a thousand years”) through editorial practice in its quasi-arithmetic ambition to “halve the effort and double the effectiveness” (*liban gongbei* 力半功倍) of locating certain items in the universe of Buddhist text. What is more, Sengyou’s conception of “transmitting without creating” involves the hybridization of Buddhist dharma (“the many scriptures” *zhongjing* 眾經; “holy word” *shengyan* 聖言; “ancient lore” *guwen* 古聞) and non-scriptural history (“secular accounts” *shiji* 世記; “common talk” *sushuo* 俗說; “present-day tracks” *jinji* 今跡).⁴⁹ By connecting passages from these literary worlds as “root and branch” (*benmo* 本末

⁴⁷ Durt 2006, 53n3.

⁴⁸ From this and the table of contents, we can see the difficulty of translating *Shijia pu* as the “*Chronological Biography of Śākya*” (Link 1960, 26) or “*The Life of Śākyamuni*” (Martin 2010, 913), or even of referring to the work as “critical biography” (Durt 2006, title). The *Shijia* in *Shijia pu*, especially in the titles of approximately thirty of the thirty-four entries, refers to the Śākya line from which the historical Buddha emerged, the historical Buddha himself, his family members who were among the first to convert and find salvation, the disciples who changed their names to his clans to become Buddhists (see entry 8), and his physical remains. Perhaps Sengyou’s expansive notion of the “genealogy” or *pu* can help complicate taken-for-granted notions of what religious “biography” can be.

⁴⁹ With the latter, Sengyou does not seem to be referring to genres of Chinese-authored miracle tale and hagiography, but rather the peri-canonical genre of “Collections and Traditions [recorded or compiled by latter-day saints and sages]” (*xianshengjizhuan* 賢聖集傳) of which certain tale collections and post-Buddha accounts would be

)—as “separate strips” (*fentiao* 分條) that “corroborate each other” (*xiangzheng* 相證)—the distant and obscure become as touchable and visible as the images of the Buddha towards which a reader could personally deign to “bend or step” (*gongjian* 躬踐) or “directly face” (*miandui* 面對). Once more, the structure of parallel prose is leveraged to portray dharmic history as continuous across vast swathes of time and space, and to portray the social worlds of the “monastic” and “lay” as interdependently beneficial. Anthology is offered as a crucial ligament between sacred and profane, with anthologist as the intercessor, transforming impossibly complex chronotopic breadth in the form of proliferate text into manageable, trackable doses.

The first two-thirds of the prose preface for the *Genealogy* are broadly congruent with themes in Sengyou’s catalog prefaces, waxing epideictic on the Buddha’s wisdom and power in the first third and lamenting the disorderliness of his traces in the second third.⁵⁰ As Sengyou emphasized with the Buddha’s decisions to teach and translators’ efforts to bring scripture to China, the event of “Bodhi” (*puti* 菩提) with which he begins the preface is depicted as a karmic episode with its unique historical conditions and contingencies:

included. This category would become standard in catalogs that follow Sengyou’s, the earliest extant of which include Fajing’s of the Sui, *T* no. 2146.j6, which lists “collections” (*zhuanji* 撰集), “traditions” (*zhuanji* 傳記), and “commentaries” (*zhushu* 著述) as its seventh, eighth, and ninth categories respectively, following upon the first six categories of the Three Baskets of the Two Vehicles. In *SJP*, Sengyou cites the *Tradition of King Aśoka* (*Ayuwang zhuan* 阿育王傳), the *Greater Scripture on King Aśoka* (*Da Ayuwang jing* 大阿育王經), and the [Shorter] *Scripture on King Aśoka* (*Xiao Ayuwang jing* 小阿育王經), the putative quotations of which do not seem to match with the transmitted literature of similar titles (*T* no. 2042 and *T* no. 2043, the seven- and ten-fascicle *Tradition* and *Scripture of King Aśoka* respectively, which appear with their attributions first in Fei Zhangfang’s catalog *T* no. 2034—see Kanno 1996a, 129, on this point). Sengyou’s catalog does not record the *Tradition* but lists the *Smaller* and *Greater* as anonymous and suspicious respectively. Several other scriptures about Aśoka and relics that Sengyou cites in *SJP*, like the aforementioned unattributed *Scripture on Seeking to Escape Prison*, may have also been considered by him to be holy writ but not taught directly by the Buddha. Perhaps by “secular records” or “present-day tracks,” Sengyou is referring to hearsay he read in accounts or heard from colleagues and westerners, and “appended branches” (*fumo* 附末) refers to the personal notes (introduced “Sengyou notes / has found that / thinks that...” *You an* / *You xun* / *You yangwei* 祐案, 祐尋, 祐仰惟) appended at the end of the majority of his entries. These comments are written in euphuistic parallel prose, and rarely make reference to classical Chinese tradition, more on which, see Durt 2006, 64. At any rate, Durt’s observation that “in the *Shijiapu*, Sengyou does not refer to secular sources” (Durt 2006, 63) needs to be squared with the preface author’s claim to have integrated the two kinds of sources.

⁵⁰ Su’s 2012 first and second paragraph (*duan*) correspond to *T* no. 2040.j1.1a06–13 and a13–20, respectively.

...It is only the several buds⁵¹ which have been long dormant all unite in the Great Awakening; opportune conditions arrive at these transformations [just as] stimulation necessarily leads to response. If in response he had not taken birth, who would awaken the commoners? If in the transformation there were no name, how could he lead the generations? Therefore he took the name Śākya and he arrogated the seed of the *kṣatriya* in order to embody the Reverence of the lands and to be crowned the Excellence among men and gods...⁵²

但 群萌長寢，同歸大覺，
緣來斯化，感至必應。
若 應而不生，誰與[C興;與SYM]悟俗？
化而無名，何以導世？
是以
標號釋迦，擅種刹利，
體域中之尊，冠人天之秀。

Not only does this passage educate its readers about providential Sino-Buddhist philosophies of history, it also foreshadows the contents of the anthology which shares the name of the family and figure it purports to transmit stories about. Furthermore, it justifies the episodic form of the anthology, composed of nine “genealogies” (*pu* 譜) and twenty-five “records” (*ji* 記),⁵³ each composed of one or more excerpts from various named scriptures, the majority of which feature “[account of] conditions” (*yuan* 緣) in their title.⁵⁴ The lists of ancestors, family members, and monastic disciples that populate the first fascicle resemble the tables of contents at the beginning

⁵¹ “Several buds” *qunmeng* is metonym for “sentient beings,” also evoked in Sengyou’s closing comments for entries 4 (on the Buddha’s birth and awakening, j1.8c08) and 27 (on the Buddha’s nirvana, j4.74c01). All three loci in *SJP* emphasize the Buddha’s providence in being born and living his life when and where he did as a skillful means.

⁵² *T* no. 2040.j1.1a09–12 and *T* no. 2145.j12.87b21–24; cf. Su 2012, 796ab for modern translation.

⁵³ This system of 88abeling the units in the *Genealogy* as a whole is consistent across the tables of contents and headings in both the transmitted Taishō edition, across all three fascicles, and in *CSZJJ*’s preserved table of contents. See Appendix D for a cataloging of units of collection.

⁵⁴ A translation of *yuanpu* or *yuanji* might be “A Genealogy/Record of/and the Causal Conditions Behind [how the Great Ancestor of Śākya at the Beginning of the Kalpa Came to be Named Gautama],” to take the second item in *SJP* for instance. The following headings feature “[account of] conditions” as the penultimate character: 2–4, 6, 8, 10–13, 18–21, 32–33. This count differs slightly between *CSZJJ* and *SJP* and from print canon to print canon. Durt 2006, 64–5, discusses how *yuan*, *ji*, and *pu* seem to signify in *SJP*.

of the three scrolls: every additional item in a series begins a new line on the scroll, under which more information can be located. Stitching together quoted text and the titles of their sources, the lines of the Buddha's descent and discipleship are represented arboreally. The very story of the Buddha, so the form of the anthology seems to argue, cannot be told coherently without being re-formed patchwork, from an ocean of otherwise overly fragmented, scriptural sources. As the preface goes on to say,

These were the means by which [the Buddha's] traces have been conferred unto us: beginning from his descent into the womb all the way to the distribution of relics, there were a thousand instances of opulent transformation and a myriad transmutations of numinous omens, alongside the classical scriptures resplendent with meanings and the recorded traditions plentiful with events. However, the multitude of words are uneven, and the heads and tails are scattered about; the train of events are contradictory, and the variations across the corpus have not been regularized. If there is scattering of heads and tails, it is appropriate to partition with a thread singular; if there is no regularization of the variations, it is necessary to tally them up with the universals. Therefore know that: in interrogating broadly it is difficult to synthesize, so one comprehensively collects it all to make reading easier. I, [Seng]you, applied my non-acuity to learn a lot⁵⁵ after work was over; at times I've relied on free moments⁵⁶ to stay behind and research freely. I succeeded in unrolling scriptures and tabling records [so as to tell the story of the Śākya] from beginning to end.⁵⁷ I respectfully designed the *Genealogy of the Śākya* whose records amount to five fascicles.

此 其所以垂跡也。

爰自降胎，至于分塔，

瑋化千條，靈瑞萬變。

並 義炳經典，事盈記傳。

⁵⁵ “To learn a lot,” literally to “hear a lot” *duowen* 多聞, as a predicate means “well-learned” and can translate Skt. *Bahuśruta*.

⁵⁶ “Relied on free moments” *yinjixi* could also be rendered on “relied on gaps in time when I was sick,” recalling Vimalakīrti's famous illness-pretext. In each of Sengyou's collection prefaces there is a line like this where the author demurs (or insists) that he compiled the work in a spirit of humility and after necessary religious activities had been completed.

⁵⁷ “From beginning to end” (*yuanshi yaozhong*) is an allusion to “Appended Phrases” *Xici* 2.9 of the *Book of Changes*, which describes the substance of the *Changes* and its contents as comprehensive in these terms. Cf. Tr. Legge 1963, 400. For more on allusions to the *Changes* in Chinese Buddhist forewords, see Chapter Three, Part 5. For “from beginning to end” in *FYZL*'s preface, see Appendix H, note 12.

而 群言參差，首尾散出；
事緒舛駁，同異莫齊。
散出首尾，宜有貫一之區；
莫齊同異，必資會通之契。

故知

博辭難該，而總集易覽也。
祐以不敏，業謝多聞；
時因疾隙，頗存尋翫。

遂乃

披經案記，原始要終。
敬述『釋迦譜』，記列為五卷。

The Buddha's "traces" (*ji* 跡) are bifurcated into the immaterial and material, the former totaling a thousand "transformations" (*hua* 化) of non-Buddhists morphed into followers of the Buddhist path correlate with "meanings" (*yi* 義) upon the scriptures, and the latter summing a myriad "omens" (*rui* 瑞) of substantiating supernatural evidence recorded as "events" (*shi* 事) within the records.⁵⁸ But, as seen before, proliferation leads to chaos on two fronts: according to the fifth line, narratives fall out of sequence; and per the sixth line, narrators (translators perhaps more so than tradents) narrate elements of the same story differently. So in order to repair "uneven" (*cenci* 參差) sequencing and "contradictory" (*bochi* 舛駁) recollection, Sengyou has spent his free time with both unfurled scriptures and tabled records to "thread singularly" (*guanyi* 貫一) what was out of order and to "universalize" (*huitong* 會通) what was unregularized. In practice, this involved collecting the best of multiple witnesses in the same place, occasionally accounting for their differences, and stringing them together in chronological sequence over five

⁵⁸ On "omens" see Lippiello 2001.

fascicles.⁵⁹ Sengyou's collection prefaces articulate a history of religion that is naturally fissiparous but can be pieced back together through editorial work. Just as relics can be traced from their present locations back to their source, so can various accounts be patched together to offer a genealogy of a religion and its founding clan.⁶⁰

2.2.2 Sengyou's Preface to his *Dharma Collection*

The preface to and table of contents for the *Genealogy of Śākyamuni* (*Shijia pu*) occupies the fourth entry under the twelfth fascicle (12.4) of *A Collection of Records on the Production of the Three Baskets* (*Chu sanzang jiji*; *CSZJJ*), conceived as an appendix to the third division of *CSZJJ* collecting scriptural prefaces (j6–12) for listing “miscellaneous” (*za* 雜) works. As evidenced by its placement in the *CSZJJ*, the *Genealogy* is nested within several successively larger projects of collection and compilation. First, it is the first of eight collected works whose prefaces and tables of contents comprise the fourth through tenth entries of the twelfth fascicle (12.4–12.10), excepting *CSZJJ*, conceptualized as Sengyou's *Dharma Collection* (*Faji*), a preface and

⁵⁹ The transmitted *SJP* in the Taishō features the thirty-four entries spread across five fascicles with five additional “fascicles” of quotes categorized under the fourth category appended to the first scroll and entries 10–13 pasted to the bottom of the second scroll (1–9 [+5 fascicles]; 14–18 [+10–13]; 19–26; 27–30; 31–34). The extra five fascicles do not appear in Koreana, and the table of contents at the head of the second scroll declare items 10–13 to be missing, while the other print editions append items 10–13 to the bottom of the second scroll and renumber the fascicles to make a total of ten. Durt 2006, 55, suggests the five-fascicle edition was first issued around 502 and the ten-fascicle version around a decade later within Sengyou's life. *CSZJJ*12 offers a sense of the layout of the original work (1–9; 10–18; 19–26; 27–30; 31–34), and Taishō preserves these divisions, following Koreana j12.20–2, which completes every series of items with an indentation on a new line, “the following on the right are the *n*-th scroll” (*you di X juan* 右第*n*卷). The contents of the original first three scrolls seem to match roughly with the first three divisions (translated “origins,” “essentials,” “evidence” above), and the fourth division, “signs of Dharma bequeathing and its future extinction,” could encompass the fourth and fifth scrolls. For more on the two editions of *SJP*, see Durt 2006, 140–1; for sources for the thirty-four entries, see Kanno 1996a.

⁶⁰ His commentarial note for the eighth entry, “The Genealogy for the Causal Conditions behind the Surname Śākya for the Śākya's Disciples” (*Shijia dizi xing Shi yuanpu* 釋迦弟子姓釋緣譜), summing up a passage from the *Increasing-By-One Āgama Scriptures* (*Zengyi ahanjing*, *Ekottarāgama*, T no. 125.j21.658bc) reads: “Sengyou has found that just as when the four rivers enter the dark sea they are all called the ocean, so when the four *varṇas* return to the Way they are all referred to as Śākya. It can be called the unifier of various origins, they are the same in the one meaning” 祐尋/四河入溟，俱名為海/四族歸道，並號曰釋/可謂總彼殊源，同乎一味者矣 (T no. 2040.j1.8.10c12–13. Repeated accompanying the same scriptural passage from *Numbered Discourses*, unattributed, in *A Grove of Pearls*, T no. 2122.j22.452b02–04, near the end of “Chapter 13: Entering the Path” *rudao* 入道).

table of contents of which constitute entry 12.3.⁶¹ Second, Sengyou's *Dharma Collection* is the final of three "Dharma Collections" that occupy the first three entries of the twelfth fascicle, listing prefaces and tables of contents of collections of short Chinese-authored Buddhist works by Lu Cheng 陸澄 (425–494) of the Liu Song (*Dharma Discourses [Falun]* of 260 works in 103 fascicles over 16 wrappers, 12.1), Prince Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460–494) of Southern Qi (*Dharma Collection* of 48 works in 116 fascicles over 16 wrappers, 12.2), and Sengyou of Southern Liang (*Dharma Collection* of eight works in 62 fascicles in 8 wrappers, 12.3) respectively.⁶² Third, the twelfth fascicle as a whole carried another preface by Sengyou (12.0), marking it as an appendix to the *CSZJJ*'s large collection of scriptural prefaces. Finally the collection of scriptural prefaces took its place as the third of four divisions comprising the *CSZJJ* following the prefatory material of the first fascicle and the catalogs proper of the second through fifth fascicle, and followed by the final three fascicles of translators' biographies. Divisions, scrolls, headings, and tables of contents were the means by which Sengyou came to organize large volumes of text, each preface resembling a notice posted before each subsequent gate.

Both the main preface to the twelfth fascicle (12.0) and the preface to Sengyou's *Dharma Collection* (12.3) articulate the problem of scriptural proliferation and its solution through commentary, collection, and catalog. The former takes on a similar tack to Daoan's preface to his catalog of scriptural annotations and records (*CSZJJ* 5.4) in describing the simultaneous glories

⁶¹ See Link 1960, 32b–33a, for a full translation of this preface and 25b–28b for a summary of the eight works. According to the TOC provided after the preface, Sengyou's *Dharma Collection* may have circulated as an independent collection in eight wrappers containing a total of sixty-two fascicles, at a moment before *CSZJJ*, *SJP*, *FYJ*, and *HMJ* grew in scroll-count—they are listed as comprising 10, 5, 10, and 10 fascicles respectively (*T* no. 2145.j12.3.87b09–16; Su and Xiao 1995, 458–9). The table of contents of the *FYJ* listed in *CSZJJ* is already 14 scrolls while the *SJP* and *HMJ* tables of contents reflect their original sizes. The transmitted print editions of *CSZJJ* (*T* no. 2145), *SJP* (*T* no. 2040), and *HMJ* (*T* no. 2102) are 15, 5(+ 5, SYMG), and 14 fascicles respectively.

⁶² On Lu Cheng's collection, especially as a precursor to *HMJ*, see Liu Linkui 2011, 80–3. Xiao Ziliang's collection contained works authored by himself; appended to it are a catalog of seventeen "personally copied" (*zishu* 自書) scriptures, the *Dharma Collection* of Ziliang's younger brother Xiao Zilun 蕭子倫 (479–494) comprising two fascicles of eleven works, and a catalog of eleven scriptures "personally copied... and annotated" (*zixie bing zhu* 自寫...並註) by Xiao Zilun. For further elaboration on the contents of these collections, see Hureau 2010, 756; my counts differ from hers because I count the "personally copied" scriptural catalogs separately. Seeing as these tables of contents include personally copied scriptures, these were likely singular collections. For fascicle 12 entries 1 and 2, see Su and Xiao 1995, 428–57; *CSZJJ T* no. 2145.j12.82c22–87a14.

and dangers of scriptural flourishing. Foreshadowing the “thousand instances” (*qiantiao* 千條) and “myriad transformations” (*wanbian* 萬變) of the *Genealogy* preface, the “Preface to the Miscellaneous Catalog” (*Zalu xu* 雜錄序) begins:

Now, the numinous source opens up to irrigate, so the myriad flows disperse into veins; the dark radicle feeds the sprouts, so the thousand twigs accumulate like clouds. How is this? The root is great and its branches are flourishing; the base is far away but its threads are long. From the revered scriptures the spirit circulated, excelling far beyond the common classics: [so] from the Han up through the Liang (202 BCE–557 CE), generations of wise, virtuous persons have experienced it. Although they may take the black or adorn themselves in white, their alternate tracks all return to the same source. As for lecturing, arguing, praising, and analyzing, period after period they grew further essentialized; as for annotating, commenting, molding, and refining, figure after figure competed in density. It was thus that the wealth of records and treatises filled the shelves so as to stuff rooms; and the proliferation of letters and prefaces loaded up the carts so as to pack the streets.⁶³

夫 靈源啟潤，則萬流脈散；
 玄根毓萌，則千條雲積。
何者？
 本大而末盛，
 基遠而緒長也。
自 尊經神運，秀出俗典：
 由漢屆梁，世歷明哲。
雖復 緇服素飾，並異跡同歸。
 講議讚析，代代彌精，
 注述陶練，人人競密。
所以 記論之富，盈閣以仞房；
 書序之繁，充車而被軫矣。

⁶³ Su and Xiao 1995, 428. *T* no. 2145.j12.0.82c09–14, and cf. *DTNDL*, *T* no. 2149.j10.6.326b22–28.

Water and plant imagery conjure agricultural surplus and luxuriant gardens, but unlike the preface to Daoan's commentaries, the actors participating in the creation of new text and the modes of textual creation have multiplied dramatically. Sengyou includes both the brilliant black-robed monastic and white-robed lay authors of the Han Dynasty onward, allowing for their "alternate tracks" (*yiji* 異跡) to not only lead to the same goal, but also to "compete in density" (*jingmi* 競密) with and "further essentialize" (*mijing* 彌精) their predecessors and contemporaries. Generations of the scripturally reverent "lectured, argued, praised, and analyzed... annotated, commented, molded, and refined"⁶⁴ (*jiang yi zan xi...zhu shu tao lian* 講議讚析...注述陶練) the scriptures to compose "records, treatises... letters, and prefaces" (*ji lun... shu xu* 記論...書序) that became physically manifest as storerooms of "wealth" (*fu* 富) and caravans of "proliferation" (*fan* 繁).⁶⁵ Through parallel prose Sengyou describes the multiplication of Chinese Buddhist writing over the centuries in terms of ebb and flow, dispersal and storage—a variation from other catalog forewords where he discusses scriptures in terms of loss or absence, conditioned arrival and recovery.

Sengyou next describes Emperor Ming of Liu Song commanding Lu Cheng to "compose and record a dharma collection" (*zhuanlu faji* 撰錄法集),⁶⁶ and Lu obeying by "packing up the host of writings, evaluating them by name and category, and discriminating them by their meaning" 苞舉群籍[藉SYM]，銓品名例，隨義區分。After recounting the figures of Lu's *Dharma Collection* (sixteen wrappers, 103 fascicles) and praising its completeness, Sengyou announces:

⁶⁴ On the development of "annotation/interlineal" *zhu* and "comment/expository" *shu* as the main genres of medieval Chinese commentary in Buddhist (but first non-Buddhist) scholarship, see Kanno and Felbur 2014, 450–66. On the relationship between *shu* and scriptural prefaces *xu* 序, Kanno and Felbur 2014, 453

⁶⁵ While Lu mixed "treatises," "letters," and "prefaces" together in his collection, organizing his sixteen "wrappers" by doctrinal concern ("(1) Nature of Dharma Collection"; "(2) Nature of Awakening Collection"; "(3) Prajñā Collection," etc.), and the brothers Xiao combined their "records" (*ji*), prayers, correspondence, commentary, and ritual formulae in their collected works indiscriminately, Sengyou seems to have organized the works of others along roughly more generic lines, collecting scriptural and commentarial "prefaces" in *CSZJJ*, "letters" and "treatises" in *HMJ*, and appropriate "records" across several of his collections. Lu Cheng's collection from the Liu Song—judging from overlap of materials its table of contents—must have been an important source for both *CSZJJ* and *HMJ*, and Xiao Ziliang's collection may have been salvaged for materials in Daoxuan's *GHMJ*.

⁶⁶ When Daoxuan copies the preface in *DTNDL*, he specifies that the "Dharma Collection" is "called the *Continued Dharma Discourses*" 名爲續法論 (*T* no. 2149.j10.6.326c03).

Presently I have sewn my appendices onto the original record [of Lu's]. Although they are not Proper Scriptures, they may assist in the transformation of the way, and they may be called the wings⁶⁷ of the Sainted Canons, the sentinels of the Dharma Gates. They are sufficient to manifest radiantly the threads of predecessors so as to proffer the glow to later scholars. Therefore I have lodged them at the tail-end of the *Three Baskets Collection*, to expand the survey of its branches and leaves.⁶⁸

今 即其本錄，以相綴附，
雖非正經，而毘讚道化，
可謂 聖典之羽儀，法門之警衛。
足以 輝顯前緒，昭進後學。
是以 寄于『三藏集』末，以廣枝葉之覽焉。

Sengyou concludes by recapitulating the root-branch metaphor with which he begins the preface, and by referring to Chinese Buddhist compositions, collections, and catalogs as “wings” (*xuyi* 羽儀) and “sentinels” (*jingwei* 警衛) to “Proper Scriptures,” he construes them as provisionally necessary supplements. In other words, in a fashion similar to how Daoan described his own annotations and records, Sengyou casts the occasional writings of Chinese Buddhist “transmitting without creating” as providential expedients for the past spread of Buddhism in China, and as potentially useful for Buddhism’s flourishing in the present and future.

Though the prefaces to the collections of Lu Cheng, Xiao Ziliang, Xiao Zilun, and Sengyou that follow the main preface in fascicle 12 of *Production of the Three Baskets* were likely all written before the general preface, they iterate themes of the felt need to collect and manage a magnificent diversity in dharmic expression that accumulated in response to Buddhism’s arrival and flourishing. At turns excited and self-abnegating, the collection preface authors count, meas-

⁶⁷ “Their feathers can be used as ornaments” 其羽可用為儀, *Book of Changes* 53, tr. Legge 1963, 179, 333.

⁶⁸ Su and Xiao 1995, 428 ; *T* no. 2145.j12.0.82c14–21; cf. *T* no. 2149.j10.6.326b28–c06.

ure, and celebrate the indigenous Buddhist “branch learning” they have organized, authored personally, and both. Sengyou, following suit, begins his “Preface to the Comprehensive Catalog of the Dharma *Collection*” (12.3, Faji *zongmulu xu* 法集總目錄序) with the lines,

We’ve always heard about how trickles of tears assist the talks of the [Yellow] River, or how handfuls of earth contribute to the discourses of [Mt.] Dai. Although reproaches emerge from antiquity, still we are humbled to collect in the present! Sengyou has floated along from previous karma to receive rebirth in Jambu[dvīpa]; at young age he wore the dyed robes, and was early included in the monastic count...⁶⁹

常聞 瀝泣助河之談，
捧土裨岱之論，
雖銷發於古，而愧集於今矣。
僧祐 漂隨前因，報生閻浮，
幼齡染服，早備僧數

Sengyou goes on to articulate his communion with the ancients as a lifelong project, narrating his lifecourse as a gradual, unsteady accumulation of Buddhist genre (“Great Vehicle” *dasheng* 大乘, “Universal” *fangdeng* 方等, “Four Āgama” *sihan* 四含, “many scriptures” *zhongdian* 眾典 / *qunjing* 群經, “records and traditions” *jizhuan* 記傳, “vinaya” *pini* 毘尼) and discipline (“wisdom” *hui* 慧, “dhyāna” *chan* 禪, “regulation study” *luxue* 律學) through travel, intellection, attending lectures, and above all searching for and through ever more scriptures for all his seventy years. His slight accumulation of wisdom in his individual lifetime, though minor, he insists, is of a piece with the accumulation of wisdom over centuries. Before continuing on to describe the contents of his eight collections in balanced lines,⁷⁰ he describes his overall method

⁶⁹ Adapting Link 1960, 32b, which continues on to translate the entire preface.

⁷⁰ In the order presented in the preface, and reflected in the layout of the twelfth fascicle, Sengyou’s eight collections are: (1) *Genealogy of Śākyamuni* in five fascicles; (2) *Records on the Universe* (*Shijie ji* 世界記) in five fascicles; (3) *A Collection of Records on the Production of the Three Baskets* in ten fascicles; (4) *Records on the [Masters and Disciples of the] / [Lineage of the] Sarvāstivādin Sect* (*Sapoduo bu* [shizi/xiancheng] ji 薩婆多部[師資]/

as “stitching together what he had heard to the Dharma Jewel of admonishing word, reverently receiving the many scriptures, picking through records and traditions, consolidating accounts with categories, and dividing meanings with examples” 遂綴其聞，誠言法寶，仰稟群經，傍採記傳，事以類合，義以例分。⁷¹ To a greater extent than his predecessors Lu Cheng and the royal Xiaos, Sengyou wants to be able to place the dharmic and the secular in the same frame through the media of anthology and collection. While Lu Cheng’s collection was not “proper scripture,” and while the Xiao’s collections constituted prayers, digests, copies, and commentaries, Sengyou sought to combine the “admonishing word” (*jiēyan* 誠言) of scriptures themselves with the written records of hearsay, sometimes in the very same collection. Moreover, he wanted to make his collections searchable through “category” (*lei* 類) and “example” (*li* 例), utilizing the adjacent “tables of contents” (*mulu* 目錄) themselves as instruments for locating “accounts” (*shi* 事) and divining “meanings” (*yi* 義), no less for mapping congruences between otherwise incongruent literary worlds. The entire structure of Sengyou’s compilation project is charted out after the comprehensive preface, itself but a portion of a single fascicle of the *CSZJJ*, which in turn was but an eighth of Sengyou’s *Dharma Collection*. The mutual inclusion of the *Dharma Collection* and the *Collection of Records on the Production of the Three Baskets*, and

相承]記) in five fascicles; (5) *Collection [of Origins in Miscellaneous Opportune Conditions] from the Dharma Garden* (*Fayuan* [zayuan yuanshi] ji 法苑[雜緣源始]集) in ten fascicles; (6) *Collection on Spreading and Illuminating* (*Hongming ji* 弘明集) in ten fascicles; (7) *Records on the Meanings of the Ten Recitations [Regulations]* (*Shisong[lü] yiji* 十誦律義記) in ten fascicles; and (8) *The Dharma Collection’s Miscellaneous Records, [Biographies,] and Inscriptions* (*Faji zaji*[zhuan]ming 法集雜記[傳]銘) in ten fascicles. T no. 2145.j12.3.82c01–c07; 87a27–b05; and again at 87b09–16. The titles of these works differ across the twelfth fascicle, but many longer titles could be abbreviated to three character titles. The first, second, third, fifth, and sixth collections were famous enough to merit Huijiao’s mention of them in his *GSZ* biography of Sengyou (T no. 2059.j11.13.402c29–403a02), which avers that “after the baskets of scriptures had been completed, [Sengyou] had others to compile the extracts for essential accounts to make them” *ji jingzang jicheng, shiren chaozhan yaoshi* 集經藏既成，使人抄撰要事 (translation, Link 1960, 25b). The first, third, and sixth collections are extant and reproduced as Taishō nos. 2040, 2145, and 2102 respectively; and the first, second, and fifth appear to have been anthologies reproducing quotes from translated scriptures. Link 1960, 25b–28b, offers the first English language summary of these works and translations of their titles; Wang 1994, 174, 192–9, explains and translates the preface and table of contents for (3) *Records on the Sarvāstivādin Sect*, contextualizing them alongside Sengyou’s other records on the regulations/*vinaya* traditions; Funayama 2000 looks at this work’s reception in the lineages constructed during the Tang, and its appendix reproduces Northern Song period (960–1127) quotations from it; and Ziegler 2015, 3–4, offers a nonacademic translation for the preface of (6). For more on the second and fifth collections of Sengyou’s, read the next chapter parts.

⁷¹ Su and Xiao 1995, 428; Link 1960, 33a.

the interpenetration of “category” and “account” in the structure of Sengyou’s eight collections, poetically anticipate developments in later Huayan thought of the Tang. In the Southern Liang, however, Sengyou merely wanted to expand on earlier traditions of Chinese Buddhist comment, composition, and collection by preserving their bones as prefaces and tables of contents in his *Production of the Three Baskets*, and trying his own hand at composing new, single-wrapper sized collections and anthologies.

2.2.3 *Records on the Universe*

Sengyou’s *Records on the Universe* (*Shijie ji*) is listed as his second collection after the *Genealogy of the Śākya*. Five fascicles and twenty accounts long, Sengyou chose to pair it with the five-fascicle *Genealogy* in his comprehensive preface: the latter quotes from various biographical or historical scriptures to trace the founder’s lineage and remains over time, while the former quotes largely from the *Long Āgama Scriptures* (*Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經, T no. 1) to chart the shape of the universe. The work is no longer extant, but scholars have been able to speculate about its contents through examining the surviving preface and table of contents in the twelfth fascicle of *CSZJJ*, and collating the headings and citations listed in the TOC against the transmitted scriptures and match-worthy excerpts from other Chinese Buddhist anthologies like the *Anomalous Phenomena* or *A Grove of Pearls*.⁷² The preface to *Records on the Universe* is nearly twice as long as the preface to *Genealogy of Śākyamuni*: but just as the preface to the genealogy contains a biography of the founder within it, so does the preface to the *Records on the Universe* adumbrate the size, shape, number, timescale, and variety of ways to talk about Buddhist cosmogony and cosmology. Sengyou waxes saṃsāric on the dissatisfactory nature of existence, beginning with the “Three Realms” (*sanjie* 三界) and “Six Paths” (*liudao* 六道), traversing the length of kalpas greater and smaller, and panning out to reveal Mount Sumeru and the great

⁷² For a table of likely correspondences between *SJJ* and *JLYX*, see Ōuchi 1977b, 70–2.

ocean surrounding the four continents.⁷³ While remaining accurate to the cosmic depictions of the “Lesser Vehicle” *āgama* discourse, it also portrays the realm of life-and-death through “*Nirvana*’s analogy of the Great River and the *Lotus*’s metaphor of the Burning House” 『涅槃』喻之於大河，『法華』方之於火宅。⁷⁴ It continues on to cite the incomplete wisdom of Duke Zhou, Confucius, the *Book of Changes* and the *Zhuangzi*—these ancient sages caught but a glimpse of the enormity of the universe—and lament the cosmic speculations of great scholars of the Warring States and Han.⁷⁵ It is not merely that the “commoners revere the name of heaven, but they do not know the truth of heaven” 俗尊天名，而莫識天實 or that they “have only arrived at a corner of it and are off by a thousand *li*” 未值一隅[隅SYM]差以千里, but also that “the writings of the commoners are rash and proliferate, finally manifesting and explaining nothing; scholars of the world are blindly barbaric, none can detail the body of [the cosmos]” 俗書徒繁，竟無顯說；世士蒙昧，莫詳厥體。⁷⁶ Sengyou closes the preface:

I have heard that the Great Fully Extensive Classics [*vaitulyasūtra*] often speak of the deep void—especially do the *Long Āgamas* and *Lokasthāna* differentiate the order of the universe. But the text is broad and the *gāthās* are vast, they are too difficult to search through! Moreover, famous masters and dharma craftspersons compete to manage their obscure meanings, such that the accumulation of events and their origins would hardly ever be exhausted. I, Sengyou, with my mediocre stubbornness, have focused upon collecting the omissions, and thus have collected my extracts from a couple of scriptures to serve as root texts, and have similarly appended other miscellaneous works to mutually reveal their variants. I have composed it in five fascicles and called it *Collected Records on the Universe*. May the sequence of the Three Heavens be radiant as an unfurled chart, and may the various divisions of the Six Paths be brilliant as a nearby mirror. I hope that drowned com-

⁷³ CSZJJ, T no. 2145.j12.5.88a22–b09; Su and Xiao 1995, 463. From the surviving TOC of the *Records on the Universe*, these were all topics promised coverage by the entry titles of the first fascicle, with the lengths of “great” and “small kalpas” discussed by the third entry and the ocean and Mt. Sumeru discussed by the fifth entry. The second, third, and fourth fascicles appear to cover the “Three Realms” and “Six Paths” from describing the worlds and lives of gods (fascicle 2: 9–12), asuras (fascicle 3: 13), hungry ghosts (fascicle 3: 14), animals (fascicle 3: 15), and hell-denizens (all of fascicle 4: 16). The final fascicle contained material on natural phenomena like precipitation and plants and ended with discussion of kalpa-ending disasters (*zai* 災). Based on these citations, the *Records on the Universe* likely served as an important source for chapters on cosmological phenomena in the later Liang anthology *Anomalous Phenomena* and Daoshi’s *A Grove of Pearls*.

⁷⁴ CSZJJ, T no. 2145.j12.5.88a24–25; Su and Xiao 1995, 463.

⁷⁵ CSZJJ, T no. 2145.j12.5.88b09–b22; Su and Xiao 1995, 463–4.

⁷⁶ CSZJJ, T no. 2145.j12.5.88b13–14; b16 and b18–19; Su and Xiao 1995, 463.

moners may develop sprouts, and that those who are clothed in the way may polish their understanding. Together may they build the causal factors for Eyes of Wisdom; united may they succeed in karmic action for the Knowledge of the Awakened.⁷⁷

竊惟 方等大典，多說深空，
唯 『長鎗』『樓炭』辯章世界。
而 文博偈廣，難卒檢究。
且 名師法匠，職競玄義，
事源委積，未必曲盡。
祐以庸固，志在拾遺，
故 抄集兩經，以立根本；
兼附雜典，互出同異。
撰為五卷，名曰『世界集記』。
將令 三天階序，煥若披圖；
六趣群分，照如臨鏡。
庶 溺俗者發蒙，服道者瑩解。
共建慧眼之因，俱成覺知之業焉。

The preface frames pre-Buddhist Chinese learning as naive and provincial—this is the universe Sengyou is talking about. Only “great fully extensive” (*fangdeng da* 方等大) scriptures—deep, long, and difficult—can fully “differentiate the order of the universe” (*bianzhang shijie* 辯章世界).⁷⁸ The texts themselves, however, are too broad and vast so as to be fully present, and later interpreters compound the difficulty with their own speculations on how to understand what the

⁷⁷ CSZJJ, T no. 2145.j12.5.88b22–29; Su and Xiao 1995, 464.

⁷⁸ Zealous Mahāyānists might declaim the *āgamas* as unworthy of the label of “fully extensive” (*fangdeng* 方等), a predicate that becomes strongly associated with scriptures claimed by the “Great Vehicle,” but here Sengyou appears to specify them as such. If the *Records* resembled the *Genealogy*, it might be the case that the scriptures cited as “root text” (*genben* 根本) for the twenty entries, mostly “lesser vehicle,” would be appended with multiple additional quotations from and notes about “other miscellaneous works” (*zadian* 雜典) including “greater vehicle” variations on a theme.

scriptures say. But by “collecting extracts” (*chaoji* 抄集)—this is the same word Sengyou used to describe his composition of the *Genealogy*—the “chart” (*tu* 圖) is unfurled and the “mirror” (*jing* 鏡) is ready to reveal the structure of the universe more fully. Sengyou’s preface returns to its point of origin with synonyms for the “Three Realms” (“Three Heavens” *santian* 三天) and the “Six Paths” (*liuqu* 六趣) as ordered as they were at the beginning of the preface: the difference is that the *Records on the Universe* promise to make them more fully knowable, navigable, and ultimately conquerable as well.⁷⁹

2.2.4 Collection from the Garden of Dharma

In studying the surviving preface and table of contents of Sengyou’s no longer extant *Collection [of Origins in Miscellaneous Opportune Conditions] from the Garden of Dharma* (*Fayuan [zayuan yuanshi] ji* 法苑[雜緣源始]集) (CSZJJ 12.7; Appendix E), the Chinese Buddhist anthological tradition’s trajectory toward *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* becomes significantly clearer. Sharing a title with a much longer, almost already forgotten work of the Southern Qi, the *Scriptures from the Garden of Dharma*, it inaugurates the “Garden of Dharma” as a title fit for a wide-ranging scriptural anthology.⁸⁰ Sharing quoted material and organizational principles with Sengyou’s anthological catalog (*A Collection of Records on the Production of the Three Baskets*), his anthological chronology of the Buddha’s clan (*Genealogy of the Śākya*), and his anthological cosmography (*Records on the Universe*), Sengyou’s *Garden of Dharma Collection* figures as one node in a broader project of scholarly consolidation. And by juxtaposing Jambudvīpan scriptural excerpts in its first half with Chinese historical records in its second,

⁷⁹ “Three Heavens” does not easily substitute for “Three Realms,” but it might also be short for the “Thirty-Two Heavens” that constitute the Three Realms, according to the ninth through eleventh entries from the *Long Discourses* in the surviving table of contents of *Records on the Universe*, T no. 2145.j12.5.88c10–c12. Daoshi would later appropriate Sengyou’s preface to the *Records* to compose his “Explaining the Meaning” preface to “Chapter 2: The Three Realms” (*sanjie*) of *A Grove of Pearls*. The Tang anthologist would largely preserve the preface untouched, but he would make certain cuts, including the material translated above following the line on how the scriptures are “too difficult to search through” (T no. 2122.j2.277c10–278a02).

⁸⁰ On the predecessor work and Sengyou’s catalog entries for it, see Chapter Three, Part 3.3.

it fulfills Sengyou's aim to locate the supposedly divided literary worlds within the same frame, anticipating Daoshi's experiment of appending miracle tales to chapter and sections composed of scriptural quotations. While the prefaces of the *Genealogy* and *Records* situate their compositions in terms of solving the problem of scriptural breadth outpacing doctrinal ignorance, the preface to the *Collection from the Garden of Dharma* follows the approach of the *Production of the Three Baskets's* general preface: through what media can one conceptualize the transmission of Buddhism from the ancient West to present-day Liang? The title of the work reflects its shared interest in "opportune conditions" (*yuan* 緣) as the means by which teaching is spread, the providential plot that drives saving dharma to the people. Moreover, as the preface reveals, the impetus toward compiling the *Collection from the Garden of Dharma* is pragmatic—Sengyou describes communities of contemporary Buddhists who lack understanding of why it is that Buddhists do certain practices the way that they do (rather than lacking understanding of the history of the Śākya clan or the cycles of saṃsāra). Just as the Buddha would tell tales of past lives to demonstrate universal truths, just as he dictated certain applications of or exceptions to the monastic code after being told about dilemmas provoked by unforeseen series of events, so does Sengyou excerpt certain scriptural passages and record recent happenings to elucidate the original stories behind—the reasons for—the Sangha's unique practices. Encoded in Sengyou's design of his *Collection from the Garden of Dharma* is a confidence that the Dharma has spread in the ways it has spread for karmic reasons and a concomitant faith that those karmic reasons could be made self-evident to others through their continued narration. By virtue of their shared inclusion in the *Garden of Dharma*—their shared participation in dharmic history wherein mysteries of what the Buddha and his disciples taught become progressively clearer—the "account of causes and conditions" (*yuanji* 緣記) excerpted from scriptures as proof-texts and the "record" (*ji* 記) of glorious Chinese Buddhist happenings were comparable and connectable. This model of Buddhist propagation includes detailing how the Dharma has previously spread.

The first two sections of Sengyou's preface (see Appendix E) propose the problem and the solution. The very first line of the preface begins with the abundance of the scriptures and records, unlike his prefaces to *A Collection of Records on the Production of the Three Baskets*, the *Genealogy of the Śākya*, or the *Records on the Universe*, which begin with evocations of the Dharma, the awakening, and the universe respectively. Sengyou begins by evoking the adequacy of the “scriptural baskets” (*jingzang* 經藏) and “records and traditions” (*jizhuan* 記傳) to the “disclosure” (*kaishi* 開示) of the “establishment of teaching” (*shejiao* 設教) and “instruction of commoners” (*xunsu* 訓俗) in “all places” (*qunfang* 群方). The scriptures are “vast” (*haohan* 浩瀚), Sengyou declares, borrowing language from his hero Daoan who used the same word to describe all of the scriptures in his late-career prefaces to *Abhidharma* and *Vibhāṣa*.⁸¹ But the vastness serves its purpose perfectly, the scriptures are as “radiant” (*huanran* 煥然) as the *Records on the Universe* advertises itself. The titular “traces of stories or opportune conditions” (*yuanji* 緣跡) and “origins of accounts” (*shiyuan* 事源) are paired, vouched to be complete. Unlike the other collection prefaces that establish Buddhist abstractions as obscure and requiring further revelation, the Dharma is imagined as self-evident from the very beginning—an open book, or rather, all the open books. With respect to the core functions of Buddhism as a teaching—its establishment, its instruction, and its communication of “attainment of the way” (*daoda* 道達), there is nothing the scriptures and records lack.

But, the next section details, even if dharma is fully available as objects of knowledge, there is still a “deep” (*shen* 甚) lack in monastic understanding. Sengyou portrays monks who have mastered scriptures so well as to mine their deepest kernels and to chant their sounds effortlessly but without fully recognizing why they do so. Both halves described in this division of monastic labor—expert exegetes and novice reciters—approach their scriptures with utmost focus: “sharp proficiency” (*ruijing* 銳精) directed their “Dark Meanings” (*xuanyi* 玄義) is

⁸¹ CSZJJ 10.9 and 10.15.

matched by “focused will” (*zhuanzhi* 專志) on “reading scriptures aloud” (*zhuandu* 轉讀).⁸² Singular devotion to the reading of scriptures is surely to be encouraged—it leads to patterned (“monthly” *yue* 月, “daily” *ri* 日, “regular” *chang* 常, “continual” *heng* 恆) fulfillment of dharmic duties—but Sengyou draws forth an unintentional negative consequence of such dutiful absorption: one is so busy learning and performing Buddhist practices that one never learns and consequently does not know (*moshi* 莫識, *buzhi* 不知) the origins of these and other Buddhist practices. Sengyou does not divulge what follows from ignorance of origins, though one might imagine future monastics without an account of their tradition’s origins to be vulnerable to doubt and laxity. And while Sengyou goes on in the preface to celebrate the unique achievements under the imperial reigns of Southern Qi and Liang, he is perhaps aware of the possibility of inglorious days ahead, as hinted in the prayer of the *Genealogy* preface. This is to say, even if the current generation of exegetes and chanters can continue to go about their work without pausing to question their reasons for doing so, the next generations—some future sangha under some future dynasty of different name and religious inclinations—might find such accounts of origin inspiring and useful. Even assuming the continued flourishing of the Sangha under the Liang, Sengyou seems to be arguing that it would be better to perform Buddhist services and carry out one’s Buddhist obligations with the knowledge and ability to justify why one carries them out in just the way one does.⁸³ Just as *A Collection of Records on the Productions of the Three Baskets* provided answers to questions that were not universally asked—where did the scriptures come from and how are they related to one another?—so does *A Collection from the Garden of Dharma* offer a handbook to a future inquisitor who not only asks why the Sangha practices Bud-

⁸² For an analysis of an “explaining the meaning” on “reading scriptures aloud,” see Chapter Three, Part 4. On “reading scriptures aloud” as the title of a catalog, see Chapter Seven.

⁸³ Sengyou’s *Collection from the Garden of Dharma* offers its users tools “to be religious [which] is to give an account, where giving an account of something means to make it the object of some intentional activity—to tell a story about it, have some beliefs about it, direct some actions toward it, or the like” (Griffiths 1999, 3). In exploring metapragmatics, recent theoretical work on ritual and ethics has further emphasized accounting for religious actors’ intentions (Patton 2012; Keene 2015). See also Introduction, note 36.

dhism in the way it does, but also asks it to point to the relevant passages of text that explain the conditions under which these practices came to be.

The third section weaves in Sengyou's personal role in the project, and iterates the connections drawn between recent "account" (*shi*) and ancient "story" (*yuan*) made in the first and last sections of the preface. In near similar language to the preface for the *Genealogy*, Sengyou describes "learning a lot after the work was over" (*yexie duowen* 業謝多聞), grabbing "interstices" (*xi* 隙) in the schedule to "stay behind" (*pocun* 頗存) and read widely.⁸⁴ Sengyou's study and composition are stamped as extracurricular, surplus academic labor envisioned as service to the Sangha. His research is not strictly necessary to ensure the progress of awakening the world's denizens, building stores of merit, or protecting the state that protects the faith, but simply to maintain in literary reserve an awareness of the roots (*genben* 根本) of things. There is an echoing of the broad and perfunctory fulfillment of monastic duties from the second section: against the ideal of emotionless, ascetic equipoise—that equipoise which presumably served him well in his roles as abbot, librarian, and imperial liaison—Sengyou's self-proclaimed "rash temperament" (*shuaiqing* 率情) and "relying on predilections" (*ji suohao* 藉所好) stands out. Again, these are standard tropes of the authorial humility of a "transmitter and not a creator" that Sengyou relies upon for each of his collection prefaces. Nonetheless, one is tempted to read elements like boredom and curiosity into Sengyou's narrative of collecting the *Dharma Garden*: a scholar is disturbed by his inability to locate the origins of his religion's characteristic practices; for the answers, he is restless to explore and share the manifold texts he is already steeped in; he conjures an audience of monastics who must feel the same way. He projects a desire to connect with the past through anecdotes, tracing subterranean karmic connections, revealing how old deeds

⁸⁴ The slight differences are as follows: in *SJP*, Sengyou describes himself in third person and "employed his non-acuity" (*yi bumin* 以不敏) while in *FYJ*, he uses the first person and "applied my rash temperament" (*yi lüqing* 以率情). Next, in the first preface, the "interstices" are described as "quick" (*ji* 疾) and in the second they are "of the six hours of the day" (*liushi* 六時). Finally, the verbs for reading widely are "research freely" (*xunwan* 尋翫) and "research and survey" (*xunlan* 尋覽) respectively.

forecast the happenings of the contemporary world, “endings” (*mo* 末) to be “verified” (*yan* 驗) or a “present” (*jin* 今) to be “evidenced” (*zheng* 證).

The next section of the preface runs through the table of contents of the latter half of the *Collection from the Dharma Garden*, classifications of “accounts” from recent dynastic eras of the Liu Song, Southern Qi, and Great Liang, a period that, as Sengyou notes at the beginning of the seventh section, encompasses his life-course. It is thanks to all three of the royal houses that the Dharma has flourished so broadly and deeply, following in the example of great rulers in the land of the Buddha. In fact, one can track the tremendous meritorious deeds performed by rulers of the Song, Qi, and Liang scattered across the final ten fascicles of the collection easily by scanning the top of margin of their tables of contents, picking out “Emperor Ming of Song [Liu Yu, r. 465–472]” (7.1; 7.6; 8.10; 9.5; 10.6; 11.2); “Emperor Wen of Qi [posthumous title of Crown Prince Xiao Zhangmao, 458–493]” (6.13–15; 8.10; 9.3; 9.6; 12.4–5); “Prince Wenxuan of Jingling [Xiao Ziliang, 455–]” (6.16–17; 7.3; 11.3; 11.5; 12.6–7; 12.10–13); and “[Current] Emperor [Wu of Liang, Xiao Yan, r. 502–549]” (9.11; all eleven entries of fascicle 13; all five entries of fascicle 14); among many others. Perhaps coincidentally, the first three entries in the first fascicle of the *Dharma Garden Collection* detail the making of Buddha images by Udayana, King of Kauśāmbī, and by Prasenajit, King of Śrāvastī (1.1, extract from “*Numbered Discourses*” *Zengyi ahan [jing]* T no. 125); the design and donation of the garden monastic complex at Jetavana by Elder Karaṇḍa (1.2, extract from “*Scripture on Past Causes and Effects*” *Guoqu [xianzai] yinguo jing*, T no. 189); and the erection of the first stupa by Elder Sudatta (1.3, extract from “*Ten Recitations Regulations*” *Shisonglü*, T no. 1435).⁸⁵ While the rest of the first half of Sengyou’s *Garden of Dharma* does not seem to feature very many other “stories” about royal largesse indexed in this way, the first three accounts would appear to presage Chinese Southern

⁸⁵ For a closer look at what the first eight entries (1.1-1.8) in *FYJ* might look like, based on citation information and what other anthologies cite, see Kanno 1996b.

Dynastic imperial mania for sponsoring images, temples, and relics, “illuminating the ancient alongside demonstrating the present.”

The preface details the second part of the collection more than the first part; at any rate, judging from the table of contents, it is tempting to speculate that the original ten-fascicle version of the *Collection from the Dharma Garden* featured five fascicles of “stories” from scripture and five fascicles of modern “accounts,” and the second five fascicles later expanded to nine fascicles. Supporting the idea of balance, around half of the 208 listed entries—the first 116—are extracted from the scriptures. But it might have also been the case that the collection was already biased toward the present, as over two-thirds of its organizing categories are used to record contemporary events. To organize its 208 entries, Sengyou’s *Garden of Dharma* has been “divided by categories” (*qu yi leibie* 區以類別) which total ten in the extant table of contents: (1) “Buddha Jewel Collection” (*fobao ji*), Fascicle 1, 22 entries; (2) “Dharma Jewel Collection” (*fabao ji*), Fascicles 2–3, 50 entries; (3) “Sangha Jewel Collection” (*sengbao ji*), Fascicles 4–5, 44 entries; (4) “Scripture-Intoning Instructors Collection” (*jingbei daoshi ji*), Fascicle 6, 21 entries; (5) “Dragon-Flower Image Assembly Collection” (*longhua xianghui ji*), Fascicle 7, 3 entries; (6) “Miscellaneous Images Collection” (*za tuxiang ji*), Fascicles 8–9, 26 entries; (7) “Collection on Scriptural Baskets and Proper Fasts” (*jingzang zhengzhai ji*), Fascicle 10, 7 entries; (8) “Accepting the Bodhisattva Precepts Collection” (*shou pusa jie ji*), Fascicle 11, 6 entries; (9) “Evil Stoppers and Good Promoters Collection” (*zhie xingshan ji*), Fascicle 12, 13 entries; (10) “Merits of the Great Liang Collection” (*Da Liang gongde ji*), Fascicle 13–14, 16 entries.

Even if the fourteen fascicles varied a bit in page-length, the overall bipartite structure of the *Collection from the Dharma Garden* would likely have resembled a five-fascicle “root” of 116 scriptural excerpts, detailing Buddhism’s origins organized through the Three Jewels rubric, with nine fascicles of “branches” of 92 relatively longer records of recent monastic and imperial Buddhist exploits organized over seven additional categories. The structure of the collection

might suggest how the recent Southern Dynasties were responsible for a “doubling” of dharma, but also how all this recent effervescence can be traced back to an ancient, singular Buddhist precedent. Indeed, the table of contents encourages the user to look for correspondences between the ancient and the present literature. First, the images, temples, relics, and ritual paraphernalia of the “Buddha Jewel Collection” find themselves doubled in the construction projects of the Southern Dynasties emperors, especially of Buddha images (category 6). Next, the “Dharma Jewel Collection” offers origins for everything from scriptural councils, ascending the lecture seat, meditation, singing praises, transferring merit, saving animals and ghosts, incantation, sealing, repentance rites, and ransoming kings; the Southern Dynasts not only oversee the production of canons (category 7) and the development of new modes of spreading scripture through preaching and chanting (category 4), but, as magisterial donors, underwrite the spectacular performances of daily and holiday rites. Finally, the two fascicles of the “Sangha Jewel Collection” explain how and why monastic life is organized as cleanly as it is; the royals are seen joining the Sangha in their formal taking of bodhisattva precepts, and their support of and generosity toward the Sangha are documented in their pro-vegetarian edicts and dedications to stores of medicine included (categories 7–9). Not aligning neatly with any of the Three Jewels, the entries in the final two fascicles of category 10 collect Emperor Wu’s compositions both commemorative and commentarial.⁸⁶

The final section of the preface wishes again to draw a neat parallel between past unity (“the treasured admonitions of the One Vehicle” 一乘寶訓) and present diversity (“flourishing achievements in the Four Assemblies” 四部盛業), hoping that their juxtaposition will make what is old “repaired anew” (*mixin* 彌新) and what is of the moment “shine eternally” (*chang-*

⁸⁶ The “Three Jewels” as an organizing rubric will reemerge as Chapters 3–5 in Daoxuan’s *Expanded Collection on Propagating and Clarifying* T no. 2103 (Virtues of the Buddha; Purposes of the Dharma; Practices of the Sangha); as organizing series of miracle tales in Daoxuan’s *Miraculous Connections on the Three Jewels* T no. 2106 (“Buddha” would encompass fascicle 1 on stūpas and śarira, and fascicle 2 on images; “Dharma” would cover scriptures on fascicle 3; “Sangha” would contain the monasteries and the monks on fascicle 3); as Chapters 6–8 in Daoshi’s *A Grove of Pearls* or Chapters 1.1–1.3 in his *Collected Essentials*.

zhao 長照). As seen with his other anthologies, Sengyou employs “items and examples” (*tiaoli* 條例), “categories” (*lei*), and “fascicles” (*juan*) to make useable that which is “varied and dense as a thicket” (*congza* 叢雜). There is less here about the reduction of time and space over text than in the *Genealogy* or the cosmological *Records*, nor is the concern that of keeping the false from “mixing in” (*za* 雜) with the true, as in Sengyou’s prefaces to the catalogs of doubtful scriptures. Rather, the author seems content to let the anthology stand as a veritable “Garden of Dharma,” not “satisfied to simplify such profound knowledge” 豈足簡夫淵識 by cutting it down and organizing it further. *Za*—that which is varied, miscellaneous, uncategorizable, thick-et-like—sneaks its way into the unabbreviated title of the *Dharma Garden Collection*, a multivalent sign for surplus and curiosity, efflorescence and messiness. The final line of Sengyou’s, though obscure, would seem to warn against the work being circulated too widely, maybe because the author was embarrassed by its roughness, or maybe because he was worried that it might distract from essential dharmic operations. While it seems to have figured as a source for later Chinese Buddhist anthologies, and its bones are available to inspect in the twelfth fascicle of *A Collection of Records on the Productions of the Three Baskets*, the work has otherwise disappeared.

2.3 *The Preface to Baochang’s Anomalous Phenomena from the Scriptures and Regulations*

If later tradition considers *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* first among Chinese Buddhist anthologies, Baochang’s *Anomalous Phenomena from the Scriptures and Regulations* (*Jinglü yixiang*, T no. 2123) is often regarded a close second. The latter comprises only fifty fascicles (versus *A Grove of Pearls’s* one hundred), though its average scroll-length is only around two-thirds of its famous successor (a mean of 23.9 to 33.4 Goryeo pages per scroll). By some measures it is arguably better laid out, and by others it is less.⁸⁷ While *Anomalous Phenomena’s*

⁸⁷ *JLYX* is better organized because individual entries are titled and numbered by scroll whereas *FYZL* only numbers and titles its chapters and sections, and the entry headings and scroll-topping tables of contents give a more detailed sense of each entry’s narrative contents. It is not as well organized because the *bu* “categories” themselves are not always enumerated at the top level.

excerpts from scriptures are often more abbreviated than *A Grove's*, which tends to preserve more of the original, *Anomalous Phenomena's* commentarial citations usually offer more specific information, like the fascicle(s) of a named scripture from which each passage derives and how it compares to scriptural parallels.⁸⁸ Finally, *Phenomena* is more heavily focused on “foreign” names, places, and things, as its title “Anomalous Phenomena” and its chain-of-being overall layout would seem to suggest; *A Grove* expands its ambit to include chapters on Buddhist virtues, practices, and material culture, and it cites beyond the “scriptures and regulations” to quote even more translated treatises and holy records, and to cite beyond the three baskets proper to include Chinese-authored Buddhist literature, and most famously, Chinese miracle tales composed and collected by Buddhists, non-Buddhists, and pre-Buddhists.

Nonetheless, *Anomalous Phenomena* also mediates between Sengyou's collections and Daoshi's *Grove of Pearls* because it shares cited passages they share in common, indicating that each successive compiler read his predecessors with sufficient care to return and copy the source it cites (if not from the anthology itself).⁸⁹ Each successive anthologist read and learned from his predecessors, finding newer bottles for old wine, in some cases, and imagining a scholarly world where overlapping anthologies of different generations could share space on the same shelf, attracting different users and uses, together and apart. To build a Chinese Buddhist anthology after the Liang was not to return to the totality of the scriptures to start collecting extracts *from*

⁸⁸ An unusually abbreviated quotation or additional bibliographic commentary can often be taken as clues that a scriptural quotation in *FYZL* was inspired, or even potentially copied directly from, *JLYX* rather than the cited source. See Chapter Five, note 96.

⁸⁹ The question of *influence* in anthology compilation is always difficult, as intermediate compilations and independent quotation are always possibilities. Each successive compositor was surely aware of his predecessor's works (Baochang studied with Sengyou; Daoshi lists the Liang scholar-monks' works on a few occasions), and sometimes a later quotation resembles a quotation in a previous anthology more than the scriptural “original”—not that this not resolves the issue. For charts comparing table-of-contents entries from Sengyou's *Records on the Universe*, *Collection from the Dharma Garden*, and *Genealogy of the Śākya* to full entries in *Anomalous Phenomena*, see Ōuchi 1977, 70–6. For a short discussion of excerpts on hell shared between *Anomalous Phenomena* and *A Grove of Pearls*, see Ōuchi 1977, 78–9. For a short study of how eight entries from the *Collection from the Dharma Garden* compare to passages in Sengyou's *Genealogy of the Śākya* and Baochang's *Anomalous Phenomena*, see Kanno, 1996a, 554–6. For a juxtaposition of two specific parallel passages on the Buddha's descent into the womb from Sengyou's *Genealogy* and Baochang's *Anomalous Phenomena*, where, exceptionally, the latter cites both the original passage (from *Universal Dazzlement Scripture Puyao jing*, T no. 186) and the *Genealogy*, see Tachi 1982, 74–6.

scratch—it was to return to study Sengyou’s anthologies to see what was worth re-extracting, and what had been missed, as well as fixing one’s aim in relation to not only “all of the scriptures” (*zhujing* 諸經, *zhongjing* 眾經, *yiqiejing* 一切經), but the text of Baochang and other oral and written traditions of selection and collection that are presently invisible to us.

Having depended on canonical edition of *Anomalous Phenomena*’s preface (Appendix F) and on the catalog or biography cited, Baochang is rarely credited as the sole compiler of *Anomalous Phenomena*.⁹⁰ The Goryeo print edition of the work’s byline includes Sengmin 僧旻 (473–534) before Baochang’s,⁹¹ and Fei Zhangfang’s recycling of the preface includes Sengmin alongside Baochang in its sixth section. All versions of the preface describe Sengmin’s role in preparing the original consolidation of materials (paragraph 5)—later witnesses refer to this earlier work as the *Epitomized Essentials of All the Scriptures* (*Zhongjing yaochao*) in eighty-eight fascicles;⁹² and all versions of the preface agree that after Baochang finished his part in assembling *Anomalous Phenomena* (paragraph 6), two monks Senghao 僧豪 and Fasheng 法生, obscure to us today, were brought in to put on the finishing touches (paragraph 7). Thus, the an-

⁹⁰ The best English-language introduction to Baochang’s life and works, building off of Daoxuan’s long biography of him in the *XGSZ* (*T* no. 2060.j1.1.2.426b13–427c20), is de Rauw 2005, though de Rauw’s focus is on casting doubt on Baochang’s authorship attribution to *Traditions of the Bhikṣuṇi* (*Biqiuni zhuan*). In Japanese, see Fujii 1982 and Satomichi 1986.

⁹¹ Dong lists four other print canons with this variant, 85.

⁹² The first instance of this title is Fei Zhangfang’s Sui Period catalog, *LDSBJ*, *T* no. 2034.j3.44a23 and j11.99a23, the latter of which claims to cite Baochang’s catalog in noting, “the previous work [including table of contents] is in eighty-eight fascicles. In the first month of the seventh year of the Tianjian Era [February–March 508], Emperor [Wu] considered the Dharma Ocean vastly wide, the shallow consciousnesses to be searching through tubes, it was finally difficult to synthesize research. So he commanded Śrāmaṇa Sengmin of Zhuangyan Monastery and others to compose this work at Upper Dinglin Monastery until it was completed in the summer in the fourth month of the eighth year [June 509]” 右一部八十八卷。天監七年十一月，帝以法海浩博，淺識窺尋，卒難該究。因勅莊嚴寺沙門釋僧旻等，於定林上寺緝撰此部到八年夏四月方了 (*T* no. 2034.j11.99a24–27). Daoxuan seems to have copied this entry exactly in his Southern Liang catalog, *T* no. 2149.j4.266b20–24; it is summarized in Daoxuan’s biography of Baochang in *T* no. 2060.j1.1.2.426c07–09; and also briefly noted by Daoshi in *A Grove of Pearls* in its final bibliographic “Chapter 100: Records” in *T* no. 2122.j100.1021b20–2, where the work and table of contents is described as “eighteen fascicles” in length total. The work appears to disappear in catalogs after Daoxuan and Daoshi. See Chapter Five for more on this work in relationship to the question of *chao*, as well as Ōuchi 1977b; Tachi 1982; Ochiai 2006.

thologist of *Anomalous Phenomena from the Scriptures and Regulations* is often listed, as it on the title page of the received edition, as “Baochang et al.” 寶唱等。⁹³

Depending on how one reads the preface, Baochang’s role in *Anomalous Phenomena* may have been negligible—perhaps limited to flagging excerpts in a larger anthology (depending how one reads “epitomize” *chao* 鈔) and to devising the overall framework of “categories” (*lei* 類) for easier reading. According to the preface, however, the responsibility for the further analytical work of selection and presentation seems to have also fallen on Sengmin, who worked the material before Baochang, and on Senghao and Fasheng, who worked it after. Sengmin’s role in the composition of the work was significant and often highlighted by later catalogers; Senghao and Fasheng’s roles in “helping to inspect the reading” 相助檢讀, “widely synthesizing the scriptural texts” 博綜經籍, and “selecting and gathering the core essentials” 擇採祕要 are less remembered. At any rate, even as Baochang composed a handful of works over a hundred fascicles, the majority of which appear to be excerpts from scriptures judging from how their titles begin “from all of the scriptures” 眾經, only a couple have survived to the present.⁹⁴ While

⁹³ This cataloging convention also seems to begin with Fei Zhangfang, who uses “Baochang and others” as the actors commissioned to compose the eight collections attributed to the emperor (*T* no. 2034.j11.11.99b05–b21). This attribution was copied again by Daoxuan at *T* no. 2149.j4.12.266b29–c17, who credits Baochang with a ninth work. And the nine works are recapitulated by Daoshi at *T* no. 2122.j100.3.1026b27–c06. Fei and Daoxuan, in their general preface to their Liang catalogs, attribute the executorship of *JLYX* to “Sengmin and Baochang” and “Sengmin and others” respectively (*T* no. 2034.j11.11.94b14–17)—the work is also referred to as being the “essential accounts from the scriptures and regulations,” as in the transmitted preface to *JLYX* (*T* no. 2149.j4.12.263c25–27); finally, Daoxuan also attributes the work to Baochang alone (*T* no. 2149.j10.6.331b23, “Catalog for Composition and Commentaries”). Finally, see Zhisheng’s entries in *KYL* where sometimes Baochang is accorded sole authorship (*T* no. 2154.j6.37c27–28; 38a05–06, dynastic catalog) and sometimes not (*T* no. 2154.j14.2.1.3.624b02–03, subject catalog).

⁹⁴ Beyond Baochang’s scriptural catalog, two collections of biographies of monks and nuns, and ritual manual, he composed five works whose titles begin with “From All the Scriptures”: the *Manual for Offering Food to Holy Monks from All of the Scriptures* (*Zhongjing fangong shengseng fa* 眾經飯供聖僧法) in five fascicles; the *Manual for Confession and Eradication of Sin* (*Zhongjing chanhui miezui fa* 眾經懺悔滅罪法) in three fascicles; the *Catalog of Names of Ghosts Who Protect the Empire from All of the Scriptures* (*Zhongjing huguo guishenming lu* 眾經護國鬼神名錄) in three fascicles; the [Catalog of] *Names of the Buddhas from All of the Scriptures* (*Zhongjing zhuFoming [lu]* 眾經佛名[錄]) in three fascicles; and the *Catalog of Names of the Dragons who Protect the Empire from All of the Scriptures* (*Zhongjing yonghu guotu zhulongming lu* 眾經擁護國土諸龍名錄) in a single fascicle. Translations adapted from a list of works attributed to Baochang by de Rauw 2005, 209, which goes on to discuss possible contents and composition dates of the works, which appear first in Fei’s catalog (see previous note) and are elaborated upon through the Tang catalogs. De Rauw, reading Daoxuan’s biography of Baochang, hypothesizes that these works may have originally been part of a larger collection of nearly a hundred scrolls commissioned by Liang Wudi “to suit the needs of the time” 以擬時要 and later obtained independent circulation (de Rauw 209–10n42; *T* no. 2060.j1.1.426c01–04). Apparently it was “literature scattered across many titles, too difficult to search ex-

Baochang had a high reputation as a scholar monk and as a condenser of great volumes of text, even in his own age his collections were deemed redundant, wanting, and worth improving. Huijiao, who neglected to write a biography for his predecessor in hagiography, seems to have agreed with his correspondent who found Baochang's thirty-fascicle *Traditions of Famous Monks* (*Mingseng zhuan* 名僧傳) both sketchily written yet “regrettably verbose” 恨煩冗.⁹⁵ This, at least, was another reason for Huijiao to recompose the *Traditions of Eminent Monks* from the bones of *Famous Monks*, improving both the quality of the hagiographic collection's structure (ten categories total, in fewer than half the fascicles) and apparently the quality of the monks profiled (not merely “famous,” but “eminent,” he boasts near the end of the preface to his work).⁹⁶

Compared with the four other personalities mentioned in the preface to *Anomalous Phenomena*, Baochang's eminence may have fallen somewhere in the middle—of greater renown than the assistants following in his wake and of less renown than Emperor Wu and Dharma Master Sengmin, the descendant of the Sun Wu Dynasty imperial line and one the “Three Great Liang Masters.” To compare Sengmin's noble lineage with Baochang's, one of Daoxuan's sto-

haustively” 文散群部，難可備尋 that prompted Liang Wudi's order to have Baochang collect materials for ensuring the empire's spiritual protection. It is not clear to me that the the *XGSZ* biography specifies that Baochang wrote a single large collection, only that his collection(s) “were partitioned by title and category and approached a hundred fascicles [in total?]” 部類區分，近將百卷. According to Daoxuan, Baochang was successful, gods and spirits were successfully beseeched, and Wu's reign lasted around fifty years. For earlier attempts to get clear on Baochang's works, see also Fujii 1984, 213–14; Satomichi 1986, 421–3.

⁹⁵ Wang Manying in his letter to Huijiao, appended to *Traditions of Eminent Monks*, translated by Wright 408–9; *T* no. 2145.j14.422c10; Japanese translation Funayama 2009, 4.422.

⁹⁶ Wright's analysis of Huijiao's processing of Baochang's *MSZ*—a great deal of concision at the level of categorization as well as at the level of prose—see 409–12. Wang Manying's concurring opinion, “This work of my dharma master is the unalterable work of the consummate brush. It stretches from ancient to present-day, encompassing both the inner and outer [regions]. Comparing its phrasing to historical fact, it is neither too literary nor too unhewn: what some might call proliferate is difficult to abbreviate, and what some might say is sketchy can hardly be added to. Taking “Eminent” for its name [or, “replacing “eminent” for “famous”], it can only make those who do not approach it blush; creating a broad precedent, it will cause those with good roots to be encouraged” 法師此製始所謂不刊之鴻筆也。綿亘古今，包括內外。屬辭比事，不文不質。謂繁難省，云約豈加。以“高”為名，既使弗逮者恥；開例成廣，足使有善者勸 (*T* no. 2145.j14.422c11–14; tr. Funayama 2009, 4.425). Huijiao's own prefatory comment on the title of his work as an improvement on Baochang's—“If men of real achievement conceal their brilliance, then they are eminent but not famous; when men of slight virtue happen to be in accord with their times, then they are famous but not eminent” 若實行潛光，則高而不名；寡德適時，則名而不高 (*T* no. 2059.j14.419a22–25)—is translated in Wright, 407–8, and Funayama 2009, 4.418–9.

ries about young Baochang, before he took Sengyou as a master at the age of eighteen, was how he improved his literacy by supplementing “his occupation of working the field” (*qintian wei ye* 勤田為業) by “hiring himself out as a scribe to obtain aid” (*yongshu qu ji* 傭書取濟).⁹⁷ The rest of Daoxuan’s long biography of Baochang takes the scholar-monk in and out of Emperor Wu’s favor—in and out of libraries—placing Baochang at the center of a universe of literary efflorescence and excitement. As noted by de Rauw, Daoxuan’s restorative evaluation of Baochang as “eminent” nets him second position among the first-ranked translators (*yijing*) in the entire thirty-fascicle collection. But the initial anecdote about Baochang’s humble origins as a copyist would underscore his role as a consolidator of written tradition rather than an innovator who helped to bring new literature into the religious sphere. As a cataloger, as a biographer, and as an anthologist, he figures as an intermediary, almost disposable figure.⁹⁸

As a whole, the narrative of the preface to *Anomalous Phenomena* presents a history of the Dharma where its successes in flourishing across the centuries continually transform into new problems to solve. Its earlier sections rehearse the standard narratives about the Buddhadharma being taught in response to the needs of multiple audiences, and so is difficult to obtain in its abundance (section 1); and about the Buddhadharma continually finding response in the East, and so is difficult to collect in its multitude (section 2). It is Emperor Wu who senses a transition to end times, and urgently commissions collection, cataloging, and anthologization of the scriptures (section 3); and while the emperor can restore something of the lost totality of the Buddha’s teaching through scriptural recovery and propagation, now that all the text “overflowing” (*haoman* 浩漫) can be juxtaposed, the new difficulty of their discordance is revealed (section 4).

The last three sections of the narrative describe, albeit abstractly, how *Anomalous Phenomena from the Scriptures and Regulations* was put together for ease of use. In the fifth section,

⁹⁷ T no. 2060.j1.1.2.426b14–16. Discussion by de Rauw 2005, 204.

⁹⁸ De Rauw 2005, 209n38 notes the derivative nature of Baochang’s catalog. For an evaluation of Baochang’s catalog as historically consequential, see Storch 2014, 51–5.

Sengmin succeeds in making the scriptures easier to “scrutinize and search” (*zuanqiu* 鑽求). But “benefits for more than half the time” (*taiban zhi yi* 太半之益) was not good enough: the soon-to-be titular “anomalous phenomena” (*yixiang* 異相) were scattered across the work, unexplained and unidentified. Eight years later, the Emperor has Baochang and his team give the work another run-through, with the express purpose of highlighting “anomalous phenomena” as the organizing categories, adding “core explanations” (*mishuo* 祕說) and “marking manifestations” (*biaoxian* 標顯), so as to “allow perusers to understand easily” (*ling lanzhe yiliao* 令覽者易了). In the final paragraph, the helpers assist in further selection and clarification—perhaps adding interlineal annotations and double-checking their citations⁹⁹—drawing up an additional five-fascicle table of contents to assist in finding materials. The preface concludes by invoking its model readers, the scholars whose minds will be broadened for their predecessors having expended the labor of reducing the distance between passages.

2.4 *The Preface to Daoji's Golden Basket Discourse*

If the point of *Anomalous Phenomena from the Scriptures and Regulations*, according to its own preface, was to manage scriptural prolixity in a time of Buddhist efflorescence, the preface of a late sixth-century anthology titled the *Golden Basket Discourse* (*Jinzanglun* 金藏論) hoped to keep the Dharma alive in an age of Buddhist decline. The *Golden Basket Discourse*, mentioned in the received literature but not transmitted through the great late imperial canonical printings, was the seven-fascicle anthology of an obscure Northern Qi scholar-monk named Daoji 道紀 (fl. late sixth c). Whole and partial fascicles of the work—one manuscript in particular maintains what appears to be an original preface—have survived and been transmitted in Japan and Korea, however. In a way, the *Golden Basket Discourse* offers us a perfect foil to *Anomalous Phenomena*. It is a Northern Dynasties anthology composed and circulating during one of the great Chi-

⁹⁹ *Anomalous Phenomena* is unique among the extant medieval Chinese Buddhist anthologies in continually citing the precise fascicle from which an excerpt derives. This feature has helped scholars imagine how multi-fascicle scriptures may have been alternately figured before they froze into their current layout in the received traditions.

nese Buddhist persecutions—one prepared to be read aloud, preached to the scattered, disbelieving masses, rather than quietly consulted in a scholarly library. It suggests a different kind of anthology theorized by Griffiths and Blair: a condensed work offered to solve the problem of literary want rather than excess.¹⁰⁰ What is more, it appears to have been an unacknowledged source for the form and contents of *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*, manuscripts of the former having been frequently mistaken for the latter by earlier catalogers at Dunhuang.¹⁰¹

The preface to the *Golden Basket Discourse* (Appendix G) resembles that of *Anomalous Phenomena* in that it describes the compilation in the third person, but the anonymous prefacer also attributes the empire's actions as motivating its creation. Unlike the Liang-era prefaces, it begins with the end of the world, first stated in cosmic terms (paragraph 1) and then in Chinese dynastic terms (paragraph 2). In lines of four and six, the first paragraph correlates the fall of the “parapets of Dharma City” (*facheng zhi ding* 法城之頂) with the rise of “winds of heterodoxy” (*xiejian zhi feng* 邪見之風), setting the reader in the universe described by Buddhist scripture. The following paragraph introduces specific years, clans, dynasties, individuals, conquests, and persecutions, even if the “evil demons” (*emo* 惡魔) or “demonic mob” (*mojuan* 魔眷) are not offered particular names: they lead Yuwen Yong 宇文邕 (Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou, r. 561–578) astray to begin “destruction of the Three Jewels” (*pohuai sanbao* 破壞三寶), in 574, and to continue his anti-Buddhist purge while conquering the Northern Qi and its capital at Ye (present-day Hebei) by 577.¹⁰² The second paragraph ends with final invocation of Yuwen

¹⁰⁰ Both authors, however, describe how specific anthologies could be used to ameliorate the lack of reading material. On the diversity of anthology's uses, Griffiths 1999, 98–4. On medieval florilegia as a solution to “scarcity of books” and “information underload,” see Blair 2007, 190–1, and Blair 2010, 34–6. Cf. Drège 2015a for readings of Dunhuang leishu manuscripts as a solution for scarcity.

¹⁰¹ See Miyai and Motoi 2011, 594–661. Motoi attempts to reconstruct the entire structure of the *JZL* through parallel passages in surviving anthologies, namely *A Grove*, which does not cite the work, and *The Buddhists' Six Tablets [of Items]* (*Shishi liutie* 釋氏六帖), composed by the Later Zhou scholar-monk Yichu 義楚 in the mid-tenth century, which consistently cites the work (“*Golden Basket Scriptures* says” 金藏經云...). *Six Tablets* features fifty chapters dividing “440 gates”; see Teiser 1994, 49–50, for a short discussion of the work in English. Miyai and Motoi cite an edition of the text printed in Yanagida and Shiina 2001, vol. 6. Cf. *B* vol. 13, no. 79.

¹⁰² Kenneth Ch'en 1954 for social historical analyses of Northern Dynasties persecutions; Ch'en 1964, 190–4 for a political history of the persecution of 574 and how later Buddhist historians memorialized the formerly Buddhist

Yong's name and uses standard Buddhist tropes of good and evil to illustrate how quickly and irrevocably bad friends can pervert good deeds and minds.

Paragraph 3 of the preface goes on to scatter Indic-transliterated words¹⁰³ amidst its prose portrait of world run amok, evoking a laicized, disempowered sangha dispersed throughout the maddened populace. Their shrines and images, their monasteries destroyed by “clamorous” (*fansuo* 煩囂) butchers, the former monastics find themselves not only without access to the way, but helpless to keep the populace from eating their own kin. Without access the Dharma, the “people are without eyes of wisdom” (*ren wu huimu* 人無慧目), the community of laypersons can neither derive merit from supporting the Sangha nor see their own way out of the eschatological horror.¹⁰⁴

From there, in the following two paragraphs, the preface introduces the figure of Daoji. These biographical paragraphs are unique within the genre in situating the scholar-monk mid-career, on the road, rather than narrating his lifecourse from a storied youth, as with Sengyou or Daoshi. More than that, while Sengyou or Daoshi might evoke their far-flung travels to highlight the breadth of the written and living sources they consulted for their work, the *Golden Basket Discourse* preface hardly mentions books or writing at all up to this point. Daoji, introduced without a place of origin or a current residence affixed to his name, is quite literally a “shady” figure: the “Discourse Master River Shade” *heyin lunshi* 河隱論師. Rather than shut-

Emperor Wu. For the possible impact of “End of Dharma” thinking on stone scripture inscription at mountain cave sites near Ye slightly before and during Northern Zhou conquest, Tsiang 1996, 253–4.

¹⁰³ The preface includes “Śā[kya] disciples and [bhikṣu]nī wayfarers” *shitu nidao* 釋徒尼道 for “monks and nuns,” “saṃghāti” robes [*seng*]gali [僧]伽利 for “outer robes,” “saṃghārama” [*seng*]qielan [僧]伽藍 for “monastery,” and “caitya” *zhiti* 枝提 for “relic shrine.”

¹⁰⁴ Miyai and Motoi 2011 isolate five themes (laicization of monastics; marauders run amok; destruction of Buddhist property; lack of wisdom; lay cannibalism) in this paragraph and matches them to their scriptural portrayal in the third excerpted passage in the first chapter of the *Golden Basket Discourse*, originally excerpted from Bodhiruci's early-sixth-century translation of the *Scripture Preached by the Great Satya-nirgrantha* (*Da sasheniqianzi suoshuo jing*, T no. 272.j4.5.336a12–b23), from the “Chapter 5: King's Discourse” (*wanglun pin* 王論品). See Miyai and Motoi, 395–6 for critical edition of the quoted passage in *JZL*; 663–5 for juxtaposition of passages and comparison of elements. *A Grove of Pearls* cites a parallel passage from the same source scripture in T no. 2122.j79.84.13.2.872c22–873a23; Zhou and Su 2003, 5.2307–8, in “Section 10: Heterodoxy” (*xiejian* 邪見) of “Chapter 84: The Ten Evils” (*shie* 十惡).

ting between libraries and monasteries, we find Daoji ducking in and out of the alleyways of the Northern Qi capital, Ye, hiding in the wilds and abandoned buildings, staying alive and remaining inconspicuous in a time of emergency. Embracing the model of the recluse forced upon him by history, he “sharpens his frugality to establish power, excelling beyond fame and emolument” 厲儉成威，獨踰名養之外。Unlike the classic recluse, and more in the vein of the bodhisattva-ideal, Daoji risks his life continuing to preach to the masses. Just as these biographical sections alternate between Daoist and Buddhist allusions about Daoji’s spiritual prowess, so too does Daoji alternate between “Daoist” self-cultivation (“softening his brilliance to wait on things” *heguang daiwu* 和光待物; “pursuing quiet residence” *jingju* 靜居) and “Buddhist” outreach (“offering... compassion” *yubei* 與...悲; “providing... thoughts” *funian* 赴...念). In the final lines of section five, when the preface situates Daoji in “free buildings” (*xianguan* 閑館) and “empty mansions” (*konglou* 空樓), the preface author depicts him cultivating himself in a Buddhist manner, but leaves it ambiguous if the “tracks” (*zong* 蹤) and “traces” (*ji* 跡) of “goat, deer... and ox carts” (*yanglu... niuche* 羊鹿...牛車) he “selects” (*tuicai* 推採) and “checks” (*beicha* 被察) are written or oral materials, just as the aforementioned “free buildings” are not clearly monasteries. The final line suggests that Daoji’s training took place outside the familiar route to scholastic competence, no “royal rooms” (*wangdian* 王殿) in which to enact debate or instruction, nobody with whom to share “drawn pages” (*shuye* 畫葉) on which “patterns of writing” (*wen* 文) could be deciphered. Rather than the caravan of carts bearing Chinese Buddhist letters and prefaces described by Sengyou in his miscellaneous catalog preface (*CSZJJ* 12.0), Daoji’s carts (*che* 車) of “goat, deer, and ox,” famously derived from the *Lotus* burning house parable, have only left their tracks behind.

Indeed, the next paragraph contrasts the “paucity of scriptures” (*jingshao* 經少) with the “abundant breadth of the gates of teaching” (*jiaomen fengguang* 教門豐廣), which, in sum, are “difficult to encompass in our practices of writing” (*xiexi nanzhou* 寫習難周). This makes Daoji’s subsequent efforts of composition more an effort of “collection” (*ji* 集) abetted by “se-

lecting the essential words” (*jianzhai yaoyan* 簡摘要言) rather than the other way around. The seven fascicles, “distinguished into different sections” (*bie wei yibu* 別為異部), are portrayed as “the essence of the scriptures” (*zhongjing zhi jing* 眾經之精). The following lines first extend the metaphor of the title of the composition, a “Golden Basket” or “Treasury”¹⁰⁵ whose literal contents—its characters and words—are likened to precious metal and stone, and next emphasize how its contents illustrate the mechanisms of karmic cause and effect. Then the preface returns to the treasure metaphor: having learned about karma, “one plucks out the extreme root of poverty” 拔貧窮之根際. The final lines promise relief from intellectual and literal poverty respectively, “golden plates” (*jinpai* 金鐔) can assist in developing “eyes of wisdom” (*huiyan* 慧眼), and “pearls for fostering belief” (*faxinzhu* 發信珠) can delight the “poor girl” (*pinnü* 貧女).¹⁰⁶ Unlike certain self-authored prefaces or prefaces for works commissioned by a Buddhist emperor, there are no humble invocations of inspired scholarly posterity that close the preface: rather, the final lines communicate the preface-author’s gratitude to Daoji for keeping the Dharma in circulation, and the ultimate audience is interpellated not as scholars but as a mass of laypersons lacking in moral guidance.

At the end of the one surviving preface, the prefacer tallies the contents of the work as “nine fascicles, twenty-four chapters, and 192 entries,” but not only does the preface neglect to detail the contents of individual chapters, as the Liang Dynasty collection prefacers often do, the scroll-count has added two fascicles to the “seven fascicles” quoted earlier.¹⁰⁷ The “seven fasci-

¹⁰⁵ Miyai and Motoi 2011, 743–8, unpacks some of the resonances and allusions behind the name of the work, “Golden Basket,” which is identified with slightly different names across its citations, its manuscript fragments, and in surviving medieval Japanese catalogs. Sometimes it is titled “collection” (*ji* 集), “outline of essentials” (*yaolue* 要略), or “collection of essentials” (*yaoji*) and sometimes it is specified as being “from the scriptures” (*zhujing* 諸經, *zhongjing* 眾經). The Otani MS with the surviving preface offers a full title of the work as *Golden Basket Discourse, a Collection of Essentials from the Scriptures* (*Zhongjing yaoji jinzanglun* 眾經要集金藏論).

¹⁰⁶ In highlighting the “Buddha Nature”-resonances in the title of the work, Miyai draws a connection to the *Nirvana Scripture*’s allegory of the “poor woman” (*pinnüren* 貧女人) who has to “weed the fields” (*chucaohui* 除草穢) in order for her employer to “show the gold buried in the house” (*shi jincang* 示金藏) (746; reproducing *T* no. 374.j7.407b09–28 or *T* no. 375.j8.48b0–26, opening passage of “Chapter 4 [or 12]: The Nature of the Thus-Come One” *rulaixing pin*, English translation by Yamamoto 2007, 101).

¹⁰⁷ The provenance of the preface is unknown, but the copyist dates their work to Chōshō 3.1.4 (1134). See Motoi’s table comparing how various witnesses to the *JZL* from China, Japan, and Korea would seem to divide their chapters

cle” plan of the work is corroborated by Daoxuan’s biography of Daoji in his *Continued Traditions of Eminent Monks* (T no. 2060.j30.10.2), the second of twelve eminent monks exemplifying “Aural Virtues of Various Specialties” (*zake shengde* 雜科聲德) deemed by Daoxuan as deserving main biographies.¹⁰⁸ Daoji’s “aural virtue” (*shengde* 聲德) was his skill in sermonizing or proselytization (*changdao* 唱導)—the “seven fascicles” of his *Golden Basket Discourse* were too preached “in sevens”:

After completing the [*Golden Basket*] *Discourse*, he traveled together with seven others. Having exited the outskirts of Ye to the east, they stopped to rest after seven *li*. From the surrounding seven *li*, ladies and gentlemen converged. He completed preaching this discourse to them over seven days. Frequently he needed to carry things with him, but he was not ashamed of such minor activities. Scriptures and icons were one priority; his aged mother and a sweeping broom were another priority.¹⁰⁹ Within the Uniform¹¹⁰ Realm of the Buddha, if there was a stupa it was swept. Daily he told others, “Don’t the scriptures say this? ‘Sweeping a Jambudvīpa’s area of Sangha-land [monastery] is not as good as sweeping a single palm’s area of Buddha-land [shrine or reliquary]. This is because it is

over their fascicles (618–19). The table of contents preserved on the first pages of the Beomeo-sa print copy of the first two fascicles is the only witness that names and numbers all twenty-two chapters, dividing them over four fascicles; the Dunhuang and Kōfuku-ji MS witnesses preserve Chapters 15–18 as “Fascicle 5” and Chapters 19–22 as “Fascicle 6,” but the topics match Chapters 14–21 of Beomeo-sa’s missing “Fascicle 4.” This evidence suggests a *Golden Basket Discourse* whose contents could be adjusted to fit twenty-two or more chapters of entries over four to nine fascicles. Motoi discusses these important discrepancies in chapter and scroll enumeration: according to her analysis of medieval Japanese catalog listings, one temple inventory even listed holding two different editions of *JZL* in five and seven fascicles, 620–3.

¹⁰⁸ See Chapter Three, note 102 and Chapter Seven, note 29 for more on Daoxuan’s categories for eminent monks.

¹⁰⁹ Miyai and Motoi 2011, 680, connects this detail in the story—Daoji literally carrying his mother on his back—to a pair of scriptural quotes cited in the “Explaining the Meaning” introduction to the extant *Golden Basket’s* chapter on “Filial Care.” The first quote: “Carrying father on the left shoulder and holding mother on the right shoulder for over a thousand years while they shit on one’s back still cannot repay their kindness” 左肩負父，右肩持母，逕歷千年，便利背上，猶不能報父母之恩。 And the second: “Your parents, the sick, preaching dharma masters, Buddhas, and bodhisattvas: if you donate to [these five] you will get a great reward” 父母若病人，及與說法師，近佛諸菩薩，施者得大果 (Reproduced from Miyai and Motoi 2011, 508). The passages are from a very short scripture attributed to the second century An Shigao called the *Scripture on Parental Kindness Being Difficult to Repay* (*Foshuo fumuen nanbao jing* 佛說父母恩難報經, T no. 684.779a01–04; tr. Cole 1996, 42–6) and *Samghavarman’s early fifth-century translation of the *Combined Heart of Abhidharma Treatise* (*Za apitan xin lun* 雜阿毗曇心論, T no. 1552.j8.932c13–14). The first passage is also cited in the “Chapter 51: Repaying Kindness” (*baoen* 報恩) of *FYZL* (T no. 2122.j50.51.2.663c26–27 = Zhou and Su 2003, 4.1509); and the second passage is also cited in “Chapter 49: Filial Piety” (*zhongxiao* 忠孝, T no. 2122.j49.49.2.655b02–03; Zhou and Su 2003, 3.1474).

¹¹⁰ Miyai 2011, 720n5, suggests three possible readings of the *qi* 齊 here, starting with the name of the dynasty, Northern Qi 北齊, continuing with the second meaning I have followed, and ending with reading the character as a verb to render the line, “They cleaned the Realm of the Buddha...” (*qi* *Fojingnei* 齊佛境內).

superior to [all] knowledge-fields.”¹¹¹ He personally offered [the privilege of sweeping] to his mother, and with these merits raised her to be on equal ground with a first-level bodhisattva.¹¹² Thus his filial character was deeply pure. He mended clothes for her to wear, her food, drink, shit, and piss he had to personally manage,¹¹³ and he did not let others share these tasks. If someone helped, Ji would say, “This is my own mother and no one else’s. The ties of her skeletal frame are my body too. In embodiment there must be suffering. Why not suffer labor for others? That by which one is bodied, suffering is first. I would be happy without assistance.” Encouraging monastics and laypersons like this, followers congregated.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Daoxuan’s Daoji is paraphrasing a quote that can be found in the reconstructed *Golden Basket*, attributed to the *Combined Treasuries Scripture* (*Za baozangjing* 雜寶藏經, *T* no. 203), translated by Kekeya and Tanyao in the late fifth century, but is not found in the received edition of this scripture. See Miyai and Motoi 2011, 674–5, for a discussion of where a parallel quotation falls in extant editions of the *Golden Basket*—appended to the eighth entry of the fifteenth (?) chapter on “Stupas” (*ta* 塔) in the fifth fascicle. This eighth entry tells a story from the early unattributed translation of a scriptural commentary, *Treatise on the Analysis of Merit* (*Fenbie gongdelun* 分別功德論, *T* no. 1507.j3.38c07–25), and concerns a widower-monk whose wife, current denizen of Trāyastriṃsa Heaven, encourages him to keep sweeping stupas so they can be reunited in the afterlife. He sweeps so vigorously that she returns to tell him that he has obtained so much merit as to overshoot her heaven, so they cannot reunite after all. Hearing this news, he decides to sweep stupas to achieve arhat status and liberation. On *Analysis of Merit*, see Palumbo 2013. For the two passages as found in Miyai and Motoi’s 2011 reconstructed *Golden Basket*, based on surviving manuscripts from Dunhuang and Kōshō-ji for this fascicle, see 455–6. Daoshi’s *A Grove* has a matching passage cited in the “Old Stupas” section *guta* 故塔 of “Chapter 37: Paying Respect to Stupas” *jingta* 敬塔 (*T* no. 2122.j38.25.7.584b19–c05). As for Daoji’s short quote in Daoxuan’s biography, it can also be found twice in *A Grove of Pearls*. It is attributed to both *Combined Treasuries Scripture* and Harivarman’s *Accomplishment Treatise* (*Chengshilun* 成實論, *T* no. 1646) in one case, and exclusively to the *Truth Accomplishment Treatise* in a second case (*T* no. 2122.j38.35.7.583b16–17 in the seventh section “Old Stupas,” far earlier in the fascicle than the passage from *Treatise on the Analysis of Merit* discussed above; and j80.85.1.3.879a11–12 in “Subsection 3: Limited Giving” *jushi* 局施 of “Section 1: Giving” *bushi* 佈施 of “Chapter 85: Six Perfections” *liudu* 六度). The original passage in Kumārajīva’s early fifth-century translation of the *Accomplishment Treatise* is at *T* no. 1646.j7.291c06–c08, and attributes the quote to the “Miscellaneous Basket” (*zazang* 雜藏, *ksudrakapitaka*). This citation of an otherwise untranslated South Asian scriptural tradition may be the source of Daoji’s and Daoshi’s eventual mis-citation of the *Combined Treasuries Scripture*.

¹¹² Following Miyai and Motoi 2011, 720n55

¹¹³ A passage from Yichu’s *Six Tablets* (*Sōkan* j5.42.16; *B* 79.j20.42.16.2.430a01–02: Item 2 of Section 16 “Urination” *niao* 尿 or *xiaobian* 小便, from “Chapter 42: Various Tales about What Follows from the [Six] Faculties” *suigen zhushi* 隨根諸事) cites the *Golden Basket* for a story from the *Scripture on the Wise and the Foolish* (*Xianyu jing*, *T* no. 202.j6.35.397a24–398a11, titled “Liberation of the Nītha [Scavenger]” *ni ti du*) on a waste-removal servant who soils himself with a monk’s excrement when carrying a chamberpot outside a monastery and is transformed into liberated status by the Buddha afterwards. Miyai and Motoi 2011, 635–6, hypothesizes that this story may have originally been in the lost “Karma” chapter of the *Golden Basket*; at any rate, she reads a parallel passage from *A Grove of Pearls* *T* no. 2122.j94.94.4.982b05–27; Zhou and Su 2003, 6.2714–15, “Section 4: Excrement” (*bianli* 便利) in “Chapter 94: Pollution” (*huizhuo* 穢濁).

¹¹⁴ *XGSZ*, *T* no. 2060.j30.10.2.701b03–14. With guidance from Japanese translation by Miyai 718. See also the re-telling of this story from the Song, quoting *XGSZ*, in Yuanzhao’s commentary on Daoxuan’s Emended Epitome, *T* no. 1805.j3.408a01–06. For other tellings of this episode by Song scholar-monks Qisong and Zhipan, see Miyai 2011, 721n60, 722–723. Yichu would also tell this story, probably abridging Daoxuan’s account, in explaining the compilation of the *Golden Basket*, see Motoi 2011, 686 for a short discussion (*Sōkan* j3.23.6; *B* 79.j12.23.275a14: Item 2 of section 2 “Twelve Monks of Various Specialties [of Aural Virtues]” *zake shier ren* 雜科十二人, from “Chapter 23: Gods of Sermonizing” *huadao rentian* 化導人天).

論成之後，與同行七人，出鄴郊東七里而頓。周匝七里，士女通集。為講斯論，七日一遍。往必荷擔，不恥微行。經書塔像，為一頭。老母掃帚，為一頭。齊佛境內，有塔斯掃。每語人曰：“經不云乎？‘掃僧地如閻浮，不如佛地一掌者，由智田勝也。’”親供母者，以福與登地菩薩齊也。故其孝性淳深，為之縫補衣著，食飲大小便利，必身經理，不許人兼。有或助者。紀曰：“吾母也，非他之母。形骸之累，並吾身也。有身必苦，何得以苦勞人。所以身為苦先，幸勿相助。”因斯以勵道俗，從者眾矣。

Daoxuan's biography puts the *Golden Basket Discourse* into mythic practice: in the hagiographic genre, just as important as the *Discourse's* contents (which Daoxuan has adumbrated before this passage) are its contexts. “Seven” indicates not only the work's size in fascicles, but also its length over time in days, its power to draw in an audience expressed as a radial distance, and the size of the retinue required to support Daoji's preaching tour. Daoxuan and earlier tellers of this story found an aesthetically satisfying way to correlate a material fact about Daoji's anthology to its imagined trajectory around Ye in the late sixth century—from ink on pages of scroll, through the mouths and actions of Daoji and his retinue, and into the ears and karmic stores of its lay audiences. These anecdotes and quotations also expand the categories in the *Discourse's* table of contents into narrative objects that are manipulated and which constitute sites of practice on tour. “Images” and “scriptures” form half of the literal load Daoji is willing to carry around with him;¹¹⁵ his mother and a sweeping broom for sweeping stupas and practicing filial piety form the other half.¹¹⁶ Daoxuan gives voice to the contents of Daoji's sermons not through direct quotation but through the discourse-author's actions and admonishments.

¹¹⁵ Beomeo-sa Table of Contents [see Appendix C]: “6. Karmic Accounts on Viewing Images” *guanxiang yuan* 觀象緣, “7. Karmic Accounts on Listening to the Dharma” *tingfa yuan* 聽法緣, “8. Karmic Accounts on Seeking the Dharma” *qiufa yuan* 求法緣, “15. Karmic Accounts on Images” *xiang yuan* 像緣.

¹¹⁶ “14. Karmic Accounts on Stupas” *ta yuan* 塔緣 and “21. Karmic Accounts on Filial Care” *xiaoyang yuan* 孝養 respectively.

Motoi Makiko reconstructs the total structure of Daoji's *Golden Basket Discourse* by triangulating between its surviving print and manuscript fragments, its citation and uncited use in later Buddhist anthological traditions, and Daoxuan's biography of Daoji. She concludes that while the work might not fall under the "restricted definition" (*kyōgi* 狹義) of the Buddhist "anthology" (*ruisho* 類書) for lacking "encyclopedic" (*hyakka jiten teki seikaku* 百科事典的性格) size and breadth, it can still be considered an anthology with a "broad definition" (*kōgi* 広義) for using categories to organize it.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, she traces out how the structure of the work as a whole follows a progressive curriculum centered around the elucidation of karmic consequence with a mind to surviving and repairing the effects of the Northern Zhou persecution on an ignorant lay populace. The stories that form the body of the work all narrate tales of karmic consequence wherein an individual's good deeds result in rewards and bad deeds in punishments, iterating the Buddha's intentions in preaching about past lives. The *Golden Basket* curriculum begins with chapters (see Appendix C) detailing anecdotes of the persecution's originating and collateral sins;¹¹⁸ to sin-extirpating actions;¹¹⁹ to basic lay practices;¹²⁰ to a chapter focused explicitly on "karma" *ye* 業; to chapters on giving and objects of donation,¹²¹ to embracing monasticism,¹²² and ending with hard-to-categorize topics.¹²³ The *Golden Basket's* table of contents traces out a layperson's progress from depravity to donning the robe, paying homage to representatives of the Three Jewels, building merit and garnering protection from the good actions of confession, invocation, following precepts, and donation modeled therein. In actuality,

¹¹⁷ Miyai and Motoi 2011, 661.

¹¹⁸ The first three chapters are "heterodoxy" *xiejian* 邪見, "murder" *shahai* 殺害, "cursing [of monks]" *mali* 罵詈.

¹¹⁹ The next two chapters are "confession" *chanhui* 懺悔 and "calling on Buddha" *chengFo* 稱佛.

¹²⁰ The next five chapters are "contemplating images [of the Buddha]," "listening to dharma," "seeking dharma," "[taking lay] precepts" *jie* 戒, and "feeding [monks]" *shi* 食.

¹²¹ The next seven chapters are "giving" *bushi* 佈施, "stinginess" *qian* 慳, "stupas," "images," "flowers and incense" *huaxiang* 華香, "lanterns" *deng* 燈, and "banners and canopies" *fan'gai* 幡蓋.

¹²² The next two chapters are "leaving home" *chujia* 出家 and "kāṣāya [robe]" *jiasha* 袈裟.

¹²³ The final two chapters are "filial piety" and "miscellaneous" *za* 雜. Miyai and Motoi 2011 summarizes the entirety of the work's plausible contents, chapter by chapter, 661–86. This compositional structure is summarized in a full-page chart, 684–5.

Daoxuan reminds us, it was Daoji who took this garland of stories around to the laypersons, carrying the Three Jewels along with him on his own back, reading the stories out loud as well as acting them out, making a karmic tale of his own life. If Daoxuan is to be believed, Daoji hammered home the Buddhist axiom that individuals are responsible for their own karmic balance sheets by literally carrying the instruments of his salvation on his back, refusing any assistance from would-be helpers, and baldly declaring his own mother's body and sufferings as incorporated within his own.¹²⁴

Still, Daoxuan's account of Daoji's composition of the *Golden Basket Discourse* is somewhat at odds with that of its preface, which presents Daoji's composition and preaching of the work as a direct result of the Northern Zhou persecution and conquest.¹²⁵ Daoji's biography in *Continued Traditions of Eminent Monks*, however, begins twenty-five years before the persecution, in the early reign and Tianbao Era (550–559) of the Northern Qi. Daoxuan acknowledges that Daoji's clan origins are unknown, but attributes him an early exegetical career mastering Kumārajīva's translation of Harivarman's *Accomplishment Treatise* (*Chengshi lun*, T no. 1646) and drawing crowds with his sermons. What leads him to write the *Golden Basket*, according to this version, is a chance encounter with an "old student" (*jiumenren* 舊門人) directly outside of the women's quarters, south of the city, sermonizing there. After Daoji's chastisement is rudely rebuffed by his student ("Where dharma drums thunder in competition, that's where advantage can be built; where one hopes for fame and glory, that's where you'll find masters" 法鼓競鳴，利建斯在；聲榮之望，師資焉有)，¹²⁶ Daoji locks himself in his study to "read broadly the

¹²⁴ Pursuit of one's own karmic liberation does not obviate one's duties to others. As the ultimate chapter on "Filial Piety" would seem to underscore, devoted service to one's elders counts as good actions that attract rewards in this life and in lives after. The genres of tale literature that comprise *Golden Basket* often emphasize that while one's destiny is of one's own making, it is also heavily tied to the destiny and destiny-making of others. Among some of the more subtle karmic lessons that Motoi witnesses being taught in the *Golden Basket Discourse*: mixed actions can net both good and evil consequences, and even bodhisattvas cannot avoid the bad consequences of evil actions committed in past lives (on the stories of the "waste removal man" [noted above] and "ox transformations" as cited in Yichu's *Six Documents*, see Miyai and Motoi 2011, 635–7).

¹²⁵ See Miyai and Motoi 2011, 663.

¹²⁶ 701a23–24.

scriptures and treatises” 廣讀經論 and write what is now the *Golden Basket* “for the sake of converting secular society” 為彼士俗，而行開化。¹²⁷ Before returning to the capital, he gives a speech to his followers, declaring his thirty-year career preaching the *Accomplishment* ultimately amounts to nothing if his audience is made to “understand the root” (*jieben* 解本) without putting it into “practice” (*xing* 行). Speaking of cause and effect, he describes the non- and false practice of the root “as equivalent to not understanding the root at all.” Parroting the Madman of Chu’s line in the *Analects*—“No use rebuking what has already past; but you can still give chase to what is yet to come!”¹²⁸—Daoji resolves to devise “an alternate strategy” (*bieji* 別計):¹²⁹

...thus his composed collection was called the *Golden Basket Discourse*. A single wrapper of seven fascicles, he used categories to organize it. As for the origins of temples, stupas, flags, and lanterns, as for the roots of scriptures, images, refuge, and the precepts, it completely netted a unified transformation and greatly initiated the gates to merit.¹³⁰

故其撰集，名為『金藏論』也。一帙七卷，以類相從。寺塔幡燈之由，經像歸戒之本，具羅一化，大啟福門。

Unlike the Otani preface, Daoxuan employs language of “collection” and “using categories to organize it” similar to prefaces for collections of the Southern Dynasties, most notably in the preface to *Anomalous Phenomena*. Also unlike the attached preface, these lines also sketch the contents of the work, matching with many of the chapter-headings from the middle of the table of contents,¹³¹ and preparing readers for the anecdotes on Daoji’s sweeping and piety that follow. These lines also give a sense of the anthology being composed as a comprehensive program

¹²⁷ 701a29–b01.

¹²⁸ *Analects* 18.5, Ames and Rosemont 1998, 213.

¹²⁹ Daoji’s speech extends from 701a25–29.

¹³⁰ 701b01–03.

¹³¹ To continue matching topics to the Beomeo-sa Table of Contents alluded to above, Daoxuan’s conspectus here might parallel “18. Karmic Accounts on Flags and Canopies” (*fangai yuan* 幡蓋緣); “17. Karmic Accounts on Lanterns” (*deng yuan* 燈緣); “9. Karmic Accounts on the Precepts” (*jie yuan* 戒緣).

of instruction on lay practice, educating people about quintessentially Buddhist objects and how to use and regard them in quintessentially Buddhist ways.

Following the aforementioned anecdotes on sweeping and piety, Daoxuan adds that Daoji kept making tours for several years, encouraging the audience to take the eight precepts, host the vegetarian *zhai* retreat, and to refrain from killing. His followers soon numbered nine of ten households in the metropolitan area around Ye. An old companion of his questions the accuracy of his methods, but Daoji is unrepentant, citing the *Analects* again, this time as Confucius: “You don’t level blame against what is long gone; what more can I say?”¹³² It is only at this moment when the tours are complete and Daoji has quoted the same classic he cited that launched his endeavor to bring his own story to a conclusion that Daoxuan discusses the Northern Zhou invasion and persecution with an “afterwards.” According to the *XGSZ*, Daoji continued his work as before but

...when beginning in opening the Dharma, he further expanded its gates. Thus at the beginning of this discourse it starts with a discussion of “heterodoxy.” Thus it was transmitted as the “*Golden Basket Discourse*, written by Discourse Master What Shade.” In the end it was only Daoji, so they changed the author’s name back. However, wherever it was published, the copyists would abridge the full text. [The work] ought to be deeply relied upon.¹³³ But of [Daoji’s] end we cannot fathom.¹³⁴

...及開法始，更廣其門。故彼論初，云邪見者是也。所以世傳，“何隱論師造『金藏論』”。終惟紀也，故改名云。然其所出，抄略正文。深可依准，後不測其終。

As Miyai notes, Daoxuan’s ending notes on the text are corroborated by details found in its extant fragments—the name of the first chapter, the author’s pseudonym, its already abridgeable

¹³² 701b15–20. *Analects* 3.21, Ames and Rosemont 1998, 87.

¹³³ Or, punctuating differently, “However, wherever it came out it was abridged; [only the] full text can be deeply relied upon.”

¹³⁴ 701b20–24.

and extractable status.¹³⁵ The passage also suggests that the *Golden Basket Discourse* was modified even in Daoji's lifetime, its opening chapters on "heterodoxy," "murder," and "cursing" tacked on (or re-arranged to take pride of place) in response to the Northern Zhou persecution.¹³⁶ While the preface to the *Golden Basket Discourse* may have predated Daoxuan's biography of Daoji, it was still written after the Northern Zhou conquest of Northern Qi, perhaps during the relative safety of the Sui. It nonetheless depicts the anthology it prefaces as a lifeline for keeping Buddhism thriving underground in the end period of great dharmic dearth, in contrast to Daoxuan's depiction of the work as an effective and useful skillful means for Daoji to sermonize more effectively. The reader of the biography witnesses Daoji teaching the *Golden Basket* in three ways: he preaches from it; he practices what he preaches; and he composes, emends, and encourages circulation of the text for further lay consultation. Daoxuan, for his part, sows seeds of doubt in and outside the narrative—the friend who prompts Daoji to cite Confucius, the abridgeable text, the fact of Daoji's inclusion at the tail end in the last category of the *Continued Traditions of Eminent Monks*, but not in his scriptural catalog or other works. Later catalogers in their neglect of Daoji's *Golden Basket Discourse* would seem to share Daoxuan's implicit evaluation of its overall worth: commendable but not canon-worthy. Fortunately for Buddhologists, other handlers of the text found it was worth preservation and study. *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* may have even drawn its quotes and concepts, if not inspiration, from it.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Miyai and Motoi 2011, 722–7

¹³⁶ Miyai and Motoi 2011, 663–6, emphasizes this reading of the first "Heterodoxy" chapter.

¹³⁷ Miyai and Motoi 2011, 624–5, concludes that at most *JZL* and *FYZL* be considered siblings—even though a good majority of extant *JZL* accounts can also be found in *FYZL*, it is difficult for her to pronounce that the latter copied directly from the former when the earlier work tends to copy its source material more sketchily than *A Grove of Pearls*. See Chapter 5.1 for more on these questions.

Chapter Three: Prefacing Anthology II—Paratexts to *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*

1. Preface, Surface, Access

The first chapter argued that Chinese Buddhist anthologies, like Chinese Buddhist collections of writings more broadly speaking, employed tables of *lei*-categories in order to make excerpts from scriptures and other sacred writings easier to access. While concerns about sequence, hierarchy, and comprehensiveness can be sussed out from the overall structure of *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*—how *pian*-chapters and *bu*-sections relate to one another and the written materials they contain—its primary aim was to collect what was valuable in the Buddhist written traditions for occasional use. Underscoring its instrumental nature, the titular metaphors of *A Grove of Pearls*, as elaborated in its preface, suggest distanced contemplation (see a grove of pearls as a grove) and intensive scrutiny (delect in an individual pearl) at once.

Traditional Buddhist hermeneutics would seem to eschew surface for depth. Chinese Buddhists labelled Buddhism the “inner teaching” (*neijiao* 內教) in contradistinction to the “outer” shallow, heterodox, or secular teachings it contrasted itself against as a foil.¹ Disciplines like meditation, contemplation, and visualization—discipline itself—can be reckoned as centripetal, inward voyages transformative of the individual as an agent. Bodies contain minds; fate is governed by karma; scriptures bear words and words reveal meanings. What was pursued as “deep” (*shen* 深) could be praised as “dark” (*xuan* 玄); “dense” (*mi* 密; *ao* 奧); “sacred” (*sheng* 聖); “wonderous” (*miao* 妙); or “real” (*shi* 實; *zhen* 真); and one presumably had to travel inside, under, or through territory less wonderful and more illusory to get to it. *A Grove of Pearls* conceives of Buddhism in just these mainstream ways: the goal was to make explicit the underlying

¹ See Lagerwey 2010, 47–50, which argues that medieval Daoism deserves the *neijiao* designation due to its “radically internalist” self-conception.

codes behind phenomena of fortune and misfortune by recovering roots and essences imminent to Buddhist textual traditions.

My language of “make explicit” and “recovering,” however, implies the anthology's interest in reducing or otherwise managing textual depth as a problem. In Chinese Buddhist anthologies, texts that were hard to find, hard to remember, or hard to interpret were brought to the surface. What was formerly inaccessible, unrecallable, or inscrutable was resolved by strategic excerptation, summary, and categorization. In these procedures, Chinese Buddhists cultivated understandings of Buddhism as a centrifugal, pedagogical project, even as they collected and condensed text into static, anthological forms. The stories their prefaces tell testify to how they shifted their focus from what the Dharma *is* (predicates like grand, deep, mysterious) to what should be *done to it* (verbs like analyze, explain, teach) in cognizance of its difficult depths. Anthology, according to the logics of their prefaces, recapitulates what the Buddha and his early followers did in distilling wisdom from earlier traditions for present exigencies. It recapitulates their reason for doing so too: embracing an ethic of skillful means to expand the Dharma's audiences and empower them.²

This chapter identifies the prefaces of Chinese Buddhist anthologies as rich sources for interpreting what they were for and how people used them. At the surface of texts comprised of other textual surfaces, prefaces introduce to their readers the inspirations for their construction and reading. If each *lei* and fascicle of an anthology constitutes its own entrance to the work, so is the preface a point of access to a hallway of entrances. In what follows, I argue that the prefaces to *A Grove of Pearls* construe the Dharma as difficult depth, and propose anthology as a unique solution to this proliferation. In so doing, they resonate with Chinese anthology prefaces from the preceding century and a half that had developed scriptural economy as their theme. I begin, however, by considering two other pieces of paratext that are inscribed within the preface

² Young 2015, 25–66.

of *A Grove of Pearls* itself, the title of the work and the name of its author, Daoshi.³ Because early biographies of Daoshi and bibliographic notices on his works appear to be basically derivative of information provided in the preface to *A Grove of Pearls*, I suggest that his authorship and titling of the work are better thought through in terms that the prefaces develop.

2. Daoshi, Anthology Man

Modern studies of *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* operate under the powerful historiographic conceit that presenting further information about its author can shed further light on the point of his anthology.⁴ Unfortunately, because Daoshi's giant anthologies are nearly all that survives of his work, there is little external evidence to comb through to bring to bear in interpreting these anthologies. The vast majority of what scholars have to work with for outlining the contours of Daoshi's life are the extant texts of his anthologies themselves.⁵ The secular sources are silent, and bibliographic notices from the eighth-century catalogs and Zanning's 贊寧 (919–1001) biography of Daoshi from the late tenth century [see Appendix J for translation] are largely derivative of what the prefaces to the anthology present.⁶ This part of the chapter

³ My approach to prefaces, title, and author is broadly informed by scholarship probing the importance of the “paratext,” developing in conversation with Genette 1991; 1997. I am also inspired by recent scholarly attempts to reverse a hermeneutics of depth and mystery by privileging “surface.” Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983, 106–7, describe how Foucauldian genealogy “avoids the search for depth. Instead it seeks the surfaces of events, small details, minor shifts, and subtle contours.” Recently as well Best and Marcus 2009, 9, declare that “a surface is what insists on being looked *at* rather than what we must train ourselves to see *through*” and articulate a typology of modes of critical reading that might fall under such a rubric.

⁴ Most twentieth- and twenty-first-century encyclopedia entries and scholarly introductions to *A Grove of Pearls* include biographical data on Daoshi, sometimes presented first, e.g. Chen Yuan 2001; Ding 1985; Chen Shiqiang 1988; Chen Yu-jen 1992; Wang 1997; Ōuchi 1998; or Zhou 2003; An 2003; Wu 2009. Other components of scholarly introductions often also include the work's hundred-chapter table of contents; its structure at the subchapter level; a sample of unusual material it quotes; its transmission history; and its utility for modern readers. For introductions that present these themes in alternate sequences, see Maeda 1933–1936, 10.5a–6b, Mochizuki 1954–1958, 5.4555b–4556b, and Teiser 1985.

⁵ Even as I problematize the idea that scholars can fruitfully reconstruct an author Daoshi that precedes the works that remain of him, I will still refer to Daoshi as the compiler of the anthologies, despite the possibility that the extant works may have been edited and emended by later persons. The idea that the work was minimally “authored” would have been relevant to readers of its prefaces and should affect scholarly reception of the work as well.

⁶ The anthologies are also presumably the oldest sources on Daoshi's life. Kawaguchi 1976 identifies the *FYZL* preface account as the primary account which many later accounts copy and otherwise reference.

suggests that the author-function and his works are most productively read through one another. To put it even more simply, the biography of Daoshi is not much more than the bibliography of his anthologies, and the anthologies' prefaces were the first and most consequential bibliographies. Determining how Daoshi's anthologies and their authorship were imagined from the seventh century on, the preface teaches both its medieval and future audiences what the point of the anthology was in the first place.⁷

What unites the prefaces, Tang-Song Buddhist historiography, late imperial Chinese bibliographic criticism, and modern Buddhological interest in Chinese *leishu* is a shared rhetorical subordination of the author to his work. For both premodern and modern discussions of Daoshi, the identity of the author-compiler cannot be dissociated from his anthologies because readers have historically cared more about the anthologies than their authors.⁸ In contrast to contemporary Chinese Buddhist figures like Daoxuan or Fazang 法藏 (643–712), whose individual personalities emerged as objects of narratization and inquiry precisely because they occupied multiple roles and wrote in multiple genres, the figure of Daoshi manifests as something of a blank copy:⁹ his career was so tightly joined to Daoxuan's that later bibliographers could attribute *A Grove of Pearls* to Daoxuan, and later historians could find no alternative but iterate the prefaces' casting Daoshi's exclusive reason for having existed to have compiled massive Buddhist *leishu*. Neither a translator-originator of Indian Buddhist texts like a Kumārajīva, nor a school-originator like a Zhiyi 智懿 (538–597) or Daoxuan, Daoshi created by transmitting, embracing a role as a transparent medium for the conveyance of truth like the scriptures and miracle tales he copied into *A Grove of Pearls*. Perhaps his continued portrayal as blandly, impartially

⁷ On the modern discipline of “history” as having broken with historiography’s traditional self-conception as ethical rhetoric—providing a “practical past”—see White 2014, 12–13. For a defense of rescuing “biography” from “hagiography” in the modern study of medieval Chinese monks and the “hagio-biographies” written about them, Jinhua Chen 2007, 2–8. I take a perspective closer to Kieschnick 1997, 1, wherein medieval biography (and in my case, what anthological preface says about its author) is examined for its rhetorical effects.

⁸ That Daoshi’s fame rested entirely on his authorship of *A Grove of Pearls*, see Fu 1994, 178.

⁹ See Chen Huaiyu 2007 on Daoxuan and Chen Jinhua 2007 on Fazang.

excellent could suggest to successive generations of readers of his anthologies that the copied material provided therein was similarly reliable.¹⁰ Whether or not he was actually bland or apolitical, to what degree he was responsible for all of *A Grove of Pearls*, or even existed, is less important to me than his role as author of *leishu* as indicated in paratext.

Note, for instance how Zanning's biography (Appendix J) narrates the compilation of *A Grove of Pearls* as the climax of Daoshi's biography. All the other events in Daoshi's life—study, translation, and more study—lead to and then through his *Grove of Pearls* enterprise. Unlike earlier, more famous, collector-monks like Sengyou and Baochang of the Southern Liang, Daoshi's was a bookish, inward-facing life.¹¹ A birth-name (Han Xuanyun), a hometown (Yique of present-day Henan), a stereotypical line on “leaving home” begin the biography;¹² a catalog of extraneous works ends it.¹³ Daoshi is Daoxuan's shadow throughout, from shared ordination under Master Zhishou 智首 (567–635), to parallel movements in monastic residence, to collaborating on Xuanzang's translation projects, to having authored similarly named commentaries on the *Four-Part Regulations*.¹⁴ One modern biographer describes “Daoshi and Dao-

¹⁰ Compare Daoxuan's portrayal of young Baochang as having received his education (and having to support his family) through employment as a humble copyist as translated and discussed in de Rauw 2005, 204.

¹¹ For a translation of Huijiao's biography of Sengyou, see Link 1960. On Huijiao's antipathy toward scholar-monks of the capital like Sengyou and Baochang, Wright. Even as Baochang's *Famous Monks* was likely a preeminent source for *Eminent Monks*, Huijiao did not include Baochang in his *Eminent Monks*. See de Rauw 2005 for a summary of Baochang's dramatic life in and out of imperial favor, reconstructed in part from Daoxuan's biography of Baochang's, the first monk profiled in *XGSZ*.

¹² The Hans of Yique, south of former capital Luoyang, are not presented by Zanning as particularly famous. This is in contrast with the Qians of Wuxing (in modern day Jiangsu), close with the royal Chens of the eponymous Southern Chen Dynasty (557–581), and family to the eminent Daoxuan. Daoxuan and Daoshi were both born at the northern capital in 596 or slightly thereafter. On Daoxuan's family background in southern aristocracy, see Chen 2007, 34–42, and Liu 2011, 6–10.

¹³ For one of the fullest accounts of Daoshi's works, including speculations about their contents, see Fu 1994, 178–87. I borrow liberally from Fu in building Daoshi's column for Appendix D.

¹⁴ For a discussion of where Daoshi's three vinaya teachers (Zhishou, Xuanwan 玄琬, Jinglin 靜琳) appear in *A Grove of Pearls* and other works, see Fu 1994, 164–68. See the recent discussion of Zhishou in Chen 2017, 449–501: a passage Chen translates from Daoxuan's biography of his teacher Zhishou portrays the latter as a vinaya exegete, systematizing what had previously been obscure about the *Four-Part Regulations* in his daily lectures and singular written work, now lost, the twenty-one fascicle *Epitome for Discriminating the Five Divisions [of Regulatory Schools]* (*Wubu qufen chao* 五部區分鈔). Daoxuan likely took inspiration from his master's project for his own vinaya *Epitome* (Chen 2017, 472–3).

xuan ... just like two wheels on the same cart proclaiming the vinaya, so intimate as to share tea and food” while another proposes Daoxuan’s recorded birth-date (596) for Daoshi’s unrecorded birth-date.¹⁵ But while Daoxuan travelled across China to learn about regional variations in monastic regulations and collect miraculous accounts, continually involved himself with defending the Sangha from the anti-Buddhists, and interviewed heavenly messengers about otherworldly happenings, Daoshi, Zanning’s narrative would seem to imply, was peaceably reading at home in the monastery.¹⁶

Zanning’s account was clearly built from Li Yan’s preface to *A Grove of Pearls* as the specific lines on the compilation of the anthology have been lifted whole cloth.¹⁷ Other specific elements from the preface—childhood ant-saving and descriptors of scholastic prowess—have also been borrowed and elaborated. In transforming preface into biography, Zanning has appropriated the rhetorical force of Li Yan’s preface as well, arguing that *A Grove of Pearls* solves a logistical problem and that its author had dedicated a lifetime to doing so, though Zanning also specifies ten years for the compilation specifically. But the text of Daoshi’s anthology prefaces had been re-deployed for other genres earlier than Zanning in the tenth century.

When the mid-Tang catalogs had registered *Collected Essentials* as Daoshi’s sole work, they iterated Daoxuan’s line on Daoshi from Daoxuan’s catalog, *Catalog of the Inner Books of the Great Tang*: “in study of the regulations he was eminent, and he admired greatly excellences before him. Composition (“sewing” *zhouji*) was his duty, using both epitome and subcommentary he annotatingly analyzed the scriptures” 律學高與，慕重前良。綴緝爲務，兼有鈔疏，

¹⁵ Kawaguchi 1978, 305, and Fu 1994. Kawaguchi builds on Zanning’s line about Daoshi and Daoxuan “driving together the cart of the Five Assemblies,” itself a reworking of Li Yan’s lines on Daoshi’s (presumably solo) cart-mastery of the same. Kawaguchi 1976 suggests Daoshi was 3 to 13 years younger than Daoxuan.

¹⁶ For a translation of Zanning’s biography of Daoxuan, which leaves out much of the travel and apologetics, see Wagner 1995, 255–68. On Daoxuan’s travel, see Fujiyoshi 2002; on his apologetic activity, see Weinstein 1982, 32-5; on his spiritual communications, see Tan 2002, McRae 2005, and Wagner 1995.

¹⁷ Zanning could have also used Li Yan’s preface to Daoshi’s no longer extant *Collected Annotations on the Diamond*, *GHMJ T* no. 2103.j22.259c19–260a26, but descriptors of the author Daoshi in this preface, admittedly few, appear not to have been taken up in Zanning’s biography of Daoshi.

注解衆經。¹⁸ To this mini-biography they added a line about his composition of *Collected Essentials*, borrowing from the ostensibly self-authored preface of *Collected Essentials*: “in the Xianqing reign era, [he] read all the scriptures. Extracting many essential accounts, he compiled it into one work and called it *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures*.” 顯慶年中，讀一切經。鈔諸要事，撰成一部，名『諸經要集』。¹⁹ In the abbreviated parlance of the catalog entry, as in the original prefaces, the anthologization of “all the scriptures” was coextensive with the story of Daoshi’s life.

Other biographic information that Daoshi seems to disclose about himself in *A Grove of Pearls*, on second glance, become opaque. Behind what have been taken to be Daoshi’s original words lie the imagery, phrases, and intentions of past literary worthies, “sewn” into new forms for future rhetors to make still further use. In the “Explaining the Meaning” preface to Chapter 100 of *A Grove of Pearls*, titled “Records,” Daoshi, pondering the magnificence of Chinese and Buddhist literary worlds and his literary life in it, writes:

When I was young, I studied [Duke Wen of] Zhou and [Master] Kong’s classics.²⁰
Older, I admired Huang [Emperor] and [Master] Lao’s words of mystery.²¹
Neither go beyond the River of Suffering, and still sink one into the House of Flames.
What is long-lasting and great is only the teaching of the Buddha!²²

吾 少習周孔之文典；
晚慕黃老之玄言。
俱是 未越苦河，猶淪火宅。

¹⁸ DTNDL, T no. 2149.j5.283c08–09; KYL, T no. 2154.j8.562c26; Zhenyuan lu, T no. 2157.j12.863a09–10.

¹⁹ ZJYJ, T no. 2123.j1.1a21–22; KYL, T no. 2154.j8.562c26–28; ZYL, T no. 2157.j12.863a11–12.

²⁰ The roles of the Duke of Zhou as author (of the *Books of Rites* and *Music*) and Confucius as commentator-anthologist (of the *Books of Changes* and *Odes*) has previously been alluded to in the essay, T no. 2122.j100.1019a26–27.

²¹ The Yellow Emperor and Laozi had not been praised yet in the essay, though popular transcendents (Zuo) Yufang (AKA Zuo Ci), Ge Zhichuan (AKA Ge Hong), and Heshang Gong (AKA the “Master on the River”), sometimes associated with “religious Daoism,” had been ridiculed, j100.1019a28.

²² j100.1019b16–17.

可久可大，其惟佛教也歟。

Modern biographers of Daoshi quote these lines to offer some substance to the man.²³ In these lines, he is not only a lifelong reader and lover of China's two other great religious traditions, hailing them with names adherents would respect (Ruhism's textual tradition is the "canon of classics" [*wendian*]; Daoism's are the "words of mystery" [*xuanyan*]), he recognizes Buddhism's (*fojiao*) superiority. Their immediate context was to introduce the final chapter of *A Grove of Pearls*, a mini-catalog on a single scroll tabulating a history of Buddhist scriptural translation (Section 2); Chinese Buddhist composition and collection (Section 3); a taxonomy of *Prajñāpāramitā* assemblies (Section 4); imperial sponsorship of Buddhism (Section 5); and a chronology squaring the time of the Buddha with ancient Chinese annals (Section 6).²⁴ As a kind of final commentary on the totality of Buddhist text, the completion of the anthology, and the resolution of a long, literary life, Daoshi's autobiographical lines sound a triumphant major chord. Beyond dramatizing the fulfillment of Buddhist scripturality, Chinese religious traditions, and Daoshi's long career, these lines also echo one of the opening themes of Li Yan's foreword, that of Buddhist textuality's complementarity to and dwarving of Chinese classical written traditions, proffered once more at the beginning of fascicle 100.

Unfortunately, much of the final essay, including the autobiographical lines, appears to have been borrowed from the Sui-period (589–618) scholar-monk Yancong's 彦琮 (557–610) apologetic work, the *Treatise on the Common and the Extreme* (*Tongji lun* 通極論), conveniently collected in fascicle 4 of Daoxuan's *Extended Collection on Propagation and Clarifying*

²³ Chen 2001, 51; Kawaguchi 1976, 795; Fu 1994, 160; and Wu 2009, 37. Liu Yusong 劉毓崧 (1818–1867) may have been one of the first to draw attention to this passage as a reference to Daoshi's age (1920, j12.7.416), citing it to argue that Daoshi embraced Daoism (and subsequently Buddhism) late in life.

²⁴ Most of these sections have data that appears to have been either directly transposed or freely adapted from several other contemporaneous sources, including patches from Daoxuan's and Sengyou's scriptural catalogs; Daoxuan and Xuanzang's geographical works; and apologetic work authored by Falin and Yancong (sometimes re-compiled by Daoxuan).

(*Guang hongming ji*, T no. 2103).²⁵ This textual borrowing throws into question modern biographers' assumptions about Daoshi having authored the passage to speak about himself. The character "I" (吾 吾) had been borrowed from Yancong's self-disclosing lines: perhaps, for Daoshi, the sentiment Yancong expressed felt personal to him as well. But perhaps, too, he shared this sentiment in *A Grove of Pearls* because the lines felt universal, and worthy for further use and inspiration. Yancong's first two original lines, in fact, were even more geographically specific:

When I was young, growing up in Shandong, I esteemed the elegant works of the Un-crowned King (Confucius);
in my later years I travelled to Guanyou (in present-day Shaanxi) where I admired Huang [Emperor] and [Master] Lao's mysterious words.

吾 少長山東，尚素王之雅業。
晚遊關右，慕黃老之玄言。

Yancong recounts an autobiography of learning to defend the superiority of Buddhism's karmic account of history against Ruhist detractors. Like his opponents he grew up Confucian and plunged into Daoism after he matured, though he argues that whatever the merits of these teachings, what the Buddha taught supersedes it all. Perhaps, like Yancong too, opponents and other readers of his essay were drawn to the capital of the Sui in the land where Laozi taught, and perhaps they could sympathize with Yancong's aging and movement. At any rate, the dynastic house he served in his younger days, the Northern Qi, had held sway over present-day northeastern China, including Shandong, the land of Confucius, until the Northern Zhou had conquered it

²⁵ Full translation by Zui Tō no shisō to shakai kenkyūhan 1977 and 1979. Aside from the opening and closing of the essay, the rest of the "Explaining the Meaning" appears to have been adapted from Yancong's essay (1019a10–b12; b15–20). Daoshi borrows it to speak of the greatness of the Buddha, the multifariousness of his dharma, and the successive and multiple means by which Chinese translators and exegetes have made it accessible to China all the way up to the age of Xuanzang. Other "Explaining the Meaning" sections composed by Daoshi (5.1; 5.10; 5.13; 5.14) make use of overlapping portions of Yancong's *Tongji lun* featured in the "Explaining the Meaning" introduction to *FYZL* 100.

in 577. Yancong's biography by Daoxuan places his ancestral home in present-day Hebei (greater Shandong?), and there he had long been a monk since the age of ten.²⁶ The anti-Buddhist Northern Zhou had forced Yancong to laicize, but offered him a position as a scholar of the "three mysteries" associated with medieval "philosophical" Daoism: the *Book of Changes*, *Laozi*, and *Zhuangzi*. Finally, the Sui conquest of Northern Zhou allowed Yancong to return formally to Buddhism, to pen autobiographical lines that stretched the truth.

In the adaptation found in *A Grove of Pearls*, Daoshi (or some interceding figures) omits the geographical reference. What is more, Daoshi materializes the "elegant works" as a "canon of classics," doubles the "Uncrowned King" into two figures to match the Yellow Emperor and Laozi, and two lines of four and six characters become shortened into two lines of seven. His trimming of the passage facilitates its generalizability. Yancong's autobiographical fiction, crafted to address recent shifts in political and religious regimes, is developed into a generic gentlemanly voice that Daoshi imagines can speak to and for an early Tang audience of Buddhists.²⁷ This Buddhist audience would be eager to share and make use of their literary tradition in a world that was equally Confucian and Daoist, and to speak as respectful renunciants of these revered traditions. The other passages Daoshi borrows from Yancong for his essay develop these sentiments, his awe of books, love of learning, and confidence in Buddhism's unsurpassibility, even further.²⁸

The figure of Daoshi is ever elusive: nearly every mention of him across history points scholars back to his anthology.²⁹ When one turns to the anthology, the compiler is nowhere in

²⁶ Here and below I follow Jülch 2012, 10–11.

²⁷ On Daoshi's borrowing lines from Huijiao's *GSZ*, see Chapter Three, Part 4 below.

²⁸ j100.1019a20–b12 and b15–19 borrow from Yancong's *Tongji lun*. Other "Explaining the Meanings" that share materials with this essay include those for seven of the fifteen sections for "Chapter 5: A Thousand Buddhas": Sections 5.5, 5.7, 5.8, 5.9, 5.11, 5.13, and 5.14.

²⁹ Other scholars have traced some of the other leads: the titles of his other works, mostly concentrated in *FYZL* and *DTNDL* themselves; two or three other references in Daoxuan's other works. One unexplored avenue is a text preserved as *X* no. 743, a regulations commentary, *Pini taoyao*, attributed to one Xuanyun of the Tang, sharing much in common with Daoxuan's *XSC*.

particular because he is everywhere at once, citing “all the scriptures” and making other authors’ words his own. In fact, much of the paratext in *A Grove of Pearls*—especially the opening “explaining the meaning” sections of chapters and sections and the chapter-closing verses—is also shared by the thirty-fascicle *GHMJ* and other Liang and Tang period Buddhist collections.³⁰ The voice of the author known as “Daoshi” has been formed by retooling the compositions of his predecessors and trafficking in the collections of his contemporaries. Reading scriptures and other holy texts his whole life, he becomes consubstantial with them as an anthologist, pointing to and polishing pearls. Daoshi may have been pleased to have remained so elusive, a finger pointing to his *Grove of Pearls* and the Buddha’s “*Garden of Dharma*” of which it partook.

3. Unpacking the Title

Paul Griffiths begins his discussion of “anthology defined”:

Religious readers are in search of flowers. They find them, naturally enough, in the works they read, the gardens they work: these gardens are full of fragrant blooms to be culled, carefully pruned, and rearranged into new bouquets. Making such bouquets often requires the composition and use of one of the most characteristically religious genres, some of the names of which are anthology, enchiridion, chrestomathy, and samuccaya...³¹

Contrasted against his formal definition further down the page of “anthology [as] a work [where] all (or almost all) of [the] words are taken from another work or works; it contains a number (typically quite a large number) of extracts or excerpts, each of which has been taken verbatim (or almost so) from some other work; and it uses some device to mark the boundaries of these excerpts,”³² his elaborate evocation of the root metaphor in the etymology of “anthology” would express a deeper truth about the religious nature of reading anthology as a premodern might. Such a task, the anthology-as-garden metaphor suggests, requires enclosure, discretion, and free

³⁰ See Page 214, note 82 below.

³¹ 1999, 97.

³² Griffiths 1999, 97.

time—the whole person and not merely her critical faculty. The ends of compiling and consuming anthology are for the enjoyment of scriptural flowers that offer both sustenance and pleasure.

The preface to Daoshi's anthology similarly waxes rapturous on the anthology-as-garden metaphor: from the perspective of compilation, Li Yan writes that “[Daoshi] plucked the best flowers from the garden of literature, sniffed out the jasmine blossoms of the great meaning, and with categories he compiled it”; and as closing instruction to the reader, “I hope that you may... seize its abstruse phrases, explore the scrolls to obtain the wishing jewels; track the rectified way, unroll the texts to drink the sweet dew.”³³ The preface invites its reader to regard a specific set of one hundred scrolls precisely as so many bouquets of flowers plucked from a garden, to be sniffed and drunk in turn.

It would be tempting to simply juxtapose Li Yan's depiction of *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* against Griffiths's imagination of the anthology to insist on the *A Grove of Pearls* as a paragon for a genre: Chinese Buddhists also had anthologies, and they also read them religiously. But as discussed in Chapter One, the generic term would have been unrecognizable to *A Grove*'s earliest audiences. For them, it could not have been read as an “anthology” or even as a *leishu*, for it was only *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*. It is true that approaching *A Grove of Pearls* as a Griffithsian anthology can offer the scholar some clues about what it was to make and read it. What might it mean, though, to approach *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* as a grove of pearls from the garden of dharma? Through what kind of semiotic ideologies and generic systems would *A Grove of Pearls* make sense? What, above all, should modern scholars make of “a grove (or forest) of pearls,” that scintillating metaphorical mixture? I argue below that *Garden of Dharma* can be understood as its own medieval Chinese Buddhist anthological tradition, which *A Grove of Pearls* self-consciously appropriated. The very title of the work encourages its compiler, prefacer, and audience to participate in a Mahāyāna Buddhist imagination of written dharma as a treasure-plant to be thoughtfully

³³ Appendix H, paragraphs 11 and 14.

mined/cultivated, replanted/stored, and displayed/consumed through the anthology: the following parts of the chapter describe scriptural and parascriptural instances of “groves of pearls” (*zhulin*), “dharma groves” (*falin*), and “dharma gardens” (*fayuan*) in the *Taishō* in order to show how the title of Daoshi’s anthology resonates with Chinese Buddhism’s deep metaphors for scripture.

3.1 “A Grove of Pearls...”

The word “Grove of Pearls” or *zhulin* only appears in two contexts³⁴ in the extant *Taishō* canon before it is appropriated as a name for Daoshi’s anthology and is cited and quoted as early as 664 in three of Daoxuan’s late works,³⁵ contemporaneous with its period of revision. In the earliest context, it appears eight times at the end of the fifty-first and beginning of the fifty-second fascicle of the *Bases of Mindfulness on the True Dharma Scripture* (*Zhengfa nianchu jing* 正法念處經, *Saddharma-smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra* T no. 721),³⁶ a scripture commonly quoted by Daoshi in *A Grove*, translated by Gautama Prajñāruci from 538–541 at Ye, the capital of the Northern Wei (386–535). In the work’s mapping out of the Five Paths of Rebirth, the chapter on the Gods takes up more than half of the fascicles (22–63 out of 70), and “grove of pearls” can be found in the section on the Yāma heavens (fascicles 36–63), the third highest of six Desire Heavens extending up over Mount Sumeru.³⁷ These paradisaical realms, which readers of the scripture are en-

³⁴ There exist far more instances in the *Taishō* canon of the word “Grove of Treasures” (*baolin*) in pre- and early-Tang translated Buddhist scriptures, which also became the name of a famous Chinese monastery and eponymous Chan scripture.

³⁵ *DTNDL*, T no. 2149.j5.283c03 and j10.332c21 (historical and subject catalog respectively); *GTL*, T no. 2106.j3.435a18 (postface); *GHMJ*, T no. 2103.j20.246b12 (Li Yan’s preface preserved here).

³⁶ The pioneering study of this encyclopedic work is Lin Li-Kouang 1949. As Lin 1949, 1, 121–2, explains, by “mindfulness” (*nianchu*, *smṛty-upasthāna*), the title of the work does not indicate the classic four bases of mindfulness in the context of meditative practice or the abhidharma literature, but rather in a more expansive sense to comprise all knowable dharma in the universe as objects of human thought.

³⁷ As Lin 1949, 55, notes, the section on the Yāma heavens alone takes up over a third of the work—and these marvelous descriptions of the thirty-two locations within Yāma’s heavens are distributed unevenly, as ten and a half fascicles are spent discussing the sixth place and no fascicles are spent discussing the seventeenth through thirty-second locations. The long section on Yāma’s heavens is one of only two sections of which Lin was unable to find corresponding texts in related Chinese Buddhist Āgama scriptures, apparently unique to *Bases of Mindfulness*. Predating Prajñāruci’s translation, Baochang’s excerpt from *Anomalous Phenomena* on Yāma Heavens cites from the *Long Āgamas*, and the commentarial notes indicate similarities and discrepancies in its account from the *Great Wisdom Treatise* (T no. 1509), the *Three Dharma Perfections Scripture* (T no. 1506), the *Lokasthāna Scripture*

joined to visualize, are populated with variously enumerated wondrous pools, trees, gardens, and groves for the Yāma gods to play in. More specifically, the term “Groves of Pearls” can be found in the eighth of thirty-two locations in the Yāma heavens, “Perfected” (*chengjiu* 成就, **siddha*, fascicles 51–2). “Accomplishment” is portrayed as a supreme delight for all of the senses, garden groves and lotus pools in a varied landscape in which gods and goddesses may copulate.³⁸ The Goose-King (*ewang* 鵝王, *hamsarāja*) and his friends preach against this dissipation (*fangyi* 放逸, *pramāda*), singing three verses on the possibility of escaping life-and-death, only to be ignored each time: the revelers are reminded that after spending their reward for past good behavior, they will die and be reborn outside of heaven, but immediately lose themselves in the pleasures of divine music, flavors, and flesh. In the “Goose Grove” (*elin* 鵝林), jeweled geese enjoy one another’s bodies and the gods follow suit.

Within the Goose Grove is manifested the “Grove of Jewels” (*baozhulin* 寶珠林) which can be espied from faraway places, with its supreme light. Moreover, it contains one-hundred thousand lights, a net over this location. Even the gods are unable to see it—less so may gods from the world below, the thirty-three gods, or the gods of the four heavens see it! But this heavenly Grove of Jewels has light that the gods may emit on command, and has jewels that can be made into halls that can fly through space. There are holes in the jewels in which gods may sit—they fly through space, playing around in delight. It is because of their good karma that they can make jewels into halls that can fly through space. Like this, in the jewel there are heavenly groves and lotus ponds: all kinds of wooded groves, spread all over the land, with many mountain peaks filled with the sound of birds.³⁹

彼鵝林中，見寶珠林，遠處遙見，第一光明。復有百千光明，羅網其處。諸天尚不能看，況下地天、三十三天、四天王天，而能看耶。彼天珠林，如是光明，若天欲

(*T* no. 26), and the *Flower Adornment*. *T* no. 2121.j2.2a27–b05. While *A Grove of Pearls* incorporates quotations from *Bases of Mindfulness*—in cosmographic sections including “2.2 Heavens” and “4.1 Heavens”—it does not incorporate any quotes concerning the “Groves of Jewels” one finds in Yāma heavens.

³⁸ There is a section in the *Bases of Mindfulness*—the description of the fourth of thirty-two locations in the Yāma heavens—that explains how gods copulate with one another in each of the six heavens. While sexual congress is consummated without release of semen in the first heaven and through mere embrace in the second, in the Yāma heavens the deed is accomplished by sharing a conversation. Cf. Lin 1949, 55.

³⁹ Check Lin’s translation of this paragraph and next. *T* no. 721.j51.304b17–24.

發；如是寶珠，為作堂舍，行虛空中。珠內有孔，天坐其中，飛行虛空遊戲受樂。以善業故，珠為堂舍，行於虛空。如是珠中，有天園林蓮華水池，種種樹林，分分地處，多有山峯，饒鳥音聲。

This early instance of “Grove of Pearls” comprises not just a fabulous destination into which one is reborn by observing the Buddhist precepts, but also a dangerous trap. Beautiful, sexual, and fun, this “Grove of Pearls” comprises a serious distraction, and the scripture notes several times at the beginning of this section that in this lush, arboreal realm, the senses are completely enflamed, and gods reborn here are like moths or firewood.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, this passage indicates the degree to which Buddhist paradises were places where metaphors for flourishing could mix wildly. A “Grove of Jewels” marks out a space for that which “cannot even be analogized” (*buke piyu* 不可譬喻):⁴¹ a passage like the one quoted above plays with inconceivabilities of quantity, depth, direction, and size in what was considered to be a “Small Vehicle” scripture.

In the more proximate context, “grove of pearls” appears in four copies of a single piece of correspondence directed to eminent scholar-monk Xuanzang 玄奘 from the Emperor Taizong, where in 648.6 the Emperor thanks Xuanzang for allowing him the opportunity to write a preface to the scriptures Xuanzang had newly translated, having only returned to China three years prior.⁴²

Our endowment is less brilliant than jade, and we are ashamed that our words are not broad and extensive. As regards Buddhist texts, we are particularly unacquainted. The preface we composed yesterday is very awkward and unpolished, and we fear that we might dirty your golden strips with our brush and ink, or that we might mark your **grove of pearls** with my shard pebble. I have now received your letter, in which you overpraise us with high com-

⁴⁰ T no. 721.j51.303a17–26.

⁴¹ Offered nine times, T no. 721.j52.305a09–c02.

⁴² According to the narrative of Xuanzang’s official biography, the emperor had just been in discussion with Xuanzang about his ongoing translation of the hundred-fascicle *Yoga Stages Treatise* (*Yujia shidi lun*, *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* T no. 1579). See Li 1995, 193–4, translating *Da Tang Da ci’en si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺法師傳 T no. 2053.j6.255c25–256a11, attributed to Huili and Yancong, completed in 688.

mendation. After making retrospection and consideration of ourselves, it made us feel all the more ashamed. It is not good enough to be praised and is unworthy of your thanks.⁴³

帝省表復，手報書曰：「朕才謝珪璋，言慚博達，至於內典，尤所未閑。昨製序文，深為鄙拙，唯恐穢翰墨於金簡，標瓦礫於珠林。忽得來書，謬承褒讚，循躬省慮，彌益厚顏。蓋不足稱，空勞致謝。」

In Taizong's short reply, "heap of pearls" and "piece of rubble" parallel structurally "golden plates" (*jinjian* 金簡) and "writing" (*hanmo* 翰墨, lit. "brush and ink"), using the materiality of writing to dramatize the distance between the ordinary and the precious. With his invocation of a heap of pearls (*zhulin*), Taizong not only pays homage to Xuanzang's vast and worthy literary output, but also highlights the distinction between glorious Buddhism and worldly empire that Buddhists are fond of drawing, and underscores the extended metaphor of the jewel-like, amassable nature of sacred writings running throughout Taizong's preface, Xuanzang's grateful reply, and Taizong's final response.⁴⁴ The counterposed "piece of rubble" (*wali*) can be found in Chinese poetic tradition: in "Quenching the Light" (Zhuzhao 株昭) of his *Nine Regrets* (*Jiuhuai* 九懷), Wang Bao 王褒 (1st c.) laments that "**shards and stones** are prized as jewels, Sui and He [are] rejected" 瓦礫進寶兮，捐棄隨和，⁴⁵ iterating throughout the first half of his poem the well-worn topoi of moral and aesthetic judgment by the worthy in political exile. Rubble is a recurring object of contemplation in Chinese Buddhist translations, found piled with grass, clods,

⁴³ Modifying Li 1995, 201. Translating *T* no. 2053.j6.257a12–17, with near parallel transcriptions at *T* no. 2052.j1.218b02–06; *T* no. 2060.j4.456c18–22; *T* no. 2103.j22.259a06–10.

⁴⁴ "...how can the dew of immortality and lustrous pearls (*xianlu mingzhu*) be a match for [Xuanzang's] brilliance and resplendence (*langrun*)? 仙露明珠詎能方其朗潤 [...Having gone to India to study, the] texts of the Eight Stores and Three Baskets (*bazang sanqie*) were lectured on fluently through his mouth" 八藏三篋之文，波濤於口海 (198–9; 256b28; c11–12). Xuanzang replies that he "humbly think[s] that Your Majesty, the Emperor, condescended to make inquiries of me with your jade writing brush (*yuhao*), and that your Golden Wheel (*jinlun*) is driven across the sky" 伏惟 皇帝陛下玉毫降質，金輪御天 (200; 256c28–9). While each author maintains that only the other's writing may be described in terms of precious metals and stones, both share the tendency to draw connections between sacred writings, writing instruments, and writers. A few years later, the Crown Prince (future Emperor Gaozong) would also initiate correspondence with Xuanzang in this vein.

⁴⁵ Hawkes 1985, 277. Hawkes identifies "Sui and He" as allusions to "two priceless jewels—the pearl of the Marquess of Sui and the the jade of Bian He" (p. 279).

sand, shit, and thorns as metaphors for insignificance and impurity; as a useful metaphor in Chinese Buddhist essay and commentary as well, rubble contrasts with precious stones in availability and value.⁴⁶ In this age that he presides over, Taizong claims, unlike that of Wang Bao's, rubble and jewels can be properly discriminated and measured against one another. What is more, under such a reign, heroes like Xuanzang can return to China, produce jewels, and accumulate them en masse. Nonetheless, Xuanzang and Taizong's carefully choreographed exchange of jeweled compliments performs the mutually legitimizing relationship between world-renouncer and world-ruler, laying bare the truth that both emperor and eminent translator monk need one another to appraise and affirm the great value of each other's writings. Truly, Taizong's preface could not have been regarded as rubble by Chinese Buddhists, but a jewel among jewels: if Xuanzang and the Buddhist community took Taizong's self-deprecatory label for his writing seriously, they would not need to reproduce his preface to Xuanzang's work and the exchange that followed it.

Daoshi does not state his reasons for naming his anthology "A Grove of Pearls," nor does he suggest that the title is an allusion to a few paragraphs of description of one particular heaven in *Bases of Mindfulness* or to Xuanzang and Taizong's correspondence. Later Chinese Buddhist historians and scholars in interpreting this work have not drawn these inter-scriptural connections either. In choosing "Grove of Pearls," it is doubtful that Daoshi wanted to direct his audience's gaze toward the eighth subheaven "Accomplishment" within the third heaven of Yāma among the six heavens of the Desire Realm. There is a higher likelihood that Daoshi and his audience would have been familiar with Taizong's use of "grove of pearls." The correspondence was copied under Daoxuan's direction in separate two compilations, his collection of hagiographies and

⁴⁶ Mouzi's interlocutor, in contrasting the voluminousness of the Buddhist writings against the core "seven classics of [Confucius] the sage," writes that "the perfect truth is not flowery; the perfect style is not ornate. Words are all the more beautiful to grasp when concise; the phenomenon is all the more brilliant to watch when rare. This is because pearls and jade, which are rare, are costly, while fragments of tile, which abound, are of little value." Pelliot 1918, 294 also identifies a passage in the *Book of Rites* 48 where Zigong questions Confucius about whether jade is valued because it is rare, and Confucius replies that it is valued because it resembled qualities of benevolence to the ancients (350; cf. tr. Legge 1885, 2.463–4).

his collection of apologetic material.⁴⁷ Both Daoxuan and Daoshi translated for Xuanzang at the newly constructed Hongfu Monastery in Chang'an.⁴⁸ It is not inconceivable that Daoshi chose a title for his work that indexed a particular moment in time when one of the most imperially recognized Chinese Buddhist scholar-monks was able to turn Taizong into their champion, from an emperor who earlier in his reign often threatened the interests of Chinese Buddhists and had enforced limits on the growth of the Chinese sangha.⁴⁹ There is also, so far as I can find, no evidence that Daoshi's *A Grove of Pearls* in form or content is in any sense inspired by Xuanzang's thought or school of philosophy, nor does it necessarily prefer citing from Xuanzang's "new" translations.⁵⁰ As an historical allusion, the title "Grove of Pearls" serves to index for Daoshi's contemporaries and posterity the author and work's proximity to the great Xuanzang and Taizong in place and time, a high point for state-sangha relations and Buddhist literary production.

As an allusion to translated Buddhist scriptures, "Grove of Pearls" does not appear to have derived from any particular, concrete translation of something Indic into something Chinese in a Buddhist scripture. It merely evokes the thousands of descriptions of paradises filled with gardens and jewels where Buddhas and their disciples preached and practiced Buddhist teachings, or paradises where dedicated Buddhist practice of one kind or another may eventually lead. And it reminds would-be audiences of the centrality of metaphors of wealth and vegetation in Buddhist teaching and self-understanding. My detour through *Bases of Mindfulness* suggests that the specific coinage "Grove of Pearls" was used to describe an ambiguous paradise. This is indeed a higher realm that one can be mindful of and be reborn in by being a good Buddhist. One

⁴⁷ Both these works may have neared their final forms in the period between Xuanzang's and Daoxuan's deaths (664–667), though Xuanzang's biography in *XGSZ* was likely revised after Daoxuan's death based on Huli's full text. Fujiyoshi 2002, 179–244.

⁴⁸ Fujiyoshi 2002, 151–2, 163, places Daoshi alongside Daoxuan in Xuanzang's translation project at Hongfu in the late 640s. Fu 1994, 168–72, concurs, and emending Zanning's account, also places Daoshi at Da ci'en Monastery, where Xuanzang was abbot, from 648 to 658, when he moves to Ximing Monastery where Daoxuan is installed abbot (and Xuanzang is installed there to translate for a short period in 658).

⁴⁹ Chen Yu-jen 1992, 243–5; Weinstein 1982, 11–27.

⁵⁰ See Newhall 2014, 200, for Xuanzang's likely influence on Daoxuan's "essence of the precepts" (*jieti*).

exists as a god here, and enjoys indulging in indescribably wondrous sensuous treats that constitute one's postmortem reward. But the food, wine, music, company, and “jeweled grove” setting one enjoys here can be fatal to the ultimate project of liberation.⁵¹ The limitlessness of this heaven's physical layout—jewels within groves within jewels within groves—seems to echo the limitlessness of its denizens' desires and resultant cycles through death and rebirth, and its representation in writing is simultaneously enchanting and terrifying. But Daoshi, as the prefaces argue, would preserve only the positive connotations of a “Grove of Pearls”: the multitudes and depths of scriptures are precisely the obstacle he has endeavored to overcome, and its “jewels” and “plants” no longer function as mere ornaments, setting, or distraction, but pieces of writing which are eminently valuable, which is to say, beautiful and usable. But it is only through looking at how a “Dharma Garden” (*fayuan*) comes to mean what it means that we can see more clearly how “A Grove of Pearls” (*zhulin*) is refigured from an otherworldly location ideal for the preaching or putting into practice of wondrous Buddhist teachings into a metaphor for the acts of composition and compilation and the name of a particular anthology.

3.2 *Vimalakīrti's “Garden of Dharma”*

The word “Dharma Garden” or *fayuan* 法苑 could have referred to Deer Garden (*mṛgadāva*, *luyeyuan* 鹿野苑 or *luyuan* 鹿苑), near Varanasi, where the Buddha preached his first sermon, Bamboo Garden (*zhuyuan*, *veṇuvana*, 竹苑), near Rājagṛha, where he gave more sermons, or Jetavana Park (*qiyuan* 祇園, *qihuan lin* 祇洹林), in Śrāvastī, where the Buddha preached many sermons more, but the word *fayuan* was never used to indicate these precise locations in the scriptures. What is clear is that in Chinese Buddhist scriptures of all kinds, words like garden (*yuan* 苑), park (*yuan* 園), and grove (*lin* 林)—singularly or in combination, with or without

⁵¹ On the contradictory tendencies of the Heavens of the Desire Realms, see Lin 1949, 21–3. Lin recounts that later in the scripture, in the 59th and 60th fascicle, the Yāma heavens King, the Goose King, and the Peacock King of the Yāma heavens are able to defeat Māra and allow the Yāma heavens' inhabitants to obtain enlightenment. At the same time, while the text indicates Māra's domain as the sixth and highest heaven in the Desire Realms, this is also the happiest place in which a devoted Buddhist practitioner could possibly be reborn.

further denomination—indicated settings for the Buddha and his disciples to preach, study, meditate, worship, and delight, even and especially after his nirvana when they became monastic complexes (*vihāra*, *jingshe* 精舍; *sanghārāma*, *qielan* 伽藍) and sites of pilgrimage.⁵² When the character for “dharma” is placed before these words, they designated no “dharma gardens,” “dharma parks,” or “dharma groves” in particular but rather both paradisiacal points of origin for the Dharma or utopian teloi that one could reach in this life or the next by upholding the Dharma. This is especially true in scriptures that the Chinese took to be teachings of the Great Vehicle that envisioned and took place in groves, gardens, and parks to host ever more Bodhisattvas and the Buddhists they could rescue. Below, I explore an instance where “dharma park” and “dharma grove” appear in popular Buddhist translations before the late fifth century—I look at how they are construed in their immediate contexts and draw out their broader implications for Chinese Buddhist thought about the Dharma as being locatable to a verdant, recreational place.⁵³

“Dharma Grove” (*falin*) is an especially popular coinage in Chinese Buddhist translations and commentaries, showing up in translations putatively created during the Three Kingdoms Period (220–280) and both Northern and Southern Dynasties (420–589), as well as in Sui and Tang (581–907) scriptures and commentaries and on down through second millennium compositions. A cursory look at the term in the *Vimalakīrti* is suggestive for thinking through Daoshi’s title for his anthology—this reading limns a broader discourse of metaphorical possibilities through which dharma could be imagined among a Chinese Buddhist elite, especially as scholars have established the broad popularity of the *Vimalakīrti* among medieval Chinese Buddhists.⁵⁴ “Dharma Grove” figures in the summary verse of two early translations of the eighth chapter of the *Vimalakīrti Scripture* (*Foshuo Weimojie jing* T no. 474, *Weimojie suoshuo jing* T

⁵² On the potency of Chinese characters “garden,” “park,” or “grove” for denominating monastic space, see Griffith Foulk’s entry for “monastery/temple” 寺 in the Digital Dictionary of Buddhism which elaborates on Chan/Zen terminology for temples and monasteries. (2015-08-03); Robson 2010, 45–6, dilates further on terminology for the Chinese Buddhist monastery.

⁵³ On the aristocratic culture of building and enjoying “natural” parks in urban spaces, see Lewis 2009, 94–102.

⁵⁴ Mather 1968.

no. 475).⁵⁵ in Zhi Qian’s second-century translation—“[A bodhisattva’s] incantations make his garden (yuanyou 苑囿) / flowers of awakening intensify the marvelous joy / here the fruits of crossing-knowledge are seen / there the trees of the Dharma Grove (falin 法林) are great” and in Kumārajīva’s 5th century verse—“In the garden (yuanyuan 園苑) of [a bodhisattva’s] incantation / and the trees of the uncontaminated Dharma Grove (falin 法林) / the pure and wonderful flowers of awakening intentions / and the wisdom fruits of liberation.”⁵⁶ The layman Vimalakīrti explains to the Bodhisattva Sarvarūpasamdarśana that it is in a Dharma Grove incanted (*zongchi* “comprehensively grasped or maintained”)⁵⁷ by a Bodhisattva where marvelous goals like awakening and liberation can be cultivated.

I will restrict myself to two comments here about the word “Dharma Grove” appearing here in a gāthā of the *Vimalakīrti*. First, the speaker of the verse is not the Buddha as represented in the scriptural corpus of the so-called Lesser Vehicle: in full-fledged, Mahāyāna fashion, the speaker is the wealthy householder bodhisattva Vimalakīrti of urban Vaiśālī, who in further verses promises that bodhisattvas can and will manifest in any and all forms for the liberation of sentient beings. This means that “dharma gardens,” “parks,” or “groves” are no longer tethered to places Śākyamuni physically resided and taught in—they can be conjured at will in any time and any place, transformed into being by those skilled in liberative technique.

⁵⁵ Space does not permit rehashing of entire literature on Vimalakīrti. Silk 2014 as recent review and reflection on the work’s relative unpopularity in Sanskrit and Tibetan Buddhist scholasticism and relative popularity in East Asian Buddhism and contemporary Buddhist Studies.

⁵⁶ According to the Sanskrit manuscript, *falin* may comprise a gloss of *dharmadhana*, or a “wealth of dharma” (SGBSL 2004 2006); and “great wealth of the Dharma” is how Thurman reads the Tibetan. Cf. McRae 2009, 136 for an alternative translation of this verse from Kumārajīva. Kumārajīva’s immediate circle did not think to scan this verse in such a way that would make the word “Dharma Grove” (*falin*). See Kumārajīva, Sengzhao, and Daosheng’s glossing of the second line to Kumārajīva’s translation in their *Commentary on the Vimalakīrti Scripture (Zhu Weimojie jing, T no. 1775, 393c19–21)*. “[Dao]sheng explains: ‘the uncontaminated dharma’ refers to its being so deeply rooted that it cannot be pulled out. And its principle is eminent and supports branches, forming the shape of a ‘tree.’ ‘Contaminated dharma’ cannot obtain any space between the trees, the meaning of a ‘grove.’” Xuanzang’s translation (*T no. 476*), more grammatically faithful to a source text, perhaps, but less popular than Kumārajīva’s: “[The bodhisattva’s] incantations make the garden (yuanyuan) / the Great Dharma forms its grove trees / [with] flower garlands of awakening factors / and fruits of liberative wisdom.” “Uncontaminated” (*wulou*) is unseen in ZQ and XZ’s translations as well as the recently recovered Sanskrit manuscript.

⁵⁷ On *zongchi*, see note in Appendix H, paragraph 5.

Second, the metaphorical structures of the verse have become reconfigured as well: a superficial reading of the verse suggests that bodhisattvas provide diverse and spectacular religious attainments in plentitude for their followers through “growing” or “cultivating” dharma—Buddhist teachings in mental, oral, or written form. This verse in *Vimalakīrti* appears to draw together vegetal images and concepts from throughout early Indian and Chinese Buddhist scriptures—openings or teachings in terms of flowers, achievements and karmic retribution in terms of fruits, and the Buddhadharma itself as trees, groves, gardens.⁵⁸ But in the context of the verse, attainments like awakening and liberation are not so much arrived at through followers’ study and practice of the mediating dharma—or even through inevitable karmic mechanism—as it is conferred directly by a beneficent householder. Neither translation offers any clear indication that “flowers of awakening” or “fruits of liberation” are to have grown directly from the “trees of the Dharma Grove,” suggesting that fruits, flowers, and trees are merely three separate products of the Bodhisattva’s spell-garden. This seems especially the case in Zhi Qian’s translation, which grants parallel positions—second of five—for the characters “flowers” (*hua*), “fruits” (*shi*) and “trees” (*shu*) in the second, third, and fourth lines of the verse. Xuanzang’s 650 translation insists more strongly on the parallel, if not equivalence, between “garden” (*yuanyuan*) and “grove” (*linshu*), but, again, they are not settings as much as they are possessions. The sequence as presented in Thurman’s translation of the Tibetan (“garden,” “flowers,” “trees,” “fruits”) is unlike that in either Zhi Qian’s or Kumārajīva’s translation (“garden,” “flowers,” “fruits,” “trees”; “garden,” “trees,” “flowers,” “fruits”): at any rate, the sequence of translations and the metaphorical chains they set up suggest perhaps the temporal precedence of flowers and awakening before fruits and liberation, and more importantly, the primacy of the bodhisattva’s garden over its products. Whereas other deployments of vegetal metaphors in Buddhist teachings may highlight the process of time (the maturation of seeds into plants, action into retribution, vows

⁵⁸ Buddhist texts also describe reality and sense-perception in terms of roots, heterogeneity in terms of branches and leaves, and intentions in terms of seeds—but these plant elements are not highlighted by the verse.

into attainments) or the importance of basics (roots and trunks make leaves and branches possible; virtue and study form a foundation for practice and application), this particular verse neglects to map a trajectory of Buddhist practice in order to exalt the transformative powers of the lay bodhisattva figure.

In this sense, it is critical to bear in mind that the verse is the fifth in a series of forty-two verses praising the merits and marvels of bodhisattvas like Vimalakīrti. The first eleven verses establish further metaphorical links between the trappings of a bodhisattva's lush layperson lifestyle and the holy signs and powers of a conventional Buddha: his "mother" and "father" are "wisdom" and "skillful means" respectively (1); his "wife," "children," and "residence" are "joy in dharma," "compassion," "contemplating the meaning of emptiness" (2); his "disciples" and "friends" are "the sense fields" and "the high path" (3); his "companions" and "consorts" are "the perfections" and "the four kindnesses" (4); his "pools" are of "the eight liberations" and his "chariot drivers" are "the five superpowers" (6, 7); his "ornaments" are the "[Buddha's] excellent major and minor characteristics (*xianghao*)" (8); his "food," "drink," and "perfume" are "sweet dew," "understanding," and "the precepts" (11).⁵⁹ In all cases, the possessions of a wealthy person—those things that make him wealthy—are equated to a bodhisattva's internal merits and accomplishments. But this does not present a logic of inversion wherein the trappings of wealth are to be renounced for spiritual attainment as in the story of Prince Siddhārtha; nor is the latter term of the metaphorical series to be preferred over and against the former—*Vimalakīrti* runs against the grain of Buddhist texts, both mainstream and Mahāyāna, which warn against the sex, desire, attachment, and corruption inherent to maintaining a wealthy household. Rather both ends of the metaphor are to be viewed with the same degree of praise and astonishment, for in the case of the bodhisattva posing as a layman they are exactly the same thing. This is not a case where the metaphor (*Vimalakīrti* is wealthy) can be disposed of once the meaning (*Vimalakīrti* is a bodhisattva) has been attained: two Truths are to be held simultane-

⁵⁹ The three extant translations differ here—I have followed Zhi Qian's translation.

ously, only resolving to one or the other from the limited vantage point of someone who is further behind on the path.⁶⁰ It is not just that he is a bodhisattva in spite of the fact that he appears to have renounced renunciation; it is also that he is all the more glamorous and respectable of a householder for having cultivated these religious attainments on top of managing his finances.

While the fifth verse describes the householder-bodhisattva's garden, the ninth verse employs the metaphor of his wealth more explicitly. Zhi Qian translates: "His valuables (*huo* 貨) have the greatness of [the Buddha's] Seven Treasures / to all seekers he confers Dharma. / The returns and profits (*baoli* 報利) obtained are vastly manifold, / following the spread and distribution (*bufen* 布分) of this Way." And Kumārajīva's: "His fortune (*fu* 福) has the Seven Treasured Jewels, /of which he offers teachings to grow profit (*zixi* 滋息). / Cultivating practice as is explained [in the teachings], / the returns on merit (*huixiang* 迴向) are great benefit (*dali* 大利)." What we see here is less the construction of a new set of metaphorical equivalences as much as a drawing out of metaphorical thinking already implicit to Buddhist thought and imagery wherein the teaching is a treasure from which spiritual and material benefit can be juxtaposed. The glorious nature of the wealth of the Dharma had always already been compared to those of the "Seven Treasures" (*qibao* 七寶, *sapnaratna*):⁶¹ while the two translators employ different vocabularies to render the verse into Chinese, readers recognize that the wealth is continually distributed, lent out, and returned to constitute an even greater fortune to lend out even further. And while Kumārajīva's translation (as well as Xuanzang's two centuries later) is more explicit

⁶⁰ Silk 2014 pursues a reading of the Vimalakīrti figure through the lens of Madhyamaka and emptiness, 175–6 and I believe we end up in the same place.

⁶¹ In his commentary, Kumārajīva suggests that the seven treasures are "belief, precepts, learning, renunciation, wisdom, modesty, and shame (*xin jie wen she hui can kui*). Householders can **renounce** their fortune; monastics can **renounce** the Five Desires and afflictions. Because **belief** is good, one can hold the **precepts**; and in holding **precepts**, one can stop evil; in stopping evil, one can practice much good behavior; and in practicing much good behavior, the essentials derive from wide **learning**. Having **learned** the Dharma, then one can **renounce**; and being able to **renounce**, then **wisdom** is born. Thus the sequence of the five is explained. The five are jewels. **Modesty** and **shame** are preserving the person; for the prosperous, preserving the person is also wealth. Therefore the seven are universally called wealth. [Dao]sheng says: there are seven treasures, and their principle is without exhaustion, at the extremes of fortune" (*T* no. 1775, 394c02–09). No language referring to the "seven jewels" can be found in the Xuanzang translation or the Sanskrit manuscript.

about the necessity of the followers or borrowers practicing the teaching in order to reap benefits, all three translations are clear in articulating that the bodhisattva is powerful and generous and the Dharma is reproductive and transferrable.

In the fifth and the ninth verse, the Dharma (called *fa* directly in Zhi Qian) has been compared to both trees and jewels: they are both possessions of the rich householder, and especially in the ninth verse, dharma is conceived as not just impressive, numerous, and transposable but primarily *effective*, productive of benefit, always growing merit. Crucially, dharma is not mere content, but also the container; not just the form, but the material. As *media* it interposes between teacher and followers, worshipped and worshippers, giver and recipients—and in these two verses, between the gardener and comestibles, as his garden or the plants, between the banker and value, as his fortune or the jewels. Sharing qualities of being collectable, growable, partible, consumable, beautiful, and nourishing, the metaphors of dharma as “plant” or “jewel” become transposable themselves. In later verses, where the householder analogy pursued for the first eleven verses is dropped and bodhisattvas reveals their myriad transformations (as any sentient being—up to and including as prostitutes), bodhisattvas are said to be able to transform into medicinal herbs (24: ZQ: *yi yao* 醫藥; K: *yaocao* 藥草; XZ: *liangyao* 良藥) and treasuries (34: ZQ: *zicai wuyouji* 資材無有極; K, XZ: *wujin zang* 無盡藏) directly to alleviate pestilent sickness and mass poverty. Some manifestations (K, XZ: *xianzuo* 顯作) of the bodhisattva teach and lead; and others rescue beings in dire straits as a means to lead them to a more encompassing salvation. From the standpoint of ultimate wisdom, even the distinction between possessors (Buddha) and their possessions (dharma) can be elided.

3.3 Scriptures from the Garden of Dharma

More proximately, however, “Garden of Dharma” must have been a direct reference to two previous Chinese Buddhist anthologies, no longer extant, which had been compiled during late fifth and early sixth centuries: *Scriptures from the Garden of Dharma* (*Fayuan jing* 法苑經) and

Collection from the Garden of Dharma (*Fayuan ji* 法苑集), the latter of which I discussed in the previous chapter. In the Taishō canon at least, the word *fayuan* is not attested before Sengyou's multiple references to these two works in his *Collection of Records on the Production of the Three Baskets* (*Chu sanzang jijī* 出三藏記集). The word *fayuan* becomes more widespread in the received canon during the Tang Dynasty, contemporaneous with and after Daoshi's activities, in Buddhist historiography and catalog (with reference must often to Sengyou and his work); in newly translated scriptures and treatises beginning with Xuanzang's; and in commentarial literature, particularly in what would become the Faxiang school.⁶² Apart from the references to the two Chinese compilations, the word is most commonly found in the works of Xuanzang and his followers, usually as part of the compound "dharma-garden-joy" (*fayuanle*). But even though Daoshi presumably worked with Xuanzang, *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* is better imagined as a descendant of the Southern Dynasties anthologies rather than as a cousin to works in the "Consciousness Only" school that developed out of Xuanzang's circle.

One finds an entry for the *Scriptures from the Garden of Dharma*, ancestor to both Sengyou's and Daoshi's anthologies, capping the end of two lists in the fifth fascicle of Sengyou's catalog, *Production of the Three Baskets*, the first list comprising a "Catalog of Epitomized Scriptures, Newly Collected" (*xinji chaojing lu* 新集抄經錄第一), and the fourth list comprising a "Sir [Dao]an's Catalog of Annotated Scriptures and Miscellaneous Scriptural Records, Newly Collected" (*xinji Angong zhujing ji zajingzhi lu* 新集安公註經及雜經志錄第四).⁶³ Sengyou's entries for this work are worth citing whole.

Scriptures from the Garden of Dharma. 189 fascicles. (This one scripture was collected through extraction [*chaoji*] in recent times; it draws extracts from the many scriptures, and it employs categories for its arrangement. Although it has been given the name *Dharma Garden*, it is finally counted as an epitome [*chao*]. Now we lack this scripture.)

⁶² See Ōno 1964–1978, vol. 10.2d–6d for four pages of entries on Sino-Japanese Buddhist works whose titles begin with "Dharma Garden" (*hō-on*). A majority of these works appear to comment upon or draw from Kuiji's seven-fascicle *Chapters on the Grove of Meanings from the Garden of Dharma of the Great Vehicle* (*Dasheng fayuan yilin zhang*, T no. 1861).

⁶³ Headings at Su and Xiao 1995, 217 and 226.

法苑經，一百八十九卷 此一經近世抄集，撮撰群經，以類相從。雖立號『法苑』，終入抄數。今闕此經。

...

Scriptures from the Garden of Dharma. 189 fascicles.

Epitome of Scriptures Regarding Self-Immolation for the Dharma. 6 fascicles.

These two titles were compiled in recent times, and their exact dates and compilers are unspecified. Completely and comprehensively collecting the many scriptures, they employ categories for their arrangement. Having been⁶⁴ given the name Garden of Dharma, it is thereby doubted that [the former] should be categorized as its own scripture. Therefore we make a note about its name in order to indicate this to future scholars. Although the fascicle count is great, they still [contain or are like] the many [false] scriptures recorded above, and therefore they are not counted in the utmost limits of the titled works.⁶⁵

法苑經，一百八十九卷

抄爲法捨身經，六卷

右二部，蓋近世所集，未詳年代人名。悉總集群經，以類相從。既立號『法苑』，則疑於別經。故注記其名，以示後學。卷數雖多，猶是前錄衆經，故不入部最之限。

These bibliographic entries share language and are similarly laconic. But the words of description could equally be applied to the procedures that Daoshi followed to write *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*: “many scriptures” (*qunjing*) are collected, brought together comprehensively (the first, shorter description further specifies that “excerpts were drawn” [*cuozhuan*] and further that they were “digested and collected”), and “employed categories for their arrangement” (*yilei xiangcong*). Sengyou must have been thinking about this project when he composed his own compilation, the *Collection from the Garden of Dharma*, an important eponymous mediator between the earlier 189-fascicle work and Daoshi’s: it too collects extracts

⁶⁴ Note the resemblance of the character *ji* (“already”) to the character *suo* in the small-character entry.

⁶⁵ Su and Xiao 1995, 221; 231–2. *T* no. 2145.j5.38b02–3; 40c16–18. See the transcription and discussion of these two entries in Ōuchi 1977b, 58–9.

from many scriptures, and, as Sengyou himself writes in its preface, is classified through categories.⁶⁶ While Sengyou must have liked the name and the project of the Qi-period anthology, it seems he may not have been pleased with its size and its sources, because its compilers quoted unreliable scriptures, or unreliable digests of scriptures, or digests of unreliable scriptures, or because the work of digest itself was suspicious.⁶⁷ Furthermore, no one had valued it enough to have preserved it into Sengyou's lifetime. Though it was recently compiled it had already been lost.

Both entries reflect ambivalence about the name and status of the *Scriptures from the Garden of Dharma*. Though it employs the word “scripture” (*jing*) in its name, Sengyou emphatically calls it an “epitome” (*chao*) in the first entry and insists on its name *Scriptures from the Garden of Dharma* in the second one.⁶⁸ The entry for *Garden of Dharma*, recorded twice in the fifth fascicle, occupies a unique, liminal place in Sengyou's fifteen-fascicle long catalog. Scholars have suspected a mis-collation of pages of the fifth fascicle when they were initially pasted together as a scroll or when it was made to accommodate late additions: epitomes, Daoan's catalog of doubtful scriptures, Sengyou's catalog of forged scriptures, and An's catalog of his commentaries and records are the first four numbered elements on the fascicle, but the four are followed by additional entries recording the titles of scriptures invented by monastics: twenty-one individually named scriptures by a young nun named Sengfa and a single fascicle of fake scripture by a monk named Miaoguang.⁶⁹ Sengyou's notes on these scriptures and their confabulators are extensive as he had taken part in investigating their texts and the cults they attracted, and Miaoguang was accused of “epitomizing from the scriptures, though with much falsified by his own ideas” 抄略諸經，多有私意偽造. The second *Scriptures from the Garden of Dharma* entry follows these two records as the final entry in Sengyou's catalog proper. Daoan's catalog

⁶⁶ See Chapter Three, Part 3.3.

⁶⁷ Tokuno 1990; Storch 2014.

⁶⁸ See the following two chapters on *chao* as practice and genre.

⁶⁹ Tokuno 1990, 37–9, Zurcher 2013 [1981], 266–9, and Storch 2014, 66.

of his own annotated scriptures would seem to sit between pages cataloging doubtful and spurious scriptures, three of the most recent of which Sengyou pronounced had been compiled by extracting from other scriptures (*yijing chaozhuan* 依經抄撰; *chaoji jingyi* 抄集經義; *chaoji zhongjing* 抄集眾經)⁷⁰ in the previous two Southern Dynasties, the Liu Song and the Southern Qi. Within this context of accounting for the origins of doubtful texts, *Scriptures from the Dharma Garden* would appear to be one too.

Yet *Garden of Dharma* appears first as an “epitome scripture” (*chaojing*), the final entry after thirty-six entries recording epitomes attributed to Xiao Ziliang, Prince Wenxuan of Southern Qi; two entries on recent epitomes produced on Kumārajīva’s *Great Perfection of Wisdom Treatise* and the *Truth Accomplishment Treatise*; six entries on “old” lost epitomes; and a penultimate entry for the six-fascicle *Epitome on Scriptures Regarding Self-Immolation for the Dharma* (*Chao weifa sheshen jing*).⁷¹ Nearly all of the “epitome scriptures” focus on copying from and extracting the essence of a single named scripture—in some cases a single chapter from a scripture: hence, Prince Wenxuan has produced an *Epitome of the Flower Garland Scripture* (*Chao Huayan jing* 抄華嚴經) in fourteen fascicles (down from Buddhahadra’s fifty-fascicle original), an *Epitome of the Great Collection Scriptures* (*Chao Daji jing* 抄大集經) in twelve fascicles (down from Dharmakṣema’s twenty-nine-fascicle original), and an *Epitome on the Medicine King Chapter from the Lotus Scripture* (*Chao Fahua jing yaowang pin* 抄法華經藥王品) in a single fascicle (down from Kumārajīva’s translation of the chapter, the final third of its

⁷⁰ These would be the *Consecration Scripture* attributed to Huijian (later authenticated through attribution by Śrimitra); the *Six Doctrines of the Buddha-Dharma that One First Must Know* and *Doctrinal Gates of the Six Powers Unimpeded and Pure Karma of the Six Sense-Roots* attributed to Fayuan; and the *Scripture on Names and Numbers Instituted by the Buddha* attributed to Wangzong. Su and Xiao 1995, 225–6; T no. 2145.j5.37b29–38b06. On the *Consecration Scripture*, see Strickmann 1990.

⁷¹ In its initial listing, a note appends *Epitome on Scriptures Regarding Self-Immolation for the Dharma*, first suggesting that it “seems it could be” (*sishi* 似是) one of Prince Wenxuan’s epitomes because the title of the work begins (rather than ends) with the character *chao*, and also informing the reader that the work has already been lost (Su and Xiao 1995, 221). One can find a shorter collection of four anecdotes on the theme of renouncing the body for dharma in the “Seeking Dharma” (*qiufa*) chapter in the *Golden Basket Discourse* or the “Seeking Dharma” section in the “Paying Respect to the Dharma” chapter in *A Grove of Pearls* (see Chapter Six, Part 2). On the practice of self-immolation in Chinese Buddhism more broadly, Benn 2007.

sixth of seven fascicles).⁷² The titles of other scriptural epitomes are sometimes ambiguous about the breadth of sources from which they extract summarized quotes: Sengyou notes on Xiao's single-fascicle *Epitome of Dhutas* (*Chao Toutuo* 抄頭陀) that it “extracts accounts from the vinaya regulations” 抄律中事, and the lost “old epitome” called *Miscellaneous Epitome from the Regulations and Scriptures* (*Lüjing zachao* 律經雜抄) also appears to have been eclectic.⁷³ What distinguishes *Dharma Garden Scriptures* is its drawing from “many scriptures” (*qunjing* 群經) and its immense size.

Sengyou's notes on the Southern Qi *Garden of Dharma* would be repurposed and abbreviated for its inclusion in three catalogs of the Tang, Daoxuan's (664), Zhisheng's (730), and Yuanzhao's (800): while all three later cataloguers indicated Sengyou as their source for indicating the existence of the work, Daoxuan would list it in his section (fascicle 10, sixth of ten: “A chronological record of compilations and commentaries by monastics and laypersons” 歷代道俗述作註解錄) on Chinese-authored commentaries, while the later two cataloguers would place it at the very tail end of their sections on spurious scriptures (fascicles 18 and 28, respectively, seventh of the seven separate catalogs: “falsely lying and truth-disordering [scriptures]” 偽妄亂真錄), very close the end of the catalogs themselves.

3.4 Chinese Collections as Gardens or Treasures

Yuan or garden, besides also designating libraries and translation bureaus, was a common title for many earlier non-Buddhist anthologies, as it turns out: there are tale collections called *Garden of Tales* (*Shuoyuan* 說苑) and *Garden of Marvels* (*Yiyuan* 異苑),⁷⁴ as well as gargantuan

⁷² Su and Xiao 1995, 218, 219; *T* no. 2145.j5.1.37c10; c11; c22. For fascicle-size of scripture, I have used Sengyou's accounts from his scriptural catalog by translator (fascicle 2); these figures do not agree with fascicle-accounting from the Tang onward.

⁷³ See the following chapter on *chao* in scriptural bibliography.

⁷⁴ On Liu Xiang's first-century BCE *Garden of Tales*, see Knechtges 1993, 443–5; on *Garden of Tales* and other early works featuring the genre of the “tale” (*shuo*), including the *Hanfeizi*'s chapter title, “Forest of Discussions” (*shuolin*), see Qian 2001, 88–90. For translations from Liu Jingshu's early fifth-century CE *Garden of Marvels*, see Campamy 2015, 78–106.

courtly anthologies from the Southern Liang like the 120-fascicle *Garden of Categories* (*Leiyuan* 類苑) and the 200-fascicle *Garden of Books of the [Palace of] Eternal Splendor* (*Shouguang shuyuan* 壽光書苑).⁷⁵ In this period, among this set of learned aristocrats and monks, the garden constituted a dominant metaphor for conceptualizing the library, the compilation, the anthology. As well as drawing attention to the aesthetic dimension of cultivating and appreciating text, such a metaphor suggests a set of relations between past authors, present collectors, texts and their readers. The fourth character, Often translated the equivalent of “forest” in western languages, I choose to render *lin* as “grove” so to highlight the art of the proverbial gardener in his selection and arrangement of the passages therein. Like the “Garden,” the “Grove” too populates the titles of collections from the classical and medieval China. A “Grove” also, especially a bejeweled one, can be read as an allusion to Buddhist paradises, and most importantly for my argument, like “Garden,” it re-cognizes scribal operations of editing, copying, reading, and sharing into horticultural ones of weeding, cultivating, appreciating, and transplanting. “Grove” suggests that anthologies could be visualized as built spaces for gathering, contemplation, and creativity: it also hearkens to the title of the eighty-fascicle Buddhist *leishu* commissioned by Emperor Wu by the Liang scholar-monk hero Zhizang, the *Grove of Meanings* (*Yilin* 義林).⁷⁶

But if *A Grove of Pearls* likens the anthology to the space of a garden, so it envisions plants, seeds, flowers, and fruits as solid treasure: the “essentials,” the sacred stuff of which an-

⁷⁵ On the incomplete and no longer extant *Garden of Learning* of Tao Hongjing (projected hundred to a thousand fascicles), recorded in the *Southern Histories* (*Nanshi*), see Jie and Knechtges 2014, 1080, and Tian 2017b, 135. On the *Garden of Categories* commissioned by Emperor Wu’s brother Xiao Xiuzhi and composed by Liu Xiaobiao in 511–521, see Drège 2007, 25–7, and Zhao 2005, 10–11. On Liu Yao’s *Eternal Splendor*, commissioned for Emperor Wu, see Drège 2007, 25, and Kurz 2013, 303. The contemporary 600- to 700-fascicle *Abridgement of the Ensemble [of books found] in the Flowering Grove* (*Hualin bianlue* 華林遍略), directed by He Sicheng, completes the trilogy of huge, imperially sponsored Southern Liang *leishu*. The Park of Flowering Groves (*Hualin yuan* 華林園) north of Jiankang became the site of a Buddhist scripture translation office instituted in the Liu Song by He Shangzhi in 445 (Drège 1991, 32n100); it was patronized by all the Southern Dynasties, and especially enjoyed by the Southern Liang (Zürcher 2013, 263n8; Chen 2007a). As the Park of Flowering Groves was established as a library, office, and academy, “Flowering Groves” also became the name of a no longer extant scriptural collection and four-fascicle catalog assembled by Sengshao in 518, according to surviving catalog entries by Fei Zhangfang (Chen 2007a, 18–21; Storch 2014, 53).

⁷⁶ Chen Yu-jen 1992, 249; Su 1999, 4. First discussed by Fei Zhangfang, *T* no. 2034.j11.100a14–19.

thologies can be made or can be said to contain are *zhu*—pearls, jewels, or gems. The Buddhist connotations here are especially resonant: this is a religion that organizes itself around the “Three Jewels,” one that historically travelled across all of Asia alongside merchants of luxury items like silk and precious stones, a religion whose monasteries often served as repositories for many forms of wealth. And like the word we translate as Buddhist or Daoist Canon but literally means “storehouse” or “stash” (*zang*), the anthology is a treasury where things of tremendous value are stored and protected. Additionally, pre-Buddhist traditions also imagined holy writings as literal treasures: the foreword to the *Grove of Pearls* actually begins with references to the mythological “jade characters on golden strips” of high antiquity, only to assert that the teachings of the Buddha are manifestly more valuable and far greater in number. The titles of Buddhist anthologies envisioned Buddhist writings themselves, no less the “meanings” of which they signified, as treasures: Emperor Wu’s successor, Emperor Jianwen (Xiao Gang) of Liang, named the extravagant Buddhist *leishu* he commissioned as the *Joined Jade-Disks of the Dharma Jewel* (*Fabao lianpi* 法寶聯/連璧) in 200 or 220 fascicles,⁷⁷ and at the end of the sixth century, the sermonizer of Northern Qi (and Zhou) gave his humble seven-fascicle scriptural anthology the title *Golden Basket* [or “Treasury”] *Discourse* (*Jinzanglun* 金藏論).⁷⁸ In Sui *leishu* of the non-Buddhist variety, jewels were featured in the titles of Zhuge Ying’s 諸葛穎 120-fascicle *Sea of Jewels of the Dark Gate* (*Xuanmen baohai* 玄門寶海); Yu Chuo’s 虞綽 138-fascicle *Jade Mirror from the Long Island* (*Changzhou yujing* 長洲玉鏡) of 606; and Du Gongzhan’s 杜公瞻 four-fascicle *Stringed Pearls* (*Bianzhu* 編珠) of 611.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Also called the *Dharma Jewel Collection* (*Fabao ji*). First discussed by Fei Zhangfang, *T* no. 2034.j11.100a09–13 right before his discussion of the *Grove of Meanings*. Preface preserved at *T* no. 2103.j20.242c19–244a18. For a study discussing the thirty-eight compilers of *Joined Jade-Disks* listed after this preface, see Liu 2009 and the short discussion in Tian Xiaofei 2007, 100.

⁷⁸ Miyai and Motoi 2011. More on this work in Chapters Two and Five.

⁷⁹ Zhao 2005, 26–8 lists these works in sequence: *Pearls* is extant (see Zurndorfer 2013, 509), the other two appear first in the bibliographic treatise in the *History of the Sui*. See Drège 2007, 26–7 for a translation of a Sui period anecdote on the making of the *Jade Mirror* as a corrective to the duplication of materials in the Liang Period *leishu* *Garden of Categories* (*Leiyuan*) and the even larger *Abridgement of the Ensemble in the Flowering Grove* (*Hualin bianlue*). As for the *Sea of Jewels*, it is the last title cited in the bibliography of “Miscellaneous” (*za*) “Masters” (*zi*) of the *Sui History*, after a long list of weighty *leishu* (like the *Garden of Categories*) and Buddhist compendia (like

Like a mind-bending Mahāyāna sutra, I suggest that the title of Daoshi's anthology encourages readers to imagine it as simultaneously a garden and a treasury. In parallel prose, the foreword ends by encouraging readers to...

...thread its dark phrases, explore the scrolls and obtain the pearls of meaning. Track the rectified way, unroll the texts and drink the sweet dew. Unravel it to know the subtle; contemplate it to see the abstruse.⁸⁰

Written dharma is both vegetable and stone wealth, the flowers indicated in the titles of the *Lotus* and the *Flower Adornment Scriptures* as well as the eponymous adamantine mineral of the *Diamond Scripture*. Dharma takes on the organic qualities of plants when certain attributes like its healthfulness, nourishment, and adaptability are to be emphasized; and it adapts the qualities of precious minerals to emphasize its durability, integrity, or even portability. Like both plants and wealth, dharma can be multiplied or saved or circulated, ideally, wishes the bodhisattva, for the benefit of all sentient beings. Like the best plants or pearls, however, the best extracts of dharma are valuable because they are both aesthetically pleasing and eminently useful.⁸¹

4. “Explaining the Meaning”: An Analysis of “Paying Respect to the Dharma”

Scholars have translated the “Explaining the Meaning” (*shuyi* 述意) sections in *A Grove of Pearls* as programmatic essays on what have emerged, quite literally, as “Chinese Buddhist categories.” Daoshi's parallel prose is interrogated as a witness to contemporary attitudes toward historical ideas and things, in as much as they can be read as commentaries on the various textual

Sengyou's *Genealogy of the Śākya* and Fei Zhangfang's scriptural catalog), but is not cited once in Taishō canon. While the eponymous “Sea of Jewels” appears to be a straightforward Buddhist allusion, it may have been a Daoist *leishu* instead. At any rate, the compiler Zhuge Ying is also known for a hundred-fascicle lexicographical work titled the *Thicket of Pearls from the Cassia Garden* (*Guiyuan zhucong* 桂苑珠叢), whose title would also seem to foreshadow Daoshi's *Grove* (Yong and Peng 2008, 178).

⁸⁰ Citation.

⁸¹ It is however worth noting that the majority of Buddhist *leishu* recorded in catalogs took on less fantastic names: *Epitome of Essentials*, *Anomalous Phenomena*, *Collected Essentials*, *Broad Essentials*, *Essentials from the Scriptures* (see Appendix D, Row VII).

“pearls” gathered in the rest of the work.⁸² Seemingly devoid of historical referents or concrete content, their page layout orients the reader within the grove, gesturing toward the passages to their left, to follow, and the categories to their upper right, at the heads of chapter and scrolls. As an aid for reconstructing a historical discourse on a given Buddhological topic, Daoshi’s authorial voice situates itself as a sort of moderator, joining the voices of independent scriptures and treatises into a forum. In this part of the chapter I offer a close reading of Daoshi’s “Explaining the Meaning” for “Chapter 7: Paying Respect to the Dharma” (Appendix K) in order to demonstrate the sort of claims that the anthologist might make about the nature and function of the Dharma and to explore how the “Explaining the Meaning” genre itself was meant to work. In short, we will see that scripture and dharma is paid respect by being received and circulated publicly, and that the compositions introducing anthology chapters worked too via treasuring and circulation, the compiler “expressing [his] intention” (my alternate translation of *shuyi*) vis-à-vis objects and audiences worthy of praise or concern.

Daoshi’s *shuyi* are generally taken as a reflection of his commentarial voice, but they curiously borrow elements and recycle passages elsewhere attributed to predecessors like Sengyou Huijiao, and Daoxuan.⁸³ Even more curious are the discursive features that they share and the work they would appear to be performing as a self-conscious genre. In this part of the chapter, I

⁸² Some sensitive translations and analyses of *shuyi* from *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* might include those for “Chapters 4.4: Ghosts,” and “4.6: Hells” (Shimizu 2009, 376–7), “Chapter 58: Skillful Debate” (Young 2015, 1–2), “Chapter 68: Incantations” (McBride 2001, 127–33, on “Dharani”; Copp 2005, 147–50, on “Spell Arts”), “Chapter 95: Suffering of Illness” (Salguero 2015, 40), and “Chapter 96: Abandoning the Body” (Benn 2007, 105). As many of Daoshi’s *shuyi* borrow liberally from previous Chinese Buddhist authors, a few of Daoshi’s sources have also been translated, for instance, “Chapter 5.15: Councils,” largely reproduces Sengyou’s catalog preface (see Appendix O, Item 1); “Chapter 24: Monstrous Anomalies,” cribs from Gan Bao’s *In Search of the Supernatural* (DeWoskin and Crump 1996, 62 on “6, 102: A Discussion of Possessions and Anomalies”); some of the introduction to “Chapter 98: Extinction of the Dharma,” borrows from Daoxuan’s preface to the *Extended Collection on Propagating and Clarifying* (Ōuchi 2013a, 29–35); and the opening passages of “Chapter 99: Miscellaneous Essentials,” borrow from Sengyou’s essay on translation (Link 1961b, 284–92; Cheung 2006, 118–23). See Su Jinren’s introduction to the critical edition of *FYZL* for another set of examples of unacknowledged textual borrowing in Su 2003, xi.

⁸³ See previous note. Digital text-searching has made it much easier to visualize shared passages between Daoshi’s essays and other collections, notably Daoxuan’s *Expanded Collection on Propagating and Clarifying*, T no. 2103, which collects prose and poems of hundreds of Chinese Buddhist authors up through the early Tang. I draw attention to a few of these borrowings throughout the dissertation, but I have not finished discovering connections.

break Daoshi's *shuyi* into three paragraphs (see Appendix K) and read them sequentially: the opening paragraph combines Buddhist allusions with those from the *Changes* and the *Laozi* in a manner reminiscent of Sengyou's prefaces to his catalog, *A Collection of Records*; the middle paragraph directly borrows imagery from Huijiao's portrayal of monastic chanting in his concluding essay to biographies of "Chanters" in his *Traditions of Eminent Monks*; and the final paragraph juxtaposes further allusions to Buddhist scriptures to introduce the anthology chapter. The *shuyi* instructs its reader how to "pay respect to the Dharma" in Chinese Buddhist parallel-prose: it does so by recalling Sengyou's awe of dharma's origins, powers, and translatability and Huijiao's appreciation for recitative performance. But it also underscores themes featured in the scriptural quotes and miracle tales that comprise the anthology chapter whose "meaning" it explains or "intention" it expresses. I will analyze the full chapter in my Chapter Six.

Daoshi's foreword for his long "Chapter 7: Paying Respect to the Dharma" begins as follows:

I have heard: in silent extinction it does not move, and thus there are no signs and no words; in stimulation it consequently connects, and thus there are names and teachings. Accordingly, a single verse of four [characters] is difficult to hear; the fire of the three-thousand [universes] is easy to enter.⁸⁴

蓋聞 寂滅不動，是則無象無言；
感而遂通，所以有名有教。
是以 一四之句難聞，三千之火易入。

The opening phrase "I have heard" (*gaiwen*) frames the text as a tradent, humbly passing down old knowledge of even older personages and events; this presumably pre-Buddhist stock phrase is employed to begin around fifteen other "Explaining the Meaning" sections in *A Grove of*

⁸⁴ See Appendix K, paragraph 1 for further notes to translation.

Pearls.⁸⁵ The first four characters (“in silent extinction there is no movement”) and their parallel (“in stimulation it consequently penetrates”) are abutting lines from the “Appended Phrases” (*xici* 系辭 or “Great Treatise” *dazhuan* 大專) commentary to the *Book of Changes*, Daoshi taking the purported words of Confucius from a far more ancient wisdom-giving text and transplanting them *here* as but so many many stars in a greater constellation. What once was a description of the *Changes*, or alternately, the “way of the sages,”⁸⁶ is pressed into the service of honoring the Dharma, which has yet to named as such in the essay but which would have been there, at the head of the scroll, the first character of the title *Fayuan zhulin*⁸⁷ and, more proximately, in the chapter-title “Jingfa.” A reader’s attention is drawn to how the lines have been recognized *as* parallel (the final character for “move” would have rhymed with the character for “penetrate”; stillness opposes reactivity) and, therefore, amenable to parallelistic elaborations, but it is also drawn to how they have been *changed* (for starters, the second character *ran* could have been copied as *mie*, Buddhicizing “silence” into “silent extinction”). The “absence” (*wu*) and “presence” (*you*) of “signs,” “words,” “names,” and “teachings” nudges the reader from the conceptual world of the *Changes* into the conceptual world of the *Laozi*,⁸⁸ alluding to “the teaching without words”⁸⁹ that accomplishes everything.

⁸⁵ I have not detected any patterns to the use of this phrase by Daoshi other than its always being found at the very beginning of *shuyi* passages. In *Fayuan zhulin*, the far more common essay-opening phrase is *fu*, translated “now”, on which, see Wagner 2015. As a *shuyi*-opening particle, *gaiwen* is a quite distant second.

⁸⁶ These eight characters had established independent idiomatic existence perhaps by the Southern Dynasties. The latter four characters in particular become metonymic for the *Book of Changes*, the cosmic, or the miraculous; and the word *gantong* (“stimulus-connection”) itself by Daoshi’s age had become a dominant locus for conceptualizing the miraculous. See, for instance, Zanning’s comments on *gantong* replacing *shenyi* 神異 as an *Eminent Monks* category; see *SGSZ*, T no. 2061.j22.854b16–20; and exegesis by Guodeng 1992, 156–8.

⁸⁷ “Chapter 7: Paying Respect to the Dharma” begins mid-scroll, however, as fascicle 17 begins by completing the previous “Chapter 6: Paying Respect to the Buddha” with miracle tales on Samantabhadra and Avalokiteśvara respectively. The latter two-thirds of the scroll contain contents for the *jingfa* chapter; the appended forty-one miracle tales for *jingfa* comprise the entire eighteenth scroll of *A Grove of Pearls*: see Appendix P, Items 34–74.

⁸⁸ This is not to deny these concepts’ centrality among contending philosophical schools of the “hundred masters” but to point out that they would have been apprehended as “Laoist” in the early medieval *xuanxue* gentry context.

⁸⁹ *Buyan zhi jiao* 不言之教, *Laozi* 2 and 43; cf. tr. Legge 1891a, 2, 87.

These citations, ideas, and frames are shown to have existed in an always already Buddhist context—one, as the reference to the “three thousand” drives home, is “universal.” What is unmoving but stimulated is the janus-faced Buddhadharma, of which the concepts already matched: “sagely stillness” Buddhists knew as “nirvana,” and “stimulus-connection” prefigured “karmic cause and effect.” The double-edged sword of language—that it expresses but falls short of absolute truth—is invoked not only through classical quotation and Daoist concepts but, above all, classical style. Style instructs its speakers that reason rhymes, that it is mysterious and double, that it has already spoken everything yet seeks its supersession.

Daoshi’s opening lines on dharma as simultaneously linguistic and extralinguistic resonate with the opening lines of catalog and anthology forewords from the Liang and Tang. There are the opening lines to Sengyou’s early sixth century *Production of the Three Baskets*, translated by Arthur Link (1960) over two journal pages to accommodate some four full columns of allusion-unpacking footnotes:

Now the truly real is mysterious and concentrated; the nature of dharma is empty and quiescent,⁹⁰ and yet, for “opening up things,” and for guiding the worldly, if it were not for words, there would be no conveyance [to salvation]. It is for this reason that the non-dualistic reply of silence is grasped in the gate of the voidness of entities, and that the [Buddha with but] one utterance could arouse a discriminating understanding sufficient to answer [the varied needs of] the realms of the thronging beings.⁹¹

夫 真諦玄凝，法性虛寂。

而 開物導俗，非言莫津。

⁹⁰ These four characters are featured in “Chapter 3: Adorning the Path-Tree” (Zhuangyan daoshu), of the *Bodhisattva Necklace Scripture* (*Pusa yingluo jing*) attributed to Zhu Fonian (*T* no. 656.j1.6c23).

⁹¹ Link 1960, 34–5; *T* no. 2145.j1.1a07–09; or Su and Xiao 1995, 1. The preface is reproduced in its near entirety in Fei Zhangfang’s *Records of the Three Treasures through the Ages* (*LDSBJ*, *T* no. 2034.j11.97c16–98a25) and Daoxuan’s *DTNDL* (*T* no. 2149.j4.265a22–c04).

These opening lines (and much more of Sengyou’s foreword) are redeployed by Daoshi to begin his *FYZZ* “Chapter 5.15: Councils.” See Appendix O, Item 1.

⁹² At the end of this paragraph, Link 1960, 35–6n129, translates the full first half of Sengzhao’s early fifth-century preface to the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*. (*CSZJJ* 309), which Link credits as the main source for the first paragraph of the Sengyou preface. In my opinion, however, neither the ~~164~~ content, or verbiage of Sengyou’s doctrinal statement

是以不二默誦，會於義空之門；

一音振辯，應乎群有之境。

“Truth” (*zhen*), and especially “mystery” (*xuan*), as Link explains in his footnotes, carry strong Daoist connotations, but Sengyou recalls their Buddhist origins.⁹² Buddhist framing, Daoist vo-

⁹² At the end of this paragraph, Link 1960, 35–6n129, translates the full first half of Sengzhao’s early fifth-century preface to the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*. (CSZJJ 309), which Link credits as the main source for the first paragraph of the Sengyou preface. In my opinion, however, neither the style, content, or verbiage of Sengyou’s doctrinal statement here is particularly unique to Sengzhao’s preface on the *Vimalakīrti*. Also, there is more going on in the *Vimalakīrti* preface, which would seem to emphasize the Dharma’s inconceivability (*busiyi* 不思議) rather than its silence or stillness, and its responsiveness not merely in terms of words (*yan* 言), but also wisdom (*zhi* 智), forms (*xing* 形), and expedients (or “plots” *quan* 權). To state the obvious, Sengzhao’s preface makes an argument for *Vimalakīrti* in particular as a centering discourse for conceiving the Buddha, dharma, and salvation in universal terms; Sengyou, on the other hand, argues for the importance of Buddhologically informed bibliography. Link’s footnote begins by recounting of Hayashiya’s recognition of the last line’s description of “one utterance” answering “thronging beings” being a paraphrase of lines from the very first verse in Kumarajīva’s *Vimalakīrti*. See Mun 2006 for other appearances of the “one utterance” (“one sound” *ekasvara*; “one voice” *ekaghoṣa*) concept in translated scripture and later exegetical conversation, and hermeneutical consequences for Chinese and Korean Buddhist *panjiao* systematization. Baochang’s *Anomalous Phenomena* (JLYX) provides yet another perspective to the question of what “one sound” might have connoted to Liang-era monks: the second item (its title “Three Kinds of Mystery” 三種秘 refers to the Buddha’s body [*shen*], voice [*kou*], and mind [*xin* or *yi*] as simultaneously singular yet apprehended by multiple targets) in the fifth fascicle (second subsection “Response Body Benefits Beings” 應身益物 of the second section, “Buddha”) lists four different scriptural attestations of the Buddha “using one voice” 以一音 to preach the Dharma (T no. 2121.19c16–20a09). The first quote in this item, beginning “What is referred to as ‘mind mystery’?” 何謂心密, summarizes a passage from the *Secret Teachings of the Adamantine Warriors Scripture* (*Miji jingang lishi jing* 密跡金剛力士經), translation attributed to Dharmarakṣa of the Western Jin, presently compiled as the third “assembly” (*hui* 會) of sermons that would later constitute Bodhiruci’s *Ratnakūṭasūtra* (*Da baoji jing* 大寶集經, T no. 310 fasc. 8–14, see 48a13–29 for the passage summarized, and see 53b14–15 for an explicit listing of the three mysteries) in the early eighth century. The second, third, and fourth quotes, which appear to track their source-texts more closely, derive from the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* (fasc. 22, southern version T no. 375.754a08–13, though it seems M emends to Fasc. 24 to reflect the quote’s location in the northern version T no. 374.510a11–6), *Vimalakīrti* (fasc. 1—the very verse passage Hayashiya identifies above, but rendered in “prose” form and cleared of repetition, compare T no. 475.538a02–07), and *Guan Fo sanmei jing* (fasc. 3; T no. 414.806c08–10) respectively, while the fifth quote paraphrases some lines from the *Avatamsaka* (fasc. 26, T no. 278.569b16–25 Buddhahdra’s re-translated *Ten Stages Scripture*), and the fifth quote’s interlineal citation, difficult to interpret across preserved canonical variants, continues to name the *Śūramgama* (T no. 642) as a further source for elucidating the “body mystery” (*shenmi*) and the *Compassionate Flower Scripture*’s (T no. 157) seventh and tenth fascicles, and the *Fenbie yingbian jing* (perhaps the lost *Wugoushi pusa fenbie yingbian jing*, *Vimaladatta-bodhisattva Analyzes and Responds to Debate Scripture* [?] 無垢施菩薩分別應辯經, or, as Koreana suggests, some other *fenbie jing* [more likely T no. 1507, cited two more times in JLYX, over T no. 495]) for the “mouth mystery” (*koumi*), two concepts finally named directly in the interlineal commentary. For my purposes, what is crucial to note about this congeries of scriptural passage is that none of the cited passages perform the clear work of enumerating and defining the “Three Mysteries” of themselves. The five passages, juxtaposed under the same category “Three Mysteries,” emphasize different qualities of the Buddha’s sensuous qualities using different kinds of vocabulary. But only the first makes explicit reference to one of the mysteries (“Mind Mystery”); only the first two underscore the singular body’s multiple appearances; all except the first underscore the singular voice’s multiple auditions; while all emphasize the Dharma’s universal impact. That Baochang could locate—and that it was thought desirable to locate—the “one voice” concept in multiple scriptural sources alongside the *Vimalakīrti* suggests that Sengyou may have used the term less as a reference to one particular passage in one particular scripture but to encompass what was imagined to be a “general” Mahāyāna perspective on scripture.

cabulary, and Chinese parallel-prose collude to intimate that there are “two ways of saying the same thing.” What is contradictory on the face of it—line 1 avers dharma to be silent and still, “and yet” (*er*) line 2 would have its speech “opening,” “guiding,” “conveying”—is resolved through brute assertion, doubling down as it were. “It is for this reason” (*shiyi*, translated “accordingly” above) has the third line continue in the vein of the first line (“silent reply” [*mochou*] or “voidness of entities” [*yikong*] is “grasped” [*hui*, “closed”]) and the fourth line in the vein of the second (“aroused discrimination” [*zhenbian*, alternatively, “thunderous discrimination”] for “thronging beings” [*qunyou*] is “answered” [*ying*, “responded”]). Two theological problems are offered solution at a formal, poetic level here: impossible, extralinguistic truth finds its placement in spoken word (“one utterance” or “sound” [*yiyin*]); and the multiplicity of realms, their beings, their beings’ needs, become unified at the gate of non-dual gnosis. This paean to the Buddha’s oververbose silence precedes sprawling lists and catalogues of translated scripture, each act of translation marking a discrete, historical attempt to communicate timeless truths. In four lines, before even mentioning the Dharma’s movement to China, no less the recording of truth into oral or written text,⁹³ scriptural difference is preserved, erased, raised up.

Assertions of truth’s “silence” and “stillness” balance declarations of its “karmic stimulation” throughout the forewords to scriptural catalog and anthology from the Liang through the Tang. Later, in the *Production of the Three Baskets*, Sengyou’s essay on translation practice titled “Account of the Similarities and Differences between Writing, Sound, and Meaning found in Translating Scriptures from Foreign Languages into Chinese” (Hu Han yijing wenzi yinyi tongyi ji), famously begins,

Now numinal concepts are without sound, yet basing on words and expressions we can write their sense; words and expressions [themselves] are without signs, yet relying on script we can depict their utterances. Therefore, characters are as “rabbit snares” for words; words as “fish traps” for concepts. When utterances and meanings are combined and tally,

⁹³ These are precisely the themes of the following lines in the preface. Much of the language and ideas articulated in this preface find echos and elaboration in the Buddhist historiographic and bibliographic tradition to come.

there cannot be bias or loss [of sense]. Therefore script ought to be comprehensively ordered throughout the world. Although signs are tied up with brush and ink, yet concepts [connoted by them] are compacted with the numinal [realm].⁹⁴

夫 神理無聲，因言辭以寫意；
言辭無跡，緣文字以圖音。
故 字為言蹄，言為理筌；
音義合符，不可偏失。
是以 文字應用，彌綸宇宙。
雖 跡繫翰墨，而理契乎神。

Sengyou's opening lines effectively doubles the distance between "numinal concepts" (*shenli*) and the "script" (*wenzi*) of scripture by interposing the intermediary oral level of "words and expressions" (*yanci*), reproducing the essay's titular three levels of "writing, sound and meaning" among which a translator between "foreign" (*Hu*) and "Chinese" (*Han*) must be cognizant. To account for the writing down of words, Sengyou has doubled the parallel construction from the *Zhuangzi*—in the original construction, as stakes are for catching fish and snares are for catching rabbits, so words (*yan*) are for catching ideas (*yi*), employed then forgotten.⁹⁵ Link (1960) follows Wright (1954), who had observed Huijiao's later use of these metaphors in the first lines to his preface to *Biographies of Eminent Monks*: language as "provisional media" was a ready-to-hand Zhuangian idea that seemed to express Buddhist ideas about language perfectly. Unlike snares, stakes, and proverbial rafts, however, scriptures were supposed to be preserved, adored, and continually remade rather than *forgotten*. Preventing forgetfulness are those

⁹⁴ *T* no. 2145.j1.4b02–05; Su and Xiao 1995, 12–13. See the translations of Link 1961b, 284–5, and Cheung 2006, 118. First part reproduced in the middle of a *FYZL* section compiling excerpts on Gautama Siddārtha's education, *T* no. 2122.j9.351b26–c14, Ch. 5.8.2 ("Thousands of Buddhas" (*qianFo*): "Travel and Study" (*youxue*): "Summoning Teachers" (*zhaoshi*)); as well as the opening lines of Daoshi's essay for "Chapter 99: Miscellaneous Essentials" (*T* no. 2122.j99.1013a15–18; same preface borrowed for same-named Chapter 30 in *Collected Essentials* *T* no. 2123.j20.184b01–04).

⁹⁵ *Zhuangzi* 26. See Ziporyn 2009, 114.

word-snares “script” or “characters”—that very medium through which “scriptures” are composed, but, for Sengyou, these are problematic in their regional diversity, their historical evolution, and their tendency to be misread and miscopied. While Sengyou continues in this essay to draw all kinds of distinctions between translations old and new, unhewn and literary, skillful and mistaken, it is the figure of the written character (*zi*) upon which he registers complexity, for the Buddhist scriptures in Brahmic scripts (*fanwen*) are complicatedly divisible into fifty “half-characters” (*banzi*);⁹⁶ and characters within Chinese classics have been misheard and miscopied over the ages. As sense is materialized onto the page and dematerialized back into sense, there are so very many things that can go horribly wrong, thousands of mediations beckoning epistemic disaster. At the same time, however, there are also just as many ways that things can go *right*, for “rightness” lies in its efficacy, which depends on the audience, the approach, and on adaptation moving forward.

To return to Daoshi’s essay on “paying respect to the Dharma,” the line that follows “accordingly” draws its consequences from an unspoken premise: that even a single four-character line of Buddhist verse is difficult to hear (and eternal saṃsāric fire so easy to enter into) must be because the Dharma is more often—more naturally—silent than not, seldom made to “teach” by being stimulated. Note here too how parallel form is leveraged to underscore substantive argument: one times four small good syllables or characters would balance three thousand-fold evil worlds of fire.⁹⁷ I have deployed a semicolon instead of supplying any precise logical connector between the “single verse of four” line and the parallel “fire of three-thousand” line. The two lines are equally true, neither statement subordinate to the other, their juxtaposition suggestive of a salvation that may grasped dialectically, that what is difficult and impenetrable can be made easy and communicable, that what would be innumerable, large, elemental made countable,

⁹⁶ See Link 1961b, 284, on Sengyou’s difficult attempt to reproduce grammatical differences between letter, syllable, and word in Chinese.

⁹⁷ Some scriptures interpret *sanqian* not as “three thousand” but “a thousand to the third power” or one billion.

small, linguistic. The two lines' imbalance-within-balance still tremble with anxiety: what precious few salvific lines have penetrated the silence must be reproduced, amplified.

We hope that: **with congealed cold silencing the night, the shining moon lengthening over the evening, [one] resides alone in empty space, chanting scriptures. Exhaling, inhaling through *gong* and *shang* tones, the text and characters distinctly clear;** words and meanings flowing beautifully, the rhyming sounds interlink. Striking the minds of crowds of people, they benefit the good of living creatures. **They are sufficient to cause ghosts to leap in celebration, spirits to delight.** With long practice [recitation is] purely ripened, and the literary meanings are deeply illuminated; with respectful mind [recitation is] richly intoned, utmost sincerity is darkly stimulated.⁹⁸

庶使 凝寒靜夜，朗月長宵，
獨處空閑，吟誦經典。
吐納宮商，文字分明；
言味流美，詞韻相屬。
適眾人心，利生物善。
足使幽靈欣曜，精神悅豫。
久習純熟，文義洞曉；
敬心殷誦，至誠冥感。

In non-rhyming lines of eight, Daoshi portrays scriptural recitation and its glorious effects. Yet, while the chanting is described in terms of its sound, light, meaning, and audience, the putative

⁹⁸ See Appendix K, paragraph 2 for notes to translation.

chanters themselves do not appear anywhere the text.⁹⁹ Upon having skimmed the contents of the chapter, however, the essay's reader would be able to plug in the Buddha, any of his disciples, Chinese monks, or themselves into the role of the chanter. What matters is that the essay circumscribes a circuit of dharmic flow from the soundless, motionless source, through the brushes, minds, and mouths of Buddhas and Buddhists, across spaces of sky and scroll, and finally into hearts of sentient beings needing to be saved and the ears of charm-worthy spirits ready to grant their boons. The characteristics of chants ("respired," "toned," "clear," "flowing," "interlinked," "illuminated") seem to inhere simultaneously to the literal characters on a scroll and the skills of a marvelous chanter: they were first designed by the author, translator, and transcriber to please the senses, and second mindfully enunciated to fulfill their multiple authors' intentions. The "mind" (*xin*) appears twice in this passage, a receptacle for dharma just like tones and syllables, made "reverent" in its alignment with dharmic currents: initially it serves as a target for "words and meanings... rhyming sounds" (*yanwei; ciyun*) the elementary units of dharmic utterance, and in the final line it has transformed into an instrument tuned for scripture's "rich intonement" (*yinsong*).

It might seem at first glance that Daoshi describes Chinese Buddhist chanting in particular, with his portrayal of "*gong* and *shang* tones, the text and characters," no less "silent nights" and "shining moons"; yet the four-character description of "residing alone in empty space" (*duchu kongxian*) appears in the text of many Tang-period Chinese Buddhist translations that describe how South Asian monastics perform religious practices. What is more, translated Buddhist scriptures (in addition to Chinese "secular" literature) are replete with "silent nights," "shining moons," as well as with non-Chinese Buddhists mastering "*gong* and *shang*" tonality¹⁰⁰ in their

⁹⁹ I have added the subject "[one]" to translate this passage, but another solution would be to figure "night" as the grammatical subject, and a third would be to read "residing alone" and "chanting scripture" as grammatical topics upon which further lines comment.

¹⁰⁰ *Do* and *re* of the pentatonic scale.

chanting and “text and characters” in their study of writing and language.¹⁰¹ This passage sews together descriptions of scriptural recitation from within the narratives of translated scripture, making beautiful recitation visible and audible by typifying its visual and aural characteristics, an even flow on a page of scroll mapped out onto dark, empty space. As a text, the passage triangulates (and attempts to collapse) the space between the “Indian” worlds of recitation described in translated scripture; the “Chinese” world of the anthologist that can see, conjure, recreate scriptural recitation in novel generic form; and the world of the reader who can newly experience scriptural recitation under these descriptions.

Indeed, one may find an earlier incarnation of the lines in bold from this passage in Huijiao’s concluding essay (*lun*) for his chapter on eminent monks categorized as “Chanters” (*songjing*) in his *Traditions of Eminent Monks*. Huijiao’s *lun* comes at the tail-end of fascicle 12 of 14, sharing a scroll with the eleven biographies of the “Self-Immolators,” the sixth of Huijiao’s ten categories,¹⁰² and the aforementioned twenty-one biographies of the “Chanters,” the seventh category.¹⁰³ Huijiao’s lines have been singled out as so many jewels, divested not only of the category and biographies of “Chanters” which they followed in their original essay form, but also the essay’s beginning and end. New lines have been added before, between, and after Huijiao’s to form Daoshi’s new composition that explains the category “Reverence for Dharma” and the materials contained underneath its sign.

Huijiao’s essay summarizes the twenty-one biographies preceding it in its first lines:

...the benefits of recitation are great! But to fully achieve one’s effort [in recitation] is rare. The reason is that comprehensive grasp is difficult to get and confused forgetfulness

¹⁰¹ The Buddha Śāyāmini himself was portrayed as a young master of all the arts, for instance, see a description of young Gautama’s mastery of writing, singing, and dancing articulated in *gongshang* terms in *Fo benxing jijing*, T no. 190 compiled and translated by Jñānagupta during the Sui, j11.705a19–24.

¹⁰² Benn 2007, 205–9 for complete conspectus, with notes to find translations by Gernet 1960. See Wright 1954 and Kieschnick 2011 on “ten categories” adaptations from Baochang’s *Mingseng zhuan*.

¹⁰³ T no. 2059.403c21–409a26 approximates the twelfth fascicle.

is easy to generate. As the scriptures say [however]: only repeating a single line, a single gāthā—this is also what the saints would call beautiful.”¹⁰⁴

論曰：諷誦之利，大矣。

而 成其功者，希焉。

良由 總持難得，惛忘易生。

如經所說：止復一句一偈，亦是聖所稱美。

The general theme of the “Chanters”-type of biography is how third- to fifth-century Chinese monks made miracles happen by reciting scripture. But as is evident in even the lines cited above, it is not merely that the monks were good chanters who were able to “achieve their efforts” through their greater-than-average minds, grasps, tongues, devotion, or memory; the very lines of the scripture—any line, any gāthā—generate benefit to conceivably anybody with the capacity to memorize four characters and to repeat them.¹⁰⁵ As is common in the *Eminent Monks* essay genre, Huijiao follows this opening by naming and praising certain monks for the efficacy of their scriptural chanting. There are four names in the “Chanters” essay—Tansui, Sengsheng, Daojong, and Huiqing, which would have appeared in a table of contents at the beginning of the chapter, midway through the scroll, and at the beginning of their biographies, the first, fourth, sixth, and seventh recounted.¹⁰⁶ Huijiao has composed a summation of four biographies into four matching lines:

¹⁰⁴ *T* no. 2059.j12.409a13–19; Japanese translation, Funayama 2009, 4.252–3. See also Guodeng’s 1992, 132–5 analysis of Huijiao’s essay on Chanters compared with Daoxuan’s sequel essay on his collection of chanters, newly given a slightly different title, *dusong*, “Reciters” we might translate.

¹⁰⁵ Being able to memorize four characters is precisely the struggle of the Buddha’s stupidest disciple, Culapanthaka, a figure who has his own section in *A Grove of Pearls*, see “Chapter 59: Stupidity,” “Section 2: Panthaka,” and is referenced many other times in this anthology besides.

¹⁰⁶ The table of contents for “Chanters” can be found at *T* no. 2059.406b15–25. Unlike the Taishō editions of its successors, the *XGSZ* and *SGSZ* respectively, Huijiao’s *Biographies of Eminent Monks* concludes with a “master” table of contents as its fourteenth fascicle, which recapitulates the Chanters at 421c17–a09; Tang and Tang 1992, 546–7. The table of contents on the final scroll includes each monk’s dynastic period and monastery of residence in addition to his name. See Jan 1977 for a short study of “Chanters” across the three *Eminent Monks* collections.

Tansui communicated with spirits at Stone Bank; Sengsheng stimulated defenders from space; Daojiong almost perished but obtained rescue; Huiqing nearly drowned but was kept intact. They were all completely true and virtuous within, and thus could cause signs to respond from the outside.¹⁰⁷

是以 曇邃通神於石塢；
僧生感衛於空中；
道罔臨危而獲濟；
慧慶將沒而蒙全；
斯皆實德內充，
故使徵應外啟。

In these lines, the capsule summaries of monks' lives eliminate both the media (scripture)¹⁰⁸ and its specific usage (recitation) in drawing relations between personality, inner virtue, and worldly

¹⁰⁷ T no. 2145.j12.409a15–17; tr. Funayama 2009, 4.253.

¹⁰⁸ In each of their four *GSZ* biographies, the *Lotus* is mentioned as a chanter's sole or first scripture (Tansui, 406b27; Sengsheng, 406c28–29; Daojiong, 407a16; Huiqing, 407b5), within four lines of each biography's starting. All four monks' stories appear in *A Grove of Pearls* under Accounts of Stimulus-Response, but only two under "Paying Respect to the Dharma." All four cite the *Liang Biographies of Eminent Monks* (LGSZ). (1) Tansui's biography is the first of eighteen incorporated in the "Chapter 20: Divine Wonders" (*shenyi*) [fasc. 28; 490d28–491a09]; (2) Sengsheng is renamed Sengjing and his story is the eighth of forty-one stories in the "Chapter 7: Paying Respect to the Dharma" [fasc. 18; 418a28–b03]; (3) Daojiong appears in three separately cited miracle tales in *A Grove of Pearls*, but the account that is closest to Huijiao's is the first of three miracle tales listed under "Chapter 31: Lanterns" (*randeng*) [fasc. 35; 567b25–567c15; and see Company 2012b, 192–4 (No. 76) and 222–3 (No. 98), for extensive bibliographic tracing of two alternative stories about Daojiong that can be found in *A Grove of Pearls* (fasc. 17 and 65, respectively, sourced to *Unseen Realm*) and many other places besides. Shinohara 1988, 136–9, elaborates how Huijiao (or a predecessor) may have stitched together the *GSZ* biography using *Mingxiang ji* as a source; (4) Huiqing appears as the fifteenth of the forty-one stories in "Chapter 7: Paying Respect to the Dharma" mentioned above for Sengsheng [fasc. 18; 418c23–28]. See Appendix P, Items 41 and 48. Baochang's no longer extant thirty-fascicle *Mingseng zhuan*, a likely source for Huijiao's opus, judging by its table of contents preserved in Japan (the three-fascicle *Meisōdenshō* X no. 1523.346b09–350c12), had collected biographies for Tansui and Huiqing under its "Wonder Worker" (*gantong*) category (eleventh and nineteenth of twenty respectively, in the twenty-third fascicle); Sengsheng had been listed as twelfth under "Self-Immolators" (*yishen*; see Benn 2007, 203, 302); and Daojiong is nowhere to be seen. My point in tracing these monks' names across work, scroll, and category is simply to illustrate that both before and after the *GSZ* context, none of these four monks were recognized as "Chanters" per se; "Chanters" functioned more as a hat-rack for a certain species of narrative expectation with virtue, dharma, chanting as its stimuli and miracle as its response.

miracle. Names of monks and narrative elements, fashioned and made square as so many gems into a matching set. Huijiao's next line ties these personalities of the Western Jin (266–316; first two) and Liu Song (420–479; latter two), of the northern capital (Tansui of Luoyang) and southern capital (Daojiong of Jiankang), of the far Southwest (Sengsheng of Chengdu) and far southeast (Huiqing of Mt. Lu), to the miraculous responses of Buddhist divinities as found in scripture: “The scriptures say that the six-tusked [elephant] descended into the room, the Four [Heavenly] Kings protected the throne [before the Buddha was born]. How could these wonders be false?”¹⁰⁹ The essay winds to denouement with the bolded lines Daoshi would borrow, a poetic invocation of beautiful nighttime chanting delighting spirits. It concludes: “This is what [spirits] call singing verse—the words of dharma are taken to be music itself.”¹¹⁰ The chanting of a scripture is an action that is often described laconically in monastic biography, but expanded upon rapturously in the space of the *lun*.¹¹¹ It is true that all *lun* and *shuyi* by virtue of parallel prose conventions, no matter their topic, have a mannered, musical quality to them: but here especially form and content converge in an interesting way, instructing consumers to look, listen, recognize dharma as enchanting music.

In transposing lines from a *lun* sketching a biographical category to a *shuyi* laying out an anthological category, the lines can be read as referring to the eternal action of “paying respect to the Dharma” by reciting it, listening to it, and embodying it, rather than as mere praise for a collection of monks from the last three centuries whose biographies typify the miraculous effects of recitation.¹¹² The *lun* looks backward to historical examples of miracles from recent history and Gautama's; so far, the *shuyi* has taken a more ahistorical perspective by not naming any authors

¹⁰⁹ 經云。六牙降室，四王衛座。豈粵虛哉，*T* no. 2059.j12.409a18.

¹¹⁰ 所謂歌詠誦法言。以此為音樂者也，*T* no. 2059.j12.409a21–22.

¹¹¹ In *GSZ*, see also more elaborate portrayals of chanting for the *lun* in its Chapters 9 and 10 (“Hymnodists” *jingshi* and “Sermonists” *changdao*, respectively, categories also found in Baochang's *MSZ* and later collapsed into a single category for Daoxuan's *XGSZ* and Zanning's *SGSZ*).

¹¹² The majority of the twenty-one monks listed in this category are listed as monks of the Southern Dynasties Song (8), Qi (7), and Liang (2), leaving only the first four monks as Jin Period monks.

or reciters of scripture, though as the essay's first line reminds us, "there are names and teachings." The essay closes with a few names and a few instructions:

Trust and know that in keeping and upholding a single gāthā merit is spread broadly and deeply; in writing down and copying a single word effects transcend many kalpas. Therefore [Mahā-]kāśyapa received [dharma] respectfully, he was not stingy in peeling off his skin; Sadā[prarudita's] mind delighted in not stinting the sprinkling his blood. This is the first gate of the Sweet Dew; the final virtue of Entering the Path.¹¹³

信知 受持一偈福利弘深；
書寫一言功超數劫。
是以 迦葉頂受靡悖剝皮；
薩陀心樂無辭灑血。
此是 甘露之初門；
入道之終德也。

There are several things to notice about how Daoshi closes off his foreword for "Paying Respect to the Dharma," especially in regards to the art of balancing composition and its implications for scriptural practice. The opening admonition to "trust and know" (*xinzhi*) is an instruction about how to "pay respect" (*jing*),¹¹⁴ to be aware and promote awareness of the meritorious effects of "respecting scripture" as one is doing it. The "single gāthā" balanced with the "single word" echo the "single line of four characters" (*yisi zhi ju*) from the top of the essay, as well as the top of Huijiao's essay ("single line, single gāthā"): small becomes large.¹¹⁵ The parallel verbal phrases: "keep and uphold" (*shouchi*) and "write down and copy" (*shuxie*) are the first and fourth

¹¹³ See Appendix K, paragraph 3 for notes on translation.

¹¹⁴ I do not wish to overread here: two-character phrases with the second character "know" (*zhi*), especially the phrase "therefore know" (*guzhi*) connect parallel-prose segments in many of Daoshi's *shuyi*.

¹¹⁵ For scriptural passages sharing this formula in *FYZZ* Chapter 16 "Preaching and Hearing," see Chapter Six, note 25.

in a list of scriptural actions that recur in the *Lotus* (among other scriptures) promoting the keeping, chanting (*dusong*), explicating (*jieyi*), and writing of scriptures respectively;¹¹⁶ the grand spatial effects of retaining dharma matches the long temporal effects of recording it. Next, the exploits of an arhat and a bodhisattva are recounted together, a famous *Nirvana* allusion against a well-known *Prajñāparamitā* story: their devotions are twinned by references to the head and the heart, the skin and the blood they were willing to surrender, Mahākāśyapa to write it down and Sadāprarudita to hear it spoken. The pair of allusions double back to the earlier two lines: any act of taking dharma bleeds Sadāprarudita, any act of propagating it flays Mahākāśyapa. In other words, the very scriptures you are about to read and hear are made up of these figures' very bodies: be as reverent and devoted as they once were. Daoshi alludes to the phenomenon of Mahāyāna scriptural recursivity itself, the *Nirvana* and *Prajñāparamitā* scriptures being both cause and effect of the origin stories they contain. It becomes possible then to “pay respect to the Dharma” from a space enfolded within the Dharma, when phrases, names, and practices are plucked out of the scriptures and arranged on paper just so like ritual implements. The final two lines close the circuit of these vast orchestrations tracing dharma across time, space, and body. “This” dharma—the Dharma of which the essay had been speaking, the Dharma of which the following essays will be describing how to revere, the Dharma that is literally on the scroll that one holds before oneself—is simultaneously the beginning “first gate” and the closing “final virtue,” the cause and effect for a career of Buddhist practice, that for which one performs the right actions, and that upon which one begins the course. A beginning is an end. Like the scriptural forewords that they resemble in form and style, they take dharma as sacral media and plot out their sources, vectors, and destinations. The “Explaining the Meaning” effectively introduces the contents of the chapter as thematized by the section headings: it emphasizes the power of “Hearing the Dharma” (*tingfa*, Section 2) and the passion of “Seeking the Dharma” (*qiufa*, Section 3) most of all, but “keeping,” “writing,” and “reciting” scripture are also taking the “Dharma Mas-

¹¹⁶ T no. 262.j4.30c10, Chapter 10 for the first instance of this quartet of verbs.

ter” (*fashi*, Section 5) seriously and will result in “Stimulating Merit” (*xingfu*, Section 4).¹¹⁷ But *shuyi* is even more about conveying the appropriate emotions toward the category (“expressing an intention”) than it is about analyzing a topic with dispassionate, encyclopedic rigor (“explaining the meaning”). To convey these emotions, Daoshi borrows words from earlier scholar-monk compilers; and he may full well have expected future anthology-readers to borrow his *shuyi* to “express their intentions” in other contexts.¹¹⁸

5. Li Yan's Preface to A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma

I argue that both prefaces to Daoshi's *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* and *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures* celebrate the great size, number, depth, and diversity of current Buddhist scriptures, but that this mass accumulation of written stuff also figures as something to be made more readily accessible through what I call practices of scriptural economy—the presumably skillful reduction and arrangement of religious texts in anthology. In so doing, they imagine readers consulting these anthologies in place of, or in tandem with, other bodies of scriptures and writings so as to effectively spread ever more dharma to ever more people. The current part of the chapter analyzes the prefaces' declarations about the tremendous number (and size) of circulating scriptures.

These two seventh-century anthology prefaces, as indicated in the previous chapter, borrow arguments and imagery from the sixth-century anthology prefaces that precede them: their main difference is that they are longer and more elaborate.¹¹⁹ In addition, Li Yan's 李儼 pref-

¹¹⁷ The topic of “Section 6: Defaming the Dharma” (*bangfa*) does not seem to be previewed by the *shuyi*. See my chapter synopsis, Appendix P. Daoshi's *shuyi* often make scriptural allusions that are not taken up again in the course of the chapter: while the *Nirvana* allusion to Mahākāśyapa is cited (Appendix P, Item 7) later in *FYZL*, the reference to Sadāprarudita only appears in *ZJYJ* as an added small-character note—see note to Appendix P, Item 8.

¹¹⁸ See Chapter Five, Part 2.2 and Appendices L and M for my analysis of S. 4647: along with copying scriptural quotations, the scribe copied several nonsequential *shuyi* from *A Grove of Pearls* for liturgical reading.

¹¹⁹ Sengyou's prefaces are 339 (*SJP*), 571 (*Shijie ji*), and 277 (*FYJ*) characters in length; the preface to *JLYX* is 295 characters long; the prefaces to *Collected Essentials* and *A Grove of Pearls* are 359 and 600 characters long, respectively.

ace especially resembles the prefaces to scriptural catalogs in piling on metaphorical language about dharma as jewel and miracle plant.¹²⁰ Unlike the extant prefaces to Sengyou's or Daoji's shorter anthologies, however, Li Yan's and Daoshi's prefaces resemble that to Baochang's fifty-fascicle *Anomalous Phenomena* in their lack of specificity with regard to the structure and contents of the work itself. The preface to *Collected Essentials* simply promises that the text excerpts "what people are able to practice and the karmic rewards of good and evil," and that to *A Grove of Pearls* promises similarly comprehensive coverage of the essentials. The latter, like the preface to *Anomalous Phenomena*, makes sure to credit the imperial house for their virtuous patronage of these works of Buddhist scholarship, but the preface to *Collected Essentials* takes after the prefaces to *Genealogy of the Śākya* and the *Golden Basket Discourse* in contextualizing anthology as a product of and solution to end-times despair. Of all of them, however, *A Grove of Pearls* is unique in that its preface attributes its authorship to someone other than the anthology's compiler.¹²¹ The official Li Yan writes about Buddhist anthology from the standpoint of mainstream Chinese learning, and he specifically argues that Buddhist textuality supersedes Chinese textuality on its own terms.

What may be expected of a reader when the Buddhist layman begins his introduction to the anthology with a quotation from the *Book of Changes* which seems to glorify the sacred origins of Chinese script and writing practices? I suggest that Li homologizes *A Grove of Pearls* with the *Changes*: both works may be consulted in varied circumstances in order to discern which actions to pursue. However, the "Appended Phrases" of the *Changes* articulates a theory of language, history, and cosmos wherein word and world exist in a closed system of shared significations, made literal in the physical text of the *Changes*, while Li depicts Buddhist teaching

¹²⁰ The preface to Daoxuan's *DTNDL*, for instance, begins with the line, "Originally now the True Dharma is called a jewel, and there really is reason for this!" 原夫正法稱寶，誠有其由 (T no. 2149.j1.219a07. Its celebration of the Dharma in its diverse and insuperable magnificence follows in the tradition of catalog prefaces, beginning perhaps with Sengyou's preface to *Collected Records*. See translation by Link 1960 and discussion of this preface in previous sections.

¹²¹ The prefaces to *Anomalous Phenomena* and *Golden Basket* do not claim authors, and may have been appended long after the works were compiled.

as having overwhelmed Chinese traditions of writing in size, beauty, universality, and liberating power. Furthermore, Buddhism has had to be translated into Chinese from foreign speech or script; even when the inexhaustible dharma makes its way onto Chinese media (silks, scrolls, scripts), there becomes too much of it and it is too spread out. Li proposes Daoshi as having devised a solution: the best of the gargantuan dharma garden is collected in one easy-to-read book such that *A Grove of Pearls* re-establishes a closed system wherein Chinese writing (signs) can even better represent Buddhist teaching (reality).

Li Yan's foreword to *A Grove of Pearls* begins at, or even before, its attribution line. Some of its readers may have known the author, Li Yan, of whose work remains only his undated foreword to Daoshi's collection of annotations on the translations of the *Diamond Prajñāpāramitā Scripture* and his memorial for the Sichuanese scholar-monk Daoyin 道因 (?–658) of 663—the former which would have been found with Li's foreword to *FYZL* in the same Daoxuan's *GHMJ* collection,¹²² the latter which happened to survive through the fame of its calligrapher, Ouyang Tong (–691).¹²³ In the readings of Li's preface I pursue below, I will triangu-

¹²² See *Guang hongming ji* (T no. 2103.j22.259c19–260a26, entitled here “Preface to the *Collected Annotations on the Diamond Prajñā Scriptures*” (“Jingang banruojing jizhu xu”). It shares a fascicle with twenty-four other pieces of writing labelled as kinds of “discussions” (*yi*), “epistles” (*shu*), “essays” (*lun*), “dedications” (*yuanwen*), “memorials” (*biao* or *qi*), and “prefaces” (*xu*), gathered under the fifth of five fascicles collected under *GHMJ*'s fourth of ten categories, “Discussions on Dharma” (*fayi*). Li Yan's preface to Daoshi's commentary shares a fascicle with discussions on doctrinal matters by prominent Southern Dynasties layman Shen Yue; dedications to Buddhist canons by Northern Dynasties laymen Wei Shou, Wang Bao, and Emperor Yang of the Sui; and correspondence between Xuanzang and the first two emperors of the Tang on dedicating the Tripitaka, among other short writings. On the relationship between Xuanzang's correspondence and the origins of the name “Grove of Pearls” see below. Though closer investigation is warranted, what many of fascicle 22's writings (especially in the second half of the fascicle, where we find Li's preface) have in common is a shared concern with the multiplicity and size of Chinese Buddhist scriptures. Unlike the chapters that immediately precede and follow the fourth category on “Discussions on Dharma,” the third and fifth chapters of *GHMJ* are arranged roughly chronologically: comprising three chapters on the Three Jewels, the three-fascicle “Chapter 3: Merits of the Buddha” (*Fode*) and three-fascicle “Chapter 5: Deeds of the Sangha” (*sengxing*), together with “Discussions of Dharma” comprise eleven fascicles of the thirty-fascicle *GHMJ* (j15–17, j18–22, and j23–25, in sequence). For “Discussions of Dharma,” the chronological scheme is occasionally disrupted with a few doubling backs and early Tang interpolations at the ends of fascicles 18 and 20 (and the end of fascicle 20 is where Li Yan's preface to *A Grove of Pearls* can be found). Daoshi's *Collected Annotations* has long been lost, and cannot be found in later extant collections or catalogs; as an item in contemporary scriptural catalogs see fascicle 100 of Daoshi's *A Grove of Pearls* (T no. 2122.j100.1024a06) and Daoxuan's inclusion of the work in his dynastic catalog for the Tang (T no. 2149.j5.284c05). Zanning remembered to record it in Daoshi's biography, see Appendix J.

¹²³ “Yizhou Duobaosi daoyin fashi beiwen bingxu” 益州多寶寺道因法師碑文(並序), *Quan Tangwen* 201.2033–6, Tong was the fourth son of the celebrated calligrapher Ouyang Xun (557–641). See a rubbing of the stele, originally located at Huiji Monastery in Chang'an where Daoyin had died

late Li's strategies and allusions against his other two presumably earlier prefatory writings, heretofore referred to as the *Diamond Annotations* preface and the Daoyin memorial, the goal of which being to illustrate how Li's project of using the *Changes* to construct authority for Daoshi's anthology parallel his projects of using the *Changes* to construct authority for Daoshi's short commentarial compilation and for an eminent monk who had recently died.

But even simply the surname "Li" and the identification of his ancestral lineage to Longxi 隴西 (contemporary Lintao, Gansu) would have spoken volumes to readers of the foreword: here was the hometown and surname of the imperial clan, a family who traced its lineage back through the ruling house of the Western Liang dynasty (400–421), to the Eastern Han general Li Guang (d. 119 BCE), to Lao Dan (or Li Er) of Warring States times, the sage Laozi himself.¹²⁴ *A Grove of Pearls* features five Lis of Longxi in its appended miracle tales at the ends of five separate chapters: the prefacer likely may have recognized his family members featured in the anthology's tables of contents¹²⁵, and could have read about them at the tails of the five scrolls, as they recorded events that had happened to the Lis in the last half-century during reign eras of the early Tang.¹²⁶

Curiously, none of Li's three extant prefaces begin with invocations of either Daoism or Buddhism, per se, but instead with quotations from and allusions to the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing*

(<http://vc.lib.harvard.edu/vc/deliver/~rubbings/olvwork302153>). Zanning likely made use of Li's memorial, abbreviating it heavily, in composing his biography of Daoyin for the *Song Biographies of Eminent Monks*, which ends with an account of the erection of this stele (T no. 2061.j2.4.716c25–717b22).

¹²⁴ On the rise of the royal Li clan from ambiguous origins (and perhaps not from the Longxi Lis), see Weschler 1979, 150–3. Dunhuang documents shed light on the Longxi Li clan, cf. Rong 2013, 289.

¹²⁵ "Li Daan is rescued by a golden Buddha statue in Yongzhou during the Tang," j14.391c01–28 (cites *Records of Miraculous Retribution*, see Gjertson #22 p207–9); "Li Qianguan in Zhengzhou" writes the *Diamond and Heart Scriptures* in his own blood, j18.422c08–13 (cites *Further Records of Miraculous Retribution*); "Li Zhili loved to hunt and suffered present-life recompense in Longxi during the Tang," j64.773c13–a20 (cites *Records of Miraculous Retribution* in Koreana and *Further Records* in others); "A man was killed by his enemy" and Li Yitan of Longxi solved the case by questioning the victim in a dream, j73.842b05–12 (cites *Further Records*); and "Li Siyi" of Longxi died and met monks who had broken their fast inappropriately in hell, j91.958c17–959a01 (cites *Further Records*). These five tales are in the "Viewing Buddha" (*guanfo*, 6.3), "Paying Respect to the Dharma" (*jingfa*, 7), "Fishing and Hunting" (*yulie*, 73), "Killing" (*shasheng*, 84.3), and "Breaking Fast" (*pozhai*, 90) miracle tale sections respectively.

¹²⁶ At least one for each of the first four reign eras of the Tang: the dates mentioned in the five stories are (in sequence) Wude (618–626); Xianqing 5 (660); Zhenguan 19 (645); Zhenguan (627–649); and Yonghui 3 (652).

易經): this shows that in his project of introducing Chinese Buddhist wonders (Daoshi's compilations; Daoyin's life) to a broader Chinese audience (Buddhist or at least potentially so), he would have imagined the textual world of the *Changes* as their common ground. In so doing, he both emphasizes the uniquely Chinese origin of writing while carving out a reality before signification (in time) or beyond signification (in space) that Buddhist teachings can better account for.¹²⁷ Li's three extant prefaces all begin in this way, and while he has varied his phraseology for each occasion, each of the three prefaces' openings shares words in common with the other two. The foreword to *A Grove of Pearls* begins by narrating the origins of writing itself, but does so by quoting from the very first line of the second half of the "Appended Phrases" (*xici* 繫辭 or "Great Treatise" *dazhuan* 大傳) treatise transmitted as part of the *Book of Changes* that propounds the origins and cosmological significance of the *Changes* itself.¹²⁸ As Mark Edward Lewis describes, the mythology of the origins and development of writing in China across three periods from the ancient culture-hero sages like Fu Xi, to the King of Wen and Duke of Zhou, to Confucius and his disciples is inscribed into the text of the "Appended Phrases" and other writings regarding the *Changes*. It is also recapitulated in the structuring sequence of the *Book of Changes* itself, canonized by the Han Dynasty: from trigrams to lines (hexagrams) to characters to explanations to commentary, traditionally attributed to Confucius and his disciples.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ It was, of course, possible for Chinese Buddhists especially to imagine non-Chinese inventions of writing. For instance, in the fourth component to his introductory fascicle to *CSZJJ*, on the practice and history of translation, Sengyou recounts that three men—Brahma and Khario of India and Cang Jie of China—conceived of scripts that were written to the right, to the left, and downward, respectively. See Link 1961, 285, and Cheung 2006, 118–22. Multiple accounts of the origins of writing circulated in the early Chinese classics.

¹²⁸ In what follows, I rely on Lewis's summary account of the role of the "Appended Phrases" in transforming the *Zhouyi* (the text of earlier divinatory tradition[s]) into the *Yijing* (the text of a complete canonical classic which added "Ten Wings" of commentary to and ethicized the reading of the earlier work) expressing and consolidating the literati ideals about writing and statecraft in Lewis 1999, esp. 252–62. On the composition and philosophical import of the "Appended Phrases," see also Shaughnessy 2001 and Sivin 1991.

¹²⁹ Lewis 1999, 199, writes "[The *Book of Changes*] begins not with words but rather with a series of six lines, and it inventories all the sets of such lines made possible by the alternation of solid and broken lines. Graphic characters are appended to these line sets to explain their meanings and their uses, but the 'Great [Treatise]' states that the graphs explaining the hexagrams are themselves derived from the line sets. These sets, or rather the trigrams from which the hexagrams were supposedly formed, constitute in Warring States thought the first form in which meaning was generated by lines... Thus the structure of the text—moving from hexagrams to written characters—recapitulates the historical invention or discovery of writing." On the three-stage model of antiquity, see Lewis 1999, 195. On claims about the author- and editorship of the "Appended Phrases," see Shaughnessy 1993, 221–3).

As the “Appended Phrases” supplements the *Book of Changes* by properly contextualizing, historicizing, and operationalizing what was conceived as the earlier body of work, so does Li Yan, in quoting from its first line, arrogate the authority of a worthy commentator, simultaneously praising and making more fully accessible the text commented upon. More than this, by inaugurating *Grove of Pearls* with an allusion to the *Changes*’ own account of itself and its value to civilization, Li indexes the entire classical tradition of *Changes* transmission and scholarship as one that would benefit from supplementation by a tradition of transmitting and studying Buddhist scriptures. If “Sinification” is seen as more of a rhetorical strategy employed by Chinese Buddhists to strategically form and harmonize such discursive objects as “China” and “Buddhism,” Li Yan is enacting just such a strategy in his opening line. In fact, in addition to communicating to readers already familiar with the *Changes* that they are the prime addressees of Li’s introduction, Li’s opening with the “Appended Phrases” will allow him to dramatize an encounter between two traditions: an essentialized non- or pre-Buddhist Chinese literary tradition will find itself flummoxed before an essentialized, if not entirely fully materialized, Buddhist canon.

The allusion draws on and re-articulates several strands of thought inherent to the *Changes* tradition about the relationships between writing, signification, time, ethics, text, and knowledge. The “Appended Phrases” vouches that the *Changes* is the accumulated work of sagely translation between invisible and visible realities, natural phenomena and human activity, and the signs and numbers recorded in the work itself.¹³⁰ He who is trained in its exegesis is afforded profound map, chronology, and guidebook for thought and action, as much timeless wis-

¹³⁰ As a “tool for scholars and men of government,” Lewis claims that the “Great Tradition” attributes to the *Book of Changes* seven qualities “(1) ... as a product of sages and model for gentlemen, (2) ... as a microcosm of the universe, (3) ... as a revelation of the structure of time, (4) ... as a revelation of the structure of hierarchalized space, (5) ... as model of the vitalistic or generative aspect of signs, (6) ... as a repertoire of ‘images’ linking natural processes to their representations, and (7) ... as the source of the ‘numbers’ that underlie the world’s order” (252). If Lewis should unveil the “Great Tradition”’s framing of *The Changes* as many kinds of reference work (“model,” “microcosm,” “revelation,” “repertoire,” “source”), for me to employ the verb “translate” is to invoke the *Changes*, as envisioned by “Great Tradition,” as a kind of dictionary that plots the correspondences between and within levels of a reference work.

dom as it is timely wisdom—this is to say, the ability to read present situations in light of one’s readings of the past in order to affect beneficial futures. But the *Changes* also tutors its users in a particular school of hermeneutics, to read patterns shared between written Chinese graphs and the universe. I suggest that just as the *Changes* tradition promises that its readers can decode the mysteries of time, the cosmos, and right action, so does Li promise that *A Grove of Pearls* can bear an analogous function: one can read *A Grove of Pearls* to not only decipher the universe and one’s place in it, but also what to do when and in what kind of manner. Neither text presumes static, pure knowledge for its own sake: all wisdom contained therein is further context and case studies for potential action.

Especially in the context of Warring States philosophy, however, the *Changes*’s ideas about language, representation, and reality were not yet hegemonic. Schools of thought that would later be conceptualized under the rubric of “Daoism” articulated a less totalizing view of language and script. After the fall of the Han, Chinese Buddhist theories of language paralleled, spurred, and were similarly spurred by Daoist ones, suggesting not only a problematic disconnect between provisional language and ultimate truth, but also that that truth could be conveyed in forms and languages outside of Chinese signs and script. If the *Changes* is able to speak authoritatively to Chinese literati about the Way and how to read oneself, the world, and literature in order to partake in it, it was, by the early Tang, but one of many texts that did so.

Less than the contest and integration between rival linguistic ideologies (though I suggest the foreword may also be interpreted as such), Li’s foreword dramatizes the differences between literary traditions in terms of their physical presences. The first paragraph recapitulates the building of a Chinese literary tradition: “three” and “six” grow to “a hundred” and “ten thousand”; “lines” and “trigrams” become “writing” (*shuqi*) and “ancient works” (*gudian*), and then concretize as “seals,” “charts,” “characters,” and “strips,” majestic and elaborate like the dragon

and the phoenix, solidly precious as gold and jade.¹³¹ The first paragraph ends with the diverse multiplicity of “schools” (*jia*) and “scrolls” (*juan*): the myriad begot from the one is not unimpressive, but the sage Laozi prefers the one.¹³²

The second and third paragraphs, then, circumscribe the limits of the classical tradition and the dangers of the Daoist traditions respectively. Both “principle” (*li*) and “language” (*yan*) are adequate to capture some essential truths about human nature,¹³³ but cannot reach beyond the periphery to the outer limits where the greatest truths can be experienced.¹³⁴ If language and principle can grasp a large but ultimately limited domain for the classicists, the writings of Daoists are entirely insubstantial. What looks as impressive as “jewels” (*bao*) or “ornament” (*jin*) is

¹³¹ In contrast to Li’s “Six Component lines” (*liuyao*), “Eight Trigrams” (*bagua*), “Hundred Schools” (*baijia*), and “Myriad Scrolls” (*wanjuan*) here, his other two prefaces offer different numbers to reckon traditional Chinese writings: the *Diamond Annotations* preface highlights the “Eight Scripts” (*bati*) and “Nine Schools” (*jiuliu*) while the Daoyin stele praises the “Ten Wings” (*shiyi*) and “Nine Schools” (*jiuliu*). These writings, according to both prefaces, have spread deep and refined wisdom in the form of “Humaneness and Justice” (*renyi*). Neither of these other prefaces praise the precious material forms of traditional Chinese writing as does the preface to *A Grove of Pearls*: the Daoyin stele features “bequeathed signs” (*chuixiang*) and “literary works” (*wenji*) while the *Diamond Annotations* preface features “bequeathed patterns” (*chuiwen*) and “spread teachings” (*fudian*). The stele does describe the Buddha’s teachings as “jade boxes for mysteries of the way” 道秘瓊箱, and subsequently describes teachings of “birth and extinction [as] produced by sounds of the lotus blossom” and “non-form and non-emptiness [as] recorded on wooden strips of sandalwood” 是生是滅，發蓮花之音；非色非空，被栴檀之簡 (*Quan Tangwen* 201.2034).

¹³² For comparison, see Daoshi’s introduction to *A Grove of Pearls* “Chapter 100: Records,” which also begins by glorifying Chinese writing and continues by finding it lacking in comparison to Buddhist writing: “I have heard—the scattered traces of the Nine Rivers [i.e., China] are collected on records at Lingqiu; level and in accord with the Four Directions is the archive of documents at [Mt.] Qunyu. Also, there are the writings of the Purple Archives and Black Mounds, and the Carved Rocks of the Three Emperors; and the characters of the Green Covers and Yellow Cords, and the Six Jia and Numinous Flight [spirits]. How would the Thus-Come’s Mysterious Canon compare to these brilliant pearls? What all the Buddhas taught are the same as a clear mirror: the Dharmas of the Four Truths from Deer Park; the writings of the Eight Canons from [Lumbini] Garden; even with the massive strength of a Mountain of Fragrance [Gandhamādana], how could you say it [all] can be carried? The Jeweled Cases [of writings] of the Dragon Palaces, just like this they cannot yet be tallied” 蓋聞九河疏[流SYMG]跡，策蘊[緼SYMG]靈丘；/四徹中繩，書藏群玉[王S]。/亦有青丘紫府，三皇刻石之文；/綠檢黃繩，六甲靈蜚[飛SYMG]之字。/豈若如來祕藏，譬彼明珠，/諸佛所師，同夫淨鏡。/鹿苑四諦之法，尼園八藏之文。/香山巨力，豈云能負；/龍宮寶篋，亦未能籌[算SYMG] (*T* no. 2122.1019.a15–20; Zhou and Su 2003 6.2865–6). This first portion of the essay follows the first third of Wang Bao’s 王褒 (fl. 6th c.) *Prayer for the Zhou Canon of Scriptures* (*Zhou jingzang yuanwen* 周經藏願文), collected in the twenty-second fascicle of the *GHMJ*, *T* no. 2103.j22.p257b02–07. These references to the mythological accounts of Chinese writing are obscure—I think the first few lines refer to the *Mu Tianzi zhuan*, j2.

¹³³ The “principle” of classical tradition is said to master the “essential and subtle” (*jingwei*), the very predicate Li Yan uses to describe the “Ten Wings” in the first lines of his Daoyin stele.

¹³⁴ Li Yan’s preface to Daoshi’s *Diamond Annotations* similarly constrains the limits of traditional Chinese writing with the language of “realm [of all under heaven]” (*huan*): “Follow their tracks, one does not exceed the domain of the realm (*huanyu*); trace their sources, one only returns to Humaneness and Justice” 循其轍者，不踰乎寰域；涉其源者，僅歸乎仁義 (*GHMJ*, *T* no. 2103.j22.258c22–3).

in actuality “ice” (*bing*) and “air” (*kong*), and the very motions that move brushes on the page or fingers through the air (one here is reminded of “Daoist” magical writing practices)¹³⁵ is figuratively annulled of its effectiveness. Li Yan uses the full potential of parallel prose style to stack up allusions only to knock them down: “the Librarian” (*cangshi*) stands in for Lao Dan, and “The Gardener” (*yuanli*) takes the place of Zhuang Zhou, but both are summarily dismissed in this foreword to make way for honest, far more awesome libraries and gardens. Within the first three paragraphs, Li weighs longstanding classical against newcomer Daoist traditions of writing, preferring hefty writings of substance, beauty, and power with floriate writings of ephemeral worth. Buddhist scriptures, which he describes next, match the classical tradition in heft and surpass it in depth; they are as beautiful and wondrous as Daoist scriptures falsely promise to be.

Li Yan had exercised opening moves such as these—citing the *Changes*, measuring classical Chinese and Buddhist written traditions against one another in quantity and quality—in the two earlier extant essays mentioned above. In the opening paragraph in his memorial for Daoyin, Li Yan traces a similar trajectory from the glorious origins of writing in the *Changes*, to the wonderful literature of the Warring States philosophical schools, to the “fleeting” (*fu*), insubstantial nature of Daoist “Jewel Scriptures” (*baojing*) and “Ornamented Works” (*jinji*). As in his preface to *A Grove of Pearls*, he then pivots to praise the Buddhists. But whereas in the preface to *A Grove of Pearls* he starts to portray the size and superiority of Buddhist teachings, in Daoyin’s stele he decries the horrors of saṃsāra and praises conservators of the Dharma—the council of reciters who originally canonized the Buddhist teachings, the teachers who transmitted them through the ages, and famed Dharma Masters of the East, Daosheng, Sengzhao, Daoan, and Kumarajīva. He then introduces the personality memorialized by the stele, the Dharma Master from Duobao Monastery in Chengdu, Daoyin. On the memorial stele, Li’s aim is to dramatize the seriousness of saṃsāra: even given the strength and diversity of learned writings inherited from the ancients, they cannot help humans with their “lives of clambering labors, such detested

¹³⁵ See Robson 2008; Bumbacher 2012.

gates of dust; seas of boundless dimness, forever drifting along the waves of suffering” 勞生蠢蠢，豈厭塵門；閻海茫茫，ù漂苦浪。 Given the truth of existential horror, the “phoenix flights” (*fengsheng*) and “dragon perches” (*longqi*) promised by visions in Daoist texts are simply insulting. “It would be better” (*shuruo*) to turn to “the Golden Mouth who instructed illuminatingly” (*xunzhao jinkou*). An “it would be better” (*shuruo*) also marks the same pivot in Li Yan’s preface to Daoshi’s *Diamond Annotations*: rather than work within the constraints of classical tradition, “what would be better is the illuminating dharma of the Able and Humane One, the Greatest Sage availing himself of the times” 孰若至聖乘時，能仁昭法。 The “Able and Humane One” (*nengren*) is a useful translation of Śākyamuni’s name in this context, indicating the Buddha’s consummation of Chinese ideals of sageliness and humaneness of the classical traditions previously alluded to. All three prefaces then move into a more solidly Buddhist idiom for their next step: the memorial portrays the dilemmas of saṃsāra further and the Buddhist personalities who have dedicated themselves to mapping the way out; the commentarial preface praises the Buddha’s analytical prowess and summarizes his *Diamond*’s doctrinal import; and the anthology preface returns to wax epideictic on the mass materiality of Buddhist books.

The fourth paragraph of Li’s *Grove of Pearls* preface pulls the camera back: the Buddhist writings tower over the majesty of the classical canon portrayed in the first paragraph, its powers and limits delineated in the second paragraph, and its foolish facsimile Daoist canon excoriated in the third paragraph. Compared to the classical and Daoist writing traditions, rendered inorganic in “jade” and “gold,” “ice” and “air,” the Buddhist collection is “flowers” (*hua*) and “leaves” (*ye*), figuratively outgrowing its competitors. More than this, what the fourth and fifth paragraph dramatize is the Buddhist writing tradition’s superlative physical presence in terms of size, depth, weight, and content. Unlike the “six” and the “eight” which inaugurate the Chinese tradition of writing, the Buddhist traditions of writing, its “Two Vehicles” (*ersheng*) and “Eight Canons” (*bazang*) are profoundly capacious (“breadth and width” [*hongbo*] and “depth and den-

sity” [*shenmi*] respectively), coextensive with the plantlike teachings of the Buddha.¹³⁶ Li asks the reader of his foreword to regard the Buddhist tradition against its competitors, simply “set them to contest” (*jing*), “weigh” (*jiao*), and “compare” (*bi*; *zheng*) them. Li and proponents of Daoshi’s anthology would have taken as obvious the comparative grandiosity of the Buddhist written tradition in China: texts were the physical instantiations of the size, depth, and complexity of the Buddhist cosmos; Buddhists translated scriptures detailing elaborations upon elaborations on heavens and hells could have filled scrolls that reached up and down to heaven and hell, enumerating seemingly ad infinitum the factors of mind, body, and world; and containing kalpas’ worth of stories involving myriad personalities and past lives to recount. Clearly the breadth and depth of the phenomena the texts describe echo with the breadth and depth attributed to the texts themselves. Li iteratively vouches that the Buddhist scriptures are excellent in the beginning, middle, and end: “from absolute beginning to absolute end, it all tallies with Real Suchness” (*qianji houji, bingqi zhenru*); and he pairs this line with a claim to its universal appeal over the soul-course: “the minds of beginners and experts alike return to Correct Awakening” (*chuxin moxin, xiangui zhengjue*). Text, by virtue of its heft, is fully integrated—it makes sense as a full unit—and integrating—it unites its audience as a sangha devoted to the same soteriological project. There is an argument here that more text allows Buddhist textuality to be more holistic and more substantive, to offer a “greater” account of the personality and the universe than either its classical Chinese or Daoist rival.

¹³⁶ By contrast, Li’s other two prefaces do not return to enumerate the Buddhist written tradition, but immediately go on to count doctrinal objects. Li’s preface to the *Diamond Annotations* speaks of how the Buddha of the *Diamond* wondrously outlined the “Ten Stages” (*shidi*) and the “One Vehicle” (*yisheng*) while his memorial to Daoyin describes how the Buddha’s teaching allows one to overcome the “Three Contaminations” (*sanlou*) and “Five Impurities” (*wuzhuo*) of samsāric existence. However, among the activities of Daoyin that Li Yan chooses to memorialize include his scriptural reading and writing practices, having “[in his early career at Lingyan Monastery in Shandong] universally glanced at the Buddhist scriptures, fully penetrated the dense baskets” 遍窺釋典，咸通密藏，and later, “north of [Pengmen] Monastery [where he later fled to reside in Sichuan] on the mountain cliffs, carving in stone the scriptures, exhausting the dense volumes of the [su]tra and using up the wonderful meanings of the vinay[a]” 遂於寺北岩山，刻石書經，窮多羅之秘帙，盡毗尼之妙義 (*Quan Tangwen* 201.2035). Li Yan portrays Daoyin as no mere exegete (though he lists how his preferences for named scriptures, regulations, and treatises to elucidate evolve over his travels and life-course), but as a consummate trepitaka who joins Xuanzang’s translation team at Chang’an near the end of his life. See Zanning’s adaptations of the second line at *T* no. 2061.j2.717b02–03.

Buddhist texts' collective size and range are tantamount to their power, as the end of the fifth paragraph relates, extending to the ends of the universe and to the beginning and end of time. As we move from classical to Daoist to Buddhist scales of canonicity in the first paragraph of the preface, so do the metaphors of land and sea, time and space grow ever larger across the fourth and fifth paragraphs, from small ("anthills" *yidie* and "cow-pools" *niucen*) to the size of Chinese geographical wonders ("Mount Hua and Song" and "Yellow and Yangtze Rivers") to the scale of Buddhist cosmos ("realms as numerous as the grains of sand swept by the Ganges" *hengsha zhi jing* and "eons as many as minute particles in the universe" *weichen zhi jie*). In this loose chains of metaphors, we also find the "sea of desire" (*yuhai*) lost souls must be led out from and "dust of emotions and filth of mind" (*qingchen gong xingou*) that may be swept clean ("extinguished" *xiao*): they are juxtaposed with the "room of mercy" (*cishi*) wherein the poor son of Buddhist parables may find "clothes, jewels, and topknot pearls" (*yibao yu jizhu*) alike. From aesthetic appreciation of the Buddhist scriptures' size, depth, diversity, and intricacy, Li Yan ends the opening paragraph of his preface with paired metaphors of their soteriological value: the first echoes with previous reckonings of the Buddhist teachings as liquid and earth, and the second recalls the precious classical and Daoist writings above as well as the title of the work. The storehouse metaphor also configures Buddhist teaching in familial and economic terms: the Dharma is to Buddhists as rich fathers are to "poor sons" (*qiongzi*).¹³⁷ In the original parable from the *Lotus*, the prodigal son (the Lesser Vehicle Buddhist) is originally denied his inheritance (Buddhahood) as his father (the Buddha) judges that it would be more appropriate to treat him as a menial laborer who needs to work on cleaning the stable (extinguishing afflictions) for decades. Redeploying the *Lotus*'s metaphor to describe the totality of Chinese Buddhist written tradition, Li Yan portrays Buddhist scriptures as conveyances to the "room of mercy," teachings to bypass lifetimes of ascetic labor. But due to language already expended in the preface on de-

¹³⁷ Compare with the end of the preface to the *Golden Basket Discourse* (Appendix G, paragraph 6), which also promises the storehouse, but to the "poor woman" (*pinnü*).

scribing Buddhist writings, a reader might also be reminded of how Buddhist scriptures resemble storehouses (“texts”) that contain jewels (“meanings”), and how Buddhist scriptures can be prized pearls themselves, deserving of attention, respect, and exchange. In just the previous line is the scriptural tradition alternately described as the content itself (“systems of manifest understanding” *xiaoliao zhi yi*; “patterns of latent secrets” *yinmi zhi gui*) and the spaces through and in which to find it (“gates of liberation” *jietuo zhi men*; “gardens of spells” *zongchi zhi yuan*). In Li Yan’s foreword, scriptures, like jewels or medicine, are both means and ends; and like the treasuries or gardens where one might find them, both containers and things to be contained inside larger treasuries and gardens.

Li was not unique in his ability to wax rhapsodic on the size and strength of the Buddhist written tradition: these tropes of Buddhist writings’ measurement and immeasurability are found throughout Daoshi’s anthological chapter forewords; in Daoxuan’s forewords to his contemporaneous catalog; in other Chinese Buddhist anthology forewords that have survived to us; in imperial praise-poems dedicated to various Buddhist collections and libraries; in Chinese Buddhist-authored apologetic; and finally, at the putative source of things, in Chinese Buddhist scriptures themselves. One of his innovations, however, was to marry this myth with those of glorious Chinese writing to honor both while suggesting the necessity of the Buddhist written tradition.

6. Daoshi's Preface to *Collected Essentials*

In contrast to Li’s foreword to *A Grove of Pearls*, Daoshi’s self-authored foreword to *Collected Essentials* (see Appendix I) begins with describing not the origins of Chinese texts and writing, but rather the development of Buddhist teaching. The very first sentence presents parallel lines about the Dharma being both experienced as visual (“aspect” *xiang*, “appearances” *rong*) as well as aural (“preaching and hearing,” *shuoting*).¹³⁸ The phenomenon of writing or inscription with

¹³⁸ On “preaching and hearing” as an anthological category in *A Grove of Pearls* and *Collected Essentials*, see Chapter Six.

which *A Grove of Pearls*'s foreword begins is missing here, and one encounters the “Dharma Body” (*fashen*) and “Rectified Teaching” (*zhengjiao*) immediately rather than having to take a detour through the high Chinese tradition's own account of itself as a writing culture. Rather, Daoshi communicates telegraphically the Buddhist tradition's own account of itself as simultaneously singular (unchanging, unyielding, superior) and multiple (historical, adaptive, graded). Before Daoshi praises the canons' depths, size, and efficacy, he offers a reason for their depths, size, and efficacy—the Buddha's teachings are disparate and multiple, tailored to “different listeners” (*yiwēn*), “according to abilities” (*suiji*) and “following capacities” (*suiqi*).¹³⁹ The following lines describe the effect of so much one-on-one student-focused teaching: a “Great Net” and “Broad Channel” of dharma of inexhaustible size and brilliance. The Dharma's multitudes are responsible for its magnificent size. And its magnificent size—its multitudinous contents adapted for every kind of listener—is precisely what can and should be taken advantage of to spread the Dharma on to the multitudes for whom it was intended. The following paragraph delineates the ways in which these forewords presuppose a Buddha that employs “skillful means” to preach multiple teachings tailored to disparate audiences, transpose that role onto Daoshi, who condenses the Chinese Buddhist traditions in order to convey multiple teachings tailored to disparate audiences, who in turn promises to allow a user of *Collected Essentials* to act as a bodhisattva and choose appropriate subjects and excerpts to read, copy, and preach to others. More than the preface to *A Grove of Pearls*, the preface to *Collected Essentials* thematizes the audience's role in allowing the Dharma to grow so big in the first place;¹⁴⁰ the preface to *A Grove of Pearls*, on the other hand, spends a great deal more ink on Chinese written traditions, and with the preface to *Collected Essentials*, Daoshi merely mentions “the Faint Sound of the Rūhists and Mohists” (paragraph 4).

¹³⁹ A similar description of the Buddha's skillful means as stimulated response also begins the preface to *Anomalous Phenomena*, see Appendix F, paragraph 1.

¹⁴⁰ Perhaps “for the benefit of successive generations, ancient and modern, [the canon] was designed for many people” (Appendix H, paragraph 11) comes close.

At any rate, both forewords praise the immensity of the Buddhist Canon at length, and in terms of mountains and oceans and groves—they move onto a different topic at the end of paragraph 5 of the foreword to *A Grove* and at the end of paragraph 4 of the foreword to *Essentials*, after each offering one final exclamation of wonder at the tradition’s size (*dazai zhiyi* 大哉至矣; *qida yizai* 其大矣哉). Paragraphs 6 and 7 in the preface to *A Grove* and paragraphs 5 and 6 in the preface to *Collected Essentials* describe both the progress of Buddhism into China. Both forewords express gratitude and joy that Buddhism has spread to and in China, though in *Collected Essentials* it comes to inhabit China through a logic of efficacious response: “Stimulated connection” (*gantong*), “colors” (*cai*), “signs” (*zheng*), “traces” (*ji*), “benefit” (*yi*) manifest, while in *A Grove of Pearls* Buddhism’s appearance is textual and material: “silks” (*jian*), “script” (*zhou*), “spooling of scrolls” (or “writings,” *juanzhou*) “flow of strips” (or “classifications,” *tiaoliu*) multiply and accumulate.¹⁴¹ Another important difference is that Daoshi raises the specter of living in “End Dharma” times, bemoaning the shortness of lives, the dimness of intellect, the loss of ritual order, all tantamount to the deterioration of tradition.¹⁴² Nonetheless, both forewords bemoan the overabundance of Buddhist text: for Daoshi, “the literary phrases were vast in scope, and in the end they were difficult to find and survey” (*wenju haohan, cunan xunlan*) while for Li Yan, writing having “proliferated immensely” (*fanhuo*) and become “grew deeply vast” (*shenkuang*), the essences of them “in the end were difficult to survey thoroughly” (*cunan xianglan*). These forewords’ parallel phrases traverse different narratives, for Li Yan projects this state of affairs as a result of Dharmic success while Daoshi imagines these difficul-

¹⁴¹ Writing as accumulating materials also appears in the preface to *Anomalous Phenomena*; see Appendix F, paragraph 1 for the line “the writings piled up in myriads; the slips accumulated in the chiliocosms.” Buddhist writing as response, accumulation, and then confusion is a common theme for catalog prefaces.

¹⁴² Other references to “End Times” *modai* in anthology prefaces include Sengyou’s prayer in *Genealogy of the Śākya* (Chapter Two, Part 2.2.1); Emperor Wu’s lines in *Anomalous Phenomena* (Appendix F, paragraph 4); and the opening paragraph of the preface to the *Golden Basket* (Appendix G, paragraph 1). It is not always clear to me how deeply these authors believed themselves to be in or close to the End Dharma period; it was certainly a trope they read in and reproduced from the scriptures, but not consistently across individual works. See my notes to paragraph 4 in *Anomalous Phenomena* for Daoshi’s various invocations of the “Three Period” scheme. For a review of Daoxuan’s inconsistent views across his various works on dharma periodization and what period he was in, see Miyabashi 1975.

ties as a manifestation of Dharmic entropy: ultimately, however, they lead readers to the same point of exasperation.

The final three paragraphs (7–9) in the *Collected Essentials* preface has Daoshi describe how his method, ambitions, and audience for the anthology. In paragraph 7, he claims to have “read all the scriptures” (*du yiqiejing*) during the Xianqing Reign (656–661), matching with Li Yan’s portrayal of Daoshi “reading the Three Baskets extensively” (*sanzang bianlan*) at Ximing Monastery in the eleventh paragraph to the *FYZL* preface,¹⁴³ and rather than Li’s gardening metaphors of his “plucking flowers” and “sniffing out blossoms,” the anthologist describes himself simply “pursuing essentials” (*zhuyao*) and “recording from a thousand records” (*luchu yiqian*). Daoshi affects a humble voice (or an unknown, later prefacer affects Daoshi’s humble voice) in concluding:¹⁴⁴ he hopes “monks and laypersons will rely on it for practice” (*daosu yixing*) and that it will allow for the Dharma to persist in the future, but he reasons that his own work is merely a boat on an ocean, dust to a mountain, a brocade hard won but easy to lose. By contrast, Li Yan can simply praise the anthologist (“[of] eminent erudition”), glorify the anthology (“[it has] exhausted... the Glorious Gate!”), and promise the world to its putative readers (“lift it to the heavens and they shall be totally long-lasting”). The thirteenth paragraph to the *FYZL* preface appears to have been newly added when the work was finally completed in 668 (see notes in Appendix H), where Li adds some lines on Daoshi’s concern for getting his work just the right length for its “final draft,” neither shorting the meaning nor going on for too long. Together, the prefaces of both anthologies feature Daoshi as a careful editor of the massive written tradition both prefaces begin by aggrandizing. Daoshi the editor compassionately considers

¹⁴³ In this period, *du* usually indicates oral recitation, sometimes from memory, while *lan* often employs a more spatial metaphor for reading. How various verbs for reading feature in the early medieval Chinese poetic corpus can indicate changes in how reading was imagined and practiced, see Chen 2009.

¹⁴⁴ This humility is reminiscent of Sengyou’s as expressed in his self-authored prefaces to his collections (see Appendix E, note 9), and is not found as often in prefaces for collections written by others, or in Daoxuan’s prefaces, for that matter.

readers helpless before scriptural proliferation, spending over a decade in libraries, continually cultivating his groves.

The story of Daoshi is only significant in light of the story of the anthologies, which in turn are ultimately stories about the Dharma, its continual accretion, and its being made useful. Thinking of anthologies as gardens—selecting and collecting texts as plucking and harvesting—extended to Chinese manuscript culture at large; thinking of monasteries as gardens—spiritual progress as cultivated and pleasurable—was part of a broader Buddhist heritage. Calling Buddhist anthologies “Dharma Gardens” in particular had precedent in Southern Dynasties’ monastic literary culture, and “A Grove of Pearls” alluded to both to the grand relationship between Taizong and Xuanzang as well as to the skillful means of Vimalakīrti. The paratexts of title and preface underscore the distance between the Buddha-realms to “the cities and provinces” of the Tang, from putative mastery of proliferate scripture to the needs of ordinary Buddhists. How, if at all, did this rhetoric work in practice? Would an anthology still work if its reader did not bother to read the preface, or even the title? As I shall show, copyists of *A Grove of Pearls* and *Collected Essentials* knew how to navigate both categories (*lei*) and introductory essays (*shuyi*), but they did not copy down everything exactly as they found it, nor did they always indicate the titles of the anthologies they copied from. In the second half of the dissertation, I examine how Daoshi and other anthologists extracted and collected quotes from scriptures into sections, chapters, scrolls, and anthologies.

Chapter Four: Extracting Scriptural Essence I—History and Practice

1. Copy, Quote, Extract

1.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the discourse and practice of excerpting in and from Chinese Buddhist anthologies. Specifically, we will look at how compilers conceived of selecting and summarizing passages from other writings in terms of *chao* 鈔—a mode of “copying” or “transcription” that ideally reduces the original’s quantity while enhancing its quality. Part 1 juxtaposes two versions of the same ghost story, one from a late first-millennium Dunhuang manuscript, and another from one of the earliest printings of *A Grove of Pearls*, the goal of which is to introduce a distinction between *chao* as extractive transcription and *chaoxie* 抄寫 as complete transcription. Part 2 surveys the semantic range of *chao* over pre-Buddhist, Buddhist scriptural, and Chinese Buddhist bibliographic discourse in order to underscore authors’ ambivalence with the practice as either time-saving and clarifying or violent and distorting. Finally, Part 3 catalogs anthologists’ commentarial strategies indicating where, how, and why extracts have reduced the original text: this paratext helps to construe Buddhist writing as a flexible, *chao*-able medium. Part 1 of the following chapter begins by examining four more quotations from *A Grove of Pearls* to show how they extract scriptural cores from full passages, and to trace how strategies of extraction are replicated and renegotiated between *A Grove of Pearls* and its predecessor Buddhist anthologies. Finally, Part 2 of the next chapter sketches a reception history of *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* and surveys manuscripts from the Dunhuang cache identified with Daoshi’s anthologies in order to delineate how readers of Buddhist anthologies copied from and reduced them in order to render the Dharma useable. As anthologies’ paratext—titles, category-headings, prefaces, citations—elaborate a discourse of scriptural economy, the quoted extracts illustrate its practice even at the level of the written characters that compose the essential “pearls.”

1.2 Two Ghost Stories

The verso of a short two-page Stein collection manuscript scroll, S. 4647, relates a miracle tale from *A Grove of Pearls* in 59 characters taking up two of around forty-seven lines copied out.

In the old [Northern] Zhou Dynasty [557–581] in Henan there was someone named Yanwei whose surname was Wang. He was malicious, always hunting. His parents instructed him but he followed none of it. One night he used a sack of dirt to asphyxiate his parents. Straightaway there was a spirit who flipped the sack of dirt so it was on his own body. He howled for his parents to save him, kowtowed, and died.¹

昔周時河南有一人名彥偉，姓王，凶惡常只遊獵。父母訓教，全不依從，夜以土袋壓其父母口上。尋有鬼神翻其土袋，即於自身。唱叫父母舊之，叩頭而卒。

The same tale was copied onto woodblock to constitute thirteen lines of seventeen characters each in the Qisha canon during the mid-thirteenth century. The block would be used to print the twenty-fourth of twenty-five blocks of fascicle 49 of *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*; it survives today as a piece of the Qisha Canon (1216–ca. 1322), a near full copy of which was rediscovered in Chang’an, reassembled, and photographically reprinted in the 1930s.²

The same tale was related in 216 characters:

During the Zhou Dynasty, there was a man surnamed Wang. His cognomen was Yanwei and he was a man of Henan. He had a malicious nature and loved to hunt. His parents raised him alone and loved him dearly; but he disobeyed them at every remonstrance, and he toured together with bad people. Again they prohibited him from hunting, fearing that

¹ S. 4647 verso, lines 6–7, see Appendix L, Verso B. I have added punctuation.

² See Chia 2015. At least three nearly complete sets have been discovered over the twentieth century, and one collection is held by the Gest Collection in the Princeton University East Asian Library, see Chia 2015, 210n2. I have used a photographic reprint of the Qisha *Grove of Pearls* for my analysis published as *Fayuan zhulin* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991). The photographically reproduced canon from the 1930s (and updated since as the “Photographic Reprint of the Song Qisha Scriptural Canon” *yingyin Song Qisha zang jing* 影印宋磧砂藏經) was a modern Buddhological project in its own right, offering an alternative source to earliest extant print canon Tripiṭaka Koreana, also of the thirteenth century, but the Qisha Reprint Canon unfortunately borrows from other canons to “fill in” missing fascicles without always indicating alternative sources. My reprint of *FYZL* fascicle 49 contains an undated colophon that identifies its fund-raiser as “Gentleman of Complete Loyalty Zhao Anguo” and thus of mid-13th c. Qisha provenance, 366. On Zhao Anguo, see Chia 2015, 184. On what colophons can tell us about group sponsorship of multi-scroll scriptures (in this case, a manuscript *Great Perfection of Wisdom* in eighth-century Japan), see Lowe 2017, 91–5.

he would injure himself and cut off the family line. Wei did not obey his father's instruction, continued to hunt unceasingly; he joined with bad people, and always committed serious offense. His parents seeing that he would not stop his evil behavior caned him fifty times. His body covered with welts, he was unable to go out, and he hated his parents for it. He waited until night for them to fall asleep, and covertly used a sack of dirt to asphyxiate his parents. Adding his body-weight by sitting upon their mouths, he hoped that they would not breathe. He intended that in sending them to their deaths, he would have no more welts. There would soon be death, but he did not guess it would be his own. Suddenly, he saw that a ghost had entered into the hall, startling the family. Both adults and children awoke to Wei flipped in front of the bed: now Wei was lying on his back, with the sack of dirt on his stomach! The parents had revived, and then pulled at the sack of dirt on their son's stomach, but they were unable to free his body. Wei then saw the ghost pressing down on the sack of dirt. In dire straits and about to die, he howled out for salvation, and the entire household and its neighbors joined forces to pull it, but it was finally immovable. Wei made no more sounds, only able to use his hands to kowtow, bring his palms together and die... [skipping an anecdote] (The previous two stories at right can be seen in Li's *Records to Turn the Mind*).³

周時有人姓王，字彥偉，河南人。為性凶惡，好游獵。父母孤養，憐愛極重。每諫不許共惡人交遊，復抑不聽射獵。恐損身命，不存係嗣。偉不從父訓，常獵不止。兼逐惡人，恒為龐過。父母既見不止凶行。罰杖五十，身瘡不得出。以恨父母，伺夜眠之後，密以土袋壓父母口。加身坐上，望氣不出，意令遣死，無其瘡盤，將為卒亡，不猜己身。忽見有鬼來入堂內，震動家內，大小並覺，翻偉牀前。偉便仰臥，土袋已在偉腹。父母蘇覺。遂挽兒腹上土袋，不能去身。偉復見鬼壓土袋上，極困垂死，唱叫救命。合家大小及之隣人併力挽之，必竟不移。偉聲不出，但得以手叩頭，合掌而卒。

[...] (右二見李『歸心錄』也。)

³ *Fayuan zhulin* 1991, 365c8–20 and 28. I have added punctuation based on Zhao and Su 2003, 4:1504.

The Qisha Canon rendering of the tale might be considered a more faithful copy of the text. It may be thought of as one more canon to measure against the canonical print editions consulted to make the Taishō, most of the 216 characters matching with those of Taishō’s base edition, the Tripiṭaka Koreana (Goryeo daejanggyeong), and some character variants echoing other witnesses like the Yuanjue (“Song”) and Jiaxing (“Ming”) print canons.⁴ Taishō’s thirteen lines of around seventeen characters each would duplicate Qisha’s completely if the editors had not added in their punctuation marks; the Goryeo, by contrast, typically features fourteen characters per line.

S. 4647 would appear to be a summarized version of the same text: same Wang Yanwei, same murder plot, same ghostly reversal, same grisly end. In rendering an account nearly a quarter in length, however, notable details have been shaved away. For one, the parents’ devotion to their son is not only declared in the fuller narrative, but also underscored through repetition of disciplinary action, quantities of caning, and their final attempt to save their hunt-happy son from suffocation. Repeated disciplining is implied and not fully brushed out in the abbreviated version, with the four characters “but he followed none of it” (*quan bu yicong*). The ghostly denouement of the tale, featuring a household of characters startling awake, shaking, shouting, pulling, and pushing, is also rendered telegraphic: a single flip, shout, kowtow, and death. While the full narrative repeats Wei’s name six times, partially to facilitate the alteration of actants, the summarized version is satisfied with naming him once in the beginning, trusting the reader to attribute the string of actions to Wang Yanwei and his sack of dirt (invoked twice, not four times), largely done unto and in reaction to his parents (invoked thrice, not six times) and the ghost (invoked once, not twice). In the shortened narrative, the thoughts, intentions, judgements of Wei’s family are not conveyed, so readers are not kept in suspense and the evil son would seem to die faster. The scribe of S. 4647 has ostensibly caught the plot-line of an anecdote origi-

⁴ Note the fourth line which preserves one “continually” (*chang* 常) and one “always” (*heng* 恒). Koreana prefers “continually” for both instances, while the other canons prefer “always” for both instances. For an English-language survey of imperial print canons, see Li and He 2015. For an exploration of methods for interpreting the kinds of differences one finds for texts across various canonical collections and their modern critical avatars like Taishō and Zhonghua, see Bingenheimer 2014.

nally deriving from the *Records to Turn the Mind* (*Guixin lu*):⁵ the copyist does not preserve the citation from *A Grove of Pearls* (or the second story for that matter), but one assumes they had *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* before them to copy from: as I discuss later in the chapter, the front and back of the manuscript present materials also found, sometimes exclusively, across nine of *A Grove*'s hundred fascicles. Though S. 4647 nowhere identifies *A Grove of Pearls* as the origin of its texts, the recto displays a series of eight cited scriptural quotations that can be found in the same order on the same fascicle in *A Grove of Pearls*, and the verso shares four headings one might recognize as its *lei*-category or *pian*-chapter titles.

I have juxtaposed the two copies of the story relating Wang Yanwei's attempted patricide and grisly death to underscore what is unique to each. One can imagine the copyist of the Dunhuang manuscript looking at something like the story in the Qisha Canon *Grove of Pearls*, brushing down an abbreviated version of the story for their own use, perhaps a script for reading aloud to others (as we can imagine for other excerpts copied onto the manuscript) or a prompt for divulging the tale in greater detail. First, the copyist reads the story to themselves, or has it read to them, or another reader dictates orally what the scribe should write out; then, the maker(s) of S. 4647 judge precisely what is necessary and essential about the story, in some cases paraphrasing "with their own words," in other cases copying a string of characters directly onto the page, and in yet other cases skipping and inverting characters to complete the summary. Here and there are additions ("the *old* Zhou Dynasty" *xi Zhou*),⁶ word-expansions ("instruction" *xunjiao* for

⁵ The only other appearance of this work is in *A Grove of Pearls*: the last work Daoshi lists in his "Miscellaneous Collections" catalog is a thirty-fascicle *Records to Turn the Mind* by "Awesome Guard and Office Manager Xiao Xuanci" 威衛錄事蕭宣慈 T no. 2122.j100.1024b16–17; cf. Zhou and Su 2003, 6.2886. The work must have been recently composed. Based on the content of the two miracle tales attributed to it, found exclusively in *A Grove of Pearls*, Xiao (or Li's) *Records to Turn the Mind* may have been a collection of stories on filial piety and ghostly retribution—a "Buddho-Confucian" collection of sorts. "Turn the Mind" was also the title of the sixteenth *pian*-chapter of Yan Zhitui's *Family Instructions* (*Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓) of 589, copied, among other places, into the third fascicle of Daoxuan's *GHMJ* (T no. 2103.j3.107b14–108c05). As can be gleaned from his "Turn the Mind" chapter, Yan had great interest in locating filial piety in Confucian and Buddhist traditions; he also compiled the *Tales of Vengeful Souls*, nearly all of which survive through *A Grove of Pearls*. On Yan as Buddho-Confucian, Dien 1962; for the allusion "turn the mind," *Analects* 20.1.

⁶ The specification of "*Old* Zhou" may suggest this story was copied after the reign of Wu Zetian 武則天 (624–705) who inaugurated her own "Zhou Dynasty" (690–705), or less likely, after the Later Zhou of 951–960.

xun; “spirit” *guishen* for “ghost” *gui*) or character substitutions (“straightaway” *xun* for “suddenly” *hu*) and variants (“flip” *fan*; “rescue” *jiu*). But for the most part the scribe has subtracted characters. Between a complete text and a blank page, and between brush and brains, judgements had to have been made about what actors, actions, and adverbs could be dispensed with. Unlike other passages copied down from *A Grove of Pearls* onto S. 4647, the retelling of Wang Yanwei’s story is less faithful, less exacting with respect to its textual original. But it also preserves the spirit of the original, and relates it with far greater economy.

In actuality, the Dunhuang copyist could not have copied the story from the Qisha Canon version of *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*, or from any print canon version of the text for that matter, because the woodblock versions had not come into existence yet. Scholars of *A Grove of Pearls* imagine that the print versions of the text are somehow more faithful to the original hundred-scroll manuscript that Daoshi (or his team) personally brushed out in the 660s at Ximing Monastery, that would circulate widely in that period only to have disappeared and reappeared in the scriptural catalogs of later times and places.⁷ Both the Stein and Qisha texts I have been talking about are copies of copies of copies, all the more so for having been subsequently photographed, reprinted, digitized, and transcribed into this dissertation.

Scholars of the Chinese manuscript tradition, using Chinese terms, might differentiate between the two copies of the tale in terms of *chaoxie* 抄寫 versus *chao* 抄, two modes of manuscript reproduction that privilege fidelity and summary respectively.⁸ A copyist in the former mode would strive to reproduce the original exactly as it was, character for character, perhaps even stroke for stroke. Copyists in the first mode are ostensibly serious about retaining something original in the work being copied: authorial intention, embodiment of truth, aesthetic qual-

⁷ Tracking the disappearance and appearance of *Fayuan zhulin* in medieval Chinese and early Japanese bibliographic records, see Motoi 2009, 35–43.

⁸ On this important distinction, see Tian 2007, 79–86, and 2017, 143–5. Tong 2011 goes further to argue that in the Han and Six Dynasties period, *chao* and *xie* differed in both meaning and value, with *chao*, glossed as “partial excerption” (*bufen zhailu* 部分摘錄) coming to be dominated and supplanted in meaning by *xie*, glossed as “full transcription” (*quanbu tenglu* 全部騰錄) sometime during the Tang, when the two characters could be brought together in a single word *chaoxie* that meant the same thing as either of its component characters.

ity. One thinks of the stringent regulatory apparatuses of high-prestige scriptoria employing staffs of experts, multiple drafts bearing correction marks, and guardians of the Dharma ready to strike down a copyist for mis-transcribing a single character in ancient Japanese scriptural copying as discussed in Lowe (2017). Copying here is envisioned as a social and centrifugal activity, making more of the same more available for future and further audiences. Copying in the second mode, by contrast, is imagined less as steady, public-facing transcription than as a more private distillation of textual essence.⁹ Something difficult to perceive or approach perdures in the original, perhaps the very point of it; and some truth or element of this original can be ferreted out, harvested, or further processed through further transcriptive practice. The work of copying in the second mode not only results in a second, shorter text, but it does work on the heart and hand of the copyists themselves, allowing them to apprehend something with greater ease. And the resultant epitome—of a scriptural passage, of a full anecdote from beginning to end, of a full scripture or treatise, of a full textual tradition—is both the full thing itself and a shorter, more efficient version if it. Epitome or *chao* can be envisioned as a participant in a centripetal model of textual process, wherein text and meaning from all across a work are accumulated in a center. And depending on how one comes across a textual *chao*, one can alternate the emphasis on whether there has been something lost or something gained.

Modern English employs a plethora of terms for describing how one moves or reproduces passages of text from one or multiple sources to a single written destination, in respectable and disreputable ways.¹⁰ “To copy” or “to transcribe” may be used to emphasize fidelity to an original, and “to plagiarize” emphasizes that while fidelity was honored with regard to the language and meaning of a text it was illegitimately denied to its purported source. “To summarize” and “to paraphrase” suggest textual maneuvers of abbreviation wherein the full letter of the text may

⁹ See Tian 2007, 82–3 who translates anecdotes from the *History of the Liang* expressing authors’ personal investment and private enjoyment of making extracts from larger collections.

¹⁰ On the awkward development of intellectual property law and copyright protection in early modern China, see Alford 1995. For a sustained Mahāyāna Buddhism-inspired consideration of what the act of “copy” can even be said to designate, see Boon 2010.

be manipulated around one or more of its preserved meanings. If we copy, summarize, or paraphrase the language of others, we both “quote” and “cite” it: we indicate through punctuation and guiding phrases what words and ideas we have borrowed from others, and we mark with numbers, notes, names and titles the location(s) where one might find the original text. We may “crib” notes from a source for private use, but certain guidelines must be followed in order to transform and incorporate cribbed notes into something publishable. And we, too, “anthologize” by bringing together a selection of full, abbreviated sources for later focused use. In some ways, the character *chao* could refer to any or encompass all of these practices.¹¹

But we can also be sure that the copyists of *A Grove of Pearls* often made analogous distinctions. Anthologies never purported to be the scriptures themselves, though *A Grove of Pearls* was one of the first works commissioned by the funders of the Qisha Canon woodblocks, its dedicatory colophons as concerned with merit transfer as for any other Buddhist scripture they sought to canonize through print.¹² Rather, they usually employed a system of quotations and citations—text indicated as sourced from scripture, and text indicating scriptural sources—that could be far more rigorous than other forms of digesting and reproducing holy text, as in contemporaneous scriptural commentary and allusion. Most of the passages in *A Grove of Pearls* have also been transmitted through the very same print Buddhist canons that ensured its full preservation, and many of these “copied” passages look to be faithful reproductions of their originals.¹³ But *A Grove of Pearls* also contains passages alongside its scriptural extracts indi-

¹¹ If I were forced to coin a new translation for *chao*, I might settle on “exscription” which highlights both physical writing with the root verb and the extractive or revelatory aspects of the practice with the prefix.

¹² Chia 2015, 186. Of the twenty-five dated “fascicles” of *Fayuan zhulin* included in my Qisha reproduction, the earliest was dated 1233 (fascicle 1, Shaoding 6.4) and the latest 1256 (fascicle 30, Baoyou 4.5). The dates on the fascicles suggest that while the blocks for *Fayuan zhulin* were commissioned over a twenty-year period, they were not necessarily completed in sequence. There does appear to be a slight correlation between earlier fascicles and earlier dates, however. For transcriptions and readings of Qisha Canon colophons as a group (including some colophons from *FYZL* fascicles), see You 2011, 1–8.

¹³ The closeness in text between “source” and “anthology” is remarkable given the long chain of faithful copyists that have led to the modern critical editions circulating today. There are still enough differences between the two witnesses (and among the various editions of the witnesses) to make *A Grove of Pearls* a useful independent source for reconstructing what earlier versions of a text may have looked like. Rather than representing two uncontaminated

cating a single extract's multiplicity of sources, an incomplete transcription of the text, or the summarial or extracted nature of a reproduced bit of scripture. For handlers of Buddhist texts, to *chao* scriptures or from scriptures was similar to *shuxie* 書寫 (“writing out a copy”), *tengxie* 謄寫 (“transcribing a copy”), or *chaoxie* 抄寫 (“copying out [faithfully]”) in that both practices intended to do honor to the meaning of the original text; but the former practice always carried with it a sense of the illicit or immoral. *Chao* were often viewed as unlicensed creation, describing the making of apocrypha from true scriptures; the digestion of difficult treatises by unqualified appreciators; the extraction of smaller scriptures from a larger, integral whole by varied, anonymous propagators of Buddhism. But the very same scriptural excerpts could be used quite effectively to move audiences along the path. Medieval Chinese Buddhists may have envisioned *chao* as a kind of upāyic “shortcut,” to borrow a meaning of the word from modern Chinese: efficient but provisional; cheap yet convenient.

Japanese Buddhologists have argued that the practice of *chaojing* 抄經, or as I paraphrase it, “scriptural extraction,” formed a crucial catalyst for the rise and development of Chinese Buddhist *leishu* in the Southern Dynasties period.¹⁴ This chapter argues that not only was scriptural extraction a necessary first step for anthologies to be composed, but also that anthologies offered affordances for further scriptural extraction. My interpretation of Chinese Buddhist anthology contends that processes of scriptural extraction do not merely occur at the level of physically copying all or a certain group of characters from one written source to another, but also at the level of intellection incorporating an extractor's topic and aim. How were dharmic essences apprehended and revealed through further writing? What work did scriptural quotation and citation do? When, how, and why did scriptural extractors pull text out (select), pare it down (summarize), or both? In the context of an anthology, how did these doctored parts come to stand in

lines of “source” and “copy” from the mid-seventh century, however, there also remains the possibility that multiple print canons sought to adjust text in *FYZL* and other scriptures to better reflect one another.

¹⁴ Cf. Ōuchi 1977, 56–7; 1998, 24; Ochiai 2006, 9; Funayama 2013, 175–6.

for wholes? Of what wholes were they parts? Builders and users of Chinese Buddhist anthology embraced the project of making mass scripture into less of it, and making more of the less.

2. A Brief History of Buddhist *chao*

2.1 *Chao* in Buddhist Scriptures

In translating the term, Anglophone scholars alternate among various terms that emphasize different dimensions of the process envisioned by and the products that manifest from *chao*: “to copy,” “to comment,” “to extract,” “to summarize,” “to essentialize,” or “to annotate” as verbs describing textual process; “copy,” “commentary,” “extracts,” “epitome,” and “notes” as nouns describing textual products. The character itself seems to grow in use and take on ever more denotations as a noun or verb in the age of paper, from the late Han up through the late-Tang: a *shao* 少 (“less,” “small,” “young”) for pronunciation paired with a hand (手) or metal (金) radical for meaning, the elements of the character invited further exegesis. While hand-radical *chao* 抄 is absent from the Han-period character dictionary *Explanation of Words and Analysis of Graphs* (*Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字); metal-radical *chao* 鈔 here is interpreted as “fork [and] take” 叉取也.¹⁵ In the early official histories (*History of the Han*, [*Hanshu* 漢書 completed 82], *Annals of the Three Kingdoms* [*Sanguo zhi*, 三國志 289], and *History of the Later Han* [*Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 445]), but no earlier it seems, either character variant is by and large used to depict acts of raid (*chaoxi* 抄擊), pillage (*chaolie* 鈔掠/鈔略), and theft (*kouchao* 寇鈔; *chaodao* 抄盜): soldiers and thieves are its agents, and when the character is used transitively, territory and peoples are its objects.¹⁶ At the same time that historians deploy the word to de-

¹⁵ According to Pan Mutian 2010, the metal-radical *chao* appears first on a Warring States period bamboo manuscript recovered from the Baoshan Tombs, where it seems to denote a manuscript-carving knife. Pan relates how the Chinese etymological tradition has interpreted the characters as a metal utensil—fork or a knife—and the use of that metal utensil—forking, cutting, and carving. “Cut” may have developed early resonances with a homophone character, *chao* 剿/勦. For metal-radical *chao*, *SWJZZ*, 1249. Tong Ling 2011, on the other hand, sees the *Shuowen jiezi* explanation of *chao* (“to take out”) as indicative of its “root” meaning, in direct contrast with the putative “root” meaning of *xie*, which the same *Shuowen jiezi* glosses as “to place something in” (*zhifu* 置物). The former concept privileges writing as extractive while the latter privileges writing as preservative.

¹⁶ Pan 2010, 110–3 for a discussion of its use in the histories. In Pan’s telling, metal-radical *chao* meaning “metal implement” was the “original” character and denotation that gradually came to be written with a hand-radical while

scribe violent—often illicit—material expropriation, the same character is also used—sometimes in the very same histories—to describe textual processing and composition. As Pan Mutian demonstrates, the eight appearances of *chao* in Ge Hong’s 葛洪 early-fourth-century *Master that Embraces Simplicity* (*Baopuzi* 包朴子) demonstrate its semantic reach across material, textual, and alchemical domains: in one case it describes scooping precipitate from a mixing cauldron of boiling metals (*yi tieshi chaoqu zhi* 以鐵匙抄取之); in another Ge prefaces his instructions on processing the Golden Elixir as summarized notes (*lüechao* 略鈔); in a few others *chao* depicts theft; and in the rest it refers to the making of smaller writings from larger corpuses of writing.¹⁷ Scoop out, sum up, steal, or anthologize: all these processes are similar in that they describe an action of appropriating something essential (*yao* 要) guided under the intention of private future use. Between the early Han when the word seems scattered in use, and the early Song, when the metal-radical *chao* and hand-radical *chao* appear to diverge more permanently in meaning (the former comes to more reliably designate paper money, the latter verbs of copying and theft), *chao* constituted a stew of overlapping meanings.¹⁸

Buddhist translations and authored works from this period participated in and added to these multiple uses: besides supplying syllables for transcribing foreign sounds and functioning as a measure word (“a scoop”), *chao* was for snatching, forking, cutting, and stealing. In Buddhist translations and authored works, the objects of *chao* include food, water, clothes, jewels, as well as text; its subjects naturally include a majority of monastics and lay Buddhists, often con-

extending its meaning to other domains. *Sanguo zhi* features 17 uses of the metal-radical *chao*, of which 16 mean “raid”; *Hou Hanshu* features only 5 uses of metal-radical *chao*, all of which mean “raid” and 36 instances of hand-radical *chao*, 34 of which mean “raid.” In a few cases animals are the objects of a verbal phrase involving *chao*.

¹⁷ Pan’s 2010 interest in the *Baopuzi* is not only to challenge *HYDCD*’s lists of definitions for characters in order to improve its functions as a dictionary and concordance, but to demonstrate the semantic overlap between hand-radical and metal-radical *chao* in the early medieval period. The three uses of the metal-radical *chao* in *Baopuzi* would seem to denote textual processes exclusively.

¹⁸ Pan’s 2010 corpuses for evaluating Tang mixture and Song polarization of the two *chao* characters are the *Complete Tang Poetry* (*Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩, compiled 1705) and the *Classified Conversations of Master Zhu* [*Xi*] (*Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類, compiled early 13th c.) respectively (113–16, 116–19). Pan briefly discusses how “Epitome Master” (*chaozhu* 鈔主) was an epithet for Daoxuan that appears in the mainstream poetic corpus, but does not look at other Buddhist works.

demned for their violent and harmful acts of selfish expropriation, for literal or metaphorical “cutting.” As in non-Buddhist usages, if the character *chao* is located in a two-character verbal phrase, it is often the first of the two characters employed, and the second character in the verbal phrase can clarify with what intention *chao* was completed: “extract for allocation” *chaobo* 抄撥; “extract for citation” *chaoyin* 抄引; “extract out” *chaoqu* 鈔取; “extract [for] commentary” *chaoshu* 鈔疏; “extract to collect / collect extracts” *chaoji* 抄集; or “extract for publishing” *chaochu* 鈔出. But rather than earlier mainstream historiographic uses of the character where the grammatical object of *chao* were the peoples and territory raided, in early medieval Buddhist texts the grammatical object is more consistently the extracted prize rather than the body from which things of value may be extracted, and in some cases, both objects may follow the verb.¹⁹

This wide and varied web of how *chao* was imagined in Chinese Buddhist literature provides the context for how the literature alternately prescribes and proscribes *chao* specifically as a textual practice. The act of *chao*, whether in the context of extraction, summary, or copy, is figured hyperbolically as either violent or revelatory. Whether it damages or upholds the Dharma depends crucially upon who is performing the *chao* and when in the history of dharma that somebody is performing it. In the chapter part below, I catalog some instances where *chao* appears in early Chinese Buddhist scriptures to elucidate this bivalence. Many of these scriptural citations would have been familiar to Daoshi, because they are specially cited in *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*. I will note where and how they are cited by the anthology in the course of my discussion about *chao* in Buddhist scriptures, because their anthological context (the category-headings, juxtaposed quotations, extra commentary) helps situate how the quotes, and by extension the semantic field of *chao*, were taken to mean by the anthology. I have included conspectuses of some of the chapters where these excerpts are located as Appendices O–R: for the purposes of this chapter part, excerpts from “Chapter 7: Paying Respect to the Dhar-

¹⁹ For example, “with the hand he extracted [from] the water the gold and the jewels” 以手抄水中得金寶 (T no. 23.j3.291b17).

ma,” “Chapter 16: Preaching and Attending,” and “Chapter 22: Preservation” are not only invoke what Buddhist scriptures have to say about *chao*, the excerpts themselves instantiate how the textual practices they describe were actually carried out.

Chao can be portrayed as the quintessential act of dharmic propagation: in the post-nirvana age the words of the Buddha are not merely to be conserved through scriptural storage, but need to be artfully redeployed in order to make, improve, and defend current Buddhists. In Dharmarakṣa’s (230–316?) *Scripture on Practicing the Stages of the Path* (*Xiuxing daodijing* 修行道地經, T no. 606) of 284, a translation of Saṃgharakṣa’s (fl. 2nd c.) **Yogacāryabhūmi-sūtra*, the translation has the sainted Saṃgharakṣa employ the character *chao* to describe his process of composing the work in the concluding verses to five of its thirty chapters.²⁰ Most of the closing verses of *Practicing the Stages of the Path* has the compositor reflect upon the act of composing the treatise from the words of the Buddha and his followers, and Saṃgharakṣa describes performing *chao* on a broader set of Buddhist scriptures (“scriptures” *zhongjing* 眾經; “Buddha’s scriptures” *Fojing* 佛經; “scrolls of scripture” *jingjuan* 經卷; “the tree of scriptural dharma that the Buddha bore” *Fosheng jingfa shu* 佛生經法樹)²¹ to compose the scripture one is currently partaking of. According to these five verses, the action is taken in parallel to “penetrating” *chedu* 徹觀; “seeing and picking” *guancai* 觀採; “cutting and picking” *shengcai* 省採; or “seeing and investigating” *guanचा* 觀察); and it is taken in order to “explicate” (*yanshuo* 演說) or “explain” (*jiangshuo* 講說) the contents of a chapter. Rather than content himself with the order of narrative presentation that a dharmabhāṣaka or scroll might reveal the stages of the path, Saṃgharakṣa admits to stringing together his own sequence, his own sūtra, by topic and stage.

²⁰ Chapters 1, 5, 6, 19, and 20 respectively (T no. 606.j1.182c19–20, 189b09–10, j3.190b14–15, 204c27–28, and j4.205b03–04). See Demiéville 1951, 399, 401, for translations for the closing verses for Chapters 1 and 5. Demiéville has translated *chao* as “copied,” and Demiéville 1951 on Saṃgharakṣa in general. On Saṃgharakṣa as a compiler-author Daoan thought worthy to praise and emulate, see the following chapter part.

²¹ The final description of the scriptural tradition, from the concluding verse to its Chapter 20 extends the analogy in the following line of verse by portraying the “extraction of essentials as picking blossoms” (*zhongyao chao ru cai-hua* 眾要鈔如採華).

Conversely, a scriptural passage from Kumārajīva's *Buddha Treasury Scripture* (*Fozangjing* 佛藏經, *T* no. 653) warns that if one is preaching the Dharma but “does not oneself understand the meaning well” (*zi bu shanjie* 自不善解), an audience may regard the preacher as possessing one or more of five faults, the fourth of which is that “their preaching is impure but there is eloquence in the words” (*suoshuo bujing, danyou yanqi* 所說不淨，但有言辭) and the final one is that “their words are out of sequence, excerpted from here and there” (*yan wu cidi, chuchu chaocuo* 言無次第，處處抄撮). This passage, the first found in (“Section 4: Contravening Dharma” *weifa* 違法) in the sixteenth chapter on “Preaching and Attending” (*shuoting*) in *A Grove of Pearls*, underscores the message that extracting and reassembling scripture to positive effect is a skill that requires great wisdom.²²

Chao is also prescribed as a mode for non-experts to spread the Dharma in typical Mahāyāna “cult of the book” formulae: on the one hand, *chao* in the form of *chaoxie* asks listeners of sūtra to “copy out [in their entirety],” while on the other hand, *chao* may be distinguished from other forms of writing. The former case is more familiar, and is the verbal form that appears in many medieval Chinese miracle tales featuring wonderful boons for the proper copying of Buddhist texts, and terrible consequences for less scrupulous copying.²³ One important scriptural locus prescribing full, clean copying of scripture is in the *Great Collection Scriptures* (*Dajijing* 大集經, *T* no. 397, assembled by Sengjiu 僧就 in 586), which incorporated what was originally Narendrayaśas's (516–589) translation of the *Sun Treasury Scripture* (*Rizangjing* 日藏經) as what is today its fascicles 34 through 45: in one division of the scripture, while the Buddha is explaining to Kaudinya the merits of the “dhāraṇi for pure eyes” (*jingyan tuoluoni zhou* 淨眼陀羅尼呪), the “copying of this dhāraṇi, recitation and upholding of it with utmost heart, and repentance for these past sins” (*chaoxie ci tuoluoni, zhixin songchi, huiguo bi ye* 抄寫

²² *T* no. 2122.j23.461a22–b19. *Buddha Treasury Scripture* is attributed to Kumārajīva in 405. Compare *T* no. 653.j2.793c20–3, c26–28, 794a04–13, 793c01–03, from “Chapter 6: Pure Rules” (*jingfa* 淨法).

²³ On the relationship of “full transcription” (*xie; shuxie; chaoxie*) and the exacting procedures and division of labor in staffing of early Japanese Buddhist scriptoria (*xiejingsuo* or *shakyōsho*), see Tong 2011, 272, and Lowe 2017, 106–48.

此陀羅尼至心誦持悔過彼業) are the first steps of a ritual procedure to cure blindness caused by previously enumerated sins—defaming the Dharma or the holy ones who propound it, interfering with the preaching of the Dharma, “deleting words while copying scriptures“ (*chaoxie jing xituo wenzi* 抄寫經洗脫文字), and blinding of others.²⁴ In a slightly later division, the Buddha enjoins the Dragon King Sāgara to “copy this scripture” (*chaoxie cijing* 抄寫此經) multiple times, “according to the Dharma” (*rufa* 如法), enumerates devotional procedures to effect these practices, and lists the virtues of any householder or country who undertakes the copying of this scripture.²⁵ In “Section 6: Defaming the Dharma” (*bangfa*), the final section in *A Grove of Pearls* “Chapter 7: Paying Respect to the Dharma (*jingfa*),” the former quote describing the list of ways to defame dharma (minus the blinding of others) is cited as the first proof-text, though the rest of the passage and the other passage on the Dragon King is not.²⁶ In “Defaming the Dharma,” the commentary before, and the quotes immediately preceding and following this scriptural extract describe miscopying and deletion of language from scriptural wholes as having highly deleterious spiritual consequences,²⁷ not just blindness for the insufficiently meticulous scribe, but also thaumaturgic inefficacy in scriptural chanting and lifetimes without hearing the Dharma. In these examples, to *chaoxie* poorly was tantamount to misrepresenting the Dharma and thereby defaming the Dharma.

A concluding passage from the short, single-fascicle *Scripture on Mastering Respect* (*Shan gongjing jing*, T no. 1495) counterposes the enormity of karmic gratitude owed to teachers of dharma against the smallness of dharmic quantity actually processed by their student: the Buddha explains to Ānanda carrying a teacher on one’s head for kalpas does not repay the act of reciting a single four-foot gāthā “whether transcribed or written down on bamboo or silk” (*hu-*

²⁴ T no. 397.j44.290c13–291a06.

²⁵ T no. 397.j45.297a21–c07. On the force of the commandment to copy scripture “according to the Dharma” (*rufa*) and how ritual purity was effected for scriptural copying in early Japan, see Lowe 2017, 53–5, on the meanings of *nyohō*.

²⁶ Compare T no. 2122.j17.7.6.415c04–07.

²⁷ T no. 2122.j17.7.6.415b25–c03, c08–12.

ochao huoxieshu zhi zhubo 或抄或寫書之竹帛).²⁸ In this context where *chao* might be a duplicated synonym for *xieshu* or represent a different but related act of “transcription,” as I have translated it, the scripture’s focus is on the very materialization of dharma and the circulation of the master’s teaching, rather than the correct duplication of a written original and preservation of the Buddha’s language. Because of the emphasis on the attenuated nature of dharmic reception in this passage—the quantity of scripture the minimal “single four-foot gāthā” (*yisi juji* 一四句偈)—*chao* here seems to be envisioned as a hurried, provisional kind of copying, perhaps even translatable as “scrawled” or “scribbled.” Different scriptures prescribe different conceptions of what copying scripture entails, and in point of fact, this passage from *Mastering Respect* is the first excerpt in “Section 8: Repaying Kindness” (*baoen* 報恩) of nine sections in *A Grove of Pearls*’s “Chapter 16: Preaching and Attending” (*shuoting*).²⁹ Under the rubric of “paying respect to the Dharma,” fast transcriptions of full scriptures, or careless *chaoxie*, do violence to the Buddha’s teaching, but under the rubric of attending to a master’s words, a fast transcription of a single verse is highlighted as an act that define a student’s relationships of indebtedness to and reverence for their teacher. Their separate contexts, however, both emphasize how scriptural extractions can preserve dharmic essence in material form while effecting karmic consequences of which one may not always be fully cognizant.

On the other hand, scriptures can also imagine their extraction as dismembering and dilution, an at best thoughtless and at worst selfish appropriation of dharmic language that loses or distorts its essence. A famous passage from the *Nirvana Scripture*, copied over into Section 3 (“Thoughtful Caution” *sishen* 思慎) of “Chapter 22: Preservation” in *A Grove of Pearls*,³⁰ de-

²⁸ T no. 1495.1102b01–09. Translation attributed to Jñānagupta of the Sui, early Tang period catalogs describe it as being seven pages in length.

²⁹ T no. 2122.j24.464a15–23, see Appendix Q, Item 48.

³⁰ T no. 2122.j30.22.3.508a13–b17. Compare to *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經, T no. 374.j9.421c05–2a14 or T no. 375.j9.662c27–663b05 (Chapters 4 [“On the Thus-Come Nature”] or 16 [“On the Bodhisattva”] respectively) and *A Grove of Pearls*, T no. 2122.j30, 508a13–b17. See Yamamoto 2007, 133–4, for an alternative English translation of the passage. The Northern Edition (T no. 374) does not depart significantly from the Southern Edition (T no. 375), but among other differences it uses the hand-radical *chao* in this passage while the Southern uses the metal-radical *chao*. *FYZL* follows the Northern in this regard. See Appendix R, Item 10.

scribes a future time when would-be Buddhists are unable to extract the true meaning of the *Nirvana Scripture* without becoming attached to the words of the text. Buddhists of a future fallen age are like a cowherdess craving to increase profits, who adds two parts water and sells it to another cowherdess, who adds two parts water and sells it to the milkwoman close to town, who adds two parts water and sells it to a milk lady in town, who adds two parts water and sells it to her customers. The final product is watered down so as to be tasteless, even as the original milk had the tastiest of flavors. This is exactly how the *Nirvana* will circulate in the end times: evil monks will “raid this scripture and divide it into many parts” 抄掠/略是經分作多分, add worldly ornaments without carrying over the meaning, “extract the beginning to place at the end; extract the end to place at the beginning; placing the beginning and end in the middle; placing the middle at the beginning or end” 抄前著後, 抄後著前, 前後著中, 中著前後 and advertising their works as the original scripture. The final product is “a thousandth” as delicious as the original, but still a thousand times better than anything else: the passage in fact veers back and forth between asserting that nothing of the “essential” or original “flavor” will remain in the final scriptural remains or whether something essential remains despite its complete refiguration.³¹

Consequently, while the passage mainly expresses a fear of scriptural dilution, division, reduction, reorganization—and loss, thereby—accompanying its latter-day distribution, there is still a remainder of hope, consonant with *tathāgatagarbha* thinking, that something of substance can still be recovered and tasted.³² The quoted passage in the chapter on “Preservation” ends on this note of hope because the *Nirvana* is “supreme among scriptures” 最為上首, and in light of this scriptural self-assertion, latter-day Buddhists would have all the access to the *Nirvana* they need because as much as despite its dismemberment and dilution.

³¹ “The flavor (*qiwei*) will gradually become diluted until there is none; although there is no flavor, it is still superior to other flavors” 展轉淡薄[SYMG薄淡]無有氣味。雖無氣味猶勝餘味[經SYMG] (*T* no. 374.j9.422a10, *T* no. 375.j9.663b01–02, *T* no. 2122.508b13–14).

³² See also Eubanks 2011, 32–4, for another translation and reading of this passage, thematized under a section of her chapter entitled “the anxiety of text.” As summarized in connection with Sengyou’s *chaojing* genre in *CSZJJ*, see Hureau 2010, 762–3.

Whether a medieval Chinese Buddhist read this passage on the ninth fascicle of the *Nirvana* or the thirtieth fascicle in *A Grove of Pearls*, or in a separate context altogether, the reader might be led to consider if and to what degree the literal text before him had been dismembered or diluted from an even greater and purer original. That the passage can be read at all would seem to fulfill the very textual situation it prophesies, for the scripture would seem to address an audience beyond the “eighty years after my nirvana during which the True Dharma will have not yet expired” 我涅槃後正法未滅餘八十年. A reader positioning themselves in the age of dharmic decline could regard the *Nirvana* passage itself as an inherently unreliable text, a victim of *chao*. At the same time, in the very same chapter in the *Nirvana*, the Buddha assures his disciples Kāśyapa and Mañjuśrī about the illusoriness of time, the eternality of the Buddha, and the recoverability of pure gold (Buddha-nature) from raw ore through smelting. The *Nirvana* forecasts both its own natural disappearance and its subtending omnipresence, and it would seem to forecast *chao* as simultaneously lamentable and necessary, the practice by which it will hide and reveal itself in the latter age.

Or, it might reveal itself as an anthological excerpt in *A Grove of Pearls*, a scriptural bit placed out of order. Even more so than potentially speaking about the textual site it finds itself in when read as a passage of the *Nirvana*, the scriptural passage may have appeared to instantiate the very discourse of broken, redistributed scripture it speaks of. But precisely because this anthological quotation presents itself as an excerpt of a greater scriptural whole (rather than attempting to pass itself as the entire scripture itself) and concomitantly directs, through citation practice, a reader to the putative source, its manifestation must also mean that the anthology can likewise imagine itself as existing in a dharmic period (semblance, declining, or declined) in which dharmic wholes are still traceable if not recoverable and in which dharmic parts are both necessary and sufficient. In less apocalyptic terms, the anthologized passage on *chao* promotes anxiety about the *Nirvana*'s present absence: in a time and place where the passage must stand in for the whole quoted scripture, one may long for the real deal, and when and where the quoted

scripture seems readily accessible (perhaps it is possible to handle anthology and source-text side-by-side), one may also second-guess those existing *Nirvana*'s fullness and accuracy. The “Preservation” chapter in *A Grove of Pearls*, concerned with transmitting useful pieces of scripture on how the Dharma is to be maintained in this age and the next, features the *Nirvana* as its most heavily cited scripture. It cites it by name five times, and uses those citations to append eighteen excerpted quotes (by my count) of all different lengths deriving from around a third of its thirty-six fascicles.³³ The gestalt effect of this mass quotation is to preserve if not amplify the dialectical truth of the *Nirvana*'s message: one must prepare oneself for the inevitable corruption of both the Sangha and the Dharma, and one may rest assured that a vast spiritual community of indefeasible Buddhists will maintain the Dharma and keep it accessible.³⁴

2.2 Chao in Scriptural Bibliography

For the cohort of collector-monks, *chao* was primarily a verb of composition, a mode of wrangling a larger text or body of texts into something more concise and easier to navigate. At this

³³ For details on how “Preservation” quotes and cites the *Nirvana*, with identification of analogous passages in both “Northern” and “Southern” editions of the Taishō work, see Appendix R.

³⁴ Another anthologized scriptural passage that describes the coexistence of good Buddhists keeping the faith and fake monks “abbreviating the beginning and end” (*chaolüe qianhou* 抄略前後) of recited precepts is the *Scripture on the Total Extinction of the Dharma* [Pronounced by the Buddha, ([Foshuo] *Fa miejin jing* 佛說法滅盡經, *T* no. 396), which first seems to have appeared in the Liu Song catalogs (mid-5th c.) and is of “anonymous” attribution. It has been translated into English by Rulu 2012b, 72–74, and is discussed by Zürcher 1981, 49–50, and 1982, 27–8, in connection with Prince Moonlight. As in the *Nirvana*, the evil monks are also fame-seeking phonies, but they abbreviate bi-monthly recitation of the precepts primarily because they are lazy. Sengyou quotes nearly all of this very short one-fascicle scripture as the last excerpt in the *Genealogy of the Śākya* (*SJP*, *T* no. 2040.j5.34.84c24–84b06) and adds his comment that “Sengyou confirms: because they are universal, we may certainly know that the Three Jewels abide permanently. As for the permanently abiding dharma, there is no arising and extinction with regard to its principle; and as for the arrival of arising and extinction, these are the deeds recorded by the world and that is all. The departure [of the stars] at dawn and the hiding [of the sun] in the west does not damage the eternal illumination of their thousandfold brilliance” 祐定：以方等固知三寶常住：常住之法理無興滅；興滅之來乃世緣業耳。晨離西隱，不害千光之恒明也 (84b07–09). Baochang’s excerpt matches Sengyou’s quite closely at *JLYX*, *T* no. 2121.j6.23.31b29–32a11. Both of these excerpts receive the heading “Total Extinction of the Dharma” (*famiejin* 法滅盡) in their respective rubrics, and cite the *Scripture on the Total Extinction of the Dharma*; Baochang’s long quotation from the *Combined Āgamas* on the same topic precedes it (30c12–31b29), and is the penultimate excerpt in Sengyou’s *Genealogy of the Śākya* (j5.82c25–83c23). Both excerpts (or rather, parallel forms of them) in this sequence also appear in *A Grove of Pearls*, “Chapter 98: Extinction of the Dharma” (*famie* 法滅) as its eighth of nine sections, “Quarreling” (*zhengsong* 諍訟) (*T* no. 2122.j98.1011b04–1012a09); but the passage on *chaolue* is not preserved here.

level of meta-scripture—and as discussed in scriptural prefaces, scriptural commentary, catalog notices, or biographies of (largely) foreign translators and (largely) native exegetes—the authorial persona of Saṃgharakṣa echoes across Buddhist composition practices across Jambudvīpa. Prefacers, exegetes, catalogers, and historians modeled the personae of the compositors they represented on the wise old sages, the Buddha and Confucius foremost among them: latter-day minor sages could emulate their heroes in wrenching textualized wisdom from its original context(s) and re-textualizing it for future audiences to learn from.

Yet the ambiguities in how the Buddha both prescribes and proscribes scriptural extraction in the lines of scripture emerge in the meta-scriptural literature as well. *Chao* could be figured as an act authored under the guidance of a bodhisattva's skillful means and compassion for the targeted salvation of further potential audiences, as an anonymous raid on written wisdom pursued for unwholesome gain, or something awkward in between.

While previous scholars have underscored the prevalence of *chao* as an elite literary practice in early medieval China and highlighted its centrality to the project of compiling Buddhist *leishu*, I contend in this part of the chapter that a discourse on *chao* and its ambivalent instrumentality structures the imagination of Chinese Buddhist scripturality at large. This is to say that Chinese Buddhist scholiasts took seriously scriptures' own claims to their being mere extracts as well as unsurpassable epitomes of the totality of Buddhist wisdom; and it was with this understanding of scripture that they sought to classify, relate, and plumb the depths of inherited sūtra traditions, sometimes by creating new extracts and epitomes through their own acts of *chao*. I explore how *chao* is figured in the corpus of scriptural and commentarial prefaces authored by Daoan and other scholar-monks in the earliest period of Chinese Buddhist scriptural bibliography to describe an editorial practice generative of useful texts for Chinese Buddhist communities, sometimes explicitly given *chao* in their titles. This chapter part ends with a short consideration of how the discourse on *chao* informs cataloging practices as espied in Sengyou's precedent-setting *A Collection of Records*. Throughout, I argue that the discourse of *chao* draws from

and informs the imagination of scriptural economy, and is contiguous with or representative of arguments about how scriptures are to be managed and reduced for preservation and use.

Much of the language on what I call scriptural economy crystalizes in Zhi Qian's 支謙 (fl. 223–253) preface to the *Dharma Verses* (or the “Chinese Dharmapada,” *Fajujing* 法句經, *T* no. 210), transmitted by Vighna 維祇難, translated by Zhu Jiangyan 竺將炎, and edited into something resembling the present text by Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. 3rd c.) at Wuchang (present-day Wuhan, Hubei) in the early third century, in consultation with earlier, separate, and no longer extant transmissions of *Dharma Verses* by An Shigao 安世高 (fl. 2nd c.) and “Mr. Ge” respectively.³⁵ Sengyou had preserved the preface as the thirteenth of twenty of the seventh fascicle in his *Collection of Records* catalog, and its language of reckoning dharma resounds throughout the body of scriptural prefaces that comprise nearly half of the *Collection of Records*.³⁶ The preface as a whole portrays the scripture that it prefaces as a textual product concretizing the labor of multiple agents who transmitted (*chuan* 傳) and translated (*yi* 譯) pieces of the work at multiple moments in the history of the Dharma.³⁷ First, the ontology of scripture is proposed at the outset to be originally contingent, the words “composed by the Buddha upon witnessing events, not spoken at any one time” 佛見事而作，非一時言; the vast body of scriptures are precisely the means by which the omniscient and compassionate Buddha conveys his truth. Next, the *Verses* as multiple texts were “extracted separately” 各自鈔采 post-council by “monks of the five sects” 五部沙門 from “the scriptures of the twelve divisions, none not taken into consideration” 十二部經靡不斟酌. Third, the preface relates that the scripture that follows reflects the work of multiple agents with varying kinds of Indic and Chinese literacies, not least Zhi Qian's prefacing

³⁵ For an annotated English translation, see Willemen 1973, 210–13; for revision of traditional attribution of scriptural translation to Vighna, see Nattier 2008, 114–15.

³⁶ *T* no. 2145.j7.13.49c20–50a28. Cf. Su and Xiao 1995, 272–274; Su 2012, 15–18. Compare with *T* no. 210.j1.566b14–c26, where a version of the same preface is printed between the two fascicles of the *Dharma Verses*.

³⁷ For an account of the breadth of vocabulary scholarly Buddhists employed for describing the making of Chinese Buddhist scriptures, including and exceeding terms like “transmission” and “translation,” see Funayama 2013.

work detailing the multiple forms of the Dharma *Verses* at the moments of Buddha-authorship, sectarian extraction, transmission (“900 or 700 or 500 gāthā”), and even translation. For Zhi Qian to put the finishing touches to the final 39-chapter (*pian* 篇) and 752-stanza (*zhang* 章) work before the reader involved consulting other translations and the translators themselves, not only about the meanings of Chinese verses translated awkwardly but about the very goals and procedure of translation.³⁸ Fourth, the prefatory discussion of translation stages a discussion between the Chinese translators trading quotes of the Buddha, Laozi, and Confucius on the efficacy of different styles of language for conveying truths,³⁹ and Zhi Qian strives for a dialectical synthesis wherein “the text is concise but its meaning vast” 文約而義博.⁴⁰ Finally, the preface describes the Dharma *Verses* as synecdochic for the Dharma as a whole and a fundamental course of study for novice Indian Buddhists that rewards individual digestion and contemplation. In sum, every textual transformation, from initial creations by the Buddha to editorial finessing to readerly ingestion, is portrayed as a providential confluence of overdetermined conditions. Even difficulties implicit to the language of the teaching, its textual diversification, or its translational infelicities are approached by Zhi Qian as so much resistance to be overcome, part of a divine plan to hide wisdom for latter-day bodhisattvas to reveal more clearly. One of these moments of inspired revelation was clearly that of “separate extraction” of the verses from the enormity of mass sūtra, providing not just new text but also an exemplum to many later Buddhists.

Extraction for the purposes of recombination was permissible and even encouraged not just for ending gāthā verses, but for textual units like anecdotes, parables, and even the sermons that would comprise the *āgama* collections. The scholar-monk Daoan 道安 (312-385), perhaps the foundational figure of Chinese Buddhism, wrote a preface for an *abhidharma* work whose trans-

³⁸ For an alternate translation of the preface from the perspective of translation studies, Cheung 2006, 57–63.

³⁹ Adapting Willemsen’s 1973 translation, “Laozi said that beautiful words are not reliable, and that reliable words are not beautiful. Confucius also said that writing does not entirely render the words, and words do not entirely render the ideas” (213). See Willemsen for citation sources in the *Laozi* and *Book of Changes* respectively.

⁴⁰ On this formula and variations on it, see below and my note appending an analogous line in Li Yan’s preface to *A Grove of Pearls* (Appendix H, paragraph 12).

lation he superintended along with nearly a dozen other projects in the autumn and winter of 382–383.⁴¹ Daoan’s preface to the *Epitome for the Four Āgamas* portrays these *āgamas* as a winnowing down of the full scriptural corpus, and a body of dharma upon which further epitomization could be plotted.

As for Āgamas, in Qin-language they mean “path none.”⁴² Ānanda having already issued the Twelve Sections of scripture, again plucked out their essential passages for the Dharma of the utmost path, to make the Four Āgama, which together with the Abhidharma and the Precepts make up the Three Baskets. Scholars of Sindhu [Shendu] regarded them as the utmost power and they never fell to the ground.⁴³ There was an arahant named Vasubhadra who extracted its marrow in a single volume with nine chapters over forty-six pages, removing the redundant parts such that the text was brief and the meaning was rich⁴⁴—truly it could be called a jeweled garland of scriptures. Its hundred practices are beautifully wondrous, it discriminates right from wrong, nothing is not contained in it. Darkly mysterious, deeply rich, in practicing [or circulating] it one’s abilities are perfected.⁴⁵

阿鎔暮者，秦言趣無也。阿難既出十二部經，又採撮其要逕至道法，為四阿鎔，與阿毘曇及律並為三藏焉。身毒學士以為至德未墜於地也。有阿羅漢名婆素跋陀，抄其膏腴以為一部，九品四十六葉，斥重去復，文約義豐，真可謂經之瓔鬘也。百行美妙，辨[辯SYM]是與非，莫不悉載也。優奧深富，行之能事畢矣。

⁴¹ Kumārabuddhi’s two-fascicle translation of the *Epitome for the Four Āgamas* (*Si ahanmu chao[jie]* 四阿含暮抄解 = **Tridharmakaśāstra* by Vasubhadra [and Saṃghasena], was worked on from the 8th through 11th month of Renwu 18 (382). Daoan’s preface is preserved at both CSZJJ j9.9 and at the head of T no. 1505. The *Epitome* would be re-translated a decade later as the *Treatise on the Three Dharmas* (*San fadu lun* 三法度輪), and survives now as T no. 1506.

⁴² Muller suggests “ne plus ultra” for this gloss, perhaps historically unprecedented. “Quwu,” DDB, 2016.

⁴³ See *Analects* 19.22.

⁴⁴ This and similar formulae are found throughout the corpora of prefaces found in CSZJJ, from Zhi Qian’s [“anonymous”] early third-century preface to the Dharma *Verse Scripture Dharmapada Fajujing* discussed above (“Even though the expressions are coarse, their bearing is profound; even though the text is brief, its meaning is vast. When one searches throughout the scriptures, the paragraphs have a base and the verses have a meaning” 然此雖辭朴而旨深；文約而義博。事鉤眾經，章有本故，句有義說 (T no. 2145.j7.13.50a19–21; cf. Su and Xiao 1995, 273; tr. modified from Willemsen 1973, 213; first part of the preface, Cheung 2006, 58–9) to Sengwei’s preface of 415 to his commentary on the *Ten Stages Scripture Shizhu jing*, (“Now, the spread of purport cannot use words or signs to exhaust it, nor can the darkening of the way use names and numbers to limit it. Thus the text is brief, but the meanings are rich; the words are pleasing, but the purport spread out” 夫致弘不可以言象窮；道玄不可以名數極。故文約而義豐，詞婉而旨弘 (T no. 2145.9.2.61b26–27; cf. Su and Xiao 1995, 328); and Huiguan’s preface of 436 to the *Śrīmālā Scripture Shengman jing* (“the text is few but the meaning is rich, intricately covering manifold writings” 文寡義豐，彌綸群籍 (j9.17.67a25–26; cf. Su and Xiao 1995, 349).

⁴⁵ T no. 2145.j9.10.64c04–10; cf. Su and Xiao 1995, 340; Su 2012, 291–3; T no. 1505.j1.1a05–11.

Here is an accounting of dharma units and their transformations over generations of tradents: Twelve Sections are reduced into Three Baskets, and Four Āgamas into one volume. The principal actors are Ānanda, the arhats, and Vasubhadra; and the verbs of transformation include “extraction” and reduction (into a “garland of jewels” *yingman* 瓔鬘). The final text is already shortened and potent before its translation into Chinese, and Daoan borrows descriptions for it that he and other other prefacers will use to praise translated products elsewhere: “brief text, rich meaning” is not portrayed as a Chinese fetish that obscures proliferate, difficult truth, as Daoan seems to hint at elsewhere, but as a cross-cultural appreciation for scriptural economy, a formulation that doubles Zhi Qian’s. Exotic names, graspable numbers combine to herald the successful transmission of deep, broad, balanced wealth of dharma.⁴⁶

Daoan employed the same narrative about Buddhist scripturality and a similar arsenal of metaphors to describe its later management as text in a preface to a *vinaya* work (simply titled *The Vinaya* [*Pinaiye* 鼻奈耶]) he superintended the following spring; indeed, both translations

⁴⁶ When a second translation of this work was commissioned a decade later, Huiyuan 慧遠 (Daoan’s most famous student, 334–416) seems to have iterated certain moves in Daoan’s prefacing strategy for his own preface to Saṃghadeva’s *Treatise on the Three Dharma Perfections* (*T* no. 1506). It begins: “As for the Scripture [sic] on the Three Dharma Perfections, these issue from the Four Āgamas. The Four Āgamas are the scriptures (*qijing*) of the Three Baskets, the whirlpool repository of the Twelve Sections. In using these Three Dharmas as the system, in using the Dharma of awakening as the way, one may open them to attain the names or transform them to permeate broadly. Although the Dharmas are but three within [the text], still there are no categories unexhausted; though there is only one awakening within [the text], still there is no knowledge that is not universal. One may observe the many dharmas to synthesize their essentials; one may distinguish the various streams to unite their origin. This is then the vast floodplain for the novice waders, the floral garden for the old scholars” 『三法度經』者，蓋出『四阿含。『四阿含』則三藏之契經，十二部之淵府也。以三法為統，以覺法為道，開而當名，變而彌廣。法雖三焉，而類無不盡，覺雖一焉，而智無不周。觀諸法而會其要，辯衆流而同其原。斯乃始涉之鴻漸，舊學之華苑也 (*T* no. 2145.j10.12.0073a03–08; cf. Su and Xiao 1995, 379; Su 2012, 293–6). While Huiyuan reinforces Daoan’s understandings of synecdochic relationships that inhere between the physical scripture they preface, the four āgamas, and the totality of written tradition, and draws a similar conclusion that mastery of this particular text can allow for mastery of vaster bodies of tradition, unlike Daoan, Huiyuan describes this scripture in terms of “categories” (*lei*) it exhausts and as a “garden” (*yuan*)—descriptions that later Chinese Buddhist anthologists will draw on to talk about their own scriptural works and practices. The relationship between Daoan and Huiyuan’s translations of the same text may not have been apparent to Sengyou, who filed prefaces for these works on different fascicles when he usually lists prefaces to multiple translations serially, nor to Daoxuan, who categorized the former under the para-canonical “Collections and Traditions of the Sages and Saints” and the latter under “Treatises of the Lesser Vehicle,” on which see Chapter Seven.

were imagined to be parts of the same project of reproducing the “Three Baskets” in Chinese form.⁴⁷

Ānanda produced the scriptures by directly preserving the holy purport; the Five Hundred perfected mutually confirmed them, and divided them into Twelve Sections.⁴⁸ In forty-nine years of instructions, not even a partial word was left behind. Again, they extracted from the Twelve Sections to make the Four Āgamas, the Abhidharma [*Apitan*], the Vinaya [*Pinaiye*], and the Three Baskets were completed. None of the scholars of India [Tianzhu] did not obey what was therein; they chanted it and they sang it and it never fell to the ground.⁴⁹ Their great High-Seated śramaṇas completely mastered the Three Baskets and the middling and lesser High-Seated ones mastered one or two of them only. ...⁵⁰

阿難出經，面承聖旨；

五百應真，更互定察，分為十二部。

於四十九年之誨，無片言遺矣。

⁴⁷ Kumārabuddhi’s ten-fascicle translation of the *Vinaya (Pinaiye)* 毘奈耶 = *Jieyinyuan jing* 戒因緣經 = *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya*, Jianyuan 19 [383] (1.12–3.25), preface not in *CSZJJ*, but appended to *T* no. 1464.

⁴⁸ On shifting early Buddhist understandings of *āgama* (*ahan* 阿含) as memorizable collection and *aṅga* (“section,” *bu* 部) as generic classification, see Anālayo 2015. For Anālayo, evidence in Chinese and Pāli scriptures does not suggest a straightforward evolution of textual tradition referred to first as the singular *āgama*, second as the nine (or twelve) *aṅga*, and finally as the four *āgama/nikāya*, as Daoan and certain lines of Pāli commentary seem to describe. On the development of the “Twelve Sections” or “limbs” (*dvādaśa-anga*), see Lamotte 1988b, 145–6. Below, I will refer to *shierbu* 十二部 as the “Twelve Sections” and *shierbujing* 十二部經 as “Twelvefold Scriptures.” It does not seem as if dharma-reciters specialized in particular genres or angas to master, though this principle of scriptural organization seems to have been followed in the bringing together and writing down of various scriptural collections. Of the scriptural prefaces collected by Sengyou, Daoan makes three other mentions of Ānanda’s recitation of the Twelvefold Scriptures in scriptural prefaces during his Chang’an period. These are the prefaces to Kumārabuddhi’s *Epitome of the Four Āgamas*, Saṃghadeva’s *Abhidharma*, and Saṃghabhadra’s *Vibhāṣā* (see below). Huiyuan would use the term in his preface to Saṃghadeva’s *Scripture on the Three Dharma Perfections* (see note below), a retranslation of Kumārabuddhi’s *Epitome*. The late fifth-century translator *Guṇavarḍdhi is said to have “extracted out parables from the Twelvefold Scriptures [of the] Sūtra Basket” 出修多羅藏十二部經中抄出譬喻 (*T* no. 2145.j9.24.68c26) to make his *Scripture of One Hundred Verse Parables (Baifu piyu jing, T* no. 209) in four fascicles, first in the colophon quoted here (*CSZJJ* j9.24) and also in his biography (*CSZJJ* j14.10.106c26–28). Zhi Qian seems to have been the first to use the term “Twelvefold Scriptures” in a scriptural preface to describe a complete corpus from which scriptures and compilations could be composed (see below for note on the preface to the third-century *Dharma Verse Scripture [Faju jing]*, and *CSZJJ* j7.13.49c26–50a01). Sengyou would begin his prefatory note on the *Scriptures on the Wise and the Foolish (Xianyu jing, T* no. 202) by invoking the twelve divisions, and observing that the scriptures collected therein were simultaneously “birth stories” (*bensheng, jātaka*) and “parables” (*piyu, avadāna*); see Mair 1993, 3–4 for translation.

⁴⁹ *Analects* 19.22, Zigong describes Confucius as learning from the “way of Wen and Wu, not yet fallen to the ground,” still exists among “men of virtue.”

⁵⁰ *T* no. 1464.j1.851a06–11; cf. Su 2012, 287–90.

又抄十二部，為四阿舍，阿毘曇，鼻奈耶，則三藏備也。

天竺學士，罔弗遵焉。

諷之詠之，未墜於地也。

其大高座沙門，則兼該三藏；

中下高座，則通一通二而已耳。

As with the previous preface, *chao* is envisioned as the process by which Twelve becomes Three scriptural traditions. In the *Vinaya* preface Daoan goes on to describe his continued annoyance (*changhen* 常恨) that the “Three Baskets” were far from completely assembled in China,⁵¹ that scriptures had been translated piecemeal from the “Twelve Sections” depending on which Indian monks (*Tianzhu shamen* 天竺沙門) were preserving which texts. He goes on to describe how Kumārabuddhi had arrived with epitomes (*chao* 抄) for both the “Four Āgama” and the “Abhidharma,” and had translated the abhidharma epitome in four fascicles over the summer and the āgama epitome in four fascicles over the winter that year, leaving him the vinaya to translate this following spring. Daoan outlines the contents of *Vinaya* with pleasure, enumerating the questions it resolves and the bhikṣus the Buddha accounts for in the scripture. At this period in Daoan’s career, the “Three Baskets” were finally coming together in Chang’an: “within two years’ time in this Qin state, the Three Baskets will have become complete” 二年之中，於此秦邦，三藏具焉。⁵²

Like Zhi Qian, Daoan envisioned the process of scriptural genesis as continuous, evolving, and often in need of economy. For Zhi Qian’s rendition of the Dharma *Verses*, the act of *chao* occurs post-council by sects of anonymous monastics, but by implication the Buddha was al-

⁵¹ Zürcher 2007 quotes this portion of the preface in Chinese (187, 389n42) to reveal Daoan’s consciousness that “vaipulya” (*piyueluo bu* 毘曰羅部; *fangdeng jing* 方等經—in other words, *prajñāpāramitā*) scriptures received inordinate attention (ostensibly greater translation, commentary, and preservation) because of their resemblance to “the teachings of Lao and Zhuang” (*Lao Zhuang jiao*). *Pinaiye* (and the various other “āgama” and “abhidharma” translations that were translated into Chinese under Daoan’s leadership) was intended to balance the baskets, so to speak.

⁵² T no. 1464.j1.851a23–24.

ready doing something similar when he was discoursing selectively during his teaching career, and Zhi Qian would be doing something analogous in producing a new translation; for Daoan in the two prefaces profiled above, the act of *chao* is undertaken both post-council by a named arhat who loved the *āgama* and was the canonizing work of the council itself, performed by Ānanda. Daoan would not always use the word *chao* to describe the origins of other translated works he would superintend in his Chang'an period, but his surviving prefaces testify to his continued understanding of Buddhist scriptures—particularly authored *abhidharma* works and treatises—as rarefied essences of broader fields of textual wisdom.⁵³ Daoan's helped to introduce foreign Buddhist sage-authors to China like Vasubhadra (see above), Kalodayin (one of the sixteen original arhats, founding reciter of the *abhidharma* tradition), Saṃgharakṣa (author of *Practicing the Stages on the Path*, discussed above, and the eponymous *Saṃgharakṣa's Scripture* (*Sengjialuosha [suoji] jing* 僧伽羅刹所集經, *T* no. 194),⁵⁴ and Vasumitra (author of the eponymous *Vasumitra's Collection* (*Poxumi [suo]ji [lun]* 婆須密所集論 = **Āryavasumitra-bodhisattvasaṃgītīśāstra*, *T* no. 1549),⁵⁵ and his beatification of these authorial figures gave later preface-authors language to draw from in touting their own foreign refiners of wisdom.⁵⁶

Daoan himself would arrogate the duty of scriptural extraction for elaboration's sake, and notably before he had come to Chang'an to superintend multiple-fascicle translations he had already produced a whole body of commentary and scriptural annotations, very often self-consciously undertaken through *chao*. His preface to his own *Phrases and Meanings of the Ten Dharmas* (*Shifa juyi* 十法句義, no longer extant but preface survives at *CSZJJ* 10.3)⁵⁷

⁵³ For Japanese translations of prefaces from this period, see Ui 1956, 130–87; for a classic evaluation of Daoan's translation superintending in Chang'an, see Zürcher 2007, 203–4.

⁵⁴ Completed over 384–385 (Jianyuan 20.11.30–Jianyuan 21.2.9), Daoan's prefaces at *CSZJJ* j10.6 and j10.7.

⁵⁵ Completed 384 (Jianyuan 20.3.5–7.13), Daoan's preface at *CSZJJ* j10.8.

⁵⁶ See, for instance, Young 2015, 25–59, analyses of how Kumārajīva's cohort portray Nāgārjuna, Āsvaghoṣa, Āryadeva, and Vasubandhu as authors in their scriptural and commentarial prefaces in Chang'an in the period immediately following Daoan's passing.

⁵⁷ Zürcher 2007, 186, 388n34, does not translate the title of the work, but it appears in Daoan's autocatalog in *CSZJJ* j5 as a commentary and not a scripture, sharing a fascicle with its *Connected Explanations* (*lianza jie* 連雜解); see Su and Xiao 1995, 228. Later catalogers Fajing and Fei Zhangfang seem to have identified the work as a

name-checks Chinese composers and compositions as precedents, closing with the following lines:

Now as for the Dark View, none is as beautiful in its identity of multiplicity, but those who obtain its gates are indeed few! As for illumination, none surpasses it in distinguishing the "numbers," but those who enter its room are indeed rare! Long ago, Yan [Fo]tiao 嚴佛調 [fl. 2nd c.] composed the *Chapters and Phrases on the Ten Wisdoms*⁵⁸ and Kang Senghui 康僧會 [?-280] collected the *Essentials of the Six Perfections*⁵⁹—with every scan through their traces, one enjoys some awakening therefrom. Although there are still deficits, these lines of text have gone unrecorded, and I have extracted and ordered them, naming it the *Phrases and Meanings of the Ten Dharmas*. So long as there is annotation and explanation of these continual lines, as there is bestowal to later generations of what has been long uncollected, the sort that are like ours, in this case, can investigate.⁶⁰

夫 玄覽莫美乎同異，而得其門者或寡矣。
明白莫過乎辯數，而入其室者鮮矣。
昔嚴調撰『十慧章句』，
康僧會集『六度要目』，
每尋其迹，欣有寤焉。
然猶有闕，久行未錄者，
今抄而第之，名曰『十法句義』。
若其常行之注解，
若昔未集之貽後，

commentary (*Phrases and Meanings of the Ten Dharmas*, *Shifa juyi* 十法句義 and *Connected Explanations on the Ten Dharmas*, *Shifa lianzajie* 十法連雜解) and not a scripture, see Su and Xiao 1995, 392n20. This is not the only work of Daoan's that the preface collection of *CSZJJ* accidentally elevates to "scriptural" status by interpolating the character for "scripture" (*jing*) to the end of a Chinese commentarial work.

⁵⁸ See Zürcher 2007, 34, 331n88, on the unclear full title of Yan Fotiao's lost work, "commented exposition of the novice's (ten points of) understanding" *shami shihui zhangju*.

⁵⁹ Better known as *Scriptures Collected on the Six Perfections*, *Liudu jijing* 六度集經, *T* no. 152, a collection of tales on the Buddha's past lives organized along the lines of exemplifying the six perfections.

⁶⁰ *T* no. 2145.j10.3.70b09–15; cf. Su and Xiao 1995, 370. The imperative to "investigate therein" (*canyan*) hearkens to Confucius's advice in *Analects* 15.28; cf. tr. by Ames and Rosemont 1998, 190.

同我之倫，儻可察焉。

Before Daoan's ushering of what came to be seen as full *abhidharma* translations into Chinese, he had recourse to close-reading "archaic" (second-century) translations of An Shigao's "numbers" scriptural tradition, and Sengyou has preserved evidence of his annotations and prefatory commentary on many of these works. In his many surviving prefaces to An Shigao's output, Daoan iterates these traditions' understandings of themselves as central, systematic, and clarifying. But the preface to *Phrases and Meanings* suggests that Daoan could take matters into his own hands, and "extract, order... annotate, and explain" the sacred lines himself. Like Zhi Qian's preface to his own *Dharma Verses*, Daoan's preface to *Ten Dharmas* begins by extolling the career of the Buddha as a skillful propagator of the Dharma (here, the familiar metaphor of "Buddha as physician" is dilated upon), and the prefacer-author assumes the dual mantle of tradent and bodhisattva himself. By pulling out and elevating the titular "*phrases and meanings*" (*juyi*) from the totality of scripture as essential, Daoan too becomes a physician diagnosing present causes and conditions and training future physicians. Scriptural extraction and commentary become tools for ameliorating the paucity of "gates" or rarity of "rooms," bringing phrases to the fore and delving into them for the meaning. For much of Daoan's earlier career as an exegete, he was motivated by the obscurity of ancient translations, and captivated by the promise of fuller, greater translations. Under these conditions, *chao* could help determine what exactly was precious in what precious little had already been brought over.

Beginning with his Chang'an phase, however, which began in 382 and ended with his death in 386, the practice and genre of *chao* seems more and more to have offered a mode of managing vast textual wholes. As discussed above, the Tripiṭaka itself—supposedly beginning to appear in full in Chinese for the first time—was imagined as an extracted essence as well as a body upon which further essences could be extracted. Daoan's first translation project in Chang'an involved the same foreign monk Kūmarabuddhi (fl. 4th c.) who would be involved in

translating the *Epitome for the Four Āgamas* and the *Vinaya*.⁶¹ It was entitled the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Scriptural Extracts* (*Mohe boruo boluomi jingchao* 摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經抄),⁶² was five fascicles in length, and by Daoan's account it was not its own separate scripture so much as an appendix, an aide for preaching and study, a collection of state-of-the-art research on the heads and tails of Chinese scriptural passages from the "original" *Mahāprajñāpāramitā*, too long to translate all at once. It was not intended to be a restoration of the original scripture in text and meaning on paper, but rather a tool for a Chinese-literate Buddhist to reconstruct the original in thought and practice. By Daoan's account, the point of the *Epitome* was to fill in gaps in knowledge that previous translations of the *Perfection of Wisdom* corpus had not been able to convey. It was not a full and independent scriptural essence in the way that one might consider already circulating *Perfection Scriptures*, three of which Daoan had studied deeply and written commentaries on earlier in his career: the [*Prajñā{pāramitā}*] *Scripture on Practicing Awakening* (*Daoxing [banruo] jing* 道行般若經, *T* no. 224, in ten scrolls) translated by Lokakṣema in Luoyang in 179; *Releasing Light* [*Prajñā{pāramitā}*] *Scripture* (*Fanguang [banruo] jing* 放光般若經, *T* no. 221, in twenty scrolls) translated by Mokṣala at Luoyang in 291; and *Scripture in Praise of Light* (*Guangzan jing* 光讚經, *T* no. 222, in ten scrolls) translated by Dharmarakṣa at Dunhuang in 286.⁶³ Though Daoan believed these earlier translations to have been extracted

⁶¹ Though listed as the translator for all three works (this means he was responsible for having and reciting the text in at least oral but preferably written form), the prefaces to these works describe how their translations involved teams with different personnel.

⁶² According to the *CSZJJ*, the third preface presumably appended a work with the title *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Scriptural Epitome* (*Mohe boluoruo boluomi jingchao* 摩訶鉢羅若波羅蜜經抄). This bears resemblance to the work titled *Mahāprajñā[pāramitā] Epitome Scripture* (*Mohe banruo [boluomi] chaojing* 摩訶般若鈔經) preserved as *T* no. 226, in five fascicles, and attributed to the translator Daoan credits the *Scriptural Epitome*. The text as preserved in print versions presents itself as a kind of scripture, and Daoan's preface has not been printed alongside it; in Daoan's preface, he presumably imagined the work to be a kind of commentary; the work is neither listed under Sengyou's catalogs for epitome scriptures (j5.1) or Chinese commentary to the scriptures (j5.4). As scholars have surmised, they are probably not the same work, see below.

⁶³ Presently *Practicing Awakening*, the earliest extant Chinese prajñāpāramitā scripture, is considered a translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrika* (8,000 lines), the second as an early Chinese translation of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrika* (25,000 lines), and the third as an incomplete translation of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrika*. Recognized in Chinese as *banruo poluomi jing*, the Chinese titles Daoan and others used to differentiate them were the titles of their first chapters (*pin*). For translation and study of the three surviving prefaces on Daoan's commentaries to the *Prajñāpāramitā* corpus, see Link and Hurvitz 1974.

from a fuller *Prajñāpāramita*,⁶⁴ he had been dissatisfied with both what they had left out in their economy and what they had left obscure in their wordiness. In the “Preface to the *Scripture on Practicing Awakening* [and Annotative Commentary Collecting Variants]” (*Daoxingjing [jiyi zhu] xu* 道行經集異註序, CSZJJ 7.1), likely dating to his Xiangyang period (365–378), Daoan summarizes:

An excerpted scripture has been whittled, and the harm done thereby is invariably much. Entrust oneself to the original to obey the Saints—*this* is the ultimate admonition of the Buddha.⁶⁵

抄經刪削，所害必多；
委本從聖，乃佛之至戒也。

An earlier Daoan had decided that the *Practicing Awakening* translation of the *Prajñāpāramita* had arrived whittled down and adumbrated. It was obviously still worth reading, however, hence he devised the hermeneutic apparatus of preface and “annotative commentary” to triangulate *Practicing Awakening* against other translations and arrive at something like the “original.” While Daoan had previously sought to read the earlier translations against each other as a mode of textual repair, *Extracts* had Daoan turn to a putative original text and a translation team to bring into Chinese the literal text of which had not been there before. Unlike the *chao* of the *Four Āgamas* he would soon superintend, Daoan’s *chao* of the *Prajñāpāramita* were less of a pre-finished epitome than they were incomplete extracts that only made sense in relation to a putative perfect, original text and other well-regarded, imperfect translations.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ In a few decades Kumārajīva would complete a *Larger* and *Shorter Prajñāpāramitā* in twenty-seven and ten fascicles respectively, and a team headed by Xuanzang would complete a “full” 600-fascicle edition while *A Grove of Pearls* was being completed in the seventh century.

⁶⁵ j7.1.47b25–26; cf. Su and Xiao 1995, 358.

⁶⁶ It is in this context of embarking on a career as a translation-director and drawing connections between these various specific textual traditions and translations of the *Perfection of Wisdom* that Daoan offers what appears to be the famous early set of guidelines for scriptural translation practice.

From the vantage point of Sengyou's catalog, the *Collection of Records*, the word *chao* can be espied throughout, translatable most often as the verb "extract" or the noun "epitome." As *A Collection of Records* was self-consciously built from the bones of Daoan's earlier catalog, and as they collected nearly all of the scriptural prefaces of Daoan and others discussed above, Sengyou would have been well familiar with the use of the character *chao* to refer to a textual activity that foreign Buddhists did with foreign texts (as with Saṃgharakṣa's scriptures), as a practice that Chinese Buddhists performed on Chinese translations of foreign texts (as with commentaries that Daoan authored), or as a process that shaped or coincided with translation of foreign texts into Chinese (as with the *Epitome for the Four Āgamas* and the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Scriptural Extracts* that Daoan superintended). Recent scholars of Buddhist bibliography have dilated on a special sub-catalog titled "Catalog of Extracted Scriptures, Newly Collected" *xinji chaojing lu* 新集抄經錄, the first of six catalog items in the fifth fascicle of the work.⁶⁷ The very first line of the preface—"to *chao* a scripture is to bring out the essence of its content" 抄經者，蓋撮舉義要也—has offered scholars a historical definition of the term from which to launch their studies;⁶⁸ "forty-six works in 352 fascicles" are named, counted, and in some cases dated and described in greater detail, and they include the long list (thirty-six here) of Xiao Ziliang's 蕭子良 (460–494) "extracted scriptures" and the Southern Qi-period *Scriptures from the Garden of Dharma* (*Fayuan jing* 法苑經) previously mentioned.⁶⁹ But as Funayama has noted, even as

⁶⁷ Tokuno 1990, 39–40; Tian 2007, 82; Hureau 2010, 762–3; Storch 2014, 64. They refer to Sengyou's category of *chaojing* as "condensed scriptures," "[scriptural] epitome," "[scriptural] extracts and summaries," and "digest scriptures" respectively.

⁶⁸ Su and Xiao 1995, 217. The four scholars cited *ibid.* each translate from and summarize this preface. Funayama 2013 has taken the most detailed look at this catalog preface recently, translating it into Japanese, and reading the catalog that follows in order to take stock of many of the famous scriptural *chao* projects of the age, including Huiyuan's twenty-fascicle epitome of Kumārajīva's *Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom* (see the preface at *CSZJJ* j10.21; cf. Su and Xiao 1995, 388–91) and Southern Qi scholar-monks Sengrou and Huici's nine-fascicle epitome on the *Truth Accomplishment Treatise* (see the prefaces at *CSZJJ* j11.6 and j11.7; cf. Su and Xiao 1995, 405–6). For a discussion and partial translation from the first half of the first preface to Huiyuan's lost work, with regard to Nāgārjuna's composition of the original, see Young 2015, 59–61; for a translation from the second half of that first preface, with attention to Kumārajīva's vastly abridging translation of Nāgārjuna's putatively much longer "original" and Huiyuan's subsequent collation of extracts from Kumārajīva's translation into an even more compact form, see Cheung 2006, 107–9. See also a review of various *chaojing* projects by Funayama 2013, 156–61.

⁶⁹ On the *Garden of Dharma* as a title for anthology, see Chapters Two and Three. On the Buddhism of Xiao Ziliang, Prince Wenxuan of Jingling and second son of Emperor Wu of Southern Qi (r. 483–493), see Vande Walle

none of these titles have survived to present-day, the bibliographic information contained reflect considerable diversity in the kinds of re-compositions listed under Sengyou's "Catalog 5.1": titles that appear to be famous "detachable" chapters of larger works (the "Skillful Means" chapter of the *Vimalakīrtī* or the "Medicine King" chapter of the *Lotus* by Xiao Ziliang, for instance); titles that appear to summarize larger volumes in fewer fascicles (Xiao Ziliang's fourteen-fascicle *Flower Garland*); and titles that draw materials from regulations, treatises, or multiple scriptures at once.⁷⁰ The works could be named for the scripture they condensed (Xiao Ziliang's, Sengyou notes multiple times, can be identified as his because they begin rather than end with the character *chao*: "*Epitomized Dharma-Verses Parable Scriptures* [*Chao faju pijing 抄法句譬經*]" for instance), or their contents (*An Epitome of Scriptures of Self-Immolating in Pursuit of Dharma* [*Chao weifa sheshen jing 抄為法捨身經*]); but a titular character *chao* might have made them good candidates for the catalog. "Bringing out the essence" could involve selective extraction, summary, or both, and it could be directed in pursuit of disparate aims.

In his preface and entries, Sengyou takes both the position of praising *chao* for making scriptures more accessible and condemning *chao* as distorting the Dharma. Consequently, both in Sengyou's catalog and later catalogs that cribbed from and built upon his entries, *chaojing* as a whole often fall in an ambiguous zone between attributed and "suspicious" or "false" scriptures, or simply as false scriptures, especially with the passage of time and the loss of these works.⁷¹ On the one hand, there were works Daoan name-checked in his preface like An Shigao's *Stages on the Path* (*Daodi jing 道地經*), extracted from the *Cultivation Scripture* (*Xiuxing jing 修行經*

1979, Hureau 2010, 1225–6, and a recent translation of some of his correspondence in *HMJ*, "The Letter of King Wenxuan Given to Kong Zhigui, Palace Aide to the Censor-in-Chief, in Order to Dispel Doubts, together with the Answer," in Ziegler 2017, 149–54. Vande Walle also wrote a dissertation in Dutch on Xiao's *Dharma Gates of Pure Conduct for Pure Dwelling Disciples*, see Appendix D, Row VIII.

⁷⁰ See Funayama 2013, 159 where the first two kinds of *chaojing* are explicitly differentiated. I suspect that even the *chaojing* glossed by Funayama as a precursor to the bibliographic label of "separately circulating" (*biesheng*) may have featured selection and summary as well. See previous note 68 for epitomes on the *Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom* and *Truth Accomplishment Treatise*.

⁷¹ On this point, and an attempt to account for Sengyou's relative tolerance of *chaojing*, see Tokuno 1990, 40. Sengyou's list of *chaojing* appears to have turned the corner fully into the "doubtful" category between Daoxuan's *Inner Books* of 664 and Zhisheng's *Kaiyuan Catalog* of 730.

), or Zhi Qian's *Comet Epitome* (*Bo chao* 孛抄), neither of which appear in the catalog proper.⁷² Both of these figures, already visited above as the translator-tradents of proto-*abhidharma* and the Dharma *Verses* respectively, were considered accomplished translators precisely for meeting audiences where they were: in hindsight, An's work became obscure and Zhi Qian's was considered a touch "refined"⁷³ by later evaluators. The *Cultivation Scripture* as a whole became manifest with Dharmarakṣa's full translation of it in 284, also discussed above. And even as Saṃgharakṣa's verses in the *Cultivation Scripture* designate the work as having been compiled from excerpts, so does Sengyou view An Shigao as having digested Saṃgharakṣa's digest in his translation. As with the Buddha's preaching and the translation of scriptures, so too do digestion and excerpts have their specific causes, conditions, and audiences. On the other hand, Sengyou decries "later people" (*houren* 後人) for distorting original texts, scattering their structure and "causing the holy word to leave the root" (*shi shengyan liben* 使聖言離本). Either of these positions can be traced to Buddhist scriptures themselves, the confidence of a Saṃgharakṣa versus the anxiety of the *Nirvana*.⁷⁴

A reader can detect both the cataloger's confidence and anxiety in the 46 titles of the "newly collected" extracted scriptures.⁷⁵ Included in the list are highly lauded digests of Kumārajīva's translations of the *Great Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom* (*T* no. 1509) in 100 fascicles and the *Truth Accomplishment Treatise* (*T* no. 1646) in sixteen fascicles, undertaken by Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416) in the first case and Southern Qi monks Sengrou 僧柔 and Huici 慧次 in the second: the reduced versions were twenty and nine fascicles respectively.⁷⁶ But the

⁷² Su and Xiao 1995, 217.

⁷³ Cheung 2006, 60–1.

⁷⁴ Tian 2007, 82, has a different reading of this preface, wherein An Shigao and Zhi Qian produced skillful *chao* because they summarized but did not extract, while "contemporaries" cut and remix profligately. Sengyou himself cut and remix scriptures in his anthologies, and saw fit to commemorate great *śāstra* digests of recent vintage (see below)—he could not have thought that all contemporary *chaojing* were terrible.

⁷⁵ Tokuno 1990, 39, notes that Sengyou "classifies only six *chaojing* as spurious texts—a relatively small number when compared to the forty-six..."

⁷⁶ See note above for alternative locations in *CSZJJ* where the prefaces to these now lost works were preserved.

final entry is the anonymous *Garden of Dharma Scriptures*, a work that Sengyou insists is not actually a scripture and a work of which one should be wary, doubly listed in the fifth fascicle as “extract” and “suspicious.”⁷⁷ Further, the bulk of the entries are Prince Wenxuan’s, and Sengyou seems to divorce Xiao Ziliang’s brilliance from the utility of his thirty-six epitomes,⁷⁸ and by Daoxuan’s catalog they are already found in the “spurious” catalog (Fascicle 10, Catalog 8) as well as in the chronological and indigenous composition catalogs (Catalog 1, Fascicle 4, Subcatalog 12; and Fascicle 10, Catalog 6 respectively).⁷⁹ Tokuno suggests that despite his qualms “Sengyou... felt that *chaojing* could play an important role in the survival and spread of the Buddhist religion... by their very nature, such scriptures must have been used to disseminate Buddhism among the less-educated general populace.”⁸⁰ As discussed in the previous chapter, Sengyou himself produced collections of scriptural extracts from previous collections of scriptural extracts. *Chaojing* as a genre (and, as I have been arguing throughout, as a broader practice) could evidently be evaluated on a case-by-case basis, both with regard to their moment of compilation (authorship and accuracy) as well as to their moment of consumption (audience and efficacy).

The use of the character *chao* extends beyond the “Extracted Scriptures” catalog to other catalogs in *A Collection of Records* as well as the scriptural prefaces portion of the work.⁸¹ Its wide and heterogenous appearances in *A Collection of Records* underwrite an ideology about

⁷⁷ See discussion in Chapter Three, Part 3.3.

⁷⁸ See the line in the preface: “Prince Wenxuan of Jingling had wise vision that was both clear and deep, [but] he too was not able to avoid this,” Su and Xiao 1995, 218. “This” most likely refers to the immediately preceding lines decrying how poor *chao* leads later students to “leave the root ... and pursue branches.”

⁷⁹ *DTNDL*, T no. 2149.j10.335a01–b05, j4.263a28–b25, j10.330c25–331a19. Interestingly, Daoxuan dilates on his ambivalence about Xiao’s scriptural digests in his notes on their entries. The biographical note appending the chronological catalog entry, copied from Fei Zhangfang (*LDSBJ*, T no. 2034.j11.96b28–c06) would seem to qualify its praise for Xiao’s work, easily confused for real scriptures, while the note appending the spurious catalog entry qualify the critique, acknowledging their general accuracy and their appeal to lay audiences.

⁸⁰ Tokuno 1990, 40.

⁸¹ Tokuno 1990, 39, signals this extension when she describes how Sengyou was tolerant of “the more than 450 *chaojing* listed in the section on anonymous translations.” I am not convinced the label is appropriate for Sengyou’s “anonymous scriptures” annotated with the character *chao*.

Buddhist writing that casts religious text (both parts of and in general) as useful despite and because they are provisional.⁸² In the first place, catalog prefaces—the general preface in addition to the prefatory notes of individual catalogs—narrate a secular history of Chinese Buddhist scriptures guided by contingency and generative of reduplication, error, and loss overlaid onto a dharmic history of the Buddha and his latter day representatives (treatise-authors, translator-tradents, or collection-compilers) meeting the needs of their moment by putting the Dharma into new forms of writing. Having portrayed the scriptural tradition as large, diverse, and messy, catalogers propose their catalogs as solutions to these problems. Next, the catalog listings, especially the record of 460 titles in 675 fascicles comprising the “newly collected anonymous scriptures” that fill the entire fourth fascicle, are continually punctuated by the interlineal annotation “extract” (*chao*), indicating that these otherwise awkward, untraceable scriptural leftovers can be put into relation with more recognizable, authored, more complete scriptural traditions.⁸³ Finally, additional catalogs employ the term to pass comment on the making of both commentarial traditions like Daoan’s (Catalog 5.4) and the forging of false scriptures (Catalog 5.2 and 5.3). *A Collection of Records* has been read by historians of Chinese Buddhist bibliography as a pioneering and successful attempt to root Chinese Buddhist scriptural traditions in authentic, Western origins through the meticulous and miraculous personalities of foreign translators. But it can also be read as a record of what had been historically possible in the management of multifarious

⁸² A CBETA query counted 526 instances of the character 抄 (and two 鈔) in the entire *Collection of Records*, with 387 appearances in the fourth fascicle (“Newly Collected Anonymous Scriptures”) and 77 in the fifth fascicle (which includes “Extracted Scriptures,” commentaries, and apocryphal scriptures).

⁸³ Common sources include the four full āgama collections (though a not uncommon annotation simply states “extracted from the āgama” *chao Ahan* 抄阿含), various jātaḥa or avadāna compilations (*Scriptures on the Lives* [*shengjing* 生經 *T* no. 154]; *Appearance of Light* [*Chuyao* 出耀, *T* no. 212]; *Collection on the Six Perfections* [*liuduji* 六度集 *T* no. 152), and the *Universal Great Collection* (*Fangdeng daji* 方等大集, *Mahāsammipāta*, *T* no. 397). Much of the time, however, a source-title is not indicated, and the character *chao* provides the sole annotation, baldly indicating the cataloger’s recognition that the title has been extracted from some larger work. One possibility for further research that intrigues me is the relationship between catalogers’ conceptualization of this vast repertory of short, anonymous scriptures and anthologists’ imagination of the short bits of scripture they collected and deemed fit to circulate. Both practices would seem to reflect elite interest in the circulation of dharma outside official scriptures proper, and both “re-nonymizing” and anthologizing short scriptures would seem to legitimize to some extent what these elite monks imagined to be popular scriptural interest and practice. See Chapter Five, Part 1.1 for discussion of a short, anonymous scripture that was later anthologized.

scripture, and a playbook for enacting potentialities for further practices of extraction and recompilation. So long as the scriptural “originals” were strictly preserved alongside later extracts, epitomes, and collections, so long as these moves were rendered legible through the citation of sources and description of the editorial process, *chao* was permissible if not salutary with regard to certain, specific aims.

3. How Paratext Indicates Extracts in Anthology

I have examined two kinds of sources to argue that medieval Chinese Buddhist anthologists imagined themselves as engaging in *chao* when reading and repurposing scriptural originals for *leishu*. First, I argued in previous chapters that the prefaces to anthologies, the major works of rhetoric that could shape audience expectation about what anthologies were and could do, told their readers that that is precisely the operation they have performed: the anthologist has made essential quotes from larger bodies of text through summary and selection under *chao*. Second, I have just argued that there existed a broader bibliographic discourse about *chao* that is centered primarily in scriptural catalogs, but also found in history, bibliography, scriptural prefaces, and in the text of scriptures themselves. Anthologies—what we call *leishu*—should also be set in this larger social context of textual practice wherein the digestion of larger bodies of text into makeshift works was cautiously encouraged.

Anthologies were made up of textual excerpts that were *chao*'ed from previous texts. The spectrum of *chao* runs from complete, accurate transcription (“copy”) at one end to compact paraphrase (“summary”) at the other, and targeted, selective copying somewhere in the middle (“extract” and “excerpt”). In the chapter part following this one I pursue some case studies of particular excerpts from *A Grove of Pearls* to examine how excerption occurs at a finer level—how does a scriptural passage change when it is identified as excerpt-able, trimmed down for efficiency, and set into a new textual context? In this part, however, I briefly survey how paratext in anthology communicates scriptural economy. I argue that the text of citations and commentary

in anthology trains a reader to imagine the anthology they are reading as such, that is to say, as a work that has taken liberties in reducing full accounts in the service of providing the convenience of shorter, differently useable passages of scripture. To this end, I start by surveying evidence of anthologies expressly citing their anthological precedents, continue by discussing how commentarial asides in Baochang's *Anomalous Phenomena* cultivate meta- or inter-scriptural perspectives, and end by cataloging various commentarial formulae found in *Anomalous Phenomena* and *A Grove of Pearls* that explicitly indicate textual reduction.

Chinese Buddhist anthologies rarely cite each other as sources for their excerpts, but those few instances that they do drive home the adaptive instrumentality of scriptural quotes. As we have seen, anthologies may mention or otherwise name Buddhist *leishu* precedents in prefaces, commentary, or listings of Chinese-authored works; but they do not describe them as *leishu* because the bibliographic concept was not prevalent yet. There exists, however, a handful of curious citations in *Anomalous Phenomena* that suggest that Baochang and his team may have been cribbing (and unapologetic about demonstrating their cribbing) from pre-digested sources like epitomes, extracts, or anthologies. Two epitomes that appear to be cited multiple times in *Anomalous Phenomena* are the *Scriptural Epitome on the Three Minor Kalpas* (*Sanxiaojie jingchao* 三小劫經抄) and the *Epitome on the Abhidharmavibhāṣa* (*Chao apitan piposha* 抄阿毗曇毗婆沙).⁸⁴ Next, the *Epitome from Collected Scriptures* (*Jijingchao* 集經抄 or *Jingjichao* 經集抄) is cited for two consecutive entries on the fate of reliquary stūpas.⁸⁵ And finally, a work titled *Essential Accounts from the Scriptures* (*Zhujing zhong yaoshi* 諸經中要事) is cited for ten an-

⁸⁴ The first work is cited thrice on minor kalpas and minor kalpa-destruction in the first fascicle (*JLYX*, T no. 2121.j1.2); the latter work is cited five times over three fascicles (fascicle 33 is cited on relics at j39.11, j39.12, and j39.13; fascicle 8 is cited on ghosts at j46.11; and fascicle 22 is cited on wolves at j47.10). Neither of these works survive, though *Epitome on the Abhidharmavibhāṣa* in fifty-nine fascicles is listed in Sengyou's list of Xiao Ziliang's scriptural epitomes. Baochang's citation of it is always abbreviated: he calls it the *chao pitanpiposha* first, *chao piposha* second, and *chao pitan* third.

⁸⁵ *JLYX*, T no. 2121.j6.12 and j6.13; the former entry also appears in Sengyou's *Genealogy of the Śākya* as Item j3.22. See Ōuchi 1977b, 68–9 for a discussion of this citation that locates an original and finds that the excerpt of it has, of course, been reduced in size.

ecdotes across the entire work.⁸⁶ These later two examples stand out from *Anomalous Phenomena*'s usual method of citation where a specific fascicle number often appends the naming of a scriptural source: the effect would be to license the design and use of scriptural anthologies for the management of text at the cost of losing the connection to source-texts along the way, or rather, the anthologies themselves become their own kinds of authoritative source. More commonly, later anthologies seem to have drawn materials from previous anthologies, and scholars hypothesize that a passage has been copied from an intermediate anthology rather than the original when two anthological versions of an excerpt resemble each other far more closely than either anthological excerpt to the original.⁸⁷ At any rate, medieval Chinese Buddhist scholars understood that anthologies could be built from previous anthologies; they could read how Baochang and his team built *Anomalous Phenomena* in 50 fascicles from repurposing Sengmin's larger *Epitome of Essentials from the Scriptures* (*Zhongjing yaochao* 眾經要抄) in 88 fascicles; if they had both Daoshi's *Collected Essentials* and *A Grove of Pearls*, they could see at a glance how closely related the two were.

More commonly too, anthologists summarized the passages they copied down without calling attention to the process. By attributing the work of digestion to an intermediary source for the handful of citations above, *Anomalous Phenomena* invites the reader to take and use the text (for what it is worth) at the same time that it invites the reader to check its sourcing. This is to say, citations like these pull the reader out of the world depicted in the text and behind the cur-

⁸⁶ These citations are *JLYX*, T no. 2121.j11.8; j14.16; j19.2; j37.9; j37.13; j40.6; j41.12; j44.9; j44.30; and j45.15, and mostly consist of karmic tales. See Ōuchi 1977b: 67–8 for a fuller listing and discussion. One of the accounts on an ungrateful bear (j11.8) is famous in the debate on whether Daoshi composed *A Grove of Pearls* or *Collected Essentials* first. The excerpt as it appears in *JLYX* reappears in both *FYZL* and *ZJYJ* in their respective chapters on “Ignoring Kindness” and “Repaying Kindness,” but the citation in both seventh-century loci has transmuted the title to “Collected Essentials from the Scriptures” (*zhujing yaoji* 諸經要集) from “Essential Accounts from the Scriptures” (*zhujing zhong yaoshi*). The original passage appears to have been culled from the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Treatise* (*DZDL*, T no. 1509.j49.413c26–414a17). For scholarly discussion of this passage across the three anthologies and its implications for determining which of Daoshi's compilations came first, see Kawaguchi 1975, 143; Ōuchi 1977b, 68n15; Wu 2006, 61–2; Wang 2016, 118–19.

⁸⁷ A misattributed citation or transcription error common to both excerpts is often a telltale—see above note 86 on the ungrateful bear.

tain to consider texts and textuality as such. In a certain sense, the very fact of citation in anthologies (and especially the citation of other anthologies) may lead readers to reflect on how the Dharma can transform in its movement from location to location, the provisionality of language in communicating truth, and the situatedness of a reader of dharma in a world of many texts.⁸⁸ These moments of rendering text as a plural, proliferating, volatile medium for the Dharma are heightened throughout the anthological context, which implicitly draws attention to the textuality of text. Chapters and sections of anthologies on cosmological and doctrinal topics especially not only cite more abstruse (or “encyclopedic”) genres of scripture like the abhidharma treatise or the vinaya regulations, but they are also often more commentarial in nature, featuring a voice from “outside” the scriptures guiding the reader between various sources. Some translated scriptural genres (like the aforementioned abhidharma and vinaya) already cite and comment on further scriptures; by citing and imitating these scriptures, anthologies heighten the meta-scriptural perspective on the Dharma.

The very first entry in *Anomalous Phenomena*, for instance, features seven small-character, commentarial asides that offer the reader an outside perspective on the excerpt.⁸⁹ The first entry is titled “1. Heavens of the Four Heavenly Kings” (Sitianwang tian), and falls under the taxonomical branches “1. Heavens” → “1. Three Realms” → “1. Desire Realms.” The seventh and final small-character commentary tails and provides a citation for the excerpt, a little over one Taishō column in length: “Excerpted from Fascicle 20 of the *Long Āgama Scriptures* (*Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經 *T* no. 1); also excerpted from the *Great [Perfection of] Wisdom Treatise* (*Dazhi[du] lun* 大智度論 *T* 1509) and [*Great*] *Lokasthāna Scripture* (*[Da] loutan jing*, 大樓炭經 *T* no. 23).”⁹⁰ Common to the citation style of *Anomalous Phenomena* (and sometimes seen

⁸⁸ There exists a set of passages in Buddhist scriptures that Buddhologists read that form a kind of canon of “skillful means” discourse featuring the diversity of the Buddha’s dharma and the necessity of adequating teaching to occasion and audience (see introduction to dissertation). My argument here simply registers the echo of this thinking at the level of Chinese Buddhist bibliography.

⁸⁹ On the varieties of commentarial discourse in *A Grove of Pearls*, see Chapter One, Part 4.

⁹⁰ The excerpt itself is highly abbreviated, and does not feature material solely from (present-day) fascicle 20 of the *Long Āgama Scriptures* (*T* no. 1); it appears that the excerpt skips around fascicle 20 and also cites from fascicle 7.

in *A Grove of Pearls*), the anthology lists the main source for the excerpt with a specific fascicle, and also includes alternate sources (though offering less precision with regard to fascicle number) which may duplicate the information or may be mixed in with the anthological excerpt. The other six commentarial asides offer breaks in the reading where the commentator can bring to bear knowledge from other sources. The second and third comments do not name other texts, but inform the reader that the city of Virūpākṣa, God of the West, called “*zhouluo* 周羅” (Cūla?), is “sometimes rendered *zhouba* 周罷—unclear what [the alternate transcription’s] advantages are” (*huo zuo zhouba; weixiang deshi* 或作周罷；未詳得失) and that five hundred years in this series of heavens are 90,000 human years respectively.⁹¹ The other comments offer sources for the interwoven information: the first comment breaks in with a line about the mountains surrounding Sumeru, beginning with “the *Great [Perfection of] Wisdom Treatise* says...”;⁹² the fourth comment begins with an “another record says” (*bieji yun* 別記云) to add a line about which parents’ knee boys and girls sit on;⁹³ and the fifth and sixth comment begin by invoking the *Lokasthāna Scripture*. The two comments citing *Lokasthāna Scripture* are representative of a style of textual criticism specific to *Anomalous Phenomena* where the anthologist offers a judgement about how closely the rendering in the extract represented resembles its rendering in an alternate source: the fifth comment states that “the explanation in the *Lokasthāna Scripture* is largely the same but with small differences; there being much text it is not recorded [here]” (*loutan jing shuo datong xiaoyi, wenduo buzai* 『樓炭經』說。大同小異，文多不載) and the sixth says that “the *Lokasthāna Scripture*[’s account] is approximately the same” (*loutan jing lüetong* 『樓炭經』略同). The phrase “largely the same” in small characters appears around fifteen other times in *Anomalous Phenomena* to pass judgement an excerpt’s relationship with an alternate source, and much of the time the whole phrase is “largely the same but with small differences” (*datong xiaoyi*).

⁹¹ Taishō does not record any other instances of *zhouba*, and the calculation providing time-conversion can be found in fascicle 7 of *T* no. 1 (among other places).

⁹² Compare to *T* no. 1509.j100.752b17.

⁹³ I have not located a Taishō source for the “other record”

Baochang also wields “approximately the same,” “not completely the same” (*buquantong* 不全同), or “there are some differences” (*youbutong* 有不同) to make other kinds of judgements about similitude. Sometimes in connection with these assessments, the phrase “there being much text, it is not recorded here” appears seventeen times in *Anomalous Phenomena* overall.⁹⁴ The evaluations of alternate passages remind readers that the excerpt chosen to be representative on a topic does not reflect the only scriptural source on it, and scholars can consult original sources to account for differences themselves; the aside that “there is much text” (*wenduo*) signals that there is more to delve into that can be simply glossed over the anthological context.

Variations on the formula in Baochang’s *Anomalous Phenomena* and Sengyou’s *Genealogy of the Śākya* on “there being much text it is not recorded” include “not completely recorded” (*bu xizai* 不悉載; *bu beizai* 不備載) or “not completed” (*bu ju* 不具). It may seem strange that an anthologist would need to repeat this disclaimer because the Liang anthologies feature so much reduction in text, and reduce simply by virtue of excerpting in the first place: it would seem to go without saying that the text “is not completely recorded,” that of course “there is more [or “too much”] text.” Though I have argued that textual superfluity is a prime condition for the composition of Buddhist anthology, this subtext becomes explicit at moments where the features of the text being copied compel the anthologist to comment on the ever-expansive nature of scriptures and the need to make cuts. In *Anomalous Phenomena*, the phrase emerges in the example above interspersed into a discussion about the bodies and experiences of heavenly denizens, the glories and pleasures of which can naturally be dilated upon ad infinitum. Names of many hells, virtues of the bodhisattva, or scripts mastered by the Buddha are examples of objects that call for “much text.”⁹⁵ Where scriptures may declare a phenomenon so fantastic that “it

⁹⁴ It also appears six times in Sengyou’s *Genealogy of the Śākya*.

⁹⁵ *JLYX*, T no. 2121.j49.11.260b25 on alternate names for the eight Great Hells; *SJP*, T no. 2040.j1.4.4c13–14 or *JLYX*, T no. 2121.j4.15b01 on sixty virtues of the Buddha; *SJP*, T no. 2040.j1.6a16; *Shijia shipu*, T no. 2041.90a27 on the Buddha’s mastery of 64 scripts.

cannot be discoursed upon completely” (*bukejushuo* 不可具說), anthologists imitate the voice of scriptural narration when they tell their readers they are making necessary cuts.

These kinds of commentarial asides in *Anomalous Phenomena* conjure up the appearance of scriptural plurality and depth, and they are part and parcel of an anthology’s overall strategy of arguing for the necessity of scriptural economy. Beyond rubrication and the kinds and diversity of scriptures cited, interspersed, interlinear commentary show how every textual manifestation can be imagined as one choice among many, whether that choice is how to translate or render specific foreign terms into Chinese script, or how to choose a scripture and make an excerpt from it that best represents what one heaven among many is like. *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* features a strategy of commentarial paratext that functions similarly. As indicated in previous chapters, Daoshi uses *lei* and rubrication to different ends, uses more and more complex forms of commentarial voice to guide the anthology’s readers, and cites and quotes from a wider variety of scriptures and other religious texts. *A Grove of Pearls* also generally offers more complete renderings of scriptural excerpts than does *Anomalous Phenomena*, which is more summarial: where analogous excerpts appear in both anthologies, the version in *A Grove of Pearls* is sometimes more complete than that in *Anomalous Phenomena*, and at other times appears to track its analogue in *Anomalous Phenomena* so closely so as to resemble it more than either does the original.⁹⁶

A Grove of Pearls does not feature the formula “there being much text it is not recorded” as often as *Anomalous Phenomena*, and the phrase appears not in small-character asides, but in the text of various (already overlong) commentary or miracle tales.⁹⁷ More common are the

⁹⁶ See for instance three quotations from *FYZL*, *T* no. 2122.j57.718b20–719b24 from “Chapter 65: Debts” with *JLYX* j46.4.11, 13, and 15 respectively (*T* no. 2121.j46.243a08–14, 243a24–244a15, 244a25–29). The *FYZL* and *JLYX* citations and excerpts match more closely than with their sources [*All-Pleasing Regulations*] *Vibhāṣa Treatise*, *T* no. 1468.j7.45b18–23; *Jewel-Treasury Scriptures*, *T* no. 745.557b15–558c04 (mis-cited by both as the *Combined Jewel-Treasury Scriptures*, *T* no. 202); and the lost *Parable Scriptures* (on Fasui’s *Piyu jing* see Appendix M, note 1).

⁹⁷ For instance, *FYZL*, *T* no. 2122.j16.407a01 in recounting Daoan’s biography (6.4 Maitreya); j86.918b01 on the plethora of repentance text (86 Repentance); j94.982a12 on a tale about a woman who returned from death (94 Impurity).

formulae “[because] the text is proliferate, [we do not reproduce it all]” (*wenfan* [bujulu] 文繁[不具錄], eight instances), “[because it is lengthy or repetitive,] we do not trouble [with reproducing it all / expressing it again]” (*bufan* [julu / chongshu] 不煩[具錄, 重述], thirteen instances),⁹⁸ and “[the text has been] summarized” (*lieshu* 略述, twenty instances).⁹⁹ Echoing with Li Yan’s preface’s declaration of Daoshi having found “the text [of all the scriptures in their wide recording to be] proliferate/troublesome” (*wenfan*), these commentarial phrases signal to the reader that scriptural proliferation has been managed for them in the immediate appearance of the text. As with *Anomalous Phenomena*, these passages highlight the contingency of scriptural manifestation at moments where the content itself has compelled the anthologist to produce the indication of more; but unlike *Anomalous Phenomena*, the phrases appear in other places besides abutting scriptural extracts in small-character form. A long commentarial passage on the names for the “Three Realms” (Chapter 2) ends with the following small-character comment: “further, according to the *Flower Adornment* [*Scripture*, one can find] an analysis of the trichilocosm wherein there are [even] more kinds [of realm], and we do not trouble with expressing them broadly (*bufan guangshu* 不煩廣述).”¹⁰⁰ Similarly, in the fourteenth large section on the Buddha’s “Nirvana,” the second subsection which offers five quotes on the actions and sayings of the Buddha’s disciples around “Attending the [Buddha’s] Funeral” (*fuai* 赴哀) ends with a small-character comment: “the scriptures completely clarify the methods of his *jhāpita* [crema-

⁹⁸ In two of thirteen instances I counted, Daoshi writes “we do not bother” with the other *fan* 繁.

⁹⁹ The character *lüe* 略 is as complex and multiple in meanings as *chao*, and far more prevalent in medieval Chinese. As a single-character verb, it can mean “take,” “summarize,” “sketch,” or “omit,” and it does not necessarily have positive or negative connotations. In *Anomalous Phenomena* commentarial asides, *lüe* nearly always appears as an adverbial “approximately” as in “[these two accounts in different scriptures are] approximately the same” (*lüetong*) (see above). In *A Grove of Pearls*, other instances of commentarial aside using the character *lüe* as an adverb that resemble *lieshu* (“summarizingly expressed”) include “summarizingly introduced” (*lüexu* 略序, “summarizingly explained” (*lieshuo* 略說), “summarizingly analyzed” (*lieshi* 略釋), and “summarizingly cited” (*lüeyin* 略引). “Summarizingly cited” appears ubiquitously in *A Grove of Pearls* after the “Accounts of Stimulus-Response” (*ganyingyuan*) heading in small characters to indicate the number of accounts that follow in the formula “x proof-tales are summarizingly cited” (*lüeyin x yan* 略引x驗).

¹⁰⁰ *T* no. 2122.j2.278a27. See another (and longer) example at *T* no. 2122.j96.991c07–09 on various accounts of “Self-Immolation” from the scriptures that were not included in the chapter, translated and discussed by Benn 2007, 107.

tion]; because the text is proliferate, we have abbreviated and not recorded it. (*zhujing juming shewei zhi fa; yi wenfan gu lue er bu lu* 諸經具明闡維之法，以文繁故略而不錄).¹⁰¹ And the large “Section 6: Ten Wholesome Acts” from “Chapter 87: Taking Precepts” caps a long passage from the *Brahma-Net Scripture* (*Fanwang jing* 梵網經) on the Ten Precepts with an additional small-character note that “after learning these ten precepts, there are additionally forty-eight minor precepts which also must be learned. But because the text is proliferate, we do not express it (*wenfan bushu* 文繁不述). Students find it [in the *Brahma-Net Scripture*].”¹⁰² As with the small-character comments in *Anomalous Phenomena* described above, here other scriptures (named and unnamed) are invoked to index alternate and more complete accounts of topics at hand.

But the language of refusing to trouble readers with textual proliferation also appears in the body of the anthology text itself, and in the miracle tales sections of *A Grove of Pearls* that are unique to it. A long prefatory comment presenting a *dhāraṇi* titled “The Thousand Turnings Dhāraṇi Divine Spell” in a body of text on *dhāraṇi* spells used for “Repentance” (*chanhui* 懺悔), the second and earliest content section of “Chapter 68: Spell Arts,” invokes “many scriptures like the *Great Collection* (*Daji[jing]* 大集經, *T* no. 397) and the ten-fascicle *Collected Dhāraṇi Scriptures* (*Tuoluoni jijing* 陀羅尼集經, *T* no. 901) that broadly clarify miscellaneous spells, but we do not bother recording them completely (*bufan julu*).” Daoshi continues: “Presently, however, what is required is seeking essentials for timely salvation (*zhuyao shiji* 逐要時濟): for one whose intention is set on eradicating sin and dispersing impediment, we have [re]produced over forty [dhāraṇi]. For the practitioners of [other] miscellaneous [spell]craft in dispersing illness, rescuing from poverty, protecting life, or extending fate, we have also summarized (*lüeshu* 略述) over twenty more.”¹⁰³ After providing the text of the “Thousand Turnings” dhāraṇi and

¹⁰¹ *T* no. 2122.j12.372b12.

¹⁰² *T* no. 2122.j89.938a01–02. The Taishō indicates that non-Koreana editions of *A Grove of Pearls* have the other *fan* 煩.

¹⁰³ *T* no. 2122.j60.735a26–29.

some comments on its proper practice and karmic effects, the chapter as a whole appears to follow the bipartite structure promised, with four further sections on “elimination of sin” and a final seventh section of around twenty “miscellaneous spells” (*zazhou* 雜呪) labelled after their various effects.¹⁰⁴ The anthology claims to have culled from a vast body of spells only what is necessary and timely with regard to salvation, and relayed it first; though both sets of spells have been reduced from a larger set, what is ancillary or “miscellaneous” is shuffled to the rear. Finally, in normal-size characters, a commentarial passage on “18. Past Lives” (*suming*) invites its readers to look elsewhere in the anthology for more examples of ghosts, gods, and animals who have learned their past lives: “scriptures and treatises in chapters before and after this one explain this more completely, [so] we do not trouble with expressing them again [here]” (*qianhou zhupian jinglun jushuo, bufan chongshu* 前後諸篇經論具說，不煩重述).¹⁰⁵

A lengthy small-script commentary appended to the “Accounts of Stimulus-Response” heading for “Chapter 92: Harm of Advantage” (*lihai*) also invites readers to consult the rest of the anthology, and begins by underscoring its own redundancy: “As for previous monastics and lay who did not triumph over name and advantage and received present recompenses thereby, there are exceedingly many. [Their stories] are scattered among the chapters, and further here we have drawn one more proof-tale, so we do not trouble with expressing [others more] broadly (*bufan guangshu*)...”¹⁰⁶ A collection of ten miracle tales appending “Chapter 8: Paying Respects to Monks” (*jingseng*) uses similar phraseology in a small-character note following the ten proof-tales: “Comment: there are works like *Traditions of Famous Monks* in 30 fascicles; *Liang*

¹⁰⁴ By my count, the other five sections of the chapter appear to reproduce around twenty (not forty) other dhāraṇi, but perhaps the commentator has counted them differently. The “Thousand Turnings” spell and commentary specific to it appear to have been drawn from the *Collected Dhāraṇi Scriptures*, compare *T* no. 2122.j60.735b06–25 with *T* no. 901.826a05–21; 826b21–27.

¹⁰⁵ *T* no. 2122.j26.477a29. The aforementioned “Self-Immolation” comment (n100) also implores readers to read “other chapters” (*biepian*) for further examples of self-immolating bodhisattva behavior.

¹⁰⁶ j92.970a09. *Fan* is represented here atypically as 繁. While the promise to present only one miracle tale at this juncture is fulfilled below, the essay ironically continues on at length about the karmic harms posed by laypersons’ supposed “advantages” to monastics.

Traditions of Eminent Monks in 15 fascicles; *Tang Traditions of Eminent Monks* in 40 fascicles; and the historical biographical traditions of the hundred schools. Ordinary or holy, those of grand virtue number over a thousand monks; their accumulated merits are distinctly different, but what lay and monastic both treasure. Some are scattered throughout these chapters, and for some the text was proliferate and not recorded (*wenfan bulu*). Moreover, though less of more is listed, it indexes the virtues of monks.”¹⁰⁷ Finally, a third small-character comment follows “Accounts of Stimulus-Response” heading to “Chapter 17: Understanding,” and precedes two miracle tales adapted from the *Liang Traditions of Eminent Monks* on the perspicacious Kumārajīva and Faxian 法顯 (d. 418-423): it echoes the comment above regarding the “grand virtues multitudinous [of monks] being attached in other chapters. We do not bother recording them again (*bufan chonglu*), and moreover abbreviate the following two proof-tales,” and name-checks “[monks in] the current of [Dao]sheng or [Seng]zhao, the category of [Fotu]cheng or [Dao]an.”¹⁰⁸ This trio of notes indicates to the reader first, that the limited selection of miracle tales on the scroll they happen to hold in hand could have included other tales included under other subject headings in the anthology; second, that there exists further literature with examples in the same vein; and finally, that the virtues of monks and recompenses accrued by mortals exceed even what has been captured in writing. As when abutting scriptural excerpts, these notes orient the reader in how to consider the immediate text in relationship to other elements of the work of which it is part, the broader scriptural universe, and the universe itself. Notes such as these are imbricated in broader strategies of citation that point to named scriptures, named col-

¹⁰⁷ j19.429c08–c09. On collections of holy monks compiled by Daoshi and Daoxuan (and their relationship to the *Eminent Monks* traditions), Shinohara 1990. The present-day XGSZ (T no. 2060), attributed to Daoxuan, is thirty fascicles in length, and this thirty-fascicle variant seems to square with the thirty-fascicle *Continued Traditions of Eminent Monks* and ten-fascicle *Late Compiled Continued Traditions of Eminent Monks* attributed to Daoxuan in the bibliographic chapter of *A Grove of Pearls* (T no. 2122.j100.3.1023c05–06).

¹⁰⁸ T no. 2122.j25.472c17–18. The *fan* is represented here atypically as 繁.

lections of other holy writings, and the anthology itself¹⁰⁹ that facilitate both immediate satisfaction with the authority of presented quotations as well as the pursuit of further text.

¹⁰⁹ With regard to its self-citation, *A Grove of Pearls* not infrequently directs readers to consider other “chapters” (*pian*) (and less frequently, other “fascicles” [*juan*]) of itself, sometimes specifying the name and direction (“above”; “below”; “before”; “after”) of the chapter or fascicle where one can find additional information, and other times, as in the examples translated here, simply referring to “other” (*bie*) chapters. A small handful of miracle tales do not include a written source, and the citational small-script that follow them will indicate where or from whom the anthologist personally heard the account. These accounts are typically found at the end of a miracle tale section usually with the most contemporary accounts.

Chapter Five: Extracting Scriptural Essence II—Case Studies

1. How Pearls are Extracted for Anthologies

The opening of the last chapter examined the essentializing potentials of copying by detailing the case of how the miracle tale on the patricidal Wang Yanwei was copied from a manuscript Buddhist anthology into print canon, or alternately onto a short portable page. By reading and judging the anecdote as a whole, by anticipating what a user of the manuscript might require later, and by having a version of the text immediately before them to crib from, the copyist was able to generate a more compact version of what appeared to be an original, more baroque miracle tale. Rather than an exact copy fit for canonical record, the copyist produced an abbreviated version, nearly a quarter in length, governed by exigencies of space and speed. I suggested that this mode of managing Chinese text called *chao* was conceptualized as reductive of text and protective (if not also revelatory or productive) of meaning when done correctly. This conceptualization is indexed to the form of the new text itself, which more or less preserves characters in sequence from the original excerpt, but eliminates duplicate and non-essential characters. Under these conditions of textual ideology, the semantic range of *chao* extends in English translation from notions of copy and excerpt to notation and summary.

As prefacers, bibliographers, and modern scholars of Buddhist *leishu* have long identified, the text contained in an anthology was considered to be excerpted from one or several scriptures. This excerpted, digested text was considered differently potent from full scriptures, at once less potent because it had been degraded from the complete form given to it by its translators but at the same time more potent because it had been rendered more (or differently) accessible. In other words, not only were anthologies the objects upon which *chao* could be performed, they were the products of *chao* to begin with. The entire transmitted tradition of surviving Chinese Buddhist anthologies, then, from Sengyou's *Genealogy of the Śākya*, Baochang's *Anomalous Phenomena*

from the Scriptures, Daoji's *Golden Basket Discourse*, and Daoshi's *Collection of Essentials* and *A Grove of Pearls* are witnesses to a diverse regime of making scriptural excerpts to anthologize. *Chao*, *lei*, and *ji*, as I have argued throughout, can be placed in the same frame of scriptural economy, reducing and repackaging sacred text for easier consumption.

In the following part, I look at how three passages of text manifest in *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*, and measure the excerpt's differences from its transmitted original as well as from earlier Chinese Buddhist anthologies. While of the surviving Chinese Buddhist anthologies, text in *A Grove of Pearls* often most closely resembles its putative progenitor text in the transmitted originals, many passages have also been cut down considerably in size, the product of excerptive transcription and in some cases, summary in the anthologist's own words. Because source passages are often recognizably shared between *A Grove of Pearls* and earlier Chinese Buddhist anthologies, scholars have argued that passages from *A Grove of Pearls* may have been copied from these earlier anthologies rather than their scriptural originals. In my readings of the following copied passages, I pursue two lines of argument.

First, while the various anthologists reduce scriptural passages differently, and there are different styles to every anthology (and for *A Grove of Pearls* the style can shift rather dramatically between topic, chapter, section), there is a common stock of assumptions about what is worth preserving and worth cutting out. By tracking what is preserved over multiple anthologies, there seem to emerge non-negotiable core elements of an anecdote or sermon's plot or message. At the same time, anthologists took the opportunity to "improve" the style of a scriptural passage through the transcriptive edit, removing redundancies and superfluities to render what was originally "unhewn" into something more "refined," these aesthetic terms being mapped onto distinctions of cultural alterity "across the Sino-Indian divide."¹

¹ On the development of "unhewn" (*zhi*) versus "refined" (*wen*) as evaluations of translation style that laminate onto imaginings of cultural and religious difference in the prefaces of early Chinese Buddhist scriptures, see Cheung 2006. I borrow the language of "across the Sino-Indian divide" from Young 2015 to highlight, as Young does, the persistence of alterity in unquestionably "local" Buddhist practice.

Second, while there does exist evidence that *A Grove of Pearls* copies text directly from its anthological forebears, the cases I look at show instances where the copyist seems to have returned to an original scriptural source to copy the passage anew. Both cases illustrate how anthologies become tools for building new anthologies, the former being a set of examples demonstrating how *A Grove of Pearls* adds to its collection by relying upon pre-digested (and already cited) scriptural passages, and the second being a set of examples indicating how previous anthological citation might inspire a later anthologist to return to the source to provide a less brutal excerptation. Either case calls upon a shared understanding of Chinese Buddhist scripture as a kind of text that is uniquely adaptable, excerptable, transportable, and citable.

The content of the passages I examine envision the Buddhist dharma in various stages of live circulation: the near entirety of an anonymously translated scripture titled the *Scripture on the Total Extinction of the Dharma* (*Foshuo famiejin jing*, T no. 396) imagines its future eschatological collapse and reconstitution; a famous passage from the *Lotus Scripture* (T no. 262) portrays and inspires devotional self-immolation; a story from the *All-Pleasing Regulations* (T no. 1462) recollects a frog's hearing of the Dharma leading to its rebirth in heaven; and a long narrative from the *Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom* (T no. 1509) tracks the movement of the Buddha's teaching into the Three Baskets through the mind of Ānanda and the labors of Kāśyapa and the council of arhats. [Finally, I look at some further vinaya passages on preaching the Dharma that appear to have been poached directly from Daoxuan's *Xingshichao*.] While the following analysis focuses more heavily on the formal differences between the texts of scriptural passages in transmitted and excerpted versions, the Dharma's recursive message to honor it by hearing it, preserving it, and preaching it is preserved all the way down the chain. While other texts promise rewards for scribal exactitude and punishments for scribal sloppiness, anthologies themselves are evidence that in many cases, ensuring that the basic message is communicated at a basal level might outweigh considerations of circulating dharma unabridged.

1.1 *The Total Extinction of Dharma*

The *Scripture on the Total Extinction of the Dharma [Pronounced by the Buddha]* ([*Foshuo*] *famiejin jing* 佛說法滅盡經), discussed above in Chapter 4, note 34, is printed over slightly more than two columns of a Taishō page, and can be found across the last two pages 1118 and 1119 in Volume 12, the final of nine short single-fascicle scriptures (*T* no. 388–396) of what the Taishō editors took to be the *Nirvana* genre.² When it appears as a scriptural excerpt in surviving anthologies by Sengyou, Baochang, and Daoshi in *Genealogy of the Śākya, Anomalous Phenomena from the Scriptures and Regulations*, and *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* respectively, each anthologist begins and ends with the same lines, eliminating the introductory and closing lines of the scripture and reducing the text by over twenty percent—from 864 characters to 668, 664, and 524 characters respectively.³ The frame story of where the Buddha was (in Kuśīnagara), when he was in his preaching career (three months to nirvana), and what and how he was asked to preach on are omitted from the beginning (the excerpts begin abruptly with “the Buddha told Ānanda”); and the excerpt ends when the Buddha’s sermon concludes, because his audience’s gratitude, celebration, and instruction to spread this specific teaching are clipped from the end. Perhaps it is altogether fitting that the supposed marks that preface authentic scripture—“thus I have heard,” at some place, to some audience—are removed in order to make a complete, short scripture into a scriptural excerpt. What remains is the Buddha’s narration of the future to the moment right before the total extinction, when Māra will take over the Sangha which will wreak much havoc, besides being unable to keep no less recite the monastic code or any other scripture; when Prince Moonlight will lead a temporary revival of the Dharma; and

² The eponymous “Pronounced by the Buddha” as the first two characters of the title is omitted by the three anthologies discussed below; the SYMG editions of *Anomalous Phenomena* additionally indicate that the excerpt is drawn “from the [single] fascicle of the *Scripture on the Total Extinction of the Dharma*” (*Famie jin jing juanzhong*), which follows *JLYX*’s unique citational habit of indicating which fascicle of a scripture an excerpt is taken from.

³ Throughout my analysis, I have counted characters of the Taishō base-edition, doing my best to eliminate paratext (titles, bylines, rubrication, citations). The counts vary slightly by printing. I used CBETA digital texts, the copy-paste function, and a website [<https://www.chineseconverter.com/en/convert/chinese-character-count>] to physically do the counting.

when all the scriptures will become extinguished, their words never to be seen again.⁴ Aside from the redacted frame story, a few characters here and there are transposed or substituted, and a couple of lines are shortened through merger—the great bulk of the scripture appears to be consistent between the original and its anthological appearances.

But while the frame story of the narration of the sūtra is not preserved in its new excerpted forms, new contexts are developed through addition of anthological paratext—rubrication, commentary, and juxtaposition with quotations from other cited scriptures. The text once readable as an independent scripture becomes newly readable as “Item 34 on Fascicle 5 of *Genealogy of the Śākya*”; “Item 23 of Fascicle 6 of *Anomalous Phenomena*”; and “Second Passage under Section 8 of Chapter 98 of *A Grove of Pearls*.” The harshness of the prophesy is mellowed by Sengyou’s appended comment in the *Genealogy of the Śākya* which brings the five-fascicle anthology to a close: “because they are universal, we may certainly know that the Three Jewels abide permanently...” 以方等固知三寶常住. The excerpt is the thirty-fourth of thirty four, and shares the fifth fascicle with four other excerpts on the post-nirvana fate of the Buddha’s relics and the Dharma,⁵ and the penultimate thirty-third account nearly shares the same title with the title appended to the excerpt from the *Total Extinction*: instead of “A Record of Signs of the Total Extinction of the Dharma of the Śākya,” it reads “A Record of the Causal Account of the Total Extinction of the Dharma of the Śākya,” and it provides a summarized excerpt from a short untitled scripture in the *Combined Āgama* (T no. 99.j25.640) on the Buddha’s prophecy about the King of Kauśāmbī who wins an epoch-ending war for the Dharma against three evil invading kings.⁶ The King of Kauśāmbī secures twelve years of Buddhist revival for Jambudvīpa before the final extinction of the law. Sengyou’s excerpt of the scripture of nearly four Taishō pages is about a full

⁴ That the scriptures mentioned are physical, written presences in their final appearance would be another piece of evidence of their having been composed in China as “apocryphal.”

⁵ The majority of the fascicle is given to fleshing out the thirty-first account on the fate of the relics. It cites multiple scriptures besides the *Miscellaneous Āgamas* cited by its heading.

⁶ T no. 99.j25.640.177b15–180a05. Nattier 1991, 150–7 situates Guṇabhadra’s translation in the *Combined Āgamas* among multiple versions of the Kauśāmbī prophecy.

Taishō page in length;⁷ Baochang’s excerpt of the scripture is around ten lines shorter than a full Taishō page and shares a heading with the *Total Extinction Scripture* it precedes, the twenty-third and final heading of the sixth fascicle;⁸ and Daoshi’s excerpt is shorter still at around two Taishō columns (two-thirds of a page), sharing the heading “Quarreling” (*zhengsong*), the eighth of nine sections in “Chapter 98: Extinction of the Dharma” (*famie*), with only the *Total Extinction of the Dharma Scripture* passage following it.⁹ Despite the gradual reduction of the *Combined Āgama* passage over the three anthologies (about which a great deal more could be said), all three anthologists have considered it a fit pairing with the passage from *Total Extinction*. Neither Baochang or Daoshi offer extended commentary on the specific passage from *Total Extinction* like Sengyou does, but its placement at the end of Baochang’s fascicle on materials related to the Buddha’s nirvana and near the end of *A Grove of Pearls* in its “Chapter 98: Extinction of the Dharma” are also commentarial moves of a sort. For instance, Daoshi’s shuttling of the pair of passages into a section titled “Quarreling” amidst two-dozen excerpts signals a provincializing of the “total extinction” passages from their earlier final-word status. Rather than offering a conclusion to the saga of the Śākya clan or the history of the world after nirvana (as in Sengyou’s or Baochang’s anthologies), the two passages have been selected represent the fractious nature of the Sangha in the end times, with other passages filed under further section headings like “2. The Five Turbidities” (*wuzhuo* 五濁), “3. Timing” (*shijie* 時節), “4. Nuns” (*dunü* 度女), “5. The Buddha’s Bowl” (*Fobo* 佛鉢), “6. Errors and Substitutions” (*eti* 訛替), “7. Breaking the Precepts” (*pojie* 破戒) and “9. Damaging the Dharma” (*sunfa* 損法).

As is often the case with juxtaposed passages in anthology, readers are not provided with any explicit instructions how to read the two passages together. The resonances and tensions

⁷ T no. 2040.j5.82c25–83c23.

⁸ T no. 2121.j6.23.31b29–32a11. Both of these excerpts receive the heading “Total Extinction of the Dharma” (*famiejīn* 法滅盡).

⁹ T no. 2122.j98.1011b04–1012a09. Curiously, Daoshi’s excerpt begins and ends with lines that more closely resemble Sengyou’s excerpt than Baochang’s; Baochang’s excerpt appears to begin further into the passage and ends slightly earlier.

between accounts are left to speak for themselves. In select cases the anthologist might append commentary before, between, after, or within scriptural passages to account for or adjudicate differences between excerpts in terminology, translation, or fact. But *A Grove of Pearls*'s handling of the *Total Extinction of the Dharma Scripture* in its "Chapter 98: Extinction on the Dharma" is not only standard for this anthology as a whole, it also continues in an anthological tradition of preserving it nearly whole and pairing it with the very same āgama account. That Daoshi's excerpted text so strongly resembles Sengyou's and Baochang's circumstantially suggests Daoshi knew his predecessor's passages and imitated or even cribbed them second-hand.¹⁰

Finally, the anthologists' incorporation of a short, anonymous scripture into their *leishu* is symptomatic of a pattern that recurs over and over again in Chinese Buddhist anthologies, and signals these scholar-monks' desire to recirculate these texts in a new, more accessible venue. In his study of unattributed scriptures in Daoan's catalog, Zürcher distinguishes this "huge mass of short texts, devoted to one or a few topics, less sophisticated, and more easily digestible" to the prestigious, sophisticated, multi-fascicle translations that preserved their translator's names and attracted prefaces and commentary.¹¹ By Zürcher's estimation, these short single-fascicle scriptures may have circulated more widely and deeply than the smaller group of more famous translations, offering "glimpses of what we might call 'Buddhism at the sub-elite level.'" Their popularity at the "sub-elite level" seems to have posed an opportunity for elite bibliographers to account for their origins, authenticity, and appropriateness for circulation. Sengyou's long catalog of unattributed scriptures, for instance, discussed above, preserved alongside but separate to Daoan's in *A Collection of Records*, is loosely organized by fascicle-count, genre, title-character length, and number featured in the title. Many scriptures are indicated as having been "excerpted" (*chao*) from larger scriptures or scriptural collections, with the names of the "original" scriptural translations in Chinese indicated where direct parallels between texts could be sussed

¹⁰ Other lines of transmission are of course possible.

¹¹ Zürcher 2013, 460.

out. It is precisely here in Fascicle 4 of *A Collection of Records* that we find the title of *Total Extinction of the Dharma Scripture*, not itself indicated as *chao* but flanked by several other scriptural titles of four-character length who were.¹² But whatever the origins of the very short scripture, it was often precisely the right size, length, and difficulty to be disseminated widely, and their titles, often referring to the topic being discoursed upon (“The Nine Sudden-Deaths”) or the protagonist whose deeds are recorded (“Panthaka”), could be refashioned into rubricated headings or *lei* in the anthological context.¹³ In this sense, anthology afforded their builders and users not only new bottles for old wine, but use for the old bottles as well.

1.2 *The Medicine King’s Immolation in the Lotus*

James Benn has already produced an in-depth analysis of the “Self-Immolation” chapter in *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*, exploring how Daoshi builds a theological defense of the practice through the opening essay, two scriptural citations from the *Scripture of Golden Light* and the *Lotus Scripture*, some further lines of additional commentary, and a string of miracle tales recorded in Chinese tracing the exploits of early medieval monastic self-immolators. Daoshi was certainly not the first to articulate precedent from the *Lotus* as justification for self-immolation: Benn’s opening anecdote to his study reproduces the words of the Southern Liang Dynasty monk Daodu, who defends his practice by voicing his intention to emulate Seen with Joy Bodhisattva from the *Lotus*. By naming Seen with Joy (*xijian* 喜見) as his example, Daodu brings the relevant passage to mind for his interlocutor, Emperor Wu, as well as the audience of the exchange (which will grow to include the audiences of the miracle tale collections

¹² T no. 2145.j4.28c18; *Cultivating Compassion Scripture* (*Xiuxing ci jing* 修行慈經) the line before it is annotated “excerpt”; *Scripture on Contemplating Loathsomeness* (*Bujing guan jing* 不淨觀經) two lines before it is annotated “excerpted from the *Long Āgamas*.” Sengyou’s fourth fascicle is variously organized by scriptural length (by fascicle, decreasing), concept or protagonist, scriptural title length (by character, increasing), and, like the *Ekottarāgama*, titular-topical number (increasing).

¹³ Especially prevalent in the Liang Period dynasties is the repurposing of very short titled scriptures as anthological entries. Scriptures titled after their protagonist (who interacts with the Buddha, or was the Buddha or one of his disciples in their past life) would have been easier to locate under *JLYX*’s scheme of organizing its categories through the hierarchy of being.

the story is recorded in). In *A Grove of Pearls*, Daoshi breaks from his standard citational practice of simply citing the title of the scripture to indicate that the excerpt is “a summary of the Chapter on the Former Affairs of the Bodhisattva Medicine King from the *Lotus Scripture*” *Fahua jing Yaowang pusa benshi pin yaolie* 『法華經』藥王菩薩本事品略要。

The excerpt that follows is slightly over a Taishō column (one-third of a page, 523 characters), an excerpt from the twenty-third chapter of the Kumārajīva’s *Lotus*, the fifth of five chapters contained on the sixth of its seven fascicles (over two pages, 2809 characters).¹⁴ It is the second of three passages from scripture reproduced in the body of the chapter, and neither of the other two passages indicate that they are “summary,” even though they too are significantly abbreviated.¹⁵ The indication in the scriptural citation that the following text has been “summarized” (*lüeyao* 略要) is unique to this location in *A Grove of Pearls* among the corpus of Taishō medieval Buddhist anthologies; it appears once more in the 63rd fascicle in “Chapter 71: Praying for Rain” (*qiyu* 祈雨) to designate a quote from “a summary of *Scripture on Petitioning for Rain* [from the] *Great Cloud-Wheel [Scripture]* (in one fascicle)” *Dayunlun qingyu jing yijuan yaolie*

¹⁴ *T* no. 2122.j96.991a22–b25 versus *T* no. 262.j6.53a04–55a08. The *Lotus* consistently takes six fascicles in later Japanese tradition; Daoshi’s *Lotus* must have been seven fascicles long according to Daoxuan’s catalog, and I have assumed here that his *Lotus* approximates the Taishō’s. Hurvitz 2009, 269–77, is an English translation of the chapter, and the table of contents indicates that it follows a Japanese tradition of copying the work over eight scrolls. Daoxuan’s accounts for two versions of the contemporary *Lotus*, already emended from Kumārajīva’s original—seven scrolls of 148 pages and eight scrolls of 155 pages—in his subject catalog (*T* no. 2149.j6.286c24–26), but only includes a seven fascicle version in his historical catalog (Subcatalog 1 [*T* no. 2149.j3.252b28]); his “Entered into Baskets” catalog (Subcatalog 3 [*T* no. 2149.j8.305c03]); and his “Reading” catalog (Subcatalog 4, [*T* no. 2149.j9.314a14–19]). On Daoxuan’s abbreviated catalogs for use, see Chapter Seven.

¹⁵ The anecdote from *Scripture on the Golden Light* on the hungry tigress is summarized and analyzed in its Chinese context by Benn 2007, 25–7, and runs from *T* no. 2122.j96.989c29–991a21 which is analogous to (and at 1549 characters, only half as long as) a passage in the original running that approximates *T* no. 663.j4.354a17–356c18 [Dharmakṣema’s “original” translation of the early fifth c., comprising four fascicles] or *T* no. 664.j8.397a24–399c18 [Baogui’s “composite” edition completed in 597, appending four fascicles more recently translated by Paramārtha at the beginning; either translation contains the hungry tigress story, the former in 3127 characters and the latter in 3125 characters]), the seventeenth of nineteen chapters or the twenty-second of twenty-four chapters titled “Self-Immolation” (*sheshen*). It had previously been anthologized by Baochang in *Anomalous Phenomena* (*T* no. 2121.j32.176c08–177a07) in an even more condensed account (457 characters), as the sixth item in the thirty-second fascicle, the second fascicle on “Princes of the Nations who Practice the Way of the Bodhisattva” (Xing pusa dao zhuguo taizi 行菩薩道諸國太子), titled “Prince [Mahā]sattva Immolates the Self” (Saduo wangzi sheshen 薩埵王子捨身). The passage from *Scripture of Mañjuśrī’s Inquiries* (*Wenshushili wenjing*), translated in full by Benn 2007, 107, runs from *T* no. 2122.j96.991c01–7 and approximates *T* no. 468.j2.503a12–23 in half as much space (from 190 to 87 characters). Benn 2007, 107n9, makes note of the elision.

大雲輪請雨經(一卷)要略.¹⁶ The passage that follows, taking a whole Taishō column in length, has the Buddha teaching Dragon Kings some powerful dhāraṇi to secure rains, defeat enemies, and win peace, and represents the written forms of six dhāraṇi in their characteristic format.¹⁷ The “summary” borrows passages from over three Taishō pages in the middle of an originally seven-page scripture;¹⁸ by way of contrast, the extract follows a passage from the tail-end of the very same scripture describing setup for the ritual and is followed by a passage containing an additional dhāraṇi from an earlier, multiple-fascicle translation of the *Great Cloud Scripture* which do not summarize quite so drastically.¹⁹ These three passages are the first three scriptural extracts in the chapter, and the precise citation of the “summary” helps differentiate it from the extracts that precede and follow it.

The designation of scriptural quotations as “summarized” was a citational convention for the non-Taishō *Golden Basket Discourse* (*Jinzang lun* 金藏論), partially reconstructed from ex-

¹⁶ *T* no. 2122.j63.762a06, with the parenthetical “(in one fascicle)” indicating that the characters are represented in small format. The full title of the scripture that most closely resembles this text as represented in the Taishō (*T* no. 993) is *The Great Cloud Scripture Chapter 64: Petitioning for Rain* (*Dayun jing qingyu pin di liushisi* 大雲經請雨品第六十四). This short single-fascicle text greatly resembles and shares a similar title with *T* no. 992 (*T* no. 992 adds “Great Universal” [*dafangdeng* 大方等] to qualify the “*Great Cloud Scripture*”). Both *T* no. 992 and *T* no. 993 are attributed to Jñānayaśas of the Northern Zhou; Zhisheng noted these three alternate titles for the same one-fascicle work at *T* no. 2154.j7.545a03–04. Like the “Medicine King” text, “Petitioning for Rain” could be considered both its own scripture and a chapter of a larger scripture, and Sengyou had already judged other unattributed short scriptures to have been excerpted from the *Great Cloud Scripture*. See Forte 1976, 55–68, for an appendix discussing the various Chinese translations of, extracts from, and new editions of the *Great Cloud Scripture* (*Mahāmegha-sūtra*) that circulated (or were discussed by catalogers, at least) in China of the early eighth century.

¹⁷ *T* no. 2122.j63.762a06–762b05. By characteristic format I refer to how dhāraṇi are differently formatted in scriptures of print Chinese Buddhist canons, with line-breaks separating the formula from the surrounding text, spaces between the “words” composed of one or more syllable, ordinal numbers written in small script following each “word” that indicate its order in the sequence, and, though not represented in this excerpt, small-script guides to pronouncing obscure characters. The passage appears to draw from *T* no. 993.509a17–510b19 for its narrative portion, and extracts dhāraṇi passages from 510b20–4; c10–12; 511a14–19; b02–04; b23–24; b27 for six dhāraṇi of word-lengths 7, 5, 11, 8, 4, and 5 respectively. The first dhāraṇi extracts only the first seven “words” of a 41-word dhāraṇi, while the others appear to hew quite closely to a scripture that may have resembled *T* no. 993.

¹⁸ Pulling mainly from pages 509–11 of *T* no. 993.506c08–513c08.

¹⁹ The first passage (*T* no. 2122.j63.761c08–762a05) mirrors the final pseudo-paragraph of *T* no. 993 at 513b08–c5, but interweaves a short passage from “a biography of Master [Jñāna]yaśas” in the middle of it (at 761c19–20). The latter passage of six lines (*T* no. 2122.j63.762b07–13) borrows from Dharmakṣema’s six-fascicle, early fifth-century translation of the *Great Universal* [*Great Cloud*] *Scripture* [*on No-Thought*] (*Da fangdeng* [*dayun*] [*wuxiang*] *jing*, *T* no. 387), which follows *T* no. 387.j4.1094b24–28 closely for the narrative portion and b22–24 for the dhāraṇi formula that is recited to follow rather than be followed by it.

tant fascicles of it surviving at Dunhuang, Korea, and Japan. The seven-fascicle work, discussed in the previous chapter, was designed and flourished in the Northern Zhou. Like the Buddhist *leishu* of the Liang, the *Golden Basket Discourse* titles, numbers, and catalogs its quoted excerpts, but as a general practice appended the characters “summary” (*lüeyao* 略要) to its citations of scriptures. There is no evidence that *Golden Basket Discourse* was the source for the two excerpts marked “summary” in *A Grove of Pearls*, and perhaps self-immolation and rain-prayer were not judged to be relevant topics for a work that styled itself as offering preachable “kam-matic Buddhist” basics at a moment of dharmic danger. But the two anthologies share a citation-al habit not witnessed elsewhere of indicating scriptural quotes as “summary,” and this shared practice suggests the presence of alternate and older anthologies filled with scriptural “summaries” for consultation and use.²⁰

The similar ways the anthologists summarized the same text suggest that we modern Buddhologists can make generalizations about what medieval Chinese anthologists thought *chao* was and how it worked. Daoshi’s summary-excerpt of the “Medicine King Chapter” from the *Lotus* can be profitably compared to a previous surviving excerpted version of the “Medicine King Chapter,” the second item of fascicle eight in Baochang’s *Anomalous Phenomena*, titled “Medicine King [as bodhisattva Seen with Joy] Immolates an Arm in a Present Life and Burns his Whole Body in a Previous Existence” (*yaowang jinshen shebi xianshi shaoxing*).²¹ The *Grove of Pearls* version of the story is slightly more compact at a column and three lines (523 characters) to *Anomalous Phenomena*’s version which is a column and six lines (528 characters),²² and their excerpting begin and end at roughly the same point in the original *Lotus*, draw-

²⁰ See Motoi’s 2011, 623–7 assessment of the relationship between *Golden Basket Discourse* and *A Grove of Pearls* which suggests that despite the tremendous convergence of categories and quotes between the older, shorter anthology and the newer, larger anthology, that the two are at most “siblings,” perhaps copying extracts from (or simply drawing inspiration) from a shared set of earlier, no longer extant anthologies.

²¹ T no. 2121.j8.2.39c09–40a15. *Anomalous Phenomena* cites the fourth fascicle of the *Lotus* rather than the sixth, where Daoshi, working with a slightly larger and re-fascicled edition of Kumārajīva’s translation, may have found it.

²² *JLYX* is three lines longer in the print editions mostly because it features four lines of verse (two sets of *gāthā*), while *FYZL* does not.

ing characters from nearly each of the first ten pseudo-paragraphs comprising approximately a little more than the first half of the chapter.²³ Daoshi did not reproduce Baochang's excerpt; even if he knew about it or further, consulted it, Daoshi (or a third text he copied from) must have returned to the *Lotus* to make a new summary. This can be surmised because Daoshi copies numerous passages from the *Lotus* that Baochang did not copy in his excerpt, and vice-versa. Baochang for instance reproduces the two sets of gāthā spoken by Seen with Joy, the former set reduced from four lines to two and the latter set reproduced as is; Daoshi told the story of Seen with Joy without the gāthā. Baochang begins his excerpt by reproducing Flowered's question about Medicine King in his excerpt while Daoshi does without. Daoshi begins his excerpt by reproducing the Buddha's answer to Flowered, and is keen to represent the past Buddha ("Pure and Bright Excellence of Sun and Moon") of Seen with Joy's original life preaching the *Lotus*; the detail that Baochang includes instead is that the kingdom of the Excellence Buddha has no women.

But there are also numerous points of convergence. Both anthologists identify the first half of the chapter, where the Buddha relates the story of Seen with Joy and identifies him as Medicine King to Beflowered by the King of Constellations, to be more worthy of relating than the second, where the Buddha praises the *Lotus Scripture* and its Medicine King chapter as superlative and recommends their reading and practice for merit and healing's sake. Certain details have been identified by both anthologists as necessary to the summary—for instance, the target (the Buddha), motivation (vigor), and duration (12,000 years) of Seen with Joy's body-burning. And other details—lists of beings in Excellence Buddha's audience; kinds of incense and oils Seen with Joy applied on his body and consumed; series of gifts one might offer to the Buddha that would not equal the "true dharma offering" of burning one's body—are skipped over by both. Both anthologists preserve, in their separate but parallel ways, the key beats of the story: Seen

²³ The *Lotus* chapter consists of a whole Taishō page, ranging from *T* no. 262.j6.53a04–55a08, but the anthologies only excerpt from to around 54a19. The chapter consists of fifteen pseudo-paragraphs in all.

with Joy’s self-immolation as offering to the Buddha, his rebirth back into Excellence’s kingdom, his distribution of Excellence’s relics, his subsequent immolation of his two arms as offering to the Excellence’s relics, the current Buddha’s equation of Seen with Joy and Medicine King, and the current Buddha’s prescription to “burn even a finger.”

Like the *Scripture on the Total Extinction of the Dharma*, the “Medicine King Chapter” of the *Lotus* circulated as its own independent scripture before (and one assumes during and after) its incorporation into anthology.²⁴ Like the *Scripture on Petitioning for Rain*, it was known to be part of a larger scriptural corpus, but also merited existence as its own scripture. And like the “Chapter on the Gateway to Everywhere of the Bodhisattva He Who Observes the Sounds of the World” (*guanshiyin pusa pumen pin* 觀世音菩薩普門品) from the same *Lotus* scripture—two chapters after the “Medicine King Chapter”—a slew of hagiographies and miracle tales attest to its independent recitation, and it was often denoted as its own [*World-*]sound Observer Scripture (*guan[shi]yin jing* 觀世音經).²⁵ The “Excerpted Medicine King Chapter from the *Lotus* in one fascicle” (*chao fahua yaowang pin yijuan* 抄法華藥王品一卷) appears in Sengyou’s catalog in *A Collection of Records* of Xiao Ziliang’s “scriptural epitomes,” and becomes “*Lotus Medicine King Scripture*” (*fahua yaowang jing* 法華藥王經) in successive catalogs of the Sui and Tang that identify it as “false”²⁶ (*weiwang* 偽妄) and “suspicious” (*yiwei* 疑偽). The case of the

²⁴ As students of the *Lotus* are well aware, the scripture acquired size and complexity over time, and even after Kumārajīva translated what would become the standard East Asian version of the scripture, translators and exegetes continued to add to the text (not to mention its prefaces, prologue and epilogue sūtras, and commentaries). The final third of the chapters, perhaps some of the “youngest” as deemed by modern Buddhology, seem to regard themselves as breakaway appendices, and the “Medicine King” chapter even adapts the “cult of the book” formulae (“if a man hears the *Scripture of the Dharma Blossom*...”) endemic to the scripture as a whole to produce “cult of the chapter” formulae (“if a man hears this ‘Former Affairs of the Medicine King chapter’...”), local to the chapter (Hurvitz 2009, 275–6).

²⁵ Campany 1993; Stevenson 1995; cf. *T* no. 2145.j4.22b19 for Sengyou’s entry for “*World-Sound Observer Scripture*” in his catalog for unattributed scriptures where a note indicates the work is “extracted from the new [translation of the] *Lotus*” (*chu xin fahua*). Benn 2007, 69–70, situates the two *Lotus* bodhisattvas, Sound Observer and Medicine King, in the same devotional thaumaturgic complex.

²⁶ Not to be confused with another *Medicine King Scripture* (*Yaowang jing*), short for *Scripture on the Visualization of the Two Bodhisattvas, Medicine King and Superior Physician* (*Guan yaowang yaoshang erpusa jing* 觀藥王藥上二菩薩經, *T* no. 1161). For the series of catalog entries on Xiao Ziliang’s epitome of the *Medicine King Chapter*, see *T* no. 2145.j5.37c22, *T* no. 2146.j2.127a22, *T* no. 2147.j.4.174c18, *T* no. 2149.j10.335a03.

Medicine King excerpt illustrates how anthologies replicate textual operations (excerpting, summarizing, combining, and re-circulating) that were also taking place in the broader religious climate, but in a fashion that allowed their makers and users to trace the origins, transformations, and trajectories of sacred texts they could read for themselves.

1.3 *A Frog Hears the Dharma*

While the *Lotus Medicine King* excerpt on Seen with Joy's self-immolation does not appear to have been included in the aforementioned *Golden Basket Discourse*, the shorter Northern Qi anthology included five excerpts illustrating the merit animals receive for "Hearing the Dharma" (*tingfa* 聽法) in its eponymous Chapter 7, and four excerpts depicting heroes' extreme sacrificial devotion to obtain small amounts of dharma in oral or written form in its Chapter 8 on "Seeking the Dharma" (*qiufa* 求法). The tales recounted in "Hearing the Dharma" echoes with the second half of the *Medicine King* chapter which rhapsodizes on the merit of listening to the *Lotus* and the "Medicine King Chapter"; and the stories depicted of sacrificing the body in pursuit of "Seeking the Dharma" resemble Seen with Joy's gruesome renunciations of self.

Both "Hearing the Dharma" and "Seeking the Dharma" reappear as the first two sections of the large "Chapter 7: Paying Respect to the Dharma" in *A Grove of Pearls*. The headings, quoted content, and cited scriptures appear by-and-large homologous. There are five stories in *JZL*'s "Listening to the Dharma" titled "1. Sentient Beings Hear the Dharma and Obtain Benefits (summary from *Scripture of the Dharma-Treasury Transmission* [*Fufazang jing* 付法藏經]); "2. [A Brahmin named] Moonlight Visits Monastery, Hears the Dharma and Obtains Birth in Heaven (summary from the *Hundred Accounts Scriptures* [*Baiyuan jing* 百緣經]); "3. A Parrot Hears the Names of the Four Truths and Obtains Birth in Heaven (summary from *Scriptures on the Wise and the Foolish* [*Xianyu jing* 賢愚經]); "4. A Frog Hears the Dharma and Obtains Birth in Heaven (summary from *All-Pleasing Regulations-Vibhāṣa* [*Shanjian lü piposha* 善見律毗婆沙]); "5. A Bird Hears a Bhikṣu Recite Scripture and is Born in Heaven (summary from

Scriptures on the Wise and the Foolish [*Xianyu jing*].” The first, third, fifth, and fourth stories appear as the content of *FYZL*’s “Section 2: Hearing the Dharma”: the titles given to them in *JZL* have been lost and the excerpts are longer, but the gestalt matches. The convergence between *JZL* and *FYZL* is even closer for the “Seeking the Dharma” run of passages, as all four are presented in the same sequence: “1. Woman Seeks Dharma with Utmost Mind and Obtains the Way (from *Combined Jewel-Treasury Scriptures* [*Za baozangjing* 雜寶藏經])”; “2. Śākya[muṇi] in a Past Life Sacrificed his Body for Eight Characters [of Dharma] (from *Nirvana Scripture* [*Niepan jing* 涅槃經])”; “3. Śākyamuni in a Past Life Sold his Body as an Offering in Seeking the Dharma (from *Nirvana Scripture* [*Niepan jing*])”; and “4. Śākyamuni in a Past Life Peeled Off His Own Skin for Paper for the Dharma (from *Scripture on the Samādhi that Collects All Merits* [*Ji yiqie fude sanmeijing* 集一切福德三昧經]).”²⁷ The coincidence of headings and passages suggest something like a shared curriculum between the two anthologies of past-life stories that could be used to teach people to want the sound and form of the Dharma.

Of the eight passages that appear under “Hearing the Dharma” and “Seeking the Dharma” in *A Grove of Pearls*, three of them also appear in Baochang’s extant Liang Period anthology *Anomalous Phenomena*. The two passages on past-life Śākyamuni’s pursuit of the Dharma from the *Nirvana Scripture*, Qiufa2 and Qiufa3, appear as items 12 and 14 in Fascicle 8, dedicated to the “Self-Cultivated Bodhisattvas” (*zixing pusa*); and the passage on the frog, Tingfa4, appears as the sole entry in the following line of taxonomy: Fascicle 48 (the second of two on Animals); Bugs (the third of three); Frogs (the fifth of eight). While *Anomalous Phenomena* had had these tales filed by the placement of the protagonist in the hierarchy of being, the late sixth-century

²⁷ Miyai and Motoi 2011, 414, 432–42; cf. *T* no. 2122.j17.412a13–414a05. Miyai and Motoi’s critical edition also indicates parallels to *FYZL*. For more details on the run of passages as represented in *FYZL*, and the scriptures from which they derive, see Appendix M.

Golden Basket and late seventh-century *Grove of Pearls* instead envisaged them under regimes of practice.²⁸

Found in all three anthologies is the anecdote of the frog who emerges from a pond to hear the Buddha preach the Dharma, dies by a shepherd's stray staff, and is reborn in heaven. In the *All-Pleasing Regulations*, the name of which all three anthologies index its provenance,²⁹ the text runs to two-thirds of a Taishō column (around 300 characters); *Anomalous Phenomena* halves it (130 characters); *Golden Basket* also halves it (157 characters); and *A Grove of Pearls* maintains over two-thirds of it (223 characters).³⁰ What stands out here is that each subsequent anthology produces a longer excerpt than its predecessors, suggesting that they each returned to the (or an) "original" source, perhaps a version of the *All-Pleasing Regulations* itself, to make their extracts. *Anomalous Phenomena*, offering the shortest excerpt of the story, covers the basics: the frog hears the Dharma, dies, and is reborn in heaven in the first half of the excerpt; the second half has the heaven-born frog using his super-powers to learn that hearing the Dharma led to his heavenly rebirth, and going to hear more dharma from the Buddha it enters stream-winner status. Its heading-title is more detailed than the *Golden Basket* excerpt's, boasting five verbs rather than two, and constitutes an even shorter account: "5.1. Frog Hears the Sweet Dew [Dharma], Dies, is Born in Heaven Above, Encounters the Buddha, and Obtains the Way" (*ha wen ganlu sisheng tianshang jianFo dedao* 蛤聞甘露死生天上見佛得道). The *Golden Basket* version begins the story with the Buddha preaching in Campā rather than with the frog at Lake Gaggarā, it offers details like the dimensions of the frog's heavenly palace, but unlike *Anoma-*

²⁸ The excerpts of *Anomalous Phenomena*, reportedly digested from an even larger *leishu* called the *Epitome of Essentials from the Scriptures* (*Zhongjing yaochao*), and one wonders if they had originally been arranged in a manner that more closely resembled *Golden Basket* in the once-digested *Epitome of Essentials*.

²⁹ Actually all three titles refer to the *All-Pleasing Regulations* by slightly different names: Baochang cites "Fascicle 4 of the *All-Pleasing Vibhāṣa Shanjian piposha juan si*"; Daoji cites "*All-Pleasing Regulations-Vibhāṣa (Shanjian lü piposha)*"; and Daoshi cites "*All-Pleasing Regulations-Treatise*" (*Shanjian lülun*).

³⁰ Comparing to *T* no. 1462.j4.697c1–22 as the "original" passage; *T* no. 2121.j48.257c17–24; Miyai and Motoi 2011, 436–7; *T* no. 2122.j17.412c17–413a04. For the purpose of character-count comparison, I did not count the characters in the headings or the citations themselves.

lous Phenonema does not include the frog’s inner monologue (“I was an animal, by what karmic reason was I born in heaven?”), but like *Anomalous Phenomena*, the excerpt answers it and concludes with the frog’s “stream entrance” or śrotāpanna, adding that the frog flew back up to heaven after hearing the Buddha preach.

The excerpt from *A Grove of Pearls* resembles its analogues in *Anomalous Phenomena* in some ways, *Golden Basket* in more and other ways, and neither in still further ways. It begins like *Golden Basket*, stating that “Long ago the Buddha was in Campā...” (*xi Fo zai Zhanpoguo* 昔佛在瞻婆國), both having replaced “at that time” (*ershi* 爾時) in *All-Pleasing* with a “long ago” (*xi*). Like *Golden Basket* and unlike *Anomalous Phenomena*, the frog’s palace’s dimensions are elaborated and its inner monologue is not included. But unlike either of its predecessors, *A Grove of Pearls* includes a line of the Buddha asking the frog (now a god) who he was, and the former frog’s following gāthā recounting what he learned about his identity from his clairvoyance. All three accounts abbreviate the setting of the story in different ways, but continue on to recount the frog’s actions on earth leading to its death and its rebirth in heaven. They diverge more widely in what they include from the second half of the story. But what each *leishu* succeeds in performing is extricating the story from its original text—the commentator-author of *All-Pleasing Regulations* is responding to a question about why the Buddha is referred to “teacher of gods” and not “teacher of animals” and by way of reply offers the story of the frog, citing “a sūtra-scripture” (*xiutuoluo-jing* 修陀羅經) for the source—and simplifying it for consumption.³¹ Not only do they remove the extra layers of commentary and citation that surround it in

³¹ Wu Weilin nails down the “sūtra-scripture” as what is elsewhere cited in the *Shanjianlü* as the *Path of Purification Scripture* (*Jingdao jing*, among other translations), that is, Buddhaghosa’s famous *Visuddhimagga*. This work, perhaps the most important noncanonical work in Theravāda traditions, was never translated into Chinese; and *Shanjianlü* was a critical vector for its entrance into East Asia. Wu 2016, 28n1. For an English translation of the story from the *Visuddhimagga*, see Ñāṇamoli 2011, 203–4. Buddhaghosa’s text expands the verses of KN Vv 51, the *Maṇḍūkadevaputtavimānavatthu* (“The Mansion-Tale of the Frog God”), to provide a prose frame for the story.

the *All-Pleasing Regulations* becoming merely one story from a titled Chinese scripture, they repackaged the miraculous tale of rebirth as one about “frogs” or “hearing the Dharma.”³²

1.4 Collecting Councils

If our first excerpt has been used to narrate the end of the Dharma, and the second and third excerpts were deployed to depict and encourage its circulation, the fourth excerpt envisions one of its beginnings. Anthologists recirculated accounts of the Buddhist councils so they would be easier to find, and readers could learn about the earliest concretization of the totality of the Dharma in written form. Both historians in the Buddhist tradition and modern Buddhologists have pored over scriptural accounts of post-parinirvāṇa Buddhist councils to attempt dating (and thereby better understanding) the origins of Buddhist scriptural traditions. By reproducing various council accounts and passing comment on them, Sengyou and Daoshi anticipate Buddhologists’ attempts to order and make sense of various mythic accounts of Buddhist councils. So too does their anthologizing project offer arguments within their own tradition that “council” (*jieji* 結集) and “collection” (*ji* 集) are at once sacred and momentous but historically contingent, repeatable events. Below, I first review how Sengyou collects quotes from scripture on the early Buddhist councils and then describe how Daoshi extracts text from Sengyou’s collection and other sources in order to pluralize further the concept of the council.

In his introductory fascicle to *A Collection of Records on the Production of the Three Baskets*, Sengyou produces materials relevant to the origins of the Buddhist scriptures, referred to here as the “Three Baskets,” and which modern day Buddhology has identified with the Indic Buddhist idea of “the Tripiṭaka,” a complete, canonical collection of the Buddhist scriptures with a tripartite division of vinaya (regulations), sūtra (scripture of the dialogical variety), and abhi-

³² For an appearance of the story of the frog in anthological context at Dunhuang, see Miyai and Motoi’s analysis of a middle portion of S. 779 (printed in Taishō as T no. 2821 and given the title, appearing on S. 779, “Essential [Abbreviated] Texts from the Scriptures” *zhujing yao[lüe]wen* 諸經要略文), a document that contains this story and a sequence of “Hearing the Dharma” anecdotes, but which they judge cannot be an exact copy of any circulating *Golden Basket Discourse* nor a copy from *A Grove of Pearls*.

dharma (treatise).³³ But as identified by Arthur Link who produced a complete translation of this first fascicle and dubbed it “the earliest general native Chinese account of the genesis of the *Tripiṭaka* in India,” these materials are not perfectly unified:³⁴ three excerpts from three separate scriptures—one from each “basket”—each involve different characters and circumstances, and tender forth an account of the collection with varying levels of detail. They all end with Mahākāśyapa commanding Ānanda (or Ānanda and Upāli) to recite the entirety of the tradition, but the first account from the *Great Treatise on the Perfection of the Wisdom* (*Da zhidulun*, T no. 1509) has the “sūtra basket” (*xiuduoluo zang*) compiled first and the “vinaya basket” (*pini zang*) second, while the second account from the postface to the *Ten-Recitations Regulations* (*Shisong lü*, T no. 1435) has the “regulations basket” (*lüzang*) first and the “sūtra basket” and “abhidharma basket” (*apitan zang*) second.³⁵ Moreover, the third account excerpted from the *Bodhisattva Incarnation Scripture* (*Pusa chutai jing*, T no. 384) has Ānanda alone producing (*chu*) Eight Baskets with the “precepts basket” (*jielü zang*) fourth among them.³⁶ These differences in detail are uncommented upon: what seems to be of greater importance was that they agreed with regard to the general account of how the first eminent disciples of the Buddha came together to make the

³³ On the presumed antiquity of the term *tripiṭaka* in early Indian Buddhism and the first appearances of this and related terms in inscriptional evidence, see Lamotte 1988, 149–51. On how the idea of the “Tripiṭaka” only gradually became engrained into the organization of Chinese Buddhist Catalogues, see Storch 2014.

³⁴ 1961a, 87. The translation of the entire fascicle can be found spread over a trilogy of articles published in *JAOS* in 1960 (the preface), 1961a (the long excerpt from the *Great Treatise*) and 1961b (the two short excerpts from the *Ten Recitations Regulations* and *Bodhisattva Womb Scripture*, along with Sengyou’s essay on translation).

³⁵ Link prefaces his translation of the second account and notes its differences in size and location of council from the first account (500, not 1000; Śrāvastī, not Rājagṛha, though I believe he is mistaken here: *wangshe cheng* 王舍城 in the *Ten-Recitations Regulations* is Rājagṛha). Link supposes that “it was apparently for this reason [of their being discrepant], as well as because of the great respect that the *Sarvāstivādin Vinaya* was held that Seng-yu included this brief account in his chapter” (1961a, 281). As Sengyou was well aware, the postface to the *Ten-Recitations Regulations* was appended to Kumarājīva’s original translation (404–406 in Chang’an) by his Regulations master Vimalākṣa, who had left Kaśmir for China, following his disciple. Vimalākṣa wrote the postface and a few other concluding fascicles to the *Regulations* in Anhui after Kumārajīva passed in 409. Cf. Lamotte 1988, 185–186; T no. 2145.j3.20b18–21, section 7).

³⁶ In attempting to capture the diversity in scriptural accounts for the First Council, in his *History of Indian Buddhism*, Lamotte singles out in particular two scriptures which had also been cited by Daoshi: the *Bodhisattva Womb Scripture* (T no. 384) differs with regard to “the place of the sessions” (the rather vague “Sahaloka” (*renjie*) rather than the usual Rājagṛha) and the *Great Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom* (T no. 1509, one of Lamotte’s specialties) differs with regard to the “number of participants” (1000, rather than the usual 500), 1988, 128.

scriptural tradition shortly after his extinction. The names of these disciples and the depth and magnificence of the “baskets” featured in these accounts, moreover, would run like threads through the four divisions of Sengyou’s *A Collection of Records*: individual scriptures with their own listings were to have been authoritatively stamped by the actions that took place at this sacred historical event, translators who worked to transform “Brahmic” into written Chinese scriptures were like the Buddha’s first disciples had been in making the Dharma accessible. The original compilation of the Three Baskets was the vanishing point from which Sengyou could trace the scriptures’ slow, diffuse movement into—and transformation of—the Sinosphere.

Sengyou’s general preface to the entire *Collection of Records* immediately precedes these three excerpts, and draws themes from their triple narration of canon-consolidation: over nearly half a Taishō page, Sengyou moves from describing the “mysterious and concentrated” (*xuanning* 玄凝) nature of the “truly real” “dharma nature” (*zhendi* 真諦; *faxing* 法性),³⁷ the emergence of the Buddha and his teaching, the disciples’ collection of the “baskets,” the appearance of scriptures in China at the end of the Han, the continual multiplication of translators and translations from the Wei-Jin Period (220–317), and finally to a description of Sengyou’s present attempt to put the scriptural tradition in order in his catalog.³⁸ To work through Sengyou’s preface is to be reminded of the centuries of time, the *li* in distance, and the multiple layers of mediation between the “truly real” and the ordinary Chinese Buddhist scriptures a scholar-monk might encounter in daily life. Every subsequent step needed to be accounted for—for the majority of the preface and the majority of *A Collection of Records*, the Dharma’s carriers, translators, and patrons especially in Chinese-literate realms—not merely to vouch for the authenticity of the end-products, but also to give a sense of the manner in which they may be taken as authentic by offering as much evidence as possible. The “production” of the “Three Baskets” was a recurrent event, an action that frankly was still in progress as Sengyou and others awaited or urged transla-

³⁷ From the first line of the preface, *T* no. 2145, 1a07.

³⁸ I will adapt my own translations from the copiously annotated translation in Link 1960, 34–40.

tions of missing scriptures or re-translations of outdated scriptures. The three scriptural excerpts that would follow Sengyou's preface bore witness to the Three Baskets' earliest "production" (*chu*) in the most recent eon, wherein Śākyamuni's disciples (the earliest Buddhologists) saw fit to "collect" (*ji*) a perfect scriptural totality: Sengyou's *Collection of Records* can be read as an individual scholar's attempt to iterate the feat in earthbound terms, in a different time, place, language, and on paper instead of exclusively in the mind.

Building on Sengyou's *Collection of Records* is Daoshi's section on "Councils" (*jieji*), the final "mega section" of fifteen that comprises one of the few "mega chapters" in *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*, "Chapter 5: Thousands of Buddhas." It shares significant portions from three of the six headings from the introductory fascicle to *A Collection of Records on the Production of the Three Baskets*.³⁹ Daoshi's "Councils" section shares a fascicle with the chapter's fourteenth section on the Buddha's "Nirvana" that precedes it and the chapter's "Accounts of Stimulus-Response" that follow it, and its four main sections (*bu*), each titled after one of four main councils, are technically "subsubsections" because they branch from the second of two subsection headings that are labelled "Explaining the Meaning" and, redundantly, "Councils" (*jieji*, see Appendix O for chapter synopsis). From *CSZJJ*, the first lines of the general preface (originally titled "Preface to *A Collection of Records on the Production of the Three Baskets*") are borrowed and expanded upon in its "Explaining the Meaning" subsection (Appendix O, Item 1, hereafter "O.1"); the first excerpt from the *Great Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom* under the first enumerated item (originally titled "Account of the Collection of the Three Baskets" [*Ji sanzang jiyuan*]) finds a parallel excerpt under the third subsubsection in "Councils" titled "Council of a Thousand Persons" (*qianren jieji*, O.13); and the third excerpt from the *Bo-*

³⁹ "Chapter 5: Thousands of Buddhas" of *A Grove of Pearls* is the second longest in the entire work, dividing its fifteen sections across five whole fascicles, 8–12. As a kind of anthology-within-an-anthology focused on narrating the Buddha Śākyamuni's Buddha-lineage, familial lineage, origin story, career, and extinction, it can be conceptualized as a kind of sequel to Sengyou's *Genealogy of the Śākya* (*SJP*, T no. 2040.j1–5) and Baochang's fascicles on the Buddha and the Śākya clan in *Anomalous Phenomena* (*JLYX*, T no. 2123.j4–7. See Appendix D. Pioneering this generic approach see Durt 2006.

dhisattva Incarnation Scripture is reproduced as the third excerpt under the second subsection in “Councils” titled “Council of Five Hundred” (*wubai jieji*, O.11). Daoshi would file four excerpts under “Subsubsection Two: Council of Five Hundred”: abutting the excerpt from the *Bodhisattva Incarnation Scripture* are an excerpt from the [*Mahā*]samghika Regulations (*T* no. 1425) before it (O.10) and an excerpt from the *Four-Part Regulations [of the Dharmaguptaka]* (*T* no. 1428) after it (O.12), and preceding these three excerpts is an additional excerpt from the *Bodhisattva Incarnation Scripture* (O.9), seemingly drawn from a place in the *Bodhisattva Incarnation Scripture* immediately preceding the second excerpt.⁴⁰ “Subsubsection 3: Council of a Thousand Persons” houses its long excerpt from the *Treatise* alone.⁴¹ The four excerpts from “Subsubsection 1: Great Vehicle Council” (*dasheng jieji*, O.3, 4, 5, and 7) and the single excerpt under “Subsubsection 4: Council of Seven Hundred” (*qibai jieji*) from the *Four-Part Regulations*

⁴⁰ The *FYZL* passage 373c22–29 corresponds with *CSZJJ* passage 4a22–29 and *Incarnation Scripture* passage 1058b19–23. *A Grove of Pearls* goes one further than *CSZJJ* by producing a longer passage overall: 373c16–22, preceding the shared passage, corresponds roughly to 1058a28–b16, with much excised from the middle; 374a01–04 corresponds rather faithfully to 1058b16–19. If the division (*pin*) excerpted from *Bodhisattva Incarnation Scripture* (Division 38: Producing Scriptures [*chujing*]) could be analyzed as four chunks A (1058a19–27), B (1058a28–b16), C (1058b16–19), and D (1058b19–23), then D would be the portion excerpted by both Sengyou and Daoshi, and Daoshi would have reproduced a copying in the order B, D, C. In effect, however, over the “four” excerpts reproduced under “Collection of the 500,” the textual passages read 1) *Womb Scripture* A (373b23–c02); 2) *Mahāsāṃghika Regulations* excerpt (373c02–c15); 3) *Incarnation Scripture* BDC (373c16–374a04); and 4) *Four-Part Regulations* excerpt (374a04–b20).

⁴¹ As indicated in Link 1961a, 89–90, the entire narrative about the collection of the Three Baskets in its original *Treatise* context comes about in response to interpreting the line “Thus have I heard” in the *prajñāpāramitā sūtra* upon which it is commenting, the *Perfection of Wisdom in 25,000 Lines*. The narrative, which extends from *T* no. 1509.66a27–70b13 takes up the first half of the second fascicle of the hundred-fascicle work, and can be found under the third sub-section “Explanatory Discussion providing the Total Explication on ‘Thus Have I Heard’” (Zongshuo rushiwomen shilun) of the introductory division (*xupin* or *chupin*) of the ninety divisions that structure the work. For this chapter in English translation, see Lamotte, 1.82–108. Sengyou’s copying of the work (*T* no. 2145.1b23–4a04, 3350 characters) begins from 66b21 and extends to 70a07 (4171 characters) while Daoshi’s copying (*T* no. 2122.374b22–376a14, 2031 characters) begins around 67b19 and ends at 69c03 (2619 characters). Interestingly enough, a third copying of this narrative was made by Baochang as the third account in the thirteenth fascicle of his *Anomalous Phenomena* (*T* no. 2121.j13.65a13–c13, 923 characters) titled “Kāśyapa collects the Three Baskets and dismisses Ānanda, causing [Ānanda] to exhaust his remaining taints” (Jieye jieji sanzang chuchi Anan shijin yulou) begins its copying at 67b12 and ends it 69c26 (3089 characters). Because each anthology’s subsequent copying represents a more narrowly focused chunk of the *Treatise*, from Sengyou to Baochang to Daoshi, it would have been interesting to see evidence that each subsequent anthologist was copying from a previous anthologist. This seems, however, not to be the case: while the three anthologists all cite and quote the same passage, because each later anthologist has preserved elements of *DZDL* that earlier anthologists have not (Baochang’s stands out as especially sketchy—30 percent of the “original” excerpt’s length to approximately 80 percent for the other two), it appears to be the case that the two later anthologists must have each returned to a “source text” that more closely resembles our extent *Treatise* in order to copy it anew. This does not invalidate my argument that later anthologists were not inspired in their choices by having had the opportunity to read and make use of previous anthologies.

(O.14) are entirely new, as are the second, summary introduction preceding the ten excerpts (O.2) and an excerpt from Daoxuan’s lost record of heavenly communication following (O.15). To my mind there is no question that this entire section is a repackaging and supplementation of materials from Sengyou’s introductory fascicle.⁴² Sengyou himself may have repackaged his *CSZJJ* quotes in the lost ancestor to *Grove of Pearls* whose table of contents survives, as the *mulu* of *Scriptures from the Garden of Dharma (Fayuan jing)* preserved in *A Collection* which lists “The account of the first collection of the Dharma basket of the Great Vehicle (from the *Bodhisattva Incarnation Scripture*)” and “The account of the first collection of the Three Baskets of the Small Vehicle (from the *Great Treatise on [the Perfection of] Wisdom*)” as the first two scriptural excerpts of its second fascicle, the first of two filed under passages dealing with the origins of the “Dharma Jewel” (*fabao* 法寶).⁴³ But how does Daoshi rework the materials? And toward what aims?

Daoshi’s repackaging was subtle in some ways and not so subtle in others: the final text of “Councils” suggests that he wanted to present a greater diversity of texts but also better tools with which to interpret these texts, perhaps most importantly, the notion that four separate “collections” involving differing participants occurred in temporal sequence in differing locations. The two shared scriptural excerpts have been reworked at the level of copying: Daoshi did not merely have *A Collection of Records* with its excerpts on basket collection at the ready, he must have also had access to the whole, physical texts to which they referred, and he re-copied excerpts from the sources rather than reproducing copy from the earlier anthology.⁴⁴ Daoshi’s preference for the *Four-Part Regulations* over the *Ten-Recitation Regulations* is reflected in his

⁴² The seven scriptures from which Daoshi’s ten excerpts were taken would have already all been translated by Sengyou’s time for over a century’s time. Daoshi’s selection of texts is not an updating of Sengyou’s selection in the sense of including more recently translated scriptures, but merely in having worked over and reproduced more materials.

⁴³ *T* no. 2145.j12.90c19–20, which is followed by two excerpts from the *Ten-Recitation Regulations*, of the Sarvāstivāda tradition Sengyou mastered. The surviving headings promised excerpts on “ringing the *ghaṇṭa*” and “ascending the high seat” (presumably for preaching the Dharma) respectively.

⁴⁴ See notes 40–43 above.

two excerpts from the *Four-Part* taking up around four times the ink as Sengyou's *Ten-Recitation* excerpt: more than this, Daoshi also supplies a short excerpt from an alternate *Regulations* text of the *Mahāsāṃghikas*.⁴⁵ Finally, Daoshi employs four categories of "collection" to structure the ten excerpts under four "subsubsections" (*bu* that stem down from two higher levels of *bu*), and relies on these categories in both his second introduction to the selections and in Daoxuan's heavenly account of councils: through using categories, the anthology encourages thinking about scriptural collection not merely as an event or series of events, but also as mediated by *textual account* that differs between scriptural genres (Lesser Vehicle regulations versus Great Vehicle treatise, most prominently) and between the size and nature of the audience who participated in a collection.

The second introduction (O.2) reads:

Here, we expansively clarify [Scriptural] Councils, which happened four times in total. The first relies upon the two treatises *Perfection of Wisdom* and *Diamond Immortal* [which recount that] the Thus-Come One was beyond the Iron Wall (Cakravāḍa) Mountains, and together with Mañjuśrī and the Buddhas of the Ten Directions, collected a Dharma Basket of the Great Vehicle. The second relies upon the *Bodhisattva Incarnation Scripture*, *Four-Part Regulations*, and others [which recount that] when Thus-Come One had first entered nirvana, and seven days had passed, Great Kāśyapa together with five-hundred arhats commanded the worlds of the ten directions and summoned eight-hundred million and eight-thousand, together collected Three Baskets. The third relies on the *Perfection of Wisdom Treatise* [which recounts that] after the Thus-Come One entered nirvana, fifteen days into the summer retreat, Great Kāśyapa together with a thousand arhats in the city of Rājagṛha collected Three Baskets. The fourth relies upon the *Four-Part Regulations*

⁴⁵ The *Mahāsāṃghika* and first *Four-Part Regulations* excerpts, the second and fourth excerpts under "Collection of Five Hundred" respectively, look to have been highly abbreviated from their sources. The *Mahāsāṃghika* quote seems to duplicate some of the plot points about the disciples' intention to produce scriptural baskets in the excerpt from the *Bodhisattva Womb Scripture* immediately preceding it; it also shares details in the account with the excerpt from the *Treatise* that comprises the following section, "Collection of a Thousand Persons," such as the failed attempt to invite the god Gavāmpati to join in the proceedings. Daoshi's longer excerpt from the *Four-Part Regulations* recapitulates the origins of Kāśyapa's endeavor and re-stages his request to the Buddhist community, but then follows through to conclude with the reciting and assembly of each of the Three Baskets, paralleling the endings of each of Sengyou's three excerpts from *śāstra*, *vinaya*, and *sūtra*, as well as Daoshi's excerpts that precede it (the account from the *Incarnation Scripture* shared with Sengyou) and that follow it (the account from the *Treatise* shared with Sengyou). One might speculate that Daoshi mixed and amplified the "Great Vehicle *sūtra*" account from the *Bodhisattva Incarnation Scripture* of the first council with the amplified "Lesser Vehicle *vinaya*" accounts in order to better facilitate comparison with the "Great Vehicle *śāstra*" account of the "Council of a Thousand Persons."

[which recounts that] within a hundred years after the Thus-Come One had entered nirvana, sons of Vṛji had arrogated to themselves the [authority to perform the] Ten Issues, and Great Kāśyapa together with seven-hundred arhats collected Three Baskets in the city of Vaiśāli. Below, the four repetitions are laid out in sequence according to scripture; we hope that future scholars would not add further selections.

此中廣明結集，具有四時。第一依『智度』、『金剛仙』二論，如來在此鐵圍山外，共文殊師利及十方佛，結集大乘法藏。第二依『菩薩處胎經』及『四分律』等，如來初入涅槃，始經七日。大迦葉共五百羅漢，令到十方世界，召得八億八千眾，共為結集三藏。第三依『智度論』，如來入涅槃後，至夏安居初十五日，大迦葉共千羅漢在王舍城結集三藏。第四依『四分律』，如來入涅槃後一百年內，為跋闍子檀行十事，大迦葉共七百羅漢在毘舍離城結集三藏。此下四重依經次第列出，庶將來哲不積餘卜也。⁴⁶

It is rare for Daoshi to lay out his categories so clearly, and to be so explicit about how he has sequenced them—in this case, in chronological order at the first level and by source at the second. One can also witness how in this introductory passage, the collections as events are simultaneously abstracted from their textual sources while drawing evidence from them: for instance, the “Council of Five Hundred” is to have involved an audience of “eight-hundred million and eight-thousand” from the “worlds of the ten directions,” a detail corroborated by the first excerpt from the *Bodhisattva Incarnation Scripture* but not from the two *Regulations* texts,⁴⁷ and it is not specified to have happened in Rājagṛha, as both *Regulations* excerpts indicate. The god in Daoxuan’s visionary text will distinguish the *Regulations* accounts (Categories 2 and 4) from those of the *Treatise* (Category 3), and the account of Mañjuśrī’s “Great Vehicle” compilation (Category 1) from either of these: as presented in Daoshi’s recording, the god presents his personal testimony to Daoxuan on the collections in order to eliminate any confusions about these distinctions: different councils recorded in the scriptures serve different purposes “according to

⁴⁶ T no. 2122.j12.373a15–26, punctuation adapted from Zhou and Su, 1.417.

⁴⁷ T no. 2122.j12.373b29–c01.

circumstance" (*suji* 隨機), and the god reveals the proceedings of yet another council undertaken after the Buddha's nirvana at Jetavana in Śrāvastī wherein Ānanda relays to Kāśyapa the Buddha's pronouncements safeguarding the storage, copying, and distribution of concillar scriptures as memorized but especially written traditions from the beginning to the end of the current kalpa.⁴⁸

Bookended by Daoshi's introduction and Daoxuan's visionary account and rubricated through the four categories, the ten excerpts on "Councils" become comparable, conceivable, and manipulable in new ways. Sengyou's three excerpts on "Collection" offer a starting point: three discrepant accounts shed light on a unificatory moment for scriptural tradition, worthy of emulation. Daoshi's ten excerpts draw attention to their very discrepancies to quadruple (or quintuple) the event over a century: each moment of collection can be studied independently through multiple sources to understand better its participants or causes and effects. But the long and short of Daoshi's collection about "Councils" seems to have been that the compilation of

⁴⁸ T no. 2122.j12.376a25–b07. As I hope to explore in further publications, Daoxuan's "Daoist-flavored" revelation that follows here traces the multiplication, preservation, and entrustment of the concillar scriptural collections, building off of Shinohara 2000: 306n4 and 346–54. These collections are hand-copied (*xie* 寫), sealed (*yin* 印), and installed (*anzhi* 安置) in stūpa-temples (*ta* or *taguan* 塔觀) on various precious media and in the sixty-four scripts, offered to various heavenly beings across a Buddhist pantheon, and promised to be copied and circulated among the various kingdoms in the post-Nirvana age. Daoxuan's language is difficult and garbled, and the frame of the interview or sermon in which the revelation is presented moves backward from the messenger responding to Daoxuan's questions about the councils (in 667, 376a25–b26), Ānanda responding to Kāśyapa's questions about the Buddha's instructions (thirty days post-nirvana at a council, 376b27–376c06), and the Buddha responding to Ānanda's questions and predicting and commanding actions for the members of his pantheon to take in the years and centuries following his extinction (some time before nirvana, 376c06–377a20). At this point in the revelation Daoshi's excerpt is presenting Daoxuan's record of what the messenger told him about what Ānanda told Kāśyapa about what the Buddha told Ānanda, and the Buddha is describing a moment post-council where bodhisattvas Mulian and Puxian have been tasked with summoning and awakening bhikṣus installed in a stūpa-temple during the time of the past Buddha, Krakucchanda. These bhikṣus recount how Krakucchanda has commanded them to take (*qu* 取), entrust (*fu* or *fuzhu* 付囑), and "copy out and ornament" (*shuxie zhuangyan* 書寫莊嚴) the scriptural tradition of Krakucchanda for Buddhists of the Śākyamuni's age (377a20–b03). Finally, stūpa-temples filled with the scriptures are entrusted to Dragon King Sāgara, the Four Heavenly Kings, the Buddhas, and bodhisattvas to preserve the teachings of Śākyamuni and previous Buddhas until the end of the age, when multiple collections will disappear or converge (377b04–b25). The rest of the revelation returns to the frame of Daoxuan's interview with his messenger, who repeats some of the information recounted earlier, explains the distribution of diverse vinaya teachings, and catalogs the storage of writings at Jetavana (377b25–378a15). At any rate, the style and content of this excerpt parallels those of the other six excerpts from Daoxuan's *Records of Miraculous Instruction on the Preservation of the Transmitted Dharma* in detailing the origins, recovery, multiplication, and trajectories of the Buddha's personal relics (his jar and seals; his razor and beard; his burner; his scriptures; his robe; his staff and nails; and his begging bowl). For the rich secondary scholarship on this source, see note for Appendix O, Item 15.

Śākyamuni's teachings was repeatable, wondrous, and targeted for the benefit of sentient beings. Each excerpt offered an episode from a greater narrative about how scriptures kept coming together, falling apart, and coming back together. After reviewing the diverse, often contradictory, testimony about "collections" available to him in Chinese, rather than coming to the conclusion of a Lamotte that "it would be imprudent to commit oneself for or against the historicity of councils,"⁴⁹ Daoshi instead commits his readers to a historical scheme that not only allows for the various accounts to co-exist, but to harmonize in proffering messages of dharmic holism (it is made into one or more baskets, without loss), abundance (for it to have been brought together multiple times), and security (it has been re-stored and authenticated by sacred beings multiple times).

By analyzing how different Chinese Buddhist anthologies extracted similar scriptural quotes from the same scriptural sources, I highlighted anthologists' discretion even at the level of evaluating how much of a quotation to include. These choices reflect grappling with the form and content of scriptural originals, but often also with the form and content of predecessor anthologies. I gave further definition to Daoshi's practice of scriptural extraction by comparing his quotes with their sources in both the scriptures he cited and in his predecessor anthologies. In a few cases the quotation's source encourages its inclusion in anthologies: *Total Extinction of Dharma* was already a short, independent scripture and the "Medicine King" chapter of the *Lotus* already circulated independently as its own scripture. In other cases, previous anthologies' decisions seem to have inspired Daoshi: following the Liang anthologists, Daoshi quotes *Total Extinction* or the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Treatise* on councils alongside their accompanying extracts; similar to Daoji, Daoshi quotes the frog story from *All Pleasing Regulations* under the same category of "Hearing the Dharma" with other extracts in the set. Yet close attention to Daoshi's excerpts suggest that even if previous anthologies influenced his extraction practices, he very often copied passages from sources anew. Selecting text from older writings was always

⁴⁹ Lamotte 1998, 153.

guided by an anthologist's ambition to collect text for new audiences: new categories and new projects (or categories and projects deemed newly relevant) governed what scriptures, what passages from those scriptures, what lines and phrases from those passages were deemed worthy for inclusion. The following chapter explores further how selected passages could be read together as individual elements of anthological collections.

2. How Pearls are Extracted from Anthologies

2.1 Evidence from Catalog Listings and Later Use

The previous part of the chapter discussed at a more granular level how anthologists fixed scriptural text into anthological excerpts. Sometimes juxtaposing an “original” Taishō version of a scripture against its excerpted version can shed light on the thoughts that went into transforming lengthy passages into “essences” or “pearls.” Other times, juxtaposing two or more excerpts from different anthologies that putatively reflect the same “original” reveals similarities, differences, or influences in strategies of extraction. Later anthologies bear the traces of previous anthological efforts: they can cite previous anthologies (as *Anomalous Phenomena* does), or the excerpted quotations can strongly resemble older excerpted quotations. In other words, this analysis of how anthologies came to be composed also demonstrates one important way in which anthologies were used. They were used to build other anthologies.

In some cases, anthologies and other collections were further refined and reduced into more “essential” versions of themselves. Daoshi's twenty-fascicle *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures* appears in Tang period scriptural catalogs just as the hundred-fascicle *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* disappears from them. Just as *Anomalous Phenomena from Scriptures and Regulations* appears to have been a reduction from *Essential Epitome from the Scriptures*, a more concise version of a larger anthology seems to have supplanted it in the bibliographic imagination.⁵⁰ Examples of reduced Buddhist collections that were arguably more

⁵⁰ To follow a long discussion on the sequence in which these two anthologies were compiled, see Yamauchi 1974; Kawaguchi 1975; Su 2003, ix–x; Wu 2006; and Wang 2016. I am swayed by the preponderance of evidence in these

successful than their unabridged progenitors can be multiplied: among them include Sengyou's fourteen-fascicle *Collection on Propagating and Clarifying [the Dharma]* refiguring Lu Cheng's 103-fascicle *Dharma Discourses* or Huijiao's fourteen-fascicle *Traditions of Eminent Monks* replacing Baochang's thirty-fascicles *Traditions of Famous Monks*.⁵¹ As the “unabridged” version, *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* is unique in having survived despite having been supplanted and disappeared from the catalogs.⁵² The late Ming and early Qing lay Buddhist literatus Xu Changzhi 徐昌治 of Jiangsu province compiled an eight-fascicle work called *Records to Awaken the World* (*Xingshi lu* 醒世錄) in the winter of 1652–1653, which picks out from *A Grove of Pearls* what Xu considered to be the most vital commentary, scriptural quotations, and miracle tales, arrayed in sequence with headings from *A Grove of Pearls* so a reader could trace whatever they wanted from *Records to Awaken the World* back to the source: “I’ve cut out the meat and preserved the bone” (*qurou cunsui* 去肉存髓) he claims in its cosmically grand, karmicly urgent preface.⁵³

arguments and my own readings of the text that *Collected Essentials* bears traces of having been adapted and reduced down from *A Grove of Pearls*, and at the very least bears traces of emendations that date long after the period of composition the preface purports. Because nearly all of the material in *Collected Essentials* appears as well in *A Grove of Pearls*, it is difficult to say that the former precedes the latter, because before *A Grove of Pearls* reached the form it appears to us today, it must have collected the materials that comprise *Collected Essentials*. In some senses, it may be more appropriate to think of the two anthologies as co-dependently originating; their extant forms may well reflect processes of mutual appropriation.

⁵¹ Much of what scholars know about Baochang's *Traditions of Famous Monks* is gleaned from a twelfth c. Japanese epitome, an *Epitome of the Traditions of Famous Monks* (Meisōdenshō), copied by Shūshō 宗性 in the thirteenth century. The next chapter looks at single-fascicle catalogs of Buddhist scriptures produced by Daoxuan that purport to represent the totality of the Chinese Buddhist written tradition in a condensed space.

⁵² Motoi 2009 sketches the appearances of *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* in medieval Chinese catalog and in the earliest print canons, and relates this evidence about its Chinese diffusion to evidence about its diffusion in Japan. Only *Fayuan zhulin* appears in Daoxuan's contemporaneous *Inner Books* catalog (664); *Fayuan zhulin*'s bibliographic fascicle records both *Fayuan zhulin* and *Zhujing yaoji* (though *ZJYJ* finds a twenty-fascicle *Shan'e yebao lun* in its place in the non-Koreana editions); but in the *Kaiyuan lu* (730) and *Zhenyuan lu* (800), *FYZL* has disappeared and only *ZJYJ* appears. Both of the eighth-century catalogs list *ZJYJ* as Daoshi's sole work, and refer readers, strangely enough, back to Daoxuan's *DTNDL* for further details, which presently makes no mention of the shorter text.

⁵³ *JXZ* vol. 23, no. 122.83a20–1. The work claims it was proofread by Linji Chan master Baichi Xingyuan 百痴行元 (1611–1662). For a synopsis of Xingyuan's life and works, see Wu 2002, 208–10; on Xu Changzhi and his relationship with Xingyuan and his teacher, Feiyin Tongrong 費隱通容 (1593–1616), see Wu 2002, 212–15. Tongrong's associates disappear into the footnotes in the book, Wu 2008.

Despite its disappearance from the later Tang catalogs (and its seeming consequent exclusion from the first Kaibao canon print run of the 970s), *A Grove of Pearls* reappears in the Song Dynasty (960–1279) as a work worth citing and borrowing from without attribution, in “Buddhist” and “non-Buddhist” compositions alike. The 500-fascicle *Extensive Records of the Reign of Great Tranquility* (*Taiping guangji* 太平廣記, 977–981) cites it over a hundred times for its miracle tale content⁵⁴; historians Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–975) and Zhipan 志磐 (1220–1275) rely on it for commentary and history; and later anthologists like Daocheng 道誠 (early 11th c) were apparently inspired by *A Grove of Pearls* in piecing together their own selections of scriptural excerpts.⁵⁵ Even later imperial appearances of the work demonstrate that it was being consulted and excerpted from differently by different audiences. The bibliographic abstract on *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* of the *Complete Writings in Four Branches* (*Siku quanshu* 四庫全書) of the late eighteenth century (abstracts completed 1781) praises the work for its antique worldview, comparing its focus on karmic cause and effect to Han Ruhism’s focus on the Six Classics, and casting aspersions on Song Chan and Song Ruhism’s turn to abstract speculation. It concludes that “this work was composed in the early Tang, not so far from antiquity. As for its coverage of the Dharma, it still quotes scriptures and cites classics. Although there is much talk in it that is ridiculous and dissipated, conflicting with Ruhist principles, still its essentials do not disorder Ruhism” 此書作於唐初，去古未遠。在彼法之中，猶為引經據典。雖其間荒唐悠謬之說，與儒理牴牾，而要與儒不相亂。⁵⁶ An even later bibliographic note from the early nineteenth century by Jiangsu literatus Liu Yusong 劉毓崧 (1818–1867) also praises the work’s transmission of “facts” (*shishi* 事實; *wushi* 務實)

⁵⁴ On this collection as a source for literary studies, Nienhauser 1986, 744–5 and Hammond 1987. On lexicographic variance in the passages where *TPGJ* cites *FYZL*, see Xiang 2012.

⁵⁵ Salguero 2015, 44–6. Studies of the reception history of *FYZL* in late imperial China and Japan often begin with a figure or work of consequence (Dōgen or the *Konjaku Monogatarishū*, for instance) and based on similar strings of passages identify *FYZL* as an unacknowledged source. Some print-canonical works, like the Buddhist histories mentioned above or Yichu’s *Six Documents* (*Shishi liutie*), cite *FYZL* directly. On *Konjaku Monogatarishū* and *FYZL*, see Miyata 1969 and 1976; Yang 2012; and Qu 2012. On Dōgen and *FYZL*, see Kirino 2002.

⁵⁶ Ji 1926, j145, “Buddhist Category” (*shijia lei* 釋家類).

and attributes it to the author's preference for the regulations (*lii*) over meditation (*chan*), excoriating the likes of the Shenxiu and Huineng, representative of antinomian Chan Buddhism's supposed distaste for the empirical and the linguistic.⁵⁷ For the Qing philologists, Daoshi and his *Grove of Pearls* were pre- and anti-Chan, which is to say, interested in citing the facts found in Buddhist scriptures, regulations, and treatises in the first place, eager to share what he deemed worthy from non-Buddhist, historical or even Rulist, sources in the second place, and a useful resource for the modern Qing philologist working on recovering the facts of history otherwise lost from the record. This historicist hermeneutic for approaching *A Grove of Pearls* coexisted alongside what I have argued to be older Buddhist modes of apprehending the text: Xu Changzhi's further economizing the anthology into eight fascicles, or Dong Shu's 董姝 reprinting *A Grove of Pearls* as an independent 100-fascicle work (restoring it from the Jiaying Canon's setting a precedent of printing it as 120 fascicles) in the late Qing. The preface to her reprint, authored by a fellow concubine in her household, asserts the corrections were completed by the spring of Daoguang 7 (1827), and praises the work in Chinese Buddhist parallel prose as comprehensive, summarial, and brilliant.⁵⁸

These glimpses into the afterlife of *A Grove of Pearls* suggest that it found many uses and users, all the more useful as a print object for monks, lay Buddhists, and literary historians alike. The prefaces to *A Grove of Pearls* project a wide audience in need of dharmic instruction, and it does not restrict its readership to a specific religious group or even a unified pedagogic project. Rather, it foresees a plethora of interests that differ by individual and change over time. It envisions its contents both as general enough to capture the essence of Buddhist practice and as specific enough to offer text to solve individual, concrete matters.

⁵⁷ Liu 1920, 94–8. Partially quoted by Zhou 2003, v–vi.

⁵⁸ Lü 2003. For more on the privately printed 100-fascicle edition undertaken by Dong Shu, concubine to a banished Qing official named Jiang Yinpei 蔣因培, see Chen 2001, 54 and Zhou 2003, iv.

2.2 Evidence from Dunhuang

I end by considering as a whole the short manuscript that summarily transcribes the story I began the chapter with—that of the would-be patricide foiled and avenged by a ghost. *Chao* as a widespread practice insinuates how manuscript culture at large attempted to cope with textual volume over several dimensions including breadth, repetition, diversity, and uneven access. Against or in conversation with background notions that texts ought to be preserved or reproduced exactly to convey their timeless messages with precision, *chao* foregrounded instead the capacity of Chinese writing to be excerpted and abbreviated for storage and timely use. Chinese Buddhist anthologies invite *chao* especially because they feature it so prominently, and my previous chapter part suggests that second-millennium Buddhists and others accepted invitations to quote, excerpt, and re-anthologize the materials they found in *A Grove of Pearls*. But the traces reviewed above largely feature other published, preserved works, and do not necessarily feature more quotidian uses of *A Grove of Pearls*. All these works underscore how anthologies were used to compose other anthologies and historical collections, aides for research and contemplation. What might anthological use have looked like at the other end of the spectrum?⁵⁹

Dunhuang manuscripts bearing content from *A Grove of Pearls* and other Chinese Buddhist anthologies suggest that they were used for dharmic diffusion in the vein that their designers likely intended. As evidence from the era of Chinese history after paper and before print, these manuscripts offer glimpses into what *A Grove of Pearls* may have looked like before it appeared in the canonical print forms familiar to scholars today. Crucially, the manuscript forms of anthologies that circulated at Dunhuang and beyond may have been extremely diverse in scope, aim, and completeness. A few dozen manuscript fragments attest to copying from all across the corpus of Chinese Buddhist anthologies, and the hundred fascicles of *A Grove of Pearls* in par-

⁵⁹ Perspectives that have shaped my understanding of the potential non-representativeness of transmitted Chinese Buddhist scriptural traditions are perhaps best and quickly articulated in Teiser 1994, 621–3, and Copp 2011, 194–6. The edited volume *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures: Knowledge, Ritual, and Art* (2009) exemplifies the many fruitful paths that can be taken in taking seriously the material forms of Buddhist writings. And work in the vein of Richter 2013, 1–16 suggest how sustained attention to the diverse embodiments of surviving manuscripts can reveal much more about the life of ancient texts than an edited witness that has survived through print often can.

ticular.⁶⁰ The forms of the manuscript include full scrolls, a concertina book, and a stitch-bound booklet;⁶¹ the paper quality and calligraphy suggest a range of styles of copying, from (what appears to us as) an accurate reproduction of the whole work, to a full copying with some excisions, to abbreviations of sections, to mix-and-match chapbooks that sometimes include non-anthological materials. On occasion they indicate a named anthology as a source, and in some instances the name of the anthology provided is different from the one found in the catalogs. But despite the variety of manuscripts of known anthologies—especially either of the two attributed to Daoshi—found in the Dunhuang cache, they collectively testify to the haphazard nature of anthological diffusion.⁶² This is to say that no full multi-fascicle anthologies can be found in the cache, and while multi-fascicle Buddhist works are often (even usually) found at Dunhuang in incomplete pieces, it is worth noting that amidst an archive of a bewildering diversity of materials, some manuscripts of which bear traces of multiple copyists and uses across scholarly and religious traditions, the anthology manuscripts represent a shared interest in purposefully reducing unities from disparate sources upon single bodies of paper.

Copyists respected and availed themselves of *leishu* paradigms in hand-copying them. Besides inclusion of titles on the title-pages or the heads, tails, and backs of scrolls, rubricated headings are often redeployed, and conventions like quotation, indentation, line-breaks, or small-character commentary often resemble those in the transmitted text. In fact, these repro-

⁶⁰ Below summarizes findings discussed in more detail by Miyai and Motoi 2011; Motoi 2012; Fujii 2015, 249, 343; and Chen Ming 2016, 213–18.

⁶¹ BD01191, a single scroll missing its first pages, appears to represent an unbroken string of copy equivalent to the back four-fifths of fascicle 11 of *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures* (T no. 2123.j11.103c22–108b12). Motoi did not have a photo reproduction of BD01191 to work from, but it has since been digitized at International Dunhuang Project. S. 5915, from *A Grove of Pearls*, appears as eight sheets of paper from a larger stitched booklet that was split into half sheets, while S. 5624, another *Grove of Pearls* manuscript, is 29 pages cut out along the folds from sets of concertina books. Motoi 2012, 82–7 on these three manuscripts in particular.

⁶² While scholars routinely debate the representativeness of the Dunhuang cache in thinking about the prevalence of certain texts or kinds of text in the broader medieval Sinitic sphere, records of Chinese and Japanese temple holdings from medieval and late imperial periods reflect a norm of only possessing a few select scrolls of the entire *Grove of Pearls*. See, for instance, Motoi's 2009 review of sources on *A Grove of Pearls*'s arrival to Japan, where a catalog from Nanatsu-dera Heian period records eighteen of the hundred scrolls by "wrapper" and "number." Motoi goes on to survey other surviving scrolls from twelfth through sixteenth century Japan that have survived in temple holdings, some of which bear independent colophons and dates of copying.

duced category-headings and citation-lines offered modern scholars the clues to understand these manuscripts as copied from anthologies and not independent copies of scriptures or individual chapbooks in the first place. But the copyists of these anthology manuscripts did not necessarily follow the sequence of excerpts presented on the pages of anthology they copied from. Rather, just as anthologists like Baochang and Daoshi found more suitable ways to adapt and reframe scriptural excerpts, so did readers of their anthologies adapt and reframe the excerpts they found in anthologies. These manuscripts illuminate the recursive character of anthologies: they not only offered a curriculum of scriptural gleanings to whomever might pick them up, they also teach their readers that scriptures can be picked and chosen from.

In her survey of ten Dunhuang manuscripts reproducing materials from Daoshi's two anthologies, *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* and *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures*, Motoi Makiko only identifies one of the manuscripts as reflecting what may have once purported to be a full and accurate copy of the original.⁶³ It is also one of the two manuscripts that explicitly identify the name of the work they are copying from.⁶⁴ The four meter-long scroll, BD1191, if it had been the Fascicle 11 of *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures*, as it declares itself to be at the end of the scroll, is missing its first fifth. Not only do margin lines frame the lines of text on "Chapter 19: Karmic Causes," each of the three surviving section-headings ("Section 4: Sinful Actions" *zuixing* 罪行; "Section 5: Meritorious Actions" *fluxing* 福行; "Section 6: Miscellaneous Karma" *zaye* 雜業) receive their own column, and the

⁶³ These manuscripts, discussed in order from most resembling the received versions of Daoshi's anthologies to least resembling them, are BD01191 (*ZJYJ*); P.3653 (*ZJYJ*); P.2295 (*ZJYJ*); S.5915 (*FYZL*); S.5624 (*FYZL*); P.2163 (*ZJYJ*); S.3997 (*FYZL* excerpts); S.4647 (*FYZL* excerpts); P.2370v (*ZJYJ* excerpts); and S.6888 (*FYZL* excerpts). To these ten we may add thirteen identifications by Fujii 2015, mostly shorter scroll fragments (but also a few full and well-preserved scrolls) from the National Library of China collection: BD8494 (*FYZL*); S.4336 (*FYZL*); S.6336 (*FYZL*); BD15051 (*FYZL*); BD2258v (*FYZL*); BD9393 (*FYZL*); BD9361 (*FYZL*); BD15651 (*FYZL*); Beida238 (*ZJYJ*); BD14568 (*ZJYJ*); BD10751 (*ZJYJ*); BD11674 (*ZJYJ*); and BD11472 (*ZJYJ*). While I have not had the opportunity to examine these manuscripts closely, I will refer to them occasionally in the notes.

⁶⁴ The other manuscript, P. 2163, actually contains multiple attributions for its sources, and is discussed in greater detail below. On the last sheet of S. 5910, it appears that a copyist has taken the title *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* for calligraphy practice, along with the character "wind" (*feng*), which is written multiple times, sometimes over other previously written characters.

gāthā and capping verse included in the chapter are offered the space to be seen as verse, each quatrain of five-character lines taking up one column of scroll.⁶⁵ By contrast, all the other manuscripts identified with Daoshi’s anthologies take liberties in excerpting and summarizing from their anthological sources, even when they take care to identify the name of the anthology, their tables of contents and headings, and the sources of their excerpts.⁶⁶

For instance, Motoi notes that P.2295, another *Collected Essentials* manuscript, seems to have produced an abbreviated version of an original Fascicle 4, skipping over the “Explaining the Meaning” sections entirely and only reproducing a limited selection of the scriptural quotes. P. 2295 (the remnants of 12 pages pasted to form a 26.0 by 364 cm scroll)⁶⁷ is around similar dimensions to BD1191 (29.4 by 398 cm scroll), and its selections follow in the sequence of the original Fascicle 4 to record (some) section-headings and selections from Chapters 4, 5, and 6 of *Collected Essentials* on “Entering the Path,” “Chants and Hymns,” and “Incense and Lanterns” respectively.⁶⁸ The text seems to have been written in different hands from sheet to sheet (as brush-work, character-size, and spacing vary), and an additional brush has come through to make corrections, writing over some characters and adding missed characters and correction marks in between lines.⁶⁹ Section headings and numerals receive their own lines,⁷⁰ gāthās receive special

⁶⁵ The scroll being 29.4 cm tall, each line has a capacity of around 27 characters, more compactly written than the supposed 17-character standard (Mizuno 1987, 166).

⁶⁶ This contrasts with Miyai and Motoi’s 2011 survey of Dunhuang documents that they aver reflect the original *Golden Basket Discourse* quite closely. See their reconstruction of fascicles 5 and 6 of *Golden Basket Discourse* with recourse to Dunhuang manuscripts they call Dunhuang A (composed of fragments BD3686, Dx02117, and Beida D156); Dunhuang B (BD7316); Dunhuang C (S. 3962); and Dunhuang D (S. 4654). See Miyai and Motoi 2011, 553–66, for description of the manuscripts themselves.

⁶⁷ Each of the pages is around 38 cm long, with exceptions noted below.

⁶⁸ All of the quoted passages can also be found in *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* in apposite sections. Because the manuscript does not identify *Collected Essentials* as its source, it could have technically been copied from *A Grove of Pearls*, but the sequence of presentation and rubrication resemble that of *Collected Essentials*. In notes below, I indicate apposite sections of *A Grove of Pearls*—note that they contain slightly more excerpts than their *Collected Essentials* analogues.

⁶⁹ Line 8 of sheet 7 begins with eight characters the scribe has already copied over one line ago; the eight characters are circled, and the transcription continues beneath them. See Galambos 2013, Venture and Drège 2015.

⁷⁰ See Motoi 2012, 84, for a list of the three section-titles found on the document, and a table of sections from fascicle 4 of *ZJYJ* whose contents are and are not represented on the document. Not all of the section-headings one might expect have been preserved on P. 2295, but one may find the three that exist as the first line of sheet 2 (compare

spacing but not necessarily whole lines to themselves,⁷¹ and many quoted excerpts, introduced by citations, begin on new lines. What P.2295 does copy, it copies closely: all seven passages of (“Section 4.4: Selected Quotations”) on pages 2–6;⁷² the fifth of five passages of (“Section 5.2: Selected Quotations”), the first one and final four of some thirteen passages of (“Section 5.3: Praising [Buddha’s] Virtues” *tande*), and the third of some fifteen excerpts of (“Section 6.2: Flowers and Incense” *huaxiang*) on sheets 7–10;⁷³ and the first two of twelve excerpts of (“Section 6.3: Burning Lanterns” *randeng*) on sheets 11–12.⁷⁴ If we analyze the manuscript in terms of five extended bouts of copying, then one notes that around four of around eleven Taishō pages of the original Fascicle 4 are represented in this manuscript.⁷⁵ The original P.2295 may have represented even more of the fascicle because the head and the tail of the scroll are cut short, but what text remains begins around a page and a half into the Taishō text and ends two pages and a half before it the Taishō text ends. Therefore, of the remaining seven Taishō pages representing

T no. 2123.j4.29c12); the penultimate line of sheet 7 (compare *T* no. 2123.j4.32b17); and the first line of sheet 11 (compare *T* no. 2123.j4.35c27).

⁷¹ Sheet 3, line 18 reproduces a seven-character quatrain from the *Great Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom* taking up the entire line, and the following line begins the next quote (compare *T* no. 2123.j4.30b19–20). Sheet 8, lines 3–4 and 16–17, represents a quatrain of seven-character verse from *Scripture on the Original Acts of the Bodhisattva* (*T* no. 155) and seven lines of five-character verse from the *Lotus* respectively (compare *T* no. 2123.j4.32b23–24 and 33a20–23). In the first case, the gāthā begins a three-to-five character space into the line (after a presumable “and the gāthā said” 偈言 begins line 3), each of the following three lines of verse are separated by a blank space of three to five characters, and six characters of prose that follow the verse continue at the bottom of the second line (with the Buddha saying, “Ānanda, I use this gāthā to...” 阿難我以此偈). In the second case, the seven lines of verse are separated by a single-character space each, they end in the middle of the second line, and a new quotation begins the following line 18.

⁷² Compare *T* no. 2123.j4.29c12–31b21. Page 6 is a little shorter than the others at 22.4 cm. The apposite and eponymous section in *A Grove of Pearls* is Section 13.4 (j22.448c07–452b04, longer than *Collected Essentials* by twelve additional excerpts that follow the shared group of excerpts [nineteen total]).

⁷³ Compare *T* no. 2123.j4.32a18–c2; 33a11–b27; and 34a5–27. Page 10, the final in the sequence, is a short 9.1 cm strip. The apposite and eponymous sections in *A Grove of Pearls* are Sections 34.2 (j36.574c06–575a26, longer than *Collected Essentials* by two passages included at the beginning); 34.3 (j36.575a27–576a12 continuing through Section 34.4 [“Music” *yinyue*], 576a13–577a23, longer than *Collected Essentials* by four passages total); 33.2 (j36.569b06–571c06, longer than *Collected Essentials* by one long scriptural excerpt) respectively.

⁷⁴ Compare *T* no. 2123.j4.35c27–36b20. The scroll breaks off a line or two before the excerpt ends. The apposite and eponymous title and section in *A Grove of Pearls* is Section 31.2 (*T* no. 2122.j35.563c15–567b16), and it contains two more scriptural excerpts, one rather long, in the middle of the lot (565b05–566c27).

⁷⁵ Comparing the excerpted lines in the previous notes against the length of the fascicle as represented in Taishō, which runs from 28a15 to 38c17.

the “middle” of Fascicle 4, it would appear that nearly half of the text has been purposefully excised.⁷⁶ What is notably missing of these approximately 600 Taishō lines⁷⁷ of Fascicle 4 are the “Explaining the Meaning” sections that are found introducing Chapters 5 and 6; the chapter-ending verses that are found at the ends of Chapters 4 and 5 (where one might expect them at the conclusions of the first and third excerpts); long passages of Daoshi’s commentary;⁷⁸ and many examples of praise-verses and ritual formulae. Rather, the copyist-as-compiler⁷⁹ has tended to preserve full scriptural anecdotes, more often than not beginning in the middle of every quote-bearing section. Even if cuts were made not by omitting copy but by literal cut-and-paste procedures, the maker of the scroll wished to preserve naturally occurring units of text from the anthology instead of splitting them up.⁸⁰

Other Dunhuang manuscripts that appear to have been derived from Daoshi’s anthologies draw from multiple fascicles of the respective works. From the standpoint of the Taishō, they are even further abbreviated than the two manuscripts surveyed above, BD1191 and P.2295; but from the perspective of the manuscripts it appears that the copyists were less interested in pro-

⁷⁶ That sheets 6 and 10 are much shorter than the standard 38 cm sheet-length suggest that sheets of content may have been cut out of an originally longer scroll and pasted together to make a shorter scroll. It is likely that excisions were made both by a copyist skipping over quotes in the anthology, and by a compiler literally cutting and pasting wanted texts together. The first excerpt breaks off the final six characters that would conclude the excerpt, even though there are around two more lines of blank space until the end of the sheet (end of sheet 6; compare *T* no. 2123.j4.31b21); the two excisions that represent the breaks between the second, third, and fourth excerpts along sheets 7–10 occur mid-sheet (between lines 9–10 of sheet 8; and lines 14–15 of sheet 9); and the fourth excerpt concludes the tenth, abbreviated sheet with several lines of blank space to go.

⁷⁷ A Taishō line is seventeen characters long, about two-thirds as short as the standard Dunhuang manuscript height.

⁷⁸ See for instance Daoshi’s long comment on the history of Buddhist chanting in China at 32c19–33a10, which includes a short scriptural quotation within it. See Whitaker 1957, 595–7, for a discussion of this commentary (or its source in *A Grove of Pearls*) with regard to the legend of Cao Zhi initiating *fanbai* chanting in China.

⁷⁹ The manuscript itself may have been the product of multiple hands, including more than one scribe and more than one paster of sheets. Or, one author may have added to and recut the manuscript over a longer period of use. For an example of a Dunhuang scroll that seems to have relied on cutting up older materials to produce a shorter composite, see Galambos 2016.

⁸⁰ On the possibility of omission through cut-and-paste, see Motoi 2012, 83, for comments on another, shorter manuscript of *Collected Essentials* from the Pelliot collection, P. 3653, a 177.5 cm long, six-sheet scroll segment of what may have been fascicle 9 dedicated to “Chapter 16: Selecting Friends.” Between sheets 4 and 5, she notices, the section-heading and beginning few anecdotes of Section 5 (“Correcting Faults,” compare *T* no. 2123.j9.83a17–84a05) may have been cut.

ducing faithful copies of the *leishu* than in reproducing targeted excerpts from them. S. 5915, the eight sheets of paper which appear to have been unloosed from a stitched booklet, bears material from *A Grove of Pearls* fascicles 67, 68, 74, and 75.⁸¹ S. 5624, the sixteen sheets of paper once representing folds of three concertina scrolls, derive materials from *A Grove of Pearls* fascicles 32–49 (13 sheets); 51–64 (2 sheets); and 90–91 (1 sheet) respectively.⁸² And P.2163, the largest of the ten manuscripts, a forty-sheet scroll 1510 cm long, draws quotes from *Collected Essentials* fascicles 11–20. The latter two manuscripts bear traces of their derivation: both punctuate their text with the headings of *lei*,⁸³ and P.2163 announces itself as “*Collected Essentials from the Scriptures*” on a title page pasted onto the head of the scroll (also with a long note explaining the work and apologizing that the beginning of the scroll is missing), as “*Collected Essentials from the Scriptures*” or some abbreviation thereof at the beginnings of every “fascicle” whose contents are included on the scroll,⁸⁴ and as “*Golden Basket Discourse*” at its tail-end, which also bears a colophon and date of Kaiyuan 23 (735).⁸⁵

Motoi envisions S.5624 and P.2163 as potentially remnants of projects to render *A Grove of Pearls* and *Collected Excerpts* into even shorter, portable formats. The Pelliot manuscript may have been the second in a set of two scrolls of similar length offering an epitome of Daoshi’s *Collected Excerpts from the Scriptures*, its absent companion having been responsible for fasci-

⁸¹ Motoi 2012, 84–5.

⁸² Motoi 2012, 85–7. Motoi labels the groups of sheets A, B, and C, which can be differentiated by size and layout.

⁸³ S. 5624, pressed for space, does not provide numbers for the headings and only offers a single space before and after the heading (for instance, “Old Stupas Section” *guta bu*) in the third line of the first sheet (compare T no. 2122.j38.583a09, where the section is indicated as the sixth of “Chapter 35: Paying Respect to Stupas.”) P. 2163, on the other hand, not only offers section-headings their appropriate enumeration and requisite space (at least a few spaces before and after, if not beginning it on a new line or leaving the rest of the line with white space to begin the new unit in the line after), it also identifies the fascicle number (for fascicles 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, and 20) and a full table of contents as well for fascicle 20 / Chapter 30 at the head of sheet 34. Though P. 2163 offers a full table of contents for the 13 sections of “Chapter 30: Miscellaneous Essentials” (*zayao bu*), in its presentation of scriptural excerpts it only proceeds to copy the section-headings of the sections it draws quotes from (the final eleven of the thirteen).

⁸⁴ As Motoi 2011 catalogs, it is given the full title *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures* when introducing fascicles 18 and 20; *Collected Essentials from Scriptures (Jing yaoji)* introducing fascicles 14, 15, and 17; *Scriptural Collection (Jingji)* for fascicles 13 and 19; and simply *Collection (ji)* for fascicle 12.

⁸⁵ Motoi 2012, 87–9

cles 1–10. Likewise, the Stein manuscript suggests three concertina books each responsible for up to twenty fascicles of *A Grove of Pearls* each: because the backs and fronts of sheets hint where they might have fit in relationship to other sheets in a concertina book, Motoi hypothesizes that some sheets could have been found near the beginning of a book (one sheet, for instance, features content from fascicle 32 on the front and fascicle 49 on the back) and some sheets could have been found near the end of it where the writing would continue in sequence onto the back-side of the book (another sheet, presumably from the same concertina book, features content from fascicle 41 on the front and fascicle 42 on the back). A set of five books each bearing excerpts from twenty fascicles may have been consulted as an independently produced digest of *A Grove of Pearls*, reducing a hundred “fascicles” to five.⁸⁶ Motoi notes that traces of the great reduction can be witnessed on the text on the sheets themselves, where entire sections and stretches of *A Grove of Pearls* are passed over in silence. Moreover, space on the sheet is a premium for the author of S.5915: single spaces punctuate new headings, introduce cited excerpts, and indicate gāthās, but the text usually appears as a long unbroken run; small characters in the margins indicate that someone has taken the time to circle back through the manuscript to add characters (and sometimes whole lines) to the text that the first round of copying neglected to copy down.

A sheet pasted to the head of P.2163 announces the work it appends over three lines of text:

This collection has been collated and corrected against Śākya Dao[shi]’s compilation, *Collection of Essentials from the Scriptures*: the general meaning matches, but it differs in its abbreviation. It cites the title of the collection, though it is missing the header, “Fascicle

⁸⁶ The sheet dimensions of the putative three concertinas are slightly different, and they may not have originally constituted a single set, though none of the materials on the sixteen sheets overlap with one another. If the sheets represent what was assembled to be a complete set representing an epitome of the full *Grove of Pearls*, a possible combination of five books is j1–30; 31–50; 51–70; 71–80; and 81–100.

11.” We invite later monastic and lay enjoyers of the Way or sages of nobility who wish to read the scriptural texts of the Great Baskets will have their resolutions carried through!

此集共釋道纂撰『諸經要集』較堪，大意相類，
廣略不同。據其集題，欠頭十一卷。請後樂道
緇俗高尚哲人，願尋大藏經文，發心接續者矣。

The author of the pasted prefatory note appears to facilitate in a conversation between the text on the scroll, its putative source, its colophon (identifying it as the *Golden Basket Discourse*), and the audience. They recognize that the beginning of the scroll is damaged and the whole scroll has abbreviated an original work, against which the scroll can be (and has been) corrected. Despite the scroll’s faults, its preface still imagines it as capable of allowing a broad Buddhist audience to “read the scriptural texts of the Great Baskets.”

S. 5915 resembles the other four manuscripts Motoi discusses at the end of her survey in that it is less a full copy or summary version of an anthology than a collection of excerpts seemingly facilitated by one of Daoshi’s anthologies. These manuscripts are scroll remnants of varying lengths, and they combine materials from different fascicles and chapters of the anthologies they draw from (S. 3997; S. 4647), combine materials from one of Daoshi’s anthologies with other writings (P. 2370v), or both (S. 6888). Another difference between S. 5915, the pages from the sewn booklet, and the other four manuscripts are the kinds of contents featured, for while S. 5915 contains pieces of passages categorized in chapters about karma (a miracle tale from “77. Suffering” [page 7]; a dialogue from “78. Karmic Conditioning” [page 8]; prose and verse of various scriptures from “84. Ten Evils” [pages 1–6]), the other group of manuscripts features materials borrowed from chapters named after Buddhist practices (“35. Paying Respect to Stūpas,” “38. [Making] Offerings,” “39. Receiving Invitations” for S. 3997; largely “33. Raising

Merit” for S. 4647; “39. Receiving Invitations” for S. 2370v; and largely “81. Desires as Obstructions” and “87. Receiving Precepts” for S. 6888.)

S. 3997 and S. 4647 are shorter fragments that seem to derive from *A Grove of Pearls*;⁸⁷ the former is a scroll fragment of two sheets pasted together 70 cm long and the latter is a single page fragment 71 cm long, but writing fills both sides such that the end of the recto would seem to continue onto the beginning of the verso. It appears that the beginning and end of the remnant are preserved for both manuscripts, and they may have initially been this short and portable. Their strategies for organizing writing on the sheet are unique, with S. 3997 leaving occasional character-long spaces introducing quotes or between lines of verse to maximize ink on the page, and S. 4647 employing the single-space for numbered lists in quotes, the double-space between quotations, and the line-break for introducing new sections.⁸⁸ S. 3997 copies out in one long run thirteen or so mostly short passages in sequence over five spurts of copying of uneven length:⁸⁹ with regard to content, the Buddha and others recommend spiritual targets for building merit by erecting stūpas and making offerings, and explain how and why to have monks fed correctly. S. 4647, transcription and translation included as Appendices L and M, has a recto which mainly takes abbreviated selections from the long “Section 8: Washing Monks” (*xiseng* 洗僧) of “Chapter 27: Raising Merit” and a verso that mainly copies out the “Explaining the Meaning” sections from seven chapters scattered throughout *A Grove of Pearls*. The recto from “Washing Monks” copies around half of its text—over 1212 of 2709 characters, not counting characters lost in damaged parts of the scroll. Both manuscripts—S. 4647 is the source of the story with

⁸⁷ Neither remnant identifies the work they are thought they were transcribing. For S. 3997, all the passages on the document also exist in *Collected Essentials*, but in Chapters 2 and 7 respectively, where “Chapter 7: Receiving Invitations” has also incorporated a selection of quotes from *A Grove of Pearls* “Chapter 38: Offerings” in its second eponymous section. S. 4647 likely did not copy from *Collected Essentials* primarily because it transcribes from a long section that does not exist in *Collected Essentials*.

⁸⁸ S. 4647 bears blank lines in the middle and at the end of the verso, suggesting as well that its author was not at a loss for space.

⁸⁹ T no. 2122.j37.580a25–b26 (3 passages); j41.606c14–16 (1 passage); j41.606c29–607a3 (1 passage); j42.612b22–612c13 (7 passages); and j42.613a26 (1 passage).

which this chapter began, tucking this single synopsis in with the “Explaining the Meaning” sections on the verso—appear to have drawn from *A Grove of Pearls* not explicitly to prune a more compact grove, but to have pearls at the ready for sermons on ritual occasion.

P. 2370v and S. 6888 are discussed at the end of Motoi’s survey in connection with use for “rites of precept conferral.”⁹⁰ Around the same height as S. 3997 and S. 4647 (all four are between 25 to 30 cm tall), they are also much longer, with P. 2370 being five sheets pasted into a scroll of 193.3 cm long and S. 6888 being a scroll of thirty sheets, 594.4 cm long. They also feature material that cannot be traced back to one of Daoshi’s anthologies. Before its four sheets of excerpt from *Collected Essentials*,⁹¹ P. 2370v begins with around one sheet of formulae (including some seven-character line gāthā) for an acārya and his disciple to recite for the hair-shaving ceremony, followed by a script for conferring the Three Refuges, Five Precepts, and Ten Precepts (with interrupting interlinear small-character commentary describing what stages of the ritual are being completed through the large-character speech).⁹² And S. 6888 begins with a smattering of quotations from various chapters of *A Grove of Pearls* across ten of its sheets, continues with around three pages of formulae for conferring the Three Refuges, Five Precepts, Ten Precepts and Bodhisattva precepts, and ends with around eighteen sheets of excerpts taken from 14 various fascicles of Baochang’s *Anomalous Phenomena*.⁹³ For these two manuscripts at least,

⁹⁰ Motoi 2011, 91–6; a table charting all the textual correspondences of S. 6888 against Taishō’s *Anomalous Phenomena*, *Grove of Pearls*, *Collected Essentials*, and “other sources” can be found 97–8. Many passages could be located in more than one (or even all three) of the anthologies, but runs of quoted passages suggest *A Grove of Pearls* for the first third of the document and *Anomalous Phenomena* for the last two-thirds.

⁹¹ Though the materials that match to *Collected Essentials* are also found in *A Grove of Pearls*, a heading “Section 4: Holy Monks” uses the numbering and terminology of *Collected Essentials* (*yuan* for section; it would be *bu* no. 3 for *A Grove of Pearls*).

⁹² The recto appears to have been a copy of the beginning of the *Daojing* portion of the *Laozi* (*Laozi* 1–15, before 15 breaks off), with a preface attributed to Ge Xuan running through pages 1–2, and the *Secret Instructions of the Great Ultimate* (*Taiji yinjue*) beginning at page 3 preceding it. The margins are a few centimeters thicker than the verso. The beginning of the scroll (and half of Ge Xuan’s preface) appear to have been cut off; consequently, because the verso copyist ends with blank space to spare, after completing a transcription of the entire Section 4 on “Holy Monks” (and one interrupted line from the middle of the next section), perhaps the verso reflects a Buddhist reuse of an originally Daoist manuscript (rather than vice-versa).

⁹³ An added feature of S. 6888 is the inclusion of indexing one- or two-character *lei* in the top margin of the sheet where new quotations or segments of the document begin: the second sheet, for instance, indices a story about vase-breaking with those two characters (*poguan* 破灌) and an anecdote about mouth-freshening with those

Daoshi's anthologies could have been utilized to record passages for reciting or expounding upon before, during, or after the conferral of precepts.

The second half of S. 4647 (the string of "Explaining the Meaning" passages) resembles the first third of S. 6888 in its selection of passages from multiple fascicles and chapters of *A Grove of Pearls*, suggesting the copyists were working from the entire or large components of the ten-wrapper, hundred-fascicle *Grove of Pearls*. The ten sheets of S. 6888 drawing from *A Grove of Pearls*, for instance, quote from fascicles 45 (1 quote from "42. Remonstrance"); 36 (1 quote from "33. Flowers and Incense"); 35 (3 quotes from "31. Burning Lanterns"); 36 (1 quote from "32. Hanging Banners"); 71 (12 quotes on "81. Desires as Obstructions"); 87 (two quotes from "87. Receiving Precepts," on the Three Refuges); 88 (two more quotes from "87. Receiving Precepts," on the Five Precepts); and 90 (1 quote from "88. Breaking Precepts"). S. 4647 similarly draws from a range of fascicles and chapters: fascicles 8 ("5.4. [Buddha's] Incarnation"); 50 ("72. Dismissing Kindness"); 62 ("69. Sacrifice"); 63 ("71. Rain Prayers"); 34 ("29. Making Vows"); 65 ("76. Salvation from Danger"); and 19 ("8. Sangha Jewel").⁹⁴ A reader of either manuscript, unfamiliar with their copyists, might be able to string together a logical structure for the sequence as presented, but it was the individual copyists who must have shuttled between multiple scrolls and headings to string together their own creations.⁹⁵

two-characters (*kouxiang* 口香); and the fourth sheet, transcribing commentary with quotes on "Desires as Obstructions" breaks up the passage with indices labelled "Five Roots" *wugen* 五根; "Five Desires" *wuyu* 五欲; and "Six Thieves" *liuzei* 六賊. Beneath the *lei* a punctuating space and square bracket will indicate where a passage begins on the line. These indices, not found in Daoshi's anthologies, may have aided a wielder of the scroll in keeping their place during sermons.

⁹⁴ See P. 3877v + S.6298v + P. 3898r for an interesting comparison: here are the fragments of what was once a single scroll upon which the copyist records only selected prefaces to the various sub-catalogs (first historical and then subject) of Daoxuan's scriptural catalog, the *Inner Canon of the Great Tang* (*Da Tang neidian lu*, T no. 2149). Like S. 4647v, the copyist reproduces the epideictic prefatory prose to the exclusion of the contents they are meant to introduce. The recto of P. 3877r contains some census registers dated Kaiyuan 4 and 10 (716 and 722). Like manuscripts associated with anthologies, manuscripts associated with catalogs differ from their transmitted editions in showing signs of reduction, adaptation, and use. For more on these particular catalog manuscripts, see Drège 1991, 188. For surveys of evidence on how various Buddhist scriptural catalogs were produced and used at Dunhuang, see Drège 1993, 186–93, and Fang 1993, 88–101; 2006, 348–402.

⁹⁵ As discussed in Chapter One, Part 4, chapters featuring topics that may appear more closely related often cluster together. The author of S. 6888 seems to have been attracted to chapters from the mid-30s at the beginning of his copying (ritual adornments like flowers, incense, banners, and lanterns) and late-80s (precepts) at the end of his

At the same time, the first half of S. 4647 (the string of passages from “Washing Monks”) resembles P. 2370v closely in its extended copying from a single fascicle—fascicle 33 of *Grove of Pearls* in the case of S. 4647, and fascicle 5 of *Collected Essentials* in the case of P. 2370v.⁹⁶ Both manuscripts not only make use of scriptural quotes from their sources, but of Daoshi’s commentarial apparatus as well. The portion of P. 2370v that cites from *Collected Essentials* begins with a long parallel-prose commentary that introduces “Holy Monks” which contextualizes the respect that is due to the invited monastic in the grand scheme of dharmic history, from the moment that “the Great Awakened nirvanized, so the Dharma returned to the many sainted [monastics]” *dajue niepan, fa gui zhongsheng* 大覺涅槃，法歸眾聖 to the devout actions of monastics and lay rulers in the Liu Song, Southern Qi, Southern Liang, and early Tang periods.⁹⁷ Similarly, S. 4647, after copying down around half of the eleven excerpts in the “Washing Monks” section of *A Grove of Pearls*, copies over two-thirds of a bathhouse dedication sermon from the end of the section. Both manuscripts use the anthologies not only for scriptural quotations, but pieces of religious writing that surround them as well.⁹⁸ As evidenced from my transcriptions of S. 4647, the style of summarial, excerptive copying discussed in the example of the miracle tale of the unfilial son—and common to how anthologies render texts from sources, as discussed in Part 3 of the last chapter—is endemic to the copying of S. 4647. Certain excerpts and portions of excerpts (much of the sermon, the “Explaining the Meanings,” the closing verse) appear to have been copied rather faithfully and to the letter; other material (scriptural quotations, the miracle tale) is abbreviated, with text dropped usually from the middle or end of

copying, while the author of S. 4647 seems to have been drawn to the early 60s (ritual petitions) for around half of their “Explaining the Meaning” passages.

⁹⁶ Also consider for inclusion to this group S. 4336, a scroll of 167 cm) which quotes three or four anecdotes pertaining to the “Repair and Construction” (*xiuzao*) of Buddhist Statues, from the eponymous Section 5 of “Chapter 17: Raising Merit” (*xingfu*) of fascicle 33 of *A Grove of Pearls*. The anecdotes are apparently followed by a passage from the *Lantern-Fingers Scripture* (*Dengzhi [yinyuan] jing*, T no. 703).

⁹⁷ Sheets 2–3 corresponding to T no. 2123.j5.42a27–c01.

⁹⁸ One might also consider the long stretch of citation in S. 6888 from the chapter in *Grove of Pearls* on “Desires as Obstructions” as highly commentarial in nature. It appears Daoshi’s more exegetical chapter may have been useful as lines or notes for sermonizing about desire during a precepts conferral ceremony.

quotes. In a few cases it would be possible to approximate how texts on S. 4647 appears to have been twice-abbreviated—first from the original source to the anthology, and again from the anthology to the manuscript.⁹⁹

Manuscript versions of Buddhist anthologies reveal how the “official” anthologies were composed to be used in the first place. This is to say, the commentarial portions of *A Grove of Pearls* were not merely designed to be consulted and read silently to aid readers in better understanding the scriptural passages that follow and are contained by them, they were also works that were meant to be copied out and recited as well. Dunhuangology has traditionally followed the trajectories of Buddhist narrative across media (scripture, transformation-text, painting, etc.) to trace how religious ideals circulated beyond the so-called Buddhist canon, from preachers to the domain of the “popular,” and anthologies like *Anomalous Phenomena*, *Golden Basket Discourse*, *A Grove of Pearls*, chock-full of miraculous stories, certainly count as one of these media.¹⁰⁰ But a certain set of Dunhuang manuscripts also trace the circulation of commentarial or epideictic passages drawn from anthologies like Daoshi’s.

The juxtaposition of anecdotes from Buddhist stories alongside Chinese-authored compositions in both anthologies and the manuscripts that make use of them call for scholars to reevaluate what these genres of writing were in practice and how these genres of writing can be thought in relationship to each other. In the first place, the itinerary of individual scriptural anecdotes,

⁹⁹ For instance, the second passage in “Washing Monks” derives from the *Mahāsattva Scripture* (*Mohechatou jing*), and approximates *T* no. 696.797c16–798b26, which begins eleven lines in the scripture and continues onto its end. The whole scripture is not one Taishō page long, Daoshi draws from around two-thirds of it to render a passage that is only two-thirds of a column (or 18 lines) long (*T* no. 2122.j33.543a22–b10), to a couple lines of around 27 characters each on S. 4647. From scriptural source through anthology to manuscript, 1237 characters shrinks to 288 to around 40 legible characters (the bottom quarter of the two lines have been lost to scroll damage). Certain Dunhuang manuscripts, like BD9393, a short (but seemingly complete) scroll fragment with dimensions 39.8 x 43.1 cm bearing a tale about Bakkula reaping merit for giving a monk medicine, have been identified as excerpted from *A Grove of Pearls* only because the text resembles the abbreviated version found in *A Grove of Pearls* more closely than the “original” source. Compare *T* no. 2122.j42.615b24–c17 for *Grove of Pearls*, *T* no. 2123.j5.44c09–45a03 for its near doppelgänger in *Collected Essentials*, and *Scripture of the Dharma-Treasury Transmission* (*Fu fazang jing* [or *yinyuan zhuan*]) *T* no. 2058.j3.308a23–b23 for the original. The anthologies (and the manuscript that apparently has cited with them) include a concluding verse (not punctuated as such) that is not found in *T* no. 2058.

¹⁰⁰ Mair 1983a; Chen Ming 2016.

like that of the frog hearing the Dharma, moves from scripture to anthology to second anthology to manuscript.¹⁰¹ The story's anthologization testifies to the motive force that its anthologists wished to impart to it: the point of casting it as a "pearl" was always to be able to display it to more audiences. Secondly, anthological commentary, whether it was announced or unannounced, parallel-prose or more prosaic, was imagined as pearly text too, preservable as oratorically efficacious patches of language. These documents would seem to testify that in the context of conferring precepts, feeding or washing monastics, or dedicating a bathhouse, a monastic wanted both accounts from scripture to explain the origins and significance of the ritual they were undertaking, and pretty passages of parallel prose to convey the beauty and importance of the ceremony to a broad audience. While some of the Dunhuang manuscripts surveyed here show copyists seeming to purposely avoid commentarial introductions and interludes, P. 2370v and S. 4647 show copyists interested in preserving these portions of anthology. S. 4647 especially offers evidence of a copyist creatively reworking commentarial passages from the anthology to their own ends: seemingly decapitated, non-sequential "Explaining the Meanings" become unloosed as potential passages for everyday invocation. Incarnation may be explained and praised on "bath day," which might also have been a fine occasion to "explain the meanings" or "express intentions" of rain prayers and rescuing from danger as well.

As Chapter Four explored, in theory, the best *chao* could lift out the essence of a text while the worst distorted the words and scattered its meaning. In practice, dharma-extractors toed a line between fidelity and expediency. At the elite level of literati-monks, anthologies like *Anomalous Phenomena*, *Golden Basket*, and *Collected Essentials* had been further economized from earlier unwieldier ancestors; where Dunhuang copyists were concerned, any of these anthologies could be made shorter and more useful thereby, and even summary-versions of anthology-text that cir-

¹⁰¹ See for instance, analysis of S. 779 (Miyai and Motoi 2011, 574–81), where a sequence of passages that appear in "Hearing the Dharma" resembles but does not match exactly sequences in *A Grove of Pearls* or in *Golden Basket Discourse*.

culated independently of a monastic library could be reduced even more through literal cut-and-paste operations. For the Dunhuang copyists, extracts had been collected for seemingly discrete situations: repairing stūpas, conferring precepts, or bathing monks. Scholar-monks like Daoshi, however, collected quotes to be extracted—to be picked and chosen among for use at Dunhuang or anywhere else in the empire. Scriptural quotes, miracle tales, and even paratext like Daoshi’s “explaining the meanings” may have been originally copied down in light of their practical and potentially performative contexts. The following chapter explores how Daoshi goes about building anthology chapters concerning the Dharma itself. It describes how Daoshi creates scriptural breadth to dazzle his users, and also allows them to puzzle out what they need.

Chapter Six: Collecting Dharma I—*A Grove of Pearls on the Dharma as an Object*

What did it mean to “collect” the Dharma on behalf of others? The following two chapters frame Daoshi’s *A Grove of Pearls* anthology and Daoxuan’s *Inner Books* catalog as sites for witnessing practices of collecting dharma: the next chapter shows how Daoxuan used special catalogs in *Inner Books* to collect scriptures into useable canons, while this one describes how Daoshi pulls category-headings, citations, and quotes into useable anthology chapters. While Chapters 4 and 5 argue that scriptural practices of *chao* 抄 reduced text through summary and selection under the description of skillful means, this and the following chapter shows how practices of *ji* 集 recombined formerly disparate textual elements to produce useful wholes. Usefulness was the ultimate criterion for making parts from wholes or wholes from parts: anthology is a site to observe both practices, but texts of all sizes could be extracted from or put together anew. Just as *chao* could be undertaken on writings as large as a hundred-fascicle scripture or as small as a single line, so too could *ji* produce readable bodies of text as small as a section from an anthology chapter or as big as a fully stocked monastic library.

The ends of collection could seem to oppose those of reduction: comprehensiveness versus concision, diversity of cases versus the main takeaway point, or presentation of alternative voices versus an anthologist’s arrogation of choice. However, even as anthologies were composed with an eye to saving time and effort, they also sought to represent accurately what they took to be the comprehensiveness, diversity, and openness of an entire Buddhist written tradition. Sengyou’s anthology prefaces yoke *chao* and *ji* together as the compound phrase *chaoji*: whether conceived as “collecting extracts,” “extracting collections,” or “extraction and collection,” anthologies’ producers imagined the two textual practices as working in concert.¹ Extraction and collection

¹ Recall Chapter Two, note 24.

together could supply audiences with passages they could use, and the reception history of *A Grove of Pearls* suggests that further collections were extracted from it as well.

Anthological collection partakes in a broader cultural imaginary of collection as governed under the logics of private discernment and public display. It matters who collects texts, and it matters for whom they are collected.² In a Buddhist paradigm, the early councils or individual patriarchs may be emblematic: the spiritual status of arhats and bodhisattvas guarantees their editorial prowess, and they have designed the collections to reach benighted Buddhists later in history. The Confucians' sage, likewise, collected their canon of classics providentially for future communities. For Buddhists especially it was important to display the grand diversity of their teachings: where scriptural proliferation can be conjured in the preface genre through allusion, so too can it be conjured over the text of anthology through citational practice.³ The Buddhist scriptural anthology itself effectively recreates the idea of a collector superintending the assembly of useful quotes of which a reader may pick and choose himself.

Scholarly recollections of Buddhism's so-called "Sinification" often highlight, or even celebrate, historical processes of reduction: from "unhewn" to "literary" translations of Buddhist scriptures, from local monastic autonomy to universal control by the state, and from wide-ranging scholasticism to single text- or practice-centered "schools." Equally imaginable as a "Chinese" attempt to refigure "Indic" materials for local concerns is *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*, among other anthologies and collections of the medieval period.⁴ But while *A Grove of Pearls* deigns to manage scriptural prolixity by reducing written traditions to

² On poetry collections, also referred to as *ji* (and translated "anthology"), their selectivity criteria, and their uses, see Yu 1980; Knechtges 2001 and 2017; Nugent 2007 and 2010, 236–284; Tian 2017a; Protass 2017. Scholars of medieval poetry collections have been especially attentive to the dual aspect of *ji* as process and product, verb and noun. For a close study of the Buddhist manuscript "miscellany" scroll at Dunhuang (P. 3720) as a collection of decrees and eulogies that continued to see marking and addition for decades, see Galambos 2016.

³ On prefaces conjuring scriptural proliferation, see Chapters Two, Three, and Seven; on citational practice conjuring scriptural proliferation, see below.

⁴ For introductions highlighting the "Chineseness" of *FYZL*, see especially Teiser 1985, Chen 1992, 239, and Ōuchi 1998.

readable scrolls, it also generates a panoply of categories to assemble a vast array of quotes from a wide variety of religious works. Distinct from exegetical *panjiao* schemes that could encourage supercessionist readings of the Buddhist tradition wherein the latest or highest teaching would seem to consign “Lesser Vehicle” teachings to the shelves, Buddhist *leishu* would prefer to keep multiple texts on the table with “Lesser Vehicle” and “Great Vehicle” teachings jostling side-by-side on the pages of scrolls. By extracting and collecting from a multitude of sources, Daoshi and other anthologists implicitly and explicitly drew upon Mahāyāna ideologies equating the one with the many: though extracts from various sources spoke to the same concern (and could be stored under the same category), they articulated their truth and usefulness in distinct ways; though certain categories were more or less applicable to exigent concerns, all the quotes spoke the Buddha’s truth.⁵ Even if *A Grove of Pearls* is read as an icon of Buddhism’s sinification for its *leishu* genre, parallel-prose introductions, and miracle tale appendices, its aim appears to have been to increase Chinese literacy in every Buddhist genre—that is to say, to spread and preserve the Dharma among Chinese audiences friendly or otherwise.

To illustrate how an anthology not only collects quotes but also disseminates ideologies about collection to its readers, I have prepared synopses to four chapters in *A Grove of Pearls* as Appendices O–R. Where the dissertation has previously referred to certain materials in these *Grove* chapters in isolation in order to flesh out allusions in prefaces (Appendix P, Item 7; hereafter P.7),⁶ how excerpts figure the practice of extraction (Q.48; R.10),⁷ or how excerpts themselves are extracted (P.5; O.1–15),⁸ here it attempts to see the grove for the trees by charting out how Daoshi has juxtaposed extracts. “Section 5.15: Councils,” “Chapter 7: Paying Respect to the Dharma,” “Chapter 16: Preaching and Hearing,” and “Chapter 22: Preservation,” charted in Appendices O, P, Q, and R respectively, certainly do not exhaust what *A Grove of Pearls from the*

⁵ Cf. Daoshi’s first line to *ZJJ*, see Appendix I, paragraph 1.

⁶ See Chapter Three, Part 4.

⁷ See Chapter Four, Part 2.1.

⁸ See Chapter Five, Parts 1.3 and 1.4.

Garden of Dharma have to say about what the Dharma is and what can be done with it. These categories are, however, privileged nodes under which passages about dharma were collected. My cursory sketch of these four chapters, then, explores at once their content—what *A Grove of Pearls* explicitly says about dharma when asked—and their form—how it goes about saying it through presentation of its assembled excerpts. It argues, moreover, that these chapters are broadly representative of how *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* works as an anthological collection, dazzling its users with citational and conceptual breadth, offering them access to what might otherwise be difficult to find, and providing options for readers to judge, use, or ignore.

1. Anatomy of an Anthology Chapter: Comparing the Structures of Four FYZZ Chapters

The excerpts in these four chapters do not speak with one voice and, on the contrary, describe multiple ways dharma may be regarded as an object. “Councils” and “Preservation” recount histories of the Dharma: the first provides narratives of how the Dharma was collected into its earliest forms, and the second recounts how the Dharma disintegrates or remains preserved in the final ages. “Paying Respect to the Dharma” and “Preaching and Hearing” do not describe the Dharma as a whole collection, but in its practice. Altogether the four chapters comprise around five fascicles of the total *Grove of Pearls*, spread unevenly over the first third of the work.⁹ In the first part of this chapter I compare the four chapters in terms of their structures and sources; then in the next three parts I describe how these chapters encourage devotion to, discrimination of, and discipline through the Dharma respectively, focusing on individual chapters “Paying Respect to the Dharma,” “Preaching and Hearing,” and “Preservation.” While devotion, discernment, and discipline were encouraged by the scriptural sources Daoshi drew upon, when he se-

⁹ Chapter 22 comprises fascicle 30 of 100. As discussed in Chapter One, Part 4, above, many early and many late chapters of *A Grove of Pearls* are several fascicles large, while many chapters in the middle share fascicles with other chapters.

lected his quotes to band together in his *Grove of Pearls* they newly reflect upon the purposes of anthological collection as well.

Describing the four chapters' immediate neighbors can provide context to their unique perspectives.¹⁰ "Councils" comprises the fifteenth of fifteen sections that make up "Chapter 5: Thousands of Buddhas," a biographical anthology of the Buddha in the mold of Sengyou's *Genealogy of the Śākya*: it follows the section describing the Buddha's nirvana, and as the final section it initiates a transition of topic from Buddha to Dharma that is reproduced over the two full chapters (7 and 8) that follow it.¹¹ Just so, "Chapter 7: Paying Respect to the Dharma" is nestled between "Chapter 6: Paying Respect to Buddhas" and "Chapter 8: Paying Respect to the Sangha": the practice of Buddhism begins with taking refuge in the Three Jewels. "Chapter 16: Preaching and Attending" follows "Entering the Path," "Modesty," and "Guidance," suggesting that preaching the Dharma and being preached unto are envisioned as important practices for a Buddhist initiate to learn from teachers, elders, and the Sangha as a body. Finally, "Chapter 22: Preservation" is emplotted amidst "Divine Wonders," "Miraculous Connections," "Concealment," "Monstrous Anomalies," and "Transformations": it may be presumed to describe edificatory wonders like its neighbors, and as "Miraculous Connections" extracts excerpts from Xuanzang's travelogue highlighting the persistence of the sacred across contemporary South and Central Asia, so do the scriptural excerpts in "Preservation" underscore its persistence over time.

The four chapters also feature different ratios of "scripture" to "commentary" to "miracle tale," in order to serve their different ends. "Councils" begins with two essays, the first of which glorifies Buddhist councils and the Dharma's piecemeal centuries-long translation into Chinese, and the second which typologizes the kinds of council that will be described over the four subsections (O.1 and O.2). The first subsection features a strong commentarial voice: Items O.5 and

¹⁰ Table of contents at a glance, see Appendix A.

¹¹ I evaluated the contents of "Chapter 5.15: Councils" with respect to how it excerpted from its major anthological predecessor in Sengyou's *A Collection of Records* in my Chapter Five, Part 1.4 above.

O.7 seem as if they are quoted to prove the commenter's assertions about the presence of Three Ānandas superintending the totality of scriptures for the three sizes of vehicles, Lesser, Medium, and Great respectively. A lengthy excerpt from Daoxuan's *Records of Miraculous Instruction* (O.15) concludes the section, corroborating an idea of multiple, repeated scriptural collection with testimony from Daoxuan's independent, heavenly witness.¹² "Paying Respect to the Dharma" features an introductory essay and a few short lines of parallel-prose to introduce the final section on "Defaming Dharma," but mainly allows scriptural excerpts to stand alone. Both "Preaching and Hearing" and "Preservation" feature section-introducing essays (for "Section 5: Discriminating Audiences" in the former and "Section 2: Governing Regulations" and "Section 3: Caution" in the latter), and commentary interposing between scriptural excerpts, sometimes interlineal. Neither "Preservation" nor "Miraculous Connections" append "Accounts of Stimulus-Response," while "Paying Respect to the Dharma" appends an entire fascicle of over forty listed accounts and "Preaching and Hearing" also appends nine¹³, suggesting that users in search of "mythic" texts may have been conceived as pursuing different projects than those surveying "practical" texts.¹⁴ If *A Grove of Pearls*, as reported, originally held the physical format of ten wrappers of ten fascicles, Chapters 5.15 and 7 would have cohabited one wrapper (fascicles 12, 17, and 18) as Chapters 16 and 22 would cohabit another (fascicles 23, 24, and 30): their physical separation from one another would reflect their differences in approaching the Dharma as an object.

On the other hand, the four chapters share category-headings, themes, cited sources, and even source-text with one another: my summary below highlights the overlaps in text and theme

¹² See O.15 for further discussion of this source as it appears in *A Grove of Pearls*.

¹³ The twelve "Accounts of Stimulus-Response" I catalog in Appendix O for "Councils" would seem to append the entirety of the "mega-chapter" on "Thousands of Buddhas" rather than merely its ultimate "Councils" section.

¹⁴ Chinese accounts of scriptural collection may have featured in one of Daoshi's inspirations for *A Grove of Pearls*, Sengyou's *Dharma Garden Collection*: see items listed in the table of contents preserved at T no. 2145.j12.92c19–23. Prefaces celebrating collection can be found throughout Buddhist catalogs and in *GHMJ*, but they do not share the genre of the "miracle tale."

in order to more closely specify how each chapter works as an individual collection, in addition to what each individual collection claims dharma was, is, and can do. The category “Preaching and Hearing” appears as the fourth section-heading in “Preservation,” just as “Preaching the Dharma” appears as the thirteenth section-heading in Chapter 5 on the biography of the Buddha, nestled between “Attaining the Way” and “Nirvana” before “Councils,”¹⁵ and just as “Hearing the Dharma” shows up as Section 2 in “Paying Respect to the Dharma.” Its imbrication with other category-titles suggest how the practice of preaching dharma both enabled its collection by the councils in the past, and is enabled in the present and future by Buddhists’ continued collection efforts. Additionally, Daoshi’s *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures* integrates most of the materials from “Preaching and Hearing” into its version of “Paying Respect to the Dharma,” which includes “Preaching the Dharma” and “Hearing the Dharma” as its first two section-headings: the former practice can be envisioned as a species of the latter.¹⁶ The “Respect” in “Respect for the Dharma” finds corollary in the attention to “Rites” in “Preaching and Hearing” or the “Caution” in “Preservation”: these three units of text concern themselves with right thought and right action toward the Dharma. The frame of “paying respect” also reminds readers that dharma should be circulated from higher to lower beings and from teacher to students. This disposition is echoed in section titles like “Gifting the Dharma” or “Repaying Kindness” in “Preaching and Hearing,” and to the hierarchical ranking of dharma-preserving beings (“Bodhisattvas,” “Arhats,” “Monks and Nuns,” “Householders,” “God-Kings,” and “Ghosts”) titling the last six sections in “Preservation.” As “Paying Respect to the Dharma” features a section warning against “Defaming Dharma,” so does “Preaching and Hearing” admonish those who might imagine themselves or others “Contravening Dharma.” Contrariwise, “Preaching and Hearing” features a section on the “Benefits” of preaching the Dharma, while “Paying Respect to the

¹⁵ T no. 2122.j11.371b07. The short section (a single *Taishō* page) even ends with an interlineal commentarial note that “the Benefits of Preaching [the heading of the final subsection] are extensively explained in many *pi-an*-chapters” 廣明說益，備在諸篇。

¹⁶ “Councils” and “Preservation” were apparently deemed not “essential” enough for *Collected Essentials*.

Dharma” advertises a section on how the eponymous action may “Stimulate Fortune”—and its forty-one miracle tales comprise corresponding proofs. Finally, “Preaching and Hearing” and “Preservation” share quotes whose text literally overlaps: Items Q.20 and R.14 feature passages from the *Buddha Treasury Scripture* which warn against monastics preaching poorly (out of ignorance, arrogance, or love of own voice); and Items Q.27 and R.11 from the *Nirvana* on the necessity of preaching the *Nirvana* in the right place, in the right time, with serious deportment.

All four chapters collect quotations from scriptural sources across the “Two Vehicles” and “Three Baskets,”¹⁷ and “Councils” especially thematizes the differences in moments of canon-formation described by the regulations (*lǜ* 律) versus the treatises (*lun* 論) (O.2). The sources do not seem to be cited in any predictable order, not by vehicle or basket, not by date of presumed authorship or translation, not by length or shape of excerpt;¹⁸ but there do exist “runs” of one kind of excerpt, like Items Q.2–6 of Chapter 16 from “Selected Quotes” of “Preaching and Hearing,” which produces a series of verses from mostly “Great Vehicle” treatise-literature, or Items P.2–5 from “Section 2: Hearing the Dharma” of “Chapter 7: Paying Respect to the Dharma,” which presents four narratives of animals hearing the Dharma from “Lesser Vehicle” scriptures. Cited excerpts from the same source may be interspersed over a chapter or even a sec-

¹⁷ Over sixty scriptures are cited across these four chapters for 128 scriptural quotes. As described in Chapter One, because of the diverse ways *A Grove of Pearls* cites and quotes materials from scriptures, it is difficult to “count” scriptural quotes precisely. In *DTNDL*, Daoxuan classifies Buddhist scriptures into seven or eight total categories, depending on the subcatalog: Subcatalogs 2 and 4 count the Three Baskets across Two Vehicles and add Records for a total of seven, while Subcatalog 3 breaks both “Great Vehicle” and “Lesser Vehicle Scriptures” into “translated once” or “translated many times,” and incorporates scriptures that would be classified under “Great Vehicle Regulations” into the “Great Vehicle Scriptures” catalogs for a total of eight. Of the eight-hundred scriptures listed in Daoxuan’s “Entered into Baskets” catalog, the minority of them were Regulations (around thirty if only Lesser Vehicle is counted, or around sixty for both vehicles), Treatises (around one hundred total), and Records (around fifty). This leaves two-thirds of the scriptures (around 600), around two-thirds of which (around 400) are classified as “Great Vehicle.” Using Daoxuan’s bibliographic categories, “Lesser Vehicle Treatises” is the least represented category among these chapters, with a single quotation from *Truth Accomplishment Treatise* (Q.44). Many “life of the Buddha” or “metaphor scriptures” quoted by Daoshi that might be considered “Lesser Vehicle Scriptures” were classified by Daoxuan as “holy records and collections.” For more on *DTNDL*, see Chapter Seven.

¹⁸ The “latest” scripture cited in these four chapters would be Xuanzang’s translation of the *Great Prajñā Scripture* (T no. 220, tr. 660–663), included as Item P.27; it sits in the same section as Kumārajīva’s translation of the *Greater [Prajñāpāramitā] Scripture* (T no. 223, tr. in 404), which Xuanzang’s translation claimed to update and supersede. There is another excerpt from a recent Xuanzang translation (R.29), and the Xuanzang translations do not appear in Daoxuan’s specialty catalogs. Many of the miracle tales included in “Paying Respect to the Dharma” and Daoxuan’s visionary record take note of events that occurred in the 650s and 660s as well.

tion; “Preservation” cites *Nirvana* five times, and two of those instances are unique for having collected a series of multiple passages from the same scripture under a single citation (R.6 and R.10). While there exist many instances of quotations from popular, well-studied scriptures like the *Lotus*, *Adornment*, *Nirvana*, or *Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom*, many other “minor” scriptural traditions are quoted as well.¹⁹ There also exist many instances where a no-longer extant scripture (considered ‘suspicious’ even in contemporary catalogs) has been quoted (O.3; P.17; P.25; P.29; R.35),²⁰ where the wrong scripture appears to have been cited because the quote can be located in another extant title (Q.5; Q.8; Q.25; Q.26; R.10), or where no extant source for a passage can be located (O.4; P.15). Far from suggesting that one Buddhist text or set of Buddhist texts were universally authoritative with respect to others,²¹ the collection of quotes represented in *A Grove of Pearls* and other anthologies suggest that various Buddhist texts—more specifically, various excerpts from those texts—were considered locally authoritative with respect to multiple aims and audiences.

Content-wise, the chapters present dharma in both its precious mineral and cultivated plant guises—something unchanging, solidly permanent as well as something infinitely adaptable and worth adapting to handle changing circumstance. A few quotes call to mind these metaphorical framings that resonate with the title and preface of *A Grove of Pearls*, but the chapters mostly discuss dharma in its material specificity as writings or sounds that could be accumulated, lost,

¹⁹ The *Scripture on the Heroic Kings of All Dharmas* (see Item Q.46), six Taishō pages long on a single fascicle, might be the shortest extant scripture quoted in these four chapters. The six-hundred fascicle *Great Prajñā Scripture* is the largest extant scripture quoted (see Item P.27). While a few of the scriptures cited are known for their size (and listed near the beginning of Daoxuan’s “Entered into Baskets” catalog, which lists scriptures in a category from longest to shortest), the great majority of scriptures cited are multi-fascicle works.

²⁰ *Treatise of Diamond Immortal* and *Scripture on the Incarnation of Śāriputra* are simply not mentioned by Daoxuan in his catalog to my knowledge; *Scripture on Paying Respect and Merit*, *Treatise on Ananda’s Requesting the Precepts*, and *Record of the Bowl* were singled out by him as “suspicious.”

²¹ The position that single Buddhist texts held authority over others is likely an exaggerated stereotype of positions held by Chinese exegetes, undermined by both their hierarchical inclusion of “lesser teachings” and their actual citational practices. The form of anthologies, however, I would argue, presents a different perspective on scriptures’ relationships to one another than a commentary or *panjiao*, where various scriptural titles and genres find appear to be on relatively equal footing. In contradistinction especially to Daoxuan’s commentaries on regulations literature or Daoshi’s no longer extant collected commentarial notes on the *Diamond*, the anthologies appear ecumenical.

destroyed, and followed. It appears as physical, written texts in only a few locations:²² a subsection of miracle tales of “Paying Respect to the Dharma” that focus on written scriptures as magical objects (see notes to “Accounts of Stimulus-Response” in Appendix P) and as full, multilingual collections preserved as kalpa-enduring relics installed in otherworldly stūpas described in Daoxuan’s heavenly communication record (see O.15). For the most part, dharma in these excerpts is presented as an aural intangible, a wisdom communicated from teachers to students through the acts of “Preaching and Hearing,” as framed by the title-heading of Chapter 16. In point of fact, writing down or copying scripture is presented as one of several enumerated modes of “paying respect to the Dharma” alongside listening to it, reciting it, explaining it, and praising it (see P.10; P.12; and P.13). Even “Preservation” describes the Dharma that kings, monastics, bodhisattvas, and arhats preserve as surviving through its correct preaching (“Section 4: Preaching and Hearing”) and practice, especially as reflected in upholding of monastic precepts. Far less than obsession with fixing dharma in its correct written forms, these chapters express concern for its historical and continued circulation and application: “collections,” written down or in the memory of a supernatural being, are contingent and potentially useful depending on circumstance, merely manifestations of a more global call to spread, teach, and preserve the Dharma. In sum, the chapters’ contents envision dharma in dialectic: it extends outward from the minds and bodies of arhats and bodhisattvas, and is preached and worshipped; it becomes apprehended through these words and deeds, and drawn inward, is materialized and canonized. The chapters’ anthological form interpellates its readers as readers of collection: witness the various ways dharma comes together so it can be variously preached, worshipped, and upheld.

²² See Bumbacher 2012 for an important study of the practices and beliefs surrounding magical writing in medieval Chinese religions, especially the final third of the study that focuses on scripturality across Buddhist and Daoist traditions. Even as Bumbacher concludes that it is “difficult to avoid the impression that almost the entire complex of Daoist notions about scriptures was in some way or another modeled on Buddhist patterns” (176), he suggests how most elements of the “cult of the book” precede and exceed developments in scriptural thought and practice under the banners of either Buddhism or Daoism.

2. “Paying Respect to the Dharma” through Devotion

As a listener, receiver, or conservator of dharma, one aims to pay it strict and ample reverence, no matter how little or denatured it may appear; as a preacher of the Dharma, however, these chapters suggest that one has greater freedom—indeed, one is obliged to exercise this freedom—to teach, adapt, or withhold teachings given the political and pedagogic exigencies of the moment. The parallel-prose introductions to these chapters thematize this and other fruitful oppositions: Daoshi’s “Explaining the Meaning” for “Councils” reproduces the first lines from Sengyou’s catalog preface that adequate between the Buddha’s “one sound” (*yiyin* 一音) or “non-dual silence” (*buer moxun* 不二默訓) with the “Twelve Divisions” (*shier... bu* 十二部) and “Eighty-Thousand Gates” (*bawan... men* 八萬門) of the Dharma (O.1); his “Explaining the Meaning” for “Paying Respect to the Dharma” reproduces Huijiao’s essay on a category of eminent monk he names “Chanters” (*songjing* 誦經), which also rhymes the formless, nirvanic “silent extinction unmoving” (*jimie budong* 寂滅不動) with the diversely named, active “stimulation that connects” (*gan er suitong* 感而遂通) and juxtaposes “a single verse of four [characters] is difficult to hear; the fire of treble thousand [universes] is easy to enter” (*yisi zhi ju nanwen; sanqian zhi huo yiru* 一四之句難聞，三千之火易入.) (P.1).²³ Daoshi reckons dharma by versifying with numbers: as a singular, contained entity (a verse, a sound) it is worth dedicating one’s life to it, and as a varied, changing function it may also be useful to understand and reproduce its traces. So do lines like these justify the project of anthological collection: a single category and its multiple sources, amenable to a host of situations yet rooted in the singular silence; any verse contained therein may be sufficient for salvation, while the sum of all the quotes is insufficient to portray the Dharma in its full glory.

The first eight anecdotes reproduced in “Paying Respect to the Dharma” each exemplify a singularity in characters’ focus on the Dharma, but collectively illustrate its multiplicity. Under “Hearing the Dharma,” an elephant, two parrots, a bird, and a frog overhear Buddhists preaching

²³ See Chapter Three, Part 4 for a close reading of Daoshi’s *shuyi*.

and are reborn in heaven (P.2–5),²⁴ and under “Seeking the Dharma” protagonists sell their body parts in exchange for half- and full gāthās from their teachers (P.7–9). These stories illustrate how seeking very small amounts of dharma with great intensity, and overhearing any amount of dharma, would have gigantic karmic consequences. Additional passages from *Nirvana* and *Adornment* promise heavenly rebirth for hearing a scripture’s title, and aver that hearing one phrase or one verse from a scripture is greater than receiving a trichiliocosm of jewels or the seat of the universal ruler (P.21 and P.22 respectively).²⁵ The miracle tales appended to the chapter also represent a diversity of actors revering a diversity of scriptures in many single-minded ways (see notes to Accounts of Stimulus-Response). As passages from *Lotus* or *Nirvana* often single out the scriptures they are cited from as target for cultic devotion, other passages are less specific (for instance, *Universal Dazzlement* refers to a wise person who hears “this scripture” (*shi jing-dian* 是經典, P.10), so do the Accounts of Stimulus-Response often but not always identify the specific scriptural titles conferring benefits (*Lotus*, *Nirvana*, *Adornment*, *Diamond* are the most popular). As a gestalt of decontextualized quotes sharing a single category-chapter, however, “Paying Respect to the Dharma” would seem to offer a general lesson that it is good of itself and repays karmic dividends to pay respect to any amount of dharma, from any source, by hearing, seeking, reading, copying, or explaining it. A more discriminating reader of the chapter may draw her own lessons from the collection: she might emphasize passages about animals hearing the Dharma, be attracted to *Flower Adornment* passages that tout the virtues of the *Flower Adornment*, or want passages exclusively about how mothers pregnant with great preachers are capable of reciting scriptures (P.16–18).

²⁴ A dog under the bed overhears the Dharma and becomes a nun in the following life in “Preaching and Hearing,” Item Q.65.

²⁵ Passages that share the “even a single verse” (*yisi juji* 一四句偈) formula in “Chapter 16: Preaching and Hearing” (Appendix Q) include Items 32, 38, and 48.

3. “Preaching and Hearing” the Dharma with Discrimination

“Chapter 16: Preaching and Hearing” offers a different perspective on the Dharma. Its excerpts reason not through stories but through principles. Delivering the right sermon at the right time is an important theme for “Preaching and Hearing”: because of the chapter’s encouragement of interpretive freedom, some passages could be read as contradicting the message offered by “Paying Respect to the Dharma.” Rather, “Preaching and Hearing” portrays discriminating wisdom on the part of a preacher as a local expression of the greater virtue of devotion to the Dharma. Under “Seeking the Dharma” in “Paying Respect to the Dharma,” for instance, the story from the *Combined Jewel-Treasury Scriptures* (P.6) explains how a brilliant woman who “deeply believed in the Three Jewels” (*shenxin sanbao* 深信三寶) sincerely asked a senile old bhikṣu she fed to preach the Dharma to her. The bhikṣu knew he was too stupid to preach and returned wordlessly to his monastery, but as a result of this action the woman learned about impermanence, suffering, and emptiness and “entered the stream” to her eventual liberation. From the perspective of the “seeker,” the strength of her devotion overcomes her inability to pick a smart teacher of the Dharma. From the perspective of the “provider,” on the other hand, the passages in “Preaching and Hearing” warn their reader against tolerating the preaching of idiots who do not know what they are doing (Q.11 and Q.16).²⁶ The story of the senile bhikṣu emphasizes devotion while the admonishing passages encourage discretion in order to preserve the rectitude of the Dharma.²⁷ The third and fifth sections on “Rites” and “Discriminating Audiences” contain passages that suggest careful attention to preaching as a ritual performance and require preachers and hearers to take decorum seriously: appropriate sequence of mental and bodily movements for “ascending the seat” are discussed (Q.13; Q.14; Q.23; Q.33); prohibitions against frivolity, noise, impurities,

²⁶ The first passage from *Scripture on the Original Activities of the Buddha* (Q.16) suggests that “one ought to select somebody who can read script and have complete discrimination to preach the Dharma” 應選擇文字分明具足辯才者說法. If one does not choose an intelligent sermonizer, the sermons will become progressively stupider with every new selection.

²⁷ Notably too, the old bhikṣu in the *Combined Jewel-Treasury Scriptures* story is described as “knowing himself” (*zizhi* 自知) unable to preach the Dharma before silently refusing.

and heterodox teachings are inveighed (Q.13–16, Q.19); certain audiences, places, moments, and requests to preach must be rejected out of hand (Q.24–28).²⁸ From the preacher’s perspective, the listener must be deemed worthy and serious (Q.24 and Q.25); “slighting” (*qing* 輕) the preacher or occasion “extinguishes the Buddha-dharma” (*fanmie Fofa* 反滅佛法, Q.27). Rather than promoting indiscriminate, boundary-confounding devotion to the Dharma on the part of its worshipper, these passages command respect and reverence for the Dharma by asking the preacher to exercise his capacity for exercising caution and maintaining purity.

Other excerpts request the preacher to make careful discriminations regarding the complexity of the message being preached with respect to audience capacity.²⁹ A short excerpt from the *Nirvana* suggests that the “Great Vehicle [teachings] are the sweet dew, but it is also called poison; for those who digest it, it is sweet dew; for those who do not, it becomes poison” (Q.10, with Q.11 corroborating). Additionally, “Section 6: Gradual and Sudden” pairs excerpts from “Lesser Vehicle” and “Great Vehicle” scriptures (Q.34 and Q.35, from a parable collection and the *Adornment* respectively) to suggest that many audiences might require conventionally expressed “skillful means” that speak partial truths. The terms “gradual and sudden” often appear in medieval Chinese scriptural exegesis where *panjiao* expresses a thinker’s understanding of the Buddha’s diverse teachings in relationship to metaphysical realities; in Daoshi’s anthologies, the terms mark out scriptural passages for preachers to preach to their audiences about levels of layers in teaching.³⁰ In the section anthologizing quotes on the Buddha’s own “Preaching the Dharma,” excerpts gathered under the section-headings “Reaching Occasion/Capacities” (*fuji* 訃機) and “Benefits of Preaching” (*shuoyi* 說益) had already multiplied the sermons, audiences, and teachings of the Buddha, showing him to be a consummate, discriminating preacher of the

²⁸ The “Preaching and Hearing” section of the chapter on “Preservation” also begins with rejecting wrong times and places to preach; a quote from the *Nirvana* (R.11) partially overlaps the quote from *Nirvana* listed below (Q.27).

²⁹ For a discussion of how the biographers of *Eminent Monks* conceived of “discrimination” (*biancai* 辯才 *prati-bhāna*) with respect to the specialties of “hymnody” (*jingshi* 經師), “sermonizing” (*changdao* 唱導), “non-Buddhist studies” (*waixue* 外學), and other “various virtues of voice” (*zake shengde* 雜科聲德) see Guodeng 1992, 184–94.

³⁰ Mun 2005 sees these terms emerge in *panjiao* schemes as early as the fifth century.

law.³¹ so too might a reader of “Preaching and Hearing” be offered passages to interpret himself as a discriminating listener or teacher of the Dharma in the model of the Buddha’s earliest audiences or the Buddha himself.

“Preaching and Hearing” reproduces passages that could be employed to both justify anthological practice and caution against anthologizing poorly. The three excerpts I discuss below (Q.16; Q.47; Q.20) take different positions on how preachers may safeguard the Dharma as they preach it: the first allows extraction and recombination of scripture on principle, the second promotes faithful circulation over hoarding of saving words, while the third cautions against malicious reordering of scriptural text. First, the final lines of an excerpt from *Scripture on the Original Activities of the Buddha* (Q.16) describe how:

Once some bhikṣus summarized meanings from the scriptures in order to proselytize, but not according to sequence. Then the bhikṣus were ashamed and afraid that they had contravened the scriptures and regulations, and took this matter up to address the Buddha. Then the Buddha told the bhikṣus, “I will allow for the sake of convenience the taking of essential meanings from the scriptures and the [re-]fixing of phrases in order to preach the Dharma. This is only the retrieval of meanings, not the destruction of the scriptural root.”

...時諸比丘取經中要略義味而為化說，不依次第。於時比丘慚愧恐怖，慮違經律，具以白佛。於時佛告諸比丘言：「我許隨便於諸經中擇取要義，安比文句，為人說法。但取中義，莫壞經本。」³²

³¹ See *T* no. 2122.j11.370a26–371b07. Another interesting passage concerning “skillful means” appears as the second section heading under “Chapter 99: Miscellaneous Essentials,” *T* no. 2122.j99.1013a24–1013d25, titled “The Four Reliances,” which mostly reproduces an essay attributed to Daoxuan in *Buddhist Rites on Taking Refuge and Paying Respect*, *Shimen guijing yi*, *T* no. 1896.860b04–861b06. On the Four Reliances as a proof-text for Buddhist hermeneutic flexibility, see Lamotte 1988a and Lopez 1988b.

³² *T* no. 2122.j23.460a01–02; *T* no. 190.j50.884a29–b02.

This passage shows both monks and the Buddha articulating concern for the integrity of the “scriptural root” (*jingben* 經本): but neither summary, nor presentation out of sequence, nor extraction from multiple scriptures are cases for the Buddha’s concern. He permits it all for the “sake of convenience” (*suibian* 隨便) in “preaching the Dharma,” and implies that meanings being extracted from scriptures for performative use does not necessarily undermine the goal of preserving original scriptures in sequence and intact.

Second, the final excerpt from “Section 7: Gifting the Dharma,” citing the *Vibhāṣa Treatise on the Ten Abodes* (Q.47), lists four proscriptive “methods” (*fa* 法) that bodhisattva-practitioners ought to avoid so as not to lose wisdom, followed by four prescriptive “methods” for continually practicing wisdom once one has achieved it. The first pair of methods recommends “paying respect to the Dharma and the Dharma preacher”³³ and the second proscribes “hiding and being stingy with the essential dharma” (*yu yaofa mini linxi* 於要法祕匿悒惜) and prescribes “preaching to others just as one has heard the Dharma or has recited it, with pureness of mind and not to seek profit” (*rusuo wenfa ji suo dusong, wei taren shuo, qi xin qingjing, bu qiu liyang* 如所聞法及所讀誦，為他人說，其心清淨，不求利養).³⁴ As in the *Original Activities* excerpt, reverence for dharma is pursued through an ethics of sincere publicity and concern for the Dharma being taught well. Under the section-heading of “dharma as gift,” the *Ten Abodes* quotation follows a host of of additional quotations encouraging preachers and hearers of the Dharma to conceptualize preaching as the most special of offerings. One pays respect to it not by hoarding it but by sharing it and putting it into practice: to share and receive it well, the *Ten Abodes* quote goes on to suggest that wisdom depends on “broad learning” (*duowen* 多聞) and “diligent seeking” (*qinqiu* 勤求), and that one ought to “keep and not forget the Dharma just as one has heard; value practicing what is preached, and do not value the [mere] preaching of

³³ That is, the excerpt first proscribes “not paying respect to the Dharma and the Dharma preacher” and then prescribes “paying respect to the Dharma and the Dharma preacher.”

³⁴ See also Daoshi’s comment (Q.41) on his excerpt from *Scripture of Golden Light* (Q.40): “if in fearing that others will surpass you you do not preach dharma [you possess but have no use for others’ knowing it], then in the future you yourself will not hear the Dharma” 恐他勝已祕而不說，則自未來常不聞法。

words” (*rusuo wenfa, shouchi buwang; gui ru shuoxing, bugui yanshuo* 如所聞法，受持不忘。貴如說行，不貴言說).³⁵ Imaginably, anthologies like *A Grove of Pearls* could be read as reflecting and promoting attitudes of publicizing the Dharma in the thoughtful, reverential manner that these quotes encourage.

Finally, a passage from *Buddha Treasury Scripture* under “Contravening Dharma” reproduces the Buddha’s warning to Śāriputra over deceptive preachers of a “future time” (*danglai* 當來) (Q.20): aside from their excessive love for “reading non-Buddhist scriptures” (*du wai[dao]jing* 讀外道經), ornamented diction, and fame, their “language is without sequence and extracts passages from all over” (*yan wu cidi, chuchu chaocuo* 言無次第處處抄撮). In the Buddha’s lifetime, according to the *Original Activities* passage translated above, the first preachers feared their preaching’s lack of “sequence” and the distorting effects of extraction that decontextualizes and scriptural mixing that recontextualizes, but the Buddha assuaged them; the quotation from *Buddha Treasury Scripture* just a few pages further down the scroll suggests that scriptural distortion and mixing may also be signs of damaged and damaging dharma in a fallen age. The passage supplies corroborating context for making this negative judgment however: bad Buddhists with bad motives who also read bad books. By contrast, the bhikṣus in *Original Activities* extracted, mixed, and reordered with pure intentions. Reading these two passages together, audiences of *A Grove of Pearls* might pause to consider the circumstances and motives of its compilers, the compilers of alternate anthologies, and themselves as potential anthologists. What are our goals? Do we live in fallen or blessed times? In preaching or copying scriptural excerpts in preparation for preaching, how ought one exercise one’s interpretive freedom? Do the mediations of writing on paper, vetted anthology, and careful scriptural citation offer a reader guarantees that the *Grove of Pearls* before them is not an example of irrevocably damaged dharma of

³⁵ The third and fourth prescriptions can be read to counterbalance the third and fourth proscriptions: do not obstruct others’ enjoyment and hearing of the Dharma, do not harbor arrogance and think oneself better than others. “Value practice not words” is reminiscent of the second of the “Four Reliances” to “rely on meaning not words” 依義不依語; see note 31 above.

the future age? Even the former excerpt from *Original Activities* suggests that some degree of anxiety is appropriate, even if the call to disseminate is ultimately decisive.

4. “Preservation” of the Dharma through Discipline

The chapter on “Preservation” is not surprisingly awash in anxiety. The opening lines to its “explaining the meaning” (R.1) suggest that the Dharma’s “preservation” (*zhuchi* 住持) or “perseverance” (*jiuzhu* 久住) are conditional upon people upholding it: “preservation” should not be read as a stative verb describing how the Dharma “eternally abides,” as one might expect from a chapter that quotes the *Nirvana* so often; rather, “preserve” is an active verb that takes the Dharma as its object. It begins:

Now, the Dharma does not propagate itself, propagating it is people; people circulate perversity and righteousness, but the Dharma expels peoples’ errors.³⁶ Wishing to preserve the Three Jewels, it is necessary that the practice of virtue is internally developed: the teaching and the regulations as a single principle should both be first memorized and investigated. Not fearing toil and suffering, and not addicting oneself to reputation and fame, one may cause monastics and laypeople near and far to delight in its seizure. Practitioners of the realm may worship it and advance their karma; black- and white-[clad monastics and laypeople] mutually depend on one another, and dharma obtains its perseverance.³⁷

夫 法不自弘，弘之在人；
 人通邪正，法逐人訛。
將欲 住持三寶，必須德行內充。

³⁶ Buddhists had long appropriated *Analects* 15.29 for their own uses.

³⁷ T no. 2122.j30.505c24–28.

律教一宗，兼先諳究。
不憚勞苦，不好聲譽，
令 遐邇道俗，欣心有據。
界中行者，慕崇進業；
緇素相依，法得久住。

The Dharma in this “explaining the meaning” only persists so long as people respect and conform to it: “propagation” (*hong*), “memorization and investigation” (*anjiu*), and “worship” (*mu-chong*) are contingent upon one another and the “practice of virtue” (*dexing*). Everything will fall apart if individual monks and sanghas relax in their duties or delight in their status: if they keep true to teachings and regulations, the Dharma can correct and protect as it was intended. The essay continues by building off lines from the *Four-Part Regulations* that promise “causing the Dharma to persevere” (*ling fa jiuzhu* 令法久住) if the vinaya is kept and “causing the Dharma to quickly extinguish” (*ling fa sumie* 令法速滅) if it is broken, following this by presenting twin portraits in sequence of the Sangha in corrupt shambles or in vigorous health. The “explaining the meaning” foreshadows two major themes of the chapter: a dharma in decline as the consequence of monks taking on all manner of forbidden roles, and descriptions of persons (and other anthropomorphic beings) protecting the Dharma against heavy odds. Its “Section 2: Governing Regulations” depict nasty consequences for the Dharma as a result of state interference in the “internal development” of monastic regulations, the next two sections on “Caution” and “Preaching and Hearing” depict monastics not conforming to discipline and preaching unscrupulously, and the following six sections describe the Buddha instructing various kinds of beings to preserve the Dharma after he goes to nirvana and to endure to the age of Maitreya. Some of these excerpts make reference to Kāśyapa’s councils—the *Kāśyapa Scripture* has him pleading with the Buddha to remain for another kalpa on account of his unworthiness to carry on (R.22) and the *Scripture of Dharma-Treasury Transmission* (R.26) has him transmit the council’s

dharma to Ānanda and onto a lineage of patriarchs through Siṃha and entering a “five billion, six-hundred seventy million year-long” meditative trance of extinction to carry out the transmission of the Dharma to Maitreya. Others offered reassuring perspectives to monastics attempting to hold the regulations that gods, ghosts, arhats, and bodhisattvas in the form of animals were engaged in the same project of preserving the Dharma as they were.

With regard to the roles of monastics, “Preaching and Hearing” constitutes an important site for preserving the Dharma, as the title of the fourth section would indicate. Among these quotations reappears the passage from the *Buddha Treasury Scripture* warning monastics about “extracting passages from all over” also featured in “Contravening Dharma” (compare Q.20 with R.14). In the section “Preaching and Hearing” from fascicle 30, passages from *Nirvana* and *Lotus* castigate fake monks for preaching bad dharma badly; and an additional citation of *Nirvana* introduces eight passages from *Nirvana* and two passages from *Buddha Treasury Scripture* in the preceding section on “Caution,” listing other fulminations against corrupt, hypocritical monastics who seek fame over rectitude (R.10). The *Nirvana* passage that begins the “Preaching and Hearing” section warns against the “receiving, reciting, copying, and [especially] preaching” of the scripture “at the wrong moment, in the wrong country, uninvited, with a careless mind, indiscriminately (*chuchu* 處處, literally ‘in any place’), to talk oneself up, to put down others, to extinguish the Buddha-dharma, or to burn up the worldly dharmas”: to do so weakens the Dharma because would-be doubters would assume that the *Nirvana* does not possess the “power” (*weili* 威力) it and its preservers tout (R.11).³⁸ The passage articulates the *Nirvana*’s fear of overexposure and profanation thereby: it offers anthology-readers ammunition for reading the successes of other preachers suspiciously, as well as license to interrogate their own motivations for and circumstances surrounding their own preaching practice. This *Nirvana* passage is followed by a second *Nirvana* quote describing how in an unspecified post-nirvana time, monastics will eschew the Dharma and the precepts for profit and pleasure, elaborating a metaphor whereby monastics

³⁸ See discussion above on how the passage has already appeared in Chapter 16 as Item 27 (see Appendix Q).

“trade sandalwood for common wood... gold for brass... silver for solder... silk for coarse wool... and sweet dew for poison” (R.12).³⁹ In both quotes “preservation” of the Dharma is effected through fierce conservatism: discrimination in preaching in the first place, and refusal to “trade” (*maoyi* 貿易) one’s reputation for comfort in the second place.

The myth of dilution had further been prepared by the *Nirvana* passage immediately preceding these two, the final one in “Caution” (R.10), discussed earlier in Chapter Four while explicating *chao*.⁴⁰ Here, latter-day monastics are figured first as “raiders” (*chaolüe* 抄掠/略) of the *Nirvana*, tearing excerpts from the full work, rearranging passages, adding decoration, and miscontextualizing them for their own selfish aims, and second as marketing “milkmaids” (*muniu nüren* 牧牛女人) who continually add water to their product until the consumer at the end of the supply chain has a product one-thousandth the flavor or meaning (*wei* 味) of the original. Ironically, the Dharma contained in the *Nirvana* is plentiful and potent enough so as to be over-sold; the real thing is available and represented accurately enough such that “many evil bhikṣus” (*duoyou exing biqu* 多有惡行比丘) can follow their lazy inclinations to divide the true dharma and propagate it indiscriminately and without actually understanding it. This specter of dharmic dispersal in the fallen age had also appeared in the final section of “Paying Respect to the Dharma” labeled “Defaming Dharma” (P.25–32), where various quotes had threatened future rebirths in hell and in other miserable bodies not only for those who make light of or directly slander the Dharma (P.29–32), but for those who accomplish the same aim by omitting (*xituo* 洗脫) or miscopying (*daocuo* 倒錯) words in writing scriptures down in haphazard, unserious fashion (P.25–27).⁴¹ Thus, improper mixing and misrepresenting scriptures as a topic for concern falls under categories of disrespecting and diluting dharma: to respect and preserve it, then, would be

³⁹ The paragraph that introduces this metaphor in the *Nirvana* is not copied in *A Grove of Pearls* and directly states that monastics in this period stupidly break precepts, enjoy disputing over and renouncing the Twelvelfold Scriptures while reading every kind of heterodox scripture (*T* no. 374.j26.521c09–10 or *T* no. 375.j24.766a11–13).

⁴⁰ See Chapter Four, note 30.

⁴¹ See Lowe 2017, 29–56, on “pure transcription” in scriptural precedent for Japanese copying practices.

to represent scriptures honestly, to transcribe them meticulously, and cite them accurately and discriminately. Perhaps because *A Grove* decides to quote these dilution passages under “Preservation” it can consider itself a tool for preserving dharma rather than a sign of its ruination.⁴² At any rate, proscriptive passages like these draw an equation between the preservation of Buddhist scripture with preservation of the Dharma, providing counterweight to prescriptive passages that recommend mixture, elaboration, and small exercises of discretion in the name of “skillful means” in order to preach effectively. Anthologies like *A Grove* could be imagined as following both masters: first, it preserves faithful copy and citation from multiple scriptures, segregated from other materials; and second, it excerpts, categorizes, collects, comments on, and appends non-scriptural materials to its scriptural quotes in order to set them on new trajectories it imagines to be effective.

The series of quotations that complete the “Preaching and Hearing” section of “Preservation” (R.15–21) could be read as proof-texts for the anthology’s critique of too much scriptural knowledge. The excerpt from the *Moon Treasury Scripture* (R.15) pivots from passages suggesting that bad monastics will sell out the Dharma for fame’s sake to criticize sentient beings who are “lovingly attached to recitation in search of bodhi” (*lezhu dusong qiu puti* 樂著讀誦求菩提), and the following passages describe supremely learned beings who in pursuit of acquiring Buddhist knowledge and spiritual progress fell to bad ends. In this vein, the following passage (R.16) citing the *Mahāyāna Great Jewel Adornment Scripture* suggests that the “broadly learned” (*duowen* 多聞) person who suffers defilements is like a medicine-bearing physician who cannot cure his own illness, and a “broadly learned” person who breaks precepts while wearing the robes and accepting offerings is like a dead man wearing gold jewelry; finally, the last few passages highlight how even as Bhikṣu Good Star of the *Nirvana* could recite the

⁴² As discussed earlier, however, the *Nirvana* passage concludes ironically: even the diluted milk contains something of the original and is infinitely better than nothing. As evidenced in Daoshi’s preface for *Collected Essentials* and other hints by Daoxuan, the two were not allergic to employing “final age” rhetoric to justify their efforts at collecting writing.

twelve-fold scriptures (R.19) and Devadatta of the *Great Perfection of Wisdom* could recite the 60,000 sections of dharmas (R.20), neither of the two figures “cultivated the path of skillful means to strike the true Buddha nature” (*bu xiu fangbian dao zhong zhen Foxing* 不修方便道中真佛性) and by neglecting to rid themselves of false views, Daoshi comments, they slandered the Thus-Come One and are reborn into Avīci Hell to limitless suffering (R.21). These passages reverberate with an earlier verse from the *Moon Lantern Samādhi Scripture* quoted under “Governing Regulations” (R.7):

Even if one widely recites the scriptures /
and relying on broad learning destroys prohibitions /
Broad learning is unable to rescue /
one from the sufferings of hell for breaking precepts.

雖廣讀眾經 恃多聞毀禁
多聞不能救 破戒地獄苦

For all of these chapters’ emphasis on broad learning as a prerequisite to respecting the Dharma, wise preaching, and preserving the fruits of the councils, a message underscored perhaps by the very form of the anthology itself, these quotes suggest that broad learning itself is not sufficient and perhaps even inimical to the practical functioning of the faith. Dharma, as Daoshi introduced the chapter, depends on individual people spreading it, and it is better for the collective good for individuals to make spiritual progress than for them to remain tethered to saṃsāra from their love of scholasticism. The goal of scriptural maintenance and mastery, after all, is its right application. Preserving the Dharma through its preaching requires not only preachers willing to honor the spirit and the letter of the texts they preach, but also to check their love of scholarship and self in order to comport themselves to the stringent specifications of the vinaya.

Even as the first half of “Preservation” communicates an anxiety that these qualifications may only be met through continual vigilance, its second half seems to offer assurance that a whole pantheon has been charged with keeping the teachings of the Buddha around and helping monastics maintain their precepts. Its description of the Buddha’s teaching over the long *durée* and into end times offers a reverse image to passages assembled in “Chapter 98: Extinction of the Dharma” (*famie*), and also echoes with Daoxuan’s vision of the early council’s work to provision sentient beings of the later ages with securely guarded and plentiful stores of scripture (O.15). Just as Daoshi reproduces section-headings named after supernatural beings enlisted in the project of the Dharma’s “Preservation,” so does Daoxuan imagine the Buddha, his arhat disciples, bodhisattvas like Maudgalyāyana, Samantabhadra, and Mañjuśrī, the Four Heavenly Kings, and the Dragon King Sāgara in a shared project of copying out, distributing, and protecting compilations of the Three Baskets from the age of the previous Buddha onto the end of time. Whether or not monastics manage to preserve the physical dharma, whether or not they successfully adapt it for their varied preaching efforts, the Dharma and its books will exist in perpetuity somewhere. Collection in its widest sense as described in Daoxuan’s vision underwrites narrower, more specific collection practices as governed by other passages discussed above, from the admonishment against individuals’ collecting stores of unapplied, memorizable knowledge under the seductions of “broad learning,” to the injunction for preachers to collect and apply (or withhold) different teachings for different audiences in the art of sermonizing. These various dimensions of “collection” also underwrite the *raison-d’être* of the anthology that brings all these passages together, under different categories for various purposes: additional reflection, reproduction, and explication.

The *Grove of Pearls* chapters profiled in this chapter take distinct but overlapping positions on realizing the Dharma a special, sacred object. Together they articulate an ethics of receiving and handling dharma wherein its collection can always be further elaborated. Who collected it?

By what means and for whom? A frog “collects” some dharma in its ears and is reborn in heaven; the Buddha’s disciples collected and canonized the scriptural traditions for the continuation of Buddhism; preachers collect scriptural passages to recite and explain; the Sangha “collects” itself, comporting to rigorous discipline in order to safeguard Buddhism in a lawless age. None of these general narratives depict collection as a good unto itself: dharma heard is dharma that liberates, and dharma stored can be dharma obeyed and dharma distributed. Collection is simply a means for devotion, discriminate application, and disciplining lives.

Just so are anthology chapters collections of scriptural . They attempt to plot uses and destinations for texts. By delineating how a variety of materials are arranged under logics of *leishu*, I suggested how desires for passages on particular topics guided composition and reading. But beneath every chapter- and section-heading was prepared a panoply of quotes from diverse sources responding to diverse problems. The anthology manages the Buddhist canon into new ordered collections, but readers still have to manage the anthology chapter for themselves.

Chapter Seven: Collecting Dharma II—Reading Catalog and Canon with Daoxuan

The following chapter examines how Daoxuan describes two subcatalogs within his *Catalog of the Inner Books of the Great Tang* (*Da Tang neidian lu*, T no. 2149). It follows a process of collection parallel to that of anthologization: Daoxuan's bibliographic project overlapped with and made possible Daoshi's *Grove of Pearls*. Like Chapters 2 and 3, this chapter translates and interprets prefaces to vast collection projects. In turn, the anthologies of Southern Liang scholar-monks Sengyou and Baochang overlapped with and were made possible by these same monks' cataloging projects, like Sengyou's *A Collection of Records on the Production of the Three Baskets* (*Chu sanzang jiji*, T no. 2145), a continual touchstone for this study. But even as they turned to Liang scholar-monks' collections for inspiration and material, Daoshi and Daoxuan devised new solutions for the early Tang. Just as Daoshi the anthologist drew on even more scriptures than its Liang predecessors to produce *A Grove of Pearls*, Daoxuan the cataloger too had to reckon with even more scriptures as a practical matter. This chapter interprets Daoxuan's composition of short, newly useable catalogs as practicing scriptural economy.

1. Scriptural Economy in Catalog Forewords

Chinese Buddhist anthologies can rightly claim as ancestors genres such as non-Buddhist Chinese *leishu* and other collections. And textual practices like enumerating, sorting, extracting, and collecting have storied non-Chinese Buddhist precedents. But perhaps the genre that can best contextualize the Chinese Buddhist anthology is the Chinese Buddhist catalog. Catalogs resemble anthologies in calling attention to and making use of the diversity and breadth of the Chinese Buddhist scriptural traditions. They employ tables of contents and nested categories to facilitate many kinds of readings. And they encourage users to develop pragmatic awareness of the Dharma as textual media that needed translators, kings, and catalogers to make it available, and needs

preachers to propagate it. As previous scholars of Chinese Buddhist catalogs have argued, catalogs may claim to simply describe scriptures in their vast variety, but they in fact model performances of reckoning with scriptural proliferation. According to catalogers, anthologists, and other medieval bibliographers themselves, both catalogs and anthologies were “composed” (*zhuan* 撰), that is to say, products of tradition and selection as much as creative “authorship.”¹ Ultimately I argue that there is a kind of formal similarity between cataloging and anthologizing as medieval Chinese Buddhist practices—attempts to make scriptural totalities graspable through enumeration, partition and reassembly.

Previous surveys of Chinese Buddhist bibliography have often attended to two aspects of the work cataloging performs on a tradition—differentiating “spurious” scriptures from “authentic” ones by locating authors and origins for the latter, and negotiating the hierarchy among authentic scriptures by modifying classification schemes and relocating scriptures under new classifications. Buddhist bibliography in this light can be seen as explicitly theologically and politically motivated. Thus, a change in proportion of attributed scriptures to unattributed scriptures or a movement of scriptures between official and suspicious/forged categories may betoken a broadening or a tightening of canon. Likewise, a movement of a category like “Mahāyāna” or “scriptures” to the front of the catalog might signal shifts in the hierarchy of teachings. Even Fei Zhangfang’s decision to order scriptures by categorizing them “by dynastic period” (*lidai* 歷代) describes a rise in imperial authority vis-à-vis the Sangha’s authority.²

The main purpose of scriptural cataloging, however, was to present bibliographic information on the plethora of scriptural titles. If scriptures and treatises conveyed the speech of the Buddha and his brilliant followers, catalogs did not just preserve information but invited users to engage with it and even make more of it. As catalogers emphasized again and again in their

¹ *Zhuan*, to eulogize or compose, shares a phonetic component with *xuan* 選, to select or anthologize. The second-c. etymological dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* supposes, “*Zhuan* means ‘to focus on teaching.’ One who focuses on teaching, focuses singularly and teaches it.” 專教也，專教者、專壹而教之也. *SWJZZ*, 183.

² Storch 2014, 102; 2015, 122.

prefaces and paratext, their work was the result of both collection and research, and it was meant to facilitate further collection and research: each subsequent cataloger adopted this perspective from his predecessors, building and citing from them as they had with their own predecessors. The ultimate end of such historically conscious and forward-thinking bibliography would be to promote widespread, better-informed use of Buddhist scriptures. Culling out forgery and creating authenticity were two important functions of this broader project of scriptural economy, but they were not the totality of it.

Catalogs were designed to present information for use. Whereas lists of the titles of scriptures can be found in scriptures themselves, their commentaries, and the hagiographies of the great translators and exegetes, lists of scriptures in catalog format distinguished themselves in terms of page layout, each entry (often by title) beginning a new line on the scroll. In an age when every inch of paper was precious, the blank space of the catalog register connoted luxury, and allowed for more efficient consultative reading. Beyond this, they invited marking on the page and emendation as well.³ To be sure, catalogs were taken to be complete, “authored” works, and were cited as such by later catalogers. On the other hand, however, authorial prefaces presaged the future correction and clarification of their research, and received catalog texts reflect the hallmarks of continued revision both within and beyond the lifespan of the cataloger.⁴ Whether users thought them to be emendable or not, catalogs spoke authoritatively to readers who sought to find and use many scriptures in concert with knowledge made transparent through catalog.

At the beginning of his preface to a recent volume on *Spreading the Buddha’s Word in East Asia: The Formation and Transformation of the Chinese Buddhist Canon* (2015), Lewis Lancaster defends the conceit of the “Chinese Buddhist canon” against those who have em-

³ For notes on the variety of practical catalogs and notational markings, see Fang 1993, 94-101.

⁴ Addenda can be detected when they contain information that dates post-compilation or when they are awkwardly interposed; deletions and more seamless addenda may be impossible to detect.

ployed a “‘hermeneutics of suspicion’... [and] ‘postmodern’ attitude” to devalue the importance of its study. The hermeneutics of suspicion often made helpful correctives through their critiques, aiding other scholars in triangulating with greater precision how and when “reading,” “scripture,” and “canon” become central to the life of religious practitioners. For his own part, Lancaster champions an approach that negotiates “canon” not merely as an “object” but as a recurrent historical “event” involving multiple actors, audiences, and motivations.⁵ With this perspective, a catalog preface can be read as a record of a “canon event,” such that Daoxuan’s catalog prefaces may become witnesses to discrete, physical collections of scrolls that were brought together in the early Tang Dynasty at specific monastic sites. But these catalog prefaces also testify to the imagination of canon that catalogers and their audiences sought to encourage. The collections of Buddhist scriptures that Chinese Buddhists could read about in catalog prefaces claimed identity with (1) the mythic, literary “canons” a Chinese Buddhist could read about in select translated scriptures; (2) large numbers of physical scrolls that were already or could be collected in libraries; and (3) the immaterial, dharmic totality which the Buddha taught, which various councils of his immediate disciples vouchsafed and which had been conserved in oral and written forms across multiple universes.⁶ Not just for post-postmodern Buddhologists like Lancaster, but for catalogers like Daoxuan, too, then, “canon” was contingent, context-dependent, and multiple. And by attending to the layout and prefaces to Daoxuan’s catalog, we can more closely approximate what kind of object a particular “Chinese Buddhist canon” is imagined to be and how the reader of a catalog may be enjoined to interact with it.

Daoxuan’s *Catalog of the Inner Books Inner Books of the Great Tang (Da Tang neidian lu 大唐內典錄, T no. 2149)* was compiled at the same time and place as Daoshi’s *Grove of Pearls*. It is in fact the only extant catalog from the Tang that cites *Grove of Pearls* by name,⁷

⁵ Lancaster 2015, xi–xv.

⁶ Wu 2013 focuses on Buddhist canon as a literary object across the genres of medieval translated scripture and Chinese traditions inspired by the former.

⁷ *FYZL* lists *DTNDL* as well in its hundredth fascicle, “Chapter 100: Records” (*zhuanji, T no. 2122.j100.1023c04*); significant portions of the “Records” chapter are also found in *DTNDL*.

which seems to slip off the radars of later Tang catalogers. Like several of Daoxuan's other compilations, it bills itself as a sequel to earlier Liang period works by Sengyou, Baochang, and Huijiao;⁸ it improves on these earlier works by not merely updating their content but also by rationalizing their format (subjecting fascicle and chapter number to multiples of ten, for instance).⁹ Beyond borrowing many entries, attributions, and essays from Fei Zhangfang's Sui Period *Records of the Three Jewels through the Ages* (*Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶記) T no. 2034, it employs its dual format, beginning with multiple fascicles of scriptural entries listed first under ruling dynasty and then by translator, and ending with catalogs organized by content. For *Records of the Three Jewels*, the first catalog of the work describes seventeen dynasties of scriptural production under nine fascicles (fascicles four through twelve, ~60 Taishō pages) and fascicles thirteen and fourteen listed scriptures by vehicle and basket (~11 Taishō pages). Daoxuan's *Inner Books* first covers eighteen dynasties in its first five fascicles (~64 Taishō pages) in its Catalog 1, and follows it with fascicles six and seven covering the "Great" and "Lesser Vehicles" respectively (~18 Taishō pages total) in its Catalog 2. Though the two kinds of catalog offer redundant information—an authorized scripture is likely to be found once in each catalog—they suggest readers coming to catalog entries with different kinds of questions. A consulter of a chronological catalog might be curious to see what other works were translated alongside the *Lotus* by the same translators at the same time and place, whereas a consulter of a subject catalog might well

⁸ The ninth catalog of Daoxuan's *Inner Books* provides a conspectus of previous catalogs, offering titles, summaries and tables of contents of previous works, surviving or otherwise T no. 2149.336a18–338a28. This practice, which continued on through the Kaiyuan and Zhenyuan catalogs, seems to have begun with Fei Zhangfang's *LDSBJ*, which concludes with an untitled list of previous catalogs' titles and tables of contents, following two postfaces and a table of contents of the first fourteen fascicles of catalog. T no. 2034.j15.125b24–127c17. See Storch 2015: 117, *idem.* for Fei Zhangfang's initiation of this tradition.

⁹ It also shares in common with the weighty compilations *GHMJ* and *XGSZ*, each in 30 fascicles, the structural feature of placing the larger of the ten chapters (*pian*) at the beginning of the work and the shorter chapters at the end. For instance, the first two chapters of *GHMJ* take four and ten fascicles respectively while the last five chapters take the last five fascicles; with *XGSZ*, the first two chapters take up four and eleven fascicles while the last four chapters constitute the last four fascicles.

concern himself with various translations of the *Lotus* or other works more closely related by genre or content.¹⁰

In addition, however, Daoxuan's *Inner Books* also includes eight other kinds of catalog, two abbreviated catalogs of a fascicle-length each (fascicles eight and nine, ~10 and ~14 Taishō pages respectively), and six short and incomplete specialty catalogs rounding out the tenth scroll of the work. While the final six catalogs track lost scriptures (Catalog 5, not yet started), Chinese-authored scriptural commentary (Catalog 6), partial “branch” scriptures (Catalog 7, not yet started), doubtful and forged scriptures (Catalog 8), earlier scriptural catalogs (Catalog 9), and miracle tales about scripture (Catalog 10),¹¹ Catalogs 3 and 4 are each subject catalogs of comprehensive scope in the model of Catalog 2. *Inner Books* is uniquely effusive with regard to the length and number of its catalog prefaces, thirty in sum: one general preface at its head; one general preface for the chronological Catalog 1 with individual prefaces for the eighteen dynastic catalogs subordinated to it; two prefaces for Catalog 2's Great and Lesser Vehicles respectively; and eight prefaces for Catalogs 3 through 10.¹² These prefaces¹³ not only state the cataloger's

¹⁰ Sengyou in *CSZJJ* already recognized the importance of presenting multiple relationships between scriptures—the first fascicle of his catalog (fascicle two) begins with Catalog 1—a chronological listing of scriptures by translator (~8 Taishō pages)—and is followed by Catalog 2—a listing of various translations by scriptural original (*yichu*, ~2 Taishō pages).

¹¹ For translations for the table of *Inner Books*' contents, see Storch 2014, 133 (Table 11) and 2015, 130.

¹² Sengyou's *CSZJJ* and Fei's *LDSBJ* were role models in prefacing subcatalogs; as Ōuchi demonstrates in 2013b, chap. 6, Daoxuan repurposes much of Fei's text for the seventeen dynastic catalog prefaces they shared in common; likewise, Daoxuan grasps the opportunity of catalog prefaces to define, explain, and promote the Great and Lesser Vehicles in Catalog 2 where Fei had already done so in the prefaces to his own subject catalog or canon register (j13–14). Besides Zhisheng's *KYL* (730) and Yuanzhao's *Zhenyuan Catalog* (800), no other extant Taishō catalogs up through the Tang offer prefaces to subcatalogs. As for *KYL* (essentially expanded upon to make the *Zhenyuan Catalog*), prefaces for both dynastic subcatalogs (of the first ten fascicles) and subject subcatalogs (of the second ten fascicles) are typically laconic. For instance, the prefaces for Zhisheng's and Daoxuan's “Later Han catalogs” are 7 and 38 Taishō lines respectively (*T* no. 2154.j1.477c10–17; *T* no. 2149.j1.220a28–c07); the preface for the “Catalog of the Three Baskets of the Bodhisattva [Great Vehicle]” (*pusa sanzang lu*) takes up 8 Taishō lines (*T* no. 2149.j11.582a22–582b01) where its equivalent in *Inner Books* (Catalog 2's “Great Vehicle catalog”) runs 41 lines (*T* no. 2145.j6.284c13–285a23).

¹³ Catalog 9, the catalog of previous catalogs, also carries a postface, perhaps intended as a preface (*T* no. 2149.j10.338a06–26). The preface to Catalog 9, aside from the first few lines, looks like a preface that could have been authored for Catalog 6 for Chinese commentaries and compilations. Unlike the other five catalog prefaces on fascicle 10 (and most of the other catalog prefaces in *DTNDL*), Catalog 6 does not begin with the line, “It is prefaced” (*xuyue*), but begins with a quote from the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Treatise* (326b09–10).

intentions for a catalog—the following list, in its unique form and content, offers solutions given the following problems, precedents, and data—but also wax rhapsodic on the sources and roles of scriptural traditions throughout cosmic history, as well as the sources and roles of various scriptural media—words, teachings, vehicles, schools, leaves, minds, persons, scrolls, catalogs. The topoi shared between these several catalog forewords both articulate and alleviate anxieties about scriptural availability that can seem contradictory: what has arrived in Chinese translation is both not enough and yet too much, at once too difficult and deceptively straightforward.¹⁴ The prefacer accumulates as much evidence as he can and presents it as best he can to prepare later readers for either of two outcomes: the light of fuller scriptural knowledge or the darkness of further scriptural loss and scholarly capacity.

The third catalog is titled “catalog [of works] entered into the baskets” (*ruzang lu* 入藏錄),¹⁵ titled more elaborately in the overall table of contents of *Inner Books* as the “Catalog of Many Scriptures from over the Dynasties, Centrally Selected for Entry into the Baskets” (*lidai zhongjing zongcuo ruzang lu* 歷代眾經總撮入藏錄), and glossed there as “this refers to how the titles of scriptures are proliferate (*fanduo* 繁多) but an outline is fully displayed, and according to wrapper (*zhi* 帙) they are admitted into the baskets (*zang* 藏), using categories (*lei* 類) to subordinate them. It is thus divided into the Two Vehicles of Great and Lesser and displays the twofold translation of single or multiple.”¹⁶ The “Catalog Entered into the Baskets”—a “canon register” of sorts¹⁷—differs organizationally from the catalogs both preceding and fol-

¹⁴ On this anxiety in anthology prefaces, see Chapters Two and Three.

¹⁵ Or “catalog [of works] presently entered into the baskets” (*xian ruzang lu*), *T* no. 2149.j8.302b21. Or “catalog [of works] entered into the baskets, divided by vehicle (*fensheng ruzang lu*)” *T* no. 2154.j10.577c06.

¹⁶ 謂經部繁多，綱要備列，從帙入藏，以類相從。故分大小二乘，顯單重兩譯 *T* no. 2149.j1.219a29–b01; repeated *T* no. 2154.j10.577c06–07 but not in the Zhenyuan catalog (expected at *T* no. 2157.j18.902a17).

¹⁷ For a translation of *ruzanglu* as “Register of Canonical Texts” see Wu 2015, 25–6, 36–7; Xin Zi and Jiang Wu’s translation of Fang Guangchang’s 2015, 7 use of the term; and *ruzangmu* for “canon register” by Storch in same volume, 133. Storch 2014 translates *ruzangmu* in a more literal fashion as “a list of scriptures that entered the collection” and glosses it as a “practical Buddhist canon” on 98 and again at 121 (“an essential canon recommended by the cataloger for a library or private collection”). Fei is the first to use *ruzang* and *ruzangmu* in bibliographic context; Daoxuan begins the use of *ruzanglu* and *ruzangmulu* instead of *ruzangmu*. Suffice it to say, the catalogers of the Sui and Tang seemed to have varying notions of “canonicity” no less the practical functions of the *ruzanglu* they used and compiled. All were attempts to organize extant holdings in a catalog separate from a chronologi-

lowing it. The first layer of classification are the titular three “baskets” of scripture (*jing* 經, *sūtra*), regulation (*lü* 律, *vinaya*), and treatise (*lun* 論, *abhidharma* and *śāstra*) respectively; the second are the “Vehicles” of the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna (though note that “Lesser Vehicle Regulations” [*xiaoshenglü* 小乘律] are not accompanied by “Great Vehicle Regulations” [*dashenglü* 大乘律], unlike *Inner Canon Catalogs* 2 or 4); the third layer of classification differentiate “scriptures” (that is to say, *sūtras* in the limited sense) of either vehicle into singly or multiply translated. Adding a final category of “Collections and Traditions of Saints and Sages” (*xiansheng jizhuan* 賢聖集傳), Catalog 3 has eight subcatalogs total. By contrast, Catalogs 2 and 4 are ultimately subdivided into seven subcatalogs, achieving this feat by recording singly and multiply translated scriptures in the same subcatalog and adding a subcategory for “Great Vehicle Regulations.” The first and second layers of classification are reversed: the top level is “vehicle,” the second is “basket,” and there is no third. Catalogs 2 and 4 follow the subject catalog classification scheme of Fei Zhangfang’s Sui Period subject catalog;¹⁸ Catalog 3’s scheme

cal/biographical catalog of all reputed translations, but Daoxuan initiated the tradition of distinguishing between a catalog that classified extant scriptures by vehicle and basket (Catalog 2; j6–7) and a catalog specially called *ruzanglu* that sorted them into wrappers as well (Catalog 3; j8). This distinction is observed in Zhisheng’s *KYL* between the first of seven catalogs “categorized by vehicle and basket” (*biefen shengzang*) of fascicles 11–13 and the “canon register” (*ruzanglu*) that follows the seven comprising fascicles 19–20. For the *LDSBJ*, the term *ruzangmu* appears at the heads of the thirteenth and fourteenth fascicles comprising the “Great Vehicle Catalog” and “Lesser Vehicle Catalog” respectively (*T* no. 2034.j13.109a04, 115a19, and j14.115a22), and thrice in reference to these special catalogs in its general table of contents in the fifteenth and final fascicle (j15.125b05, b13, b22), always in small script. The postface explains that the “entered the basket” catalogs, two fascicles total, can be used to “discriminate between the depths of the teachings of the Lesser and the Great” (*bieshi jiao daxiao zhi jianshen*) j15.121a01–02. “Great Vehicle Bodhisattva Canon Register” (*dasheng pusa ruzang*) and “Upright Catalog of the Lesser Vehicle Canon Register” (*xiaosheng ruzang zhengmu*) are referred to in the prefaces to those two catalogs respectively (j13.109a25–26, j14.115b21). See Drège 1991, 186 and Fang 1993, 67–70 for *ruzang* at Dunhuang.

¹⁸ Here there are twelve total catalogs because each vehicle-basket combination features a catalog with attributed translations and one with anonymous translations, and the “baskets” are given transliterated names: “*sūtra*” (*xiutu-oluo*), “*vinaya*” (*pini*), and “*abhidharma*” (*apitan*). An additional category for post-parinirvana collections has not developed yet. Fei’s own account of the organizational principles for his catalog are provided at *T* no. 2035.j15.120c27–29: it resembles Sengyou’s catalog in its distribution of fifteen fascicles over four broader categories, but Fei’s (one fascicle general catalog [*zongmu*, j15]; two fascicles canon register [*ruzang*, j13–14]; three fascicles imperial annals [*dinian*, j1–3]; nine fascicles periodized catalog [*dailu*, j4–12]) do not resemble Sengyou’s (first fascicle “notes on origins” (*yuanji*); second through fifth “catalogs of titles” (*minglu*); sixth through twelfth “scriptural prefaces” (*jingxu*), and thirteenth through fifteenth “separate traditions” (*liezhuan*), *T* no. 2145.j1.01b07–09; cf. Su and Xiao 1993, 2).

resembles most closely Fajing's Sui Period catalog (*T* no. 2146), one of three extant catalogs with the bare title "Catalog of Many Scriptures" (*zhongjingmulu* 眾經目錄).¹⁹

Another facet that differentiates Catalog 3 from the others is its use of the "wrapper" (*zhi*) as a category for classification.²⁰ Catalog 3 describes a physical location for where a scripture is stored on the shelf,²¹ and walks a user through the various loci where scriptures can be found in Ximing Monastery's library, within one of 326 wrappers upon nine "shelves" (*ge* 隔) in three "rooms," (*jian* 間)—left, right and center. A table of contents and headings both display the total amount of wrappers used to house a subcategory of scripture. Next, following one or more scripture are notes indicating how many wrappers house how many scrolls of a single title of a large scripture or how many small scriptures share a single wrapper. Finally, after several wrappers have been described in order, a "shelf" is filled. Like other catalogs in *Inner Books*, the list of scriptures in Catalog 3 goes from largest to smallest²²—for instance, the sixty-fascicle *Flower*

¹⁹ The first six subcatalogs of this work are further subdivided into six: (1) single translations; (2) alternate translations (*yiyi*); (3) unattributed translations; (4) separate translations; (5) doubtful; (6) apocryphal. A seventh, eighth, and ninth subcatalogs featured post-parinirvana collections (*zhuanji*), traditions (*xiyu*) or "local" (*cifang*) provenance, see Storch 2014, 105. *T* no. 2147 and *T* no. 2148, "Catalogs of Many Scriptures" published in the late Sui and early Tang respectively, feature "single translation," "multiple translation," "collections and traditions of saints and sages," "separate translations," "doubtful" and/or "forged," and "missing editions" as their six (or seven) master categories. The next layers of category were "vehicle" and "basket" respectively, where works fulfilling these additional classifications were found. These several modes of scriptural classification would be indicated on the catalog itself by headings if not also tables of contents. Many of them—single or multiple translation; attributed or anonymous, authentic, doubtful or forged; in circulation or lost—had already been used in Sengyou's *CSZJJ* and possibly earlier by Daoan. "Basket" and "vehicle" gave later catalogers the tools to further reduce the total number of subcategories in a scriptural catalog to rationalize the structure of the scriptural tradition. See Fei Zhangfang's transcription of the table of contents of an anonymously compiled catalog in two fascicles (the "Subject Catalog of Many Scriptures" *zhongjing bielü*) that Fei dates to the Liu Song period which includes five separate catalogs for differently conceptualized "vehicles" of scriptures, and three additional catalogs for "regulations," "numbers" (*shu*), and "treatises" respectively. Cf. *T* no. 2034.j15.125b24–c16; Storch 2014, 99.

²⁰ From Daoan on, individual catalog titles logged how many fascicles they contained. One innovation of Catalogs 2 and 4 of Daoxuan's *Inner Books* is their attention as well to individual scriptures' page-count (*zhi*) as well as their scroll-count (*juan*). While it does not keep track of page-count (or translator information), Catalog 3 begins another trend of counting wrappers (*zhi*) alongside its list of titles, though total page-counts are provided at the front of the catalog. Zhisheng's *Kaiyuan Catalog* would continue the longstanding trend of providing scroll-counts for titles in its dynastic catalog, and continue Daoxuan's trend of providing scroll- and wrapper-count for its subject catalog (j11–13), and combine scroll-, page- and wrapper-count for its canon register (j19–20), though it does not indicate any system for wrapper location.

²¹ See Drège 1991, 180, 185; Fang 1993, 67–70.

²² Though Catalog 1 is organized chronologically, when a translator's multiple titles are listed, they generally flow from largest to shortest; Catalogs 2 and 4 generally start with larger titles and work their way down to single-fascicle

Adornment Scripture (one line of catalog) in six wrappers on a single shelf is the first scripture listed under the “Once-Translated Great Vehicle Scriptures,” and eight wrappers of 125 single-fascicle scriptures (~1.5 Taishō pages of catalog) sharing a shelf with three wrappers of 16 double-fascicle scriptures complete it. As a document, Catalog 3 would allow its user to find and recover a specific scripture in a specific library, to compare the holdings of Ximing Monastery to check other collections, or even to build one’s own complete monastic library of scriptures to specification.

Each of the first four catalogs in *Inner Books* offers a scriptural canon more economized than the previous one. As indicated earlier, Catalog 3 is shorter than either Catalog 2 or Catalog 4, and all three catalogs are shorter than the voluminous Catalog 1.²³ Yet Catalog 1 catalogs the greatest amount of scripture, and Catalog 2, 3, and 4 each catalog smaller amounts of scripture than the previous catalog. Catalog 1’s head preface sums up the total number of scriptures translated over the course of 18 dynasties as 2232 titles (*bu* 部) in 7200 fascicles (*juan* 卷);²⁴ the prefaces of Catalog 2 tabulate the surviving scriptural amount as 817 titles and 4041 fascicles (498 titles and 2363 fascicles for Great Vehicle; 272 titles or 1494 fascicles for Lesser Vehicle; 47 titles in 184 fascicles for “Collections and Traditions”);²⁵ Catalog 3 lists 800 titles in 3361 fascicles over 56,170 pages (*zhi* 紙);²⁶ Catalog 4 lists 562 volumes in 2696 fascicles over 46,949 pages.²⁷

titles that can be counted by their page length, but translations of the same text or from the same tradition or genre are also grouped together. Plenty of previous catalogs use fascicle-count as an ordering principle—see for instance Sengyou’s collection of short unattributed scriptures (of length seven to one fascicle) that comprise the full fourth fascicle of *CSZJJ*, *T* no. 2145.j4.21b17–37b17.

²³ For the Koreana, Catalog 1 is 221 pages long; Catalog 2 is 58 pages long; Catalog 3 is 25 pages long; and Catalog 4 is 47 pages long.

²⁴ *T* no. 2149.j1.219c13–15.

²⁵ *T* no. 2149.j6.285a19–20 and j7.296b23–24 respectively, but when one calculates totals from Catalog 2’s tables of contents and catalog headings (*T* no. 2149.j6.285a24–28 and j7.296c01–08, for instance), the total for the seven subcategories, including “Records,” comes out to 811 titles in 3440 fascicles over 58,189 pages (*zhi*) (the Three Baskets of Great Vehicle only total up to 492 titles in 1762 fascicles).

²⁶ *T* no. 2149.j8.302c22 provides this figure for the total, but if one tabulates the figures in the table of contents (*T* no. 2149.j8.302c24–303a05), one arrives at a figure of 801 volumes in 3367 fascicles over 55,927 pages.

²⁷ *T* no. 2149.j9.313a29–313b05, 321c22–27, and 325a19 for Great Vehicle, Lesser Vehicle, and Collections.

Catalog 1 is so much longer than the others because aside from offering notes and essays on every dynasty, translator, or scripture, it also provides information about lost or apocryphal scriptures as well as a wider variety of Chinese Buddhist-authored works. Catalog 2, on the other hand, tabulates only what has survived and been deemed worth keeping. Catalog 3 represents a reduction of Catalog 2 by shrinking down the information provided to the scriptures' names, sizes, and physical locations in wrappers on shelves, while Catalog 4 represents a reduction of Catalog 2 by keeping much of the information—including much of its overall structure and sequence—and eliminating redundancies of content in scriptural holdings.

Catalog 4 resembles Catalog 3 in its attempts to delineate a more economical canon for use. Titled “Catalog for Reading” (*zhuandu lu* 轉讀錄), it is more elaborately referred to as “Catalog of Many Scriptures from over the Dynasties, Summarized²⁸ for Reading” (*lidai zhongjing juyao zhuandu lu* 歷代眾經舉要轉讀錄). It is glossed in the overall table of contents as “referring to how for ‘turning-reading’²⁹ and surveying (*xunwan* 尋翫), the task [of the catalog] is in essentializing breadth (*yaobo* 要博): proliferate text and repeated meanings (*fanwen chongyi* 繁文重

²⁸ Storch 2015, 122; 2015, 131 glosses *juyao* here as “most important.” My translation reflects the activity of “raising” or “citing” (*ju*) lists of scriptures to a greater level of “essence” or “importance” (*yao*). See Chapter Four, note 68 and this chapter, notes 30 and 37, for other words involving *ju*.

²⁹ “Turning-reading,” as I’ve rendered *zhuandu* here, does not necessarily have the meanings of ritualized or abridged scripture recitation distinguishable from “real reading” (*zhendu*) that it will later acquire, especially in Japan as *tendoku-e*. For a short history of the evolution of the term’s use—from Huijiao’s gloss of the term to mean “reciting scripture [with text and melody]” (*yongjing*) in his essay on the Hymnodists (*jingshi*) in *Eminent Monks*, to mid-Tang and early Japanese usages for reading parts of scriptures or canons (titles or lines from the beginning, middle, and end of scrolls), see Loveday 2000, 61–62n242. Discussions of medieval meanings of *zhuandu* begin with Huijiao’s uses of the term in his evaluations (*lun*) of his ninth category of monks (“hymnodists” *jingshi*), distinct from his “cantors”/“reciters” (*songjing*) of category seven or “hymnodists”/“proselytizers” (*changdao*) of category ten of the *Traditions of Eminent Monks*. The term in the context of Catalog 4, paired with “surveying” or “studying” (*xunwan*), may suggest forms of reading more public-facing and quotidian than either of the two characters composing “scholarly perusing” (“search”/“unravel” + “play”) may suggest. See Rong 2013, 400 for *zhuandu* as a kind of popular, musical technique of lecturing on scriptures at Dunhuang (glossed “turning and reading” by the translator Galambos); and Fang 1993, 91 for three kinds of scriptural reading for merit described as *zhuandu*. For transformations in vocabulary for describing reading practices in medieval China—from “vocal” to “visual” modes of reading (*du*), see Chen 2010. For an exploration of “circumambulatory reading” as a mode of engaging text in the Buddhist ritual imaginaire encompassing “turning the Dharma wheel” by circumambulating scriptures and preachers, chanting, copying, meditating on scriptures, physically revolving libraries, and scrolling through fascicles, see Eubanks 2011, 173–96.

義) cannot be called timely. Thus, extracts are cited (*cuoju* 撮舉)³⁰ according to [single] volumes, and can be taken in brief (*jianqu* 簡取)³¹ to communicate the way. Beyond these, multiple editions (*chongben* 重本) survive but there is no free-time [to read them].³² By dedicating itself to preserving the best version of scriptures without sacrificing completeness, Catalog 4 itself represents a 30 percent reduction in titles from Catalogs 2 and 3,³³ but the catalog also occasionally provides additional lines of information under certain entries indicating the names or number of alternative scriptures for which single entry stands in. In many cases, Catalog 4 indicates precisely where the cuts from Catalog 2 are: for regulations, treatises, collections, and many of the scriptures, commentary indicates the names or translations of scriptures determined to be obsolete and redundant for broader publics.³⁴

How are the various catalogs of Daoxuan's *Inner Books* supposed to be reckoned alongside one another, and what are their relationships to the overall plan? The general preface to the *Inner*

³⁰ Common to prefaces in medieval Chinese Buddhist collections, Sengyou uses this term three times, apparently to mean citing or quoting from texts—see *HMJ*, T no. 2102.j14.95a06 and *CSZJJ*, T no. 2145.j3.20c20 and j5.37c01. The last citation offers *cuoju* in his definition of *chao* in the preface to the “Summary Scriptures Catalog”—see Chapter Four, note 68. Drawing upon the resonances between citation, extraction, and exemplification, one might also translate the passage, “[a set of scriptures] is exemplified by a [a single] volume...”, which accurately portrays how the catalog is laid out.

³¹ In other words, “summarized.”

³² 謂轉讀尋翫務在要博，繁文重義非曰被時。故隨部撮舉簡取通道。自餘重本存而未暇。 *DTNDL*, T no. 2149.j1.219b02–03; cf. *KYL*, T no. 2154.j10.577c19–20 and *Zhenyuan lu*, T no. 2157.j18.902b04–05).

³³ More modest reductions in scroll- and page-count. 20% and 16% reductions compared to Catalog 3. Some of the greatest reductions appear to be for the scripture basket—a reduction of 386 to 254 for “Great Vehicle” and 204 to 118 for “Lesser Vehicle” from Catalog 2 to Catalog 4.

³⁴ This practice of cataloging multiple translations for a single scripture or individual scriptures from larger scriptural collections begins as early as Sengyou, who not only includes a special catalog for tracking “alternate[ly translated] scriptures” by root scripture, but in yet other catalogs also indicates which of the many small, unattributed scriptures can be traced to a larger scriptural collection, translated either before or separately from independently translated and/or circulating subscriptsures through annotating “extract” (*chu*) or “excerpt” (*chao*) (Catalogs 2.2 and 4.1 alternatively). “Separately Born” subcatalogs (*biesheng*) kept track of relations between parts and wholes in scriptural circulation from the thirty-seven titles in the “Separate [Editions Sub]catalog” (*bielu*) of the Southern Qi’s Official Catalog (see T no. 2034.j15.) and the fourth “separately produced” (*biesheng*) division (*fen*) of every subcatalog (three baskets times two vehicles) in Fajing’s catalog for the Sui, to the all-inclusive “separately born” catalogs of Yancong in the Sui or Jingtai and Zhisheng in the Tang. Daoxuan’s unfinished Catalog 7 promised to constitute such a catalog, and Zhisheng’s Subject Catalog 3 represents a pinnacle of such efforts. Zhisheng’s Subject Catalogs 4 and 5 (fascicle 17), rather than representing further catalogs of scriptural digests, as Storch alleges, instead tally deletions and additions to the catalogs of scriptural holdings, necessary for correcting and updating previous catalogers’ assessments.

Books traces the origin and trajectory of the “True Dharma” (*zhengfa* 正法), rightly called a “jewel” (*bao* 寶), from the Buddha’s mouth to the minds of the audiences he saved, and from the disciples who conserved the teachings as “scriptures” (*jing*) and “treatises” (*lun*) to the lines of the *Neidian lu* where one can learn about every item that emerged in China.³⁵ In crucial ways it iterates themes developed in Sengyou’s preface to his earlier catalog from a century and a half earlier.³⁶ Daoxuan figures the centrifugal distribution of dharma along parallel trajectories: just as the single Buddha spoke a diversity of sermons to singular ends, so does the single *Neidian lu* divide into ten separate catalogs in order to make the scriptural tradition explicit.³⁷ Daoxuan does not dwell on the parallelisms between the founts of dharma—Buddha, his canonizing disciples, and Chinese catalogers—but the analogy could be extended even further. Just as there were necessary repetitions and variations in the content of Buddhist sermons and laws, so there are necessary repetitions and variations in the ways information about scriptures can be conveyed in

³⁵ For a recent Japanese translation and study of the general preface to the *DTNDL* at *T* no. 2149.j1.219a05–24 (and the preface to the chronologically organized Catalog 1, at *T* no. 2149.j1.219b17–c15), see Ōuchi 2013a: 29–37.

³⁶ With regards to length, it is significantly shorter than Sengyou’s and the general prefaces of one intervening extant catalog—Fei Zhangfang’s *LDSBJ*—and one contemporaneous catalog also completed in 664—Jingtai’s *Catalog of Jing’ai Monastery*, *T* no. 2148.

³⁷ Following Ōuchi 2013a in dividing the general preface up into five paragraphs, I draw this connection between the second and the fourth paragraphs (*T* no. 2149.j1.219a10–13 and 219a16–21). The second paragraph reads: “From the announcement of completion [of awakening] at the Immortals Grove [Deer Park, Mrgadava] to the silent crossing [of extinction] at the Golden River [Hiranyavati], he spread herds (*qunpin*) of syllables [of sermons] to draw in the dusty ignorant: following opportunities (*suiji*) he set up strategems (*mouyou*), pursuing desires (*suixing*) he arranged the reputed teaching. Netting the Singular Transformation [a lifetime of proselytization], [his teaching] encompasses the Great Thousands [of worlds]. Those who receive this way make censure [of it] difficult; those who transmit this lineage ease awakening” 自仙苑告成，金河靜濟，敷字群品，汲引塵蒙。隨機候而設謀猷，逐性欲而陳聲教，網羅一化，統括大千。受其道者難訾，傳其宗者易曉。 The fourth paragraph reads: “To give details their origins were in Brahmic text (*fanwen*), and those carrying them would count a hundred-million perfumed elephants; [but] presently translations have followed [them] into local words (*fangyan*), approximately over five-thousand fascicles. Alternations assault again; [spiritual] degeneracy is displayed in response. [This is such that] fascicles and titles become singular or repeated, doubtful or spurious, ordinary or sacred, leading to catalogs of collections contending with another, over thirty houses. As for raising general principles (*jutong*), every one has its own regulatory methods (*xianzhang*); as for their evidence (*zhenghe*), they are not without their proliferate miscellany (*fanza*). Now I’ve comprehensively assembled the many works, using categories to differentiate them (*yilei qufen*); I synthesized them under a single title, opened over ten ranks (*li*). Relying upon line-items to manifest the order (*yitiao xianlie*), there is no contest in their sequence (*lun*). Although text is repeated and extended (*wen sui chongzhang*), in meaning I have cut off trouble and chaos (*fanluan*)” 詳夫爰始梵文，負之億計香象；今譯從於方言，大約五千餘卷。遷貿更襲，澆薄互陳；卷部單重，疑偽凡聖。致使集錄奔競，三十餘家。舉統各有憲章，徵覈不無繁雜。今總會群作，以類區分，合成一部，開為十例。依條顯列，無相奪倫，文雖重張，義絕煩亂。

catalog form. Necessity is found in concrete situational difficulty: difference across audiences in social and soteriological space necessitates different lessons, while difference across audiences in historical time and linguistic background requires imparting the “same” lesson, differently rendered, to new listeners who are “similar enough” in temperament and readiness to the original students of the lesson. The Buddha’s dharma is described in terms of profusion in the first half of the general preface, and described in terms of confusion in the second half. In the first case, dharmic proliferation results from the Buddha’s abundant compassion and the vastness of audiences to whom it was directed, while in the second, the “proliferate miscellany” (*fanza* 繁雜) of “over five-thousand scrolls” of translation is the accident of history, imperfect scribal practice, and catalogers’ differences in opinion. The solution is in management: when Daoxuan describes himself “comprehensively assembling the many works” (*zonghui qunzuo* 總會群作), he iterates the actions of previous Chinese catalogers who “catalog[ed] collections” (*jilu* 集錄), and of “Elder Kāśyapa who collected the Four Chests at [Gṛdhra]kūṭa Mountain and the Great Sage Mañjuśrī who convened the Eight Baskets outside the [Iron] Range” 尊者迦葉，集四篋於崛山；大智文殊，結八藏於圍表。³⁸ Daoxuan’s “ten ranks” (*shili* 十例) of subcatalog arrays the contents of “over five-thousand scrolls”³⁹ of scripture with “over thirty houses”⁴⁰ of biblio-

³⁸ *T* no. 2149.j1.219a13–14, first half of Ōuchi paragraph 3. As Ōuchi indicates in the notes to translation, these lines can be read profitably alongside Daoshi’s section on “Councils” in *A Grove of Pearls*. As discussed in Chapter 6.1.4, Daoshi differentiates between first “Great Vehicle” council led by Mañjuśrī outside the Iron Range, and few later councils led by Kāśyapa all at Vulture Peak Mountain outside Rājagṛha. He lists and cites *Great Perfection of Wisdom Treatise* and *Diamond Immortals Treatise* as sources for the “Great Vehicle Council,” and *Scripture on the Incarnation of the Bodhisattva; Four-Part Regulations*; and *Great Perfection of Wisdom Treatise* for the latter. While the “Three Baskets” are mentioned in all of the councils Kāśyapa convenes, the “Eight Baskets” appear to be unique to the *Incarnation*. As Ōuchi also notes, “Four Chests” (*siqie*) appears in reference to the titular objects featured in the anonymous *Zhuanji sanzang ji zazang zhuan* 撰集三藏及雜藏傳, *T* no. 2026.j1.04a18. Here, the council is headed by Kāśyapa and convened north of the city Sāṃkāśya in Magadha Kingdom, and the number of participants is not altogether clear.

³⁹ “Five-thousand” falls somewhere between the “7200” suggested at the head of Catalog 1 (*T* no. 2149.j1.219c14–15) and 3440 fascicles from calculating the totals announced in Catalog 2.

⁴⁰ These “over thirty houses [authors]” (*sanshi yu jia*) of catalogers are named in Daoxuan’s preface to Catalog 9 on previous catalogs (*T* no. 2149.j10.336a21). The catalogs are individually listed below: twenty-four (twenty-seven if Shi Daozu’s catalog is split into four) that Daoxuan describes he has not personally seen (“picked out” *jian* from histories and catalogs he had read), followed by ten from which he copies out tables of contents and final title- and fascicle-count, totaling thirty-four catalogers. His preface and postface to Catalog 9 single out Daoan’s (*T* no. 2149.j10.336a21–2), Sengyou’s (338a19–a21), and Fei Zhangfang’s (338a21–23) for special discussion; he also

graphic analysis into a “single title” (*yibu* 一部). The scriptures themselves could be further classified by “scroll” or “volume” count, “single” or “multiple” editions (*juanbu danchong* 卷部單重); evaluated as “doubtful or spurious, ordinary or sacred” (*yiwei fansheng* 疑偽凡聖); the bibliographers’ analyses had unique “general principles raised” (*jutong* 舉統)⁴¹ and “regulatory methods” (*xianzhang* 憲章)⁴² that led to “proliferate miscellany” (*fanza*)⁴³ among their “evidence” (*zhenghe* 徵覈).⁴⁴ It is thus that by “using categories to differentiate them” (*yilei qufen* 以類區分), “although the text is repeated and extended, in meaning I have cut off trouble and chaos” (*wen sui chongzhang, yi jue fanluan* 文雖重張). “Categories” (*lei* 類; *li* 例) here represent as much abstract qualities with which to classify the scriptures (“single,” “multiple,” “doubtful,” “spurious”) as they do concrete scrolls and locations on scrolls that contain information about scriptures. At any rate, they promise to resolve the “trouble and chaos” (*fanluan* 煩亂) or “proliferate miscellany” (*fanza*) offered by the presence of multiple scriptures and multi-

alludes to lost catalogs of Dong Fangshuo and Liu Xiang of the Western Han, who must have recorded antique Buddhist scriptures (338a08–09; see Storch 2014, 24–5 on the legend of Liu Xiang’s catalog).

⁴¹ “[When the Great Ru encounter new things] by brusquely picking up one corner, they are able to state its guiding principle and proper category and can respond to them without cause for hesitation or embarrassment” 卒然起一方，則舉統類而應之，無所儼作。 *Xunzi* 8.10, tr. Knoblock 1990, 2.80.

⁴² In the “Doctrine of the Mean,” Confucius “elegantly displays... and takes as model” (*xianzhang*) the ways of sage-king Wen and Wu. *Book of Rites* 31, tr. Legge 1885, 2.326. Daoxuan often uses the word as a verb to mean “respects and models the ways of” and as a noun to mean “regulatory methods.”

⁴³ “Proliferate miscellany” (*fanza*) is often invoked in the composition of digests. See how Daoxuan narrates Zhichao’s mastery of the Regulations Basket (*lüzang*) in *XGSZ*, T no. 2060.j20.3.592a15 (“Travelling to Dingzhou, he read and picked through the Regulations Basket, grasping its essentials and cutting out the proliferate miscellany” 即往定州，尋採律藏，括其精要，刪其繁雜。 See Zanning’s narration of eighth-century Regulations Master Langran mastering Daoxuan’s *XSC* and composing *Solutions to the Past and Present* (*Gujin jue* 古今決, lost) as a ten-fascicle gloss meant to clarify the “proliferate miscellany” represented by Daoxuan’s earlier “epitome” (T no. 2061.j15.3.799c28–800a01).

⁴⁴ Daoxuan refers to “evidence” (*zhenghe*) across his hagiographic and bibliographic corpus to highlight the role of research in substantiating claims. In his preface for Catalog 9 on previous catalogs (the majority of which appears to be a misplaced preface for Chinese commentarial and anthological works), he argues that “lesser sages” (*yasheng* 亞聖) were “able to evidence the import of the teaching, taking chiseled ornamentation lightly while taking pure winds heavily; they were able to measure the meanings of phrases, taking the unhewn and literary as ancestor while excluding the low and wild” 徵覈教旨，輕斷鑿而重淳風；商度句義，宗質文而排鄙野 (T no. 2149.j10.336a23–24). See also, for instance, Daoxuan’s notice on Xuanying’s dictionary, *Sounds and Meanings of [Words from] All the Scriptures, Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義, T no. 2128, at T no. 2149.j5.283b26. “Evidence” (*zhenghe*) appears to be related to the more commonly seen “verification” (*yanhe*), used by Sengyou, for instance, in his general preface to the *CSZJJ*, “later scholars were rarely able to investigate and verify [similarities and differences in the history of scriptural translation]” 後之學者鮮克研覈 (T no. 2145.j1.01a26; translation by Link 1960, 39b).

ple completing classification schemes for plotting their relationships to each other, to the history of translation, or to the shape of doctrinal teaching. Note that “repetition and extension” (*chongzhang*) are not altogether disposed of—the same scripture or piece of scriptural information may be presented multiple times over the ten subcatalogs, but each kind of subcatalog⁴⁵ anticipates a different species of reader, not necessarily familiar with information already presented in other catalogs. Catalog 1 would have been a crucial resource for learning the historical context for various translations, and other catalogs of the tenth fascicle would have been handy for identifying forged or formerly lost scriptures by title or curating a collection of Chinese-authored Buddhist works.⁴⁶ Catalogs 2 through 4, I have suggested, would have been especially useful for producing and maintaining full, partial, or abbreviated Buddhist canons.

It is particularly the theme of “abbreviation” that the prefaces to Catalogs 3 and 4 self-reflexively dwell upon. How much scripture is enough (for an empire, a monastery, a populace, an individual over a single lifetime)? How (and to whom) should it be made available? Who should read scripture, for what occasions, in what sense? While the prefaces do not address these questions directly, they nonetheless suggest the kinds of anxieties Daoxuan and his cohort harbored in building a full complement of scriptures and making proper use of it. In short, the preface to Catalog 3 seems to be directed to a monastic audience, urging monks to take advantage of a better organized catalog and canon of scriptures to read both more widely and more deeply, and to practice as they preach; the preface to Catalog 4 seems also to be directed to a monastic audience, but justifies the practice of reading parts of scriptures and canons for the karmic benefit of others. Both catalogs prefaces inveigh against scriptural illiteracy in the broadest sense: the former directs monastics’ attention to shelves, wrappers, and titles to become better well read, while the latter suggests that a smaller amount of scripture is good enough for many

⁴⁵ All indebted to innovations introduced by previous catalog-masters, as noted by the author himself and by Storch.

⁴⁶ Catalogs 5 and 7, unfortunately, do not appear to have been completed, but their prefaces explain their ambitions. These ambitions appear to have been fulfilled by Zhisheng in *KYL*, who completed “Missing Translations” and “Separately Circulating” catalogs as fascicles 14–15 and fascicle 16 respectively.

purposes, and better yet, skillfully devised so as to go a very long way indeed. While the catalogs seem to insist upon separate solutions to the problem of how to tackle a gargantuan amount of scripture—read more of it versus read less of it, both catalogs were devised to counter specific mortal constraints—Catalog 3 helps someone recall where scriptures exist in physical space, and Catalog 4 addresses the laziness of eyes and the shortness of life. Ultimately, one can see the two catalogs working in complement, with Catalog 3 consolidating the wisdom of monastic expertise within the Sangha and Catalog 4 exporting the most efficacious dharma beyond the Sangha in a timely manner.

2. Daoxuan's Preface to *Inner Books Subcatalog 3: "Catalog for Entry into Baskets"*

While the preface to Catalog 4 begins with a wide-eye perspective, envisioning the Buddha's teaching spreading over the cosmos and saving its denizens, Catalog 3 starts with what the data in catalogs look like: "from my first catalogs on down, the years of emperors are manifest." It argues that "by following the period in which translators produced treatises, scriptures, commentary, and compilations" the catalogs "are not constrained by logical sequence." This is not necessarily true—Catalog 2, after all, was also organized on doctrinal principles rather than strictly by chronology. Nonetheless, Catalog 2 still indicates when every attributed translation was produced. Whether his comments are limited to the five fascicles of Catalog 1, or also include fascicles 6 and 7 comprising Catalog 2, Daoxuan seems to argue that all this extra data clutters movement through the space of a page: "items grow even more varied and dense as a thicket, and it is certainly difficult to discriminate between them... one does not obtain thoroughfares" (Appendix S, paragraph 1).

Catalog 3 thus allows passage by cutting out the history and presenting the scriptures directly by vehicle and basket on the page, and correlating these titles and categories to shelves in a

library. While the two previous catalogs may be regarded as exercises in intellectual abstraction, often attempting to retrace the steps of translations long lost or translators long dead, for Catalog 3, the written list of scriptural holdings supports the physical collection and vice-versa: “[for] relying on this separate ‘entered into the canon’ [canon register], the shelves also uphold it.” Names not only match reality, but names could also help custodians of libraries to make the reality match the names—manuscript evidence from Dunhuang suggests that Catalog 3 circulated separately as a register or manifest for the checking or maintenance of holdings.⁴⁷ At any rate, the labels on scroll-covers, wrappers, and shelves would suffice to ensure that “what is needed is handily retrieved” (paragraph 2).

The rest of the lengthy preface describes and addresses its audience, browbeating it to effect more vigorous, more honest study and application of the canon’s teachings. Paragraph 3 does so by beginning with an ironic quoting of *Analects* 15.39, presenting Confucius’s line, “in teaching there is no discrimination of classes” as a “common saying and platitude.” It is paired with “the ordinary intellects and the deluded” for whom “these wonderful works [of Buddhist canon] will open their wisdom.” Parallel lines, Buddhist and Confucian, are presented as overly optimistic, such is the intractability of lowly stupid moderns. Confucius, after all, did make discriminations between “classes” (*lei*) of people, stark and subtle, among his teachers and students; and Buddhist works—including the very lines Daoxuan was writing—often decried the scarcity of geniuses. In other contexts, to be sure, both Confucius and the Buddha can be heard as saying that they sought to make their teachings universally heard and practicable. I think here the ironic quotation of *Analects* serves to introduce an absence of the ideal: the next lines, indeed, direct the reader’s attention to the paucity of “those with sharp talents and holy analysis” and the simultaneous presence of “people laggard in their studies, rash in their skimmings” alongside the “scriptures available in the Entered Canon ... over three-thousand fascicles.” Drawing another contrast with the non-Buddhists, Daoxuan decries monastics “flowing forth by following cus-

⁴⁷ See Drège 1991, 189; and Fang 1993, 68.

toms [of laypeople]”: pitiful that they stay unlettered and confused. What is needed is that they “realize the essential path of the Three Baskets,” return to the whole of the written teachings as the source of all that is good.

The next two paragraphs seem to be dedicated to castigating false monks and praising devoted lay readers, with Daoxuan in paragraph 5 posing the rhetorical question, “Could it be that those kind of people could be so excellent? And these kind of people could be so awful?” Pessimism and optimism are conjoined where Daoxuan shares allusions from scriptures that allege the corruption of monastics in the fallen age⁴⁸ alongside the names of recent worthies of the Southern Liang—one Xiao Mai 蕭勸 who had read 30,000 scrolls of literature and one Liu Huifei 劉慧斐 who had hand-copied over 2000 rolls of scripture. Daoxuan draws on his extensive experience as a Regulations Master on the one hand, and on a chronicler of the miraculous on the other.⁴⁹ Perhaps Daoxuan participates in an end-times rhetoric that describes how laypersons have surpassed monastics in upholding the Dharma.⁵⁰ But it is also possible that he is merely reproducing mainstream Buddhist rhetoric wherein everything is insurmountably awful, but anything is still possible. Another classical allusion from the *Book of Odes*, “the high hill is looked

⁴⁸ I do not mean to imply here a specific age, either “counterfeit” or “end dharma,” merely a non-golden age post-nirvana that many scriptures describe without necessarily indicating precise temporal coordinates. See Miyabayashi 1975 on Daoxuan’s shifting, inconsistent views on *mofa* through his commentary on regulations.

⁴⁹ It is not uncommon for modern scholars to bifurcate Daoxuan’s roles and writings thusly: Wagner 1995 discusses “Daoxuan as Vinaya Master” (56–61) and “Daoxuan and Gantong” (69–78) separately; as does Tan 2002 with section headings “Daoxuan, the Vinaya Master (52–71) and “Daoxuan, the Thaumaturge” (75–81). Here is an instance where his interests imbricate. For more discussion of Daoxuan’s travels around China in determining the poor state in which the regulations were kept in different localities, see Fujiyoshi, especially chapter 4, 99–134. Chen 2007 argues that Daoxuan’s negative assessment of the Sangha led to his spearheading an early Tang “monastic revival” of disciplinary theory and implementation, in an analysis that brackets state-sangha relationships to evaluate Daoxuan’s role in the Sangha’s internal development. In my view, the overlapping of political and religious spheres, however, cannot be discounted: the state was undoubtedly a secondary audience to his writings, and Daoxuan’s “internal” documents urging greater stringency cannot be read apart from his “external” court memorials urging greater leniency.

⁵⁰ See, for instance, the passage quoted and commented on by Daoshi in *FYZL* “Chapter 98: Extinction of the Dharma” (*famie*) from the no longer extant *Greater Five Turbidities Scripture* (*Da wuzhuo jing*, an “unattributed scripture” that Daoan had flagged as having originated in the northwest [Liangtu] and later catalogers took to be spurious), *T* no. 2122.j98.98.2.1005c15–27, and the passage quoted by him later in the chapter from the *Scripture for Humane Kings* (*Renwang jing*, *T* no. 245, attributed to Kumārajīva) at j98.98.9.1012a11–1012b07. These passages describe laypersons taking leadership over monks in the Sangha.

up to,” goads readers to improve themselves. Even if role models are not fully present (though this paragraph in the preface assesses that they always will be), both scriptures and records can attest to paragons of both long ago and the recent past.

Interpreting his own allusions in the final paragraph 6, Daoxuan encourages monastics to “be more strict” and “read more.” In “mastering the mind and taking control over circumstances” by yoking oneself to the Tripitaka, one guarantees oneself passage along well-worn “tracks” (*zhe* 軌), the better for keeping austere discipline and right view. Daoxuan ends his preface with a series of parallel commands: “review... scriptures” (*yuejing* 閱經), “seek... regulations” (*xunlü* 尋律), “experience” (*li* 歷) the lifecourse of a Buddha, “make” (*zao* 造) enlightenment happen. As presented here by Daoxuan, simply to read is to live the lives one reads about and create the conditions for awakening. He encourages readers to “track it to cite and explain: surveyors may attend therein,” bringing forth further possibilities of reading to connect and convert others on the one hand, and on the other reading as scanning over an expanse and zooming in on a shelf, a scroll, a line. With his preface to Catalog 3, Daoxuan produces a vision of not just how to read any scripture, but how to read a canon, a vast body of dharma that rectifies moral subjects and directs them to proper teloi the more one reads from it. To read a scripture is to generate merit and gain wisdom; but to read canon is to make oneself into a marvelous “high hill.”

3. Daoxuan’s Preface to *Inner Books Subcatalog 4: "Catalog for Reading"*

While the “Catalog for Entry into Baskets” promises superlative organization of dharma across space, the “Catalog for Reading” takes time to be its central theme. According to Catalog 3’s preface, given this peerless map of the Chinese *tripitaka*, given orderly constitution of monastic institutions and subjectivity, given a large enough sangha and infinite time, the myriad “thoroughfares” provided in “three-thousand scrolls” could all be travelled. By contrast, Catalog 4 takes seriously the idea of too much text as a logistical obstacle, tiring monastic reciters and boring lay listeners. According to its preface (see Appendix T), the “Catalog for Reading” was cre-

ated for the purpose of saving time and energy in reciting scripture, to “allow the masters of recitation (*zhuandu zhi shi* 轉讀之士) to survey the spools and daily effectuate their merit; and allows the fortune-circulating [persons of] pure faith (*xingfu qingxin* 行福清信) to open the baskets and yearly increase their karmic effect.” These lines from the middle of the foreword (the fourth of seven paragraphs, as I have divided it) juxtapose religious actors (“masters of recitation”; “fortune-circulators of pure faith”); actions upon texts (“survey spools” *lanzhou* 覽軸; “open baskets” *kaizang* 開藏); and spiritual effects over time (“daily effectuate their merit” *rijian qigong* 日見其功; “yearly increase their karmic effect” *suizeng qiye* 歲增其業) in order to promote the Catalog for Reading as a tool for reckoning the efficiency of ritual reading.

The first two paragraphs of the foreword raise the same theological problem in universal and historically specific aspects respectively: why should reading scriptures have to take so long? Both reply that it does not have to. The time or length that dharma takes depends on a teacher’s evaluation of pedagogic “opportunity” and student “capacity,” both of which can be meant by the Chinese character *ji*. The first passage begins with the “Great Sage taking advantage of opportunities” (*dasheng chengji* 大聖乘機), while the second switches the actor to Daoxuan’s colleague at Ximing, Regulations Master Zhenyi 真懿 who was “broad seeing, understanding capacities” (*bojian shiji* 博見識機). The wise can recognize and exploit *ji* 機, the “cruxes” by which machines work, battles are won, and lives are liberated. Daoxuan packs the first passage with scriptural allusions to maximal spiritual effects produced by minimal amounts of dharmic text. For the Great Sage Buddha, “opportunities” exploited are the “spread expositions of the famed teaching” (*yanshuo shengjiao* 敷說聲教) that manifest in “eight characters in half a verse” (*bansong bazi* 半頌八字) or “a single four-foot gāthā” (*yi sijuji* 一四句偈), sharp linguistic salvos that embody the “root [of] departing from affliction, not located in the winding and proliferate” (*lifan weibei, buzai qufan* 離惱為本，不在曲繁).⁵¹ Tiny gems of language can be

⁵¹ The pun on “affliction” and “proliferate” (*fan*, MC: *bjon*) here may or may not be intentional. See Chapter Two, note 15.

enough to expose the more global artificialities of language and reality themselves: the “gāthā” is equated to “all the wishing jewels” (*quan ruyi zhu* 全如意珠) while the “half verse” succeeds in “opening the way to the emptiness dharmas” (*kai kongfa dao* 開空法道). Daoxuan then brushes out more Mahāyāna formulae on emptiness—*Nirvana*’s claim that the Buddha “never preached the Dharma” (*chang bushuofa* 常不說法), *Great Collection*’s “Dharma-circulating bhikṣus” (*faxing biqiu* 法行比丘) whose meditations on emptiness surpass their mastery of twelvefold Buddhist canon in effecting the Dharma’s circulation, *Prajñāpāramitā*’s “rafts abandoned to understand the situation” (*shefa mingkuang* 捨筏明況). These formulae do not just reinforce the message that “reading broadly and reciting a lot (*guangdu duosong* 廣讀多誦) does not exempt one from the source of life,” but they perform on the page the Buddha’s injunction to exploit opportunity, to eschew proliferation, to “depart from affliction” (*lifan*). Daoxuan does not say as much, but slogans can be imagined as particularly efficacious skillful means when their form underscore their content: a medium as ephemeral as a four-character allusion iterates a message of universal ephemerality.

Regulations Master Zhenyi faces what looks to be a more prosaic affliction: given the repetition of scriptures in multiple translations (*chongyi*), “in the present day when we read for recitation, we are often trapped by the expansive texts” (*qingdai zhuandu duoxian guangwen* 頃代轉讀多陷廣文). Like the Buddha of the first passage, Zhenyi plots his interventions based on his clear-headed evaluation of external realities, not only “understanding capacities,” but also “fully observing times and customs” (*tongjian shisu* 通鑒時俗). In his evaluation, not only did he deem it necessary to “promote the Dharma baskets [by] circulating and preserving them annually” (*xing fazang suibie zhuanchi* 興法藏歲別轉持), he also sought Daoxuan’s help in combating the problem that “multiple translations and expansive text often gave birth to fatigue (*juandai* 倦怠).” Daoxuan voicing Zhenyi dilates on the unreliable variability of reciters’ temperament: generally, “understandings are dull, emotions are fleeting, we survey the breadth (*guanbo* 觀博) while filled with suspicion”; but “vigor or indolence” (*qingduo* 勤惰) can vary by reciter,

separating “those whose minds are thin and light look out on the size of the fascicle (*juanda* 卷大) and their brows frown” from “those whose intentions are concentrated see the quantity of the wrappers (*zhiduo* 帙多) and their intentions are emboldened.” At the end of this passage and in the next, Daoxuan warns not to “reduce [scriptural quantity] to one estimation; [but] surely retrieve it by different paths (*shutu* 殊途),” reminding the readers that Buddhists have ever prepared a multiplicity of teachings (“linguistic means for edification” *yanfang taoyou* 言方陶誘; “good teachings as bridges to salvation” *shanshuo jinliang* 善說津梁) for a multiplicity of capacities. Daoxuan concludes with the same message told twice: “there are two teachings, the expanded and the abbreviated” (*guanglüe erjiao* 廣略二教) and “knowing the springs of things is divine” (*zhiji qishen* 知幾其神) empower an educator to exercise discretion in adjusting the length and kind of a lesson. The second quote draws from Confucius’s putative great commentary to the *Changes* in order to encourage a Buddhist perusing Catalog 4 to “know springs of things” like his predecessors Zhenyi and the Great Sage.

Paragraph 4 offers the method of Daoxuan’s Catalog 4, and paragraphs 5–7 comprising the rest of the preface celebrate the works of economy performed and enabled by Daoxuan’s cataloging. Before his lines about saving time for masters of recitation, Daoxuan describes the modus operandi of the catalog.

Now, then, abandon indulgence and excess; show or hide [titles] as duty requires: elevate the greater editions so as to include smaller scriptures; extract the root but abandon the branches and leaves. Although the text is abbreviated, the meaning is broad; although the fascicles are fewer, the ideas are multiple.

The key parallel lines prioritize the “greater editions” (*dabu* 大部) over “smaller scriptures” (*xiaojing* 小經) and “the root [texts]” (*genben* 本根) over “branches and leaves” (*zhiye* 枝葉) respectively. For the purposes of recitation, textual redundancy has been eliminated. In the first case, where multiple translations have generated expanded and abbreviated versions of the same original, the abbreviated versions may be safely eschewed; in the second case, where textual

units have dual lives as independently circulating scriptures and as chapters in complete corpora, their independent textual life may be ignored to avoid duplication. Daoxuan pairs allusions from the *Laozi* and the *Analects* to comment on his method, redirecting their putative ethical force toward the sculpting of a shorter canon: Laoist “abandon indulgence and excess” (*qu qi taishen* 去其泰甚) casts alternate translations and free-floating scriptures as luxuries and Ruhist “show or hide” (*xingcang* 行藏) reveals dharma to be a reproducible object upon which strategic expenditure and reserve may be exercised. The final product strikes an ideal ratio where less text and fewer fascicles still convey many meanings—or at least as many as Catalogs 2 or 3.

Paragraphs 5 and 6 contextualize Daoxuan’s project against the great size of the full canon and the short length of a single lifespan respectively. While the fifth passage laments external criticism of the liberties taken in abbreviating scriptures, the sixth passage laments the lack of time to read and learn as much as one might like. Both passages allude to “oceanic” (*hai* 海) quantities of wisdom—the former upset that “Cīṇasthāna’s” (*zhendan* 震旦) scriptures represent only one ten-thousandth of the “ocean dragons’ treasury” (*longhai zanglu* 龍海藏錄), the latter renouncing the “leisure” (*xia* 暇) a putative student might exploit to “search widely” (*guangxun* 廣尋) the “Oceans of Learning” (*wenhai* 文海). The fifth passage ends with an evaluation that the Chinese canon is inadequate on two counts: “[too] heavy for the lazy... [too] light for the wide-viewing” (*zhong yu yandai... qing yu boguan* 重於厭怠...輕於博觀): even the full measure of Chinese Buddhist scriptures is a makeshift intervention, very good and merely good enough. At any rate, Catalog 4 offers respite for the easily fatigued, clear tracks along which one can measuredly recite (or imagine reciting) full lengths of Buddhist canon “scroll by scroll,” “chapter by chapter.” The lazy need to make the most of the “dewdrop flashes” (*xuanlu zhi guang* 玄露之光) of lives lived, the “lightning intervals” (*feidian zhi qing* 飛電之頃) of words spoken that are allotted to them. As they do not have “leisure” to roam through canons at will, they can at least have solace that the whole of the teachings is humanly readable. The eighth passage closes with a *gāthā* that closes the story of the two monastic brothers from *Great*

Adornment Treatise-Scripture, referenced earlier in Daoxuan's essay on his eminent monastic "Readers and Reciters" in *Continued Traditions of Eminent Monks*: "the wise ought to practice the way / so as to obtain the fruit of liberation. / Afterwards, they can use their vast learning / to make wonderful necklaces." In the context of the abbreviated catalog as well as in that of monks who read too much and practice too little, this allusion encourages the reader to hurry up, get over desire for glory, and make do with available means. "Vast learning" (*duowen* 多聞) can be a marvel and a resource, but liberation is the point of the entire enterprise, not the crafting of textual jewelry often represented by authored post-parinirvana genres like treatise and anthology.

"Sitting quietly to think on subtleties" (*jingzuo siwei* 靜坐思微) was the only way to liberation projected by the story for which the *gāthā* provides the moral, but this path is not even available for "ordinary commoners" (*fanxiao* 凡小), according to the closing seventh passage. Daoxuan concludes, "then we must open and read scriptures and treatises to burst open their eyes and ears, to analyze their natures and souls" (*ze xu pidu jinglun kaijue ermu, fenjie xingling* 則須披讀經論開決耳目，分解性靈). While the older brother of the *Great Adornment Treatise-Scripture* counsels his younger "vastly learned" brother to forego scripture and pursue meditation, Daoxuan inverts the formula, offering scripture as a substitute for straight "sitting quietly." For easily distracted Tang Buddhists, reciting scriptural collections is still a primary tool for "leading and raising understandings of principle" (*daoyang liyi* 道揚理義) and "influencing the unlearned" (*taohua weiwen* 陶化未聞): for Zhenyi and Daoxuan, there is a greater danger posed by the "unlearned" rather than by "vastly learning," and this sentiment has guided their ambition to "plant this [catalog-]chapter" (*cipian chengshu* 茲篇成樹) and allow for a user to "calculate his days without betraying the [Buddha's] testament" (*tuiri bufu yiji* 推日不負遺寄). At minimum, Catalog 4 as an itinerary intends for monks to move through a canon more quickly and get more dharma to more sentient beings in less time, leading to more open "eyes and ears," transforming the "unlearned" (*weiwen* 未聞) to those who have "heard" (*wen* 聞), and those who have heard a little into those who have "heard a lot" (*duowen* 多聞). By implication, the cata-

loger Daoxuan is also “vastly learned” (*duowen*), who has not just mapped all the thoroughfares through the scriptures, but the shortcuts as well: one wonders if the readers are to view Daoxuan’s catalogs as “beautiful necklaces” too.

Daoxuan’s prefatory prose is difficult, and it is not always clear what allusions he may be drawing on or what he is referring to exactly. But while the prefaces draw on images and inspirations from the worlds in the scriptures, they are deployed to bring scriptures more effectively into the world, such that it would be easier for exegetes to study or for merit-rousers to recite as two kinds of practical canons. The allusions inspire the devotion, discrimination, and discipline discussed in my previous chapter on *A Grove of Pearls*’s chapters on the Dharma as an object. Vast collection requires management like “vast learning” requires direction. Like the anthology prefaces they resemble, Daoxuan’s two catalog-prefaces acknowledge the material constraints of too much scripture. But readers of the catalogs would not need to read the prefaces to learn what they were designed to do: the listings on the page indicate that space, time, and redundancy are being managed. Like the pages of anthology, the pages of abbreviated catalog instruct their readers that the vastness and diversity of scriptural tradition is available for use, not just theoretically, but pragmatically speaking, with respect to consultation of a monastic library’s shelves or the ritual recitation of the totality of tradition.

Concluding Miscellaneously

Both Daoshi's *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures* and his *Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* feature an ending chapter titled, "Miscellaneous Essentials" (*zayao*): for *ZJYJ*, it is the thirtieth of thirty chapters (*bu*) in the former, comprising thirteen sections (*yuan*) over the twentieth and final fascicle; and for *FYZL*, it is the ninety-ninth chapter (*pian*) and ninety-ninth of hundred fascicles, comprising ten sections (*bu*). They each end with the same closing praise (*song*), four couplets of four characters:

Collect omissions, summarize their essentials,
And hope to abandon dangers thereby.
[*ZJYJ*: Miscellaneous affairs having been abstracted, abandon these afflictions.]
Myriad Practices being true and firm,
Six Dusts [defiling sense-fields] are then shut out.
A Frosty Mind [one that is chaste or loyal to the Dharma] most frigid;
A Jade Face most brilliant—
Like those flawless, magnificent jades [*ZJYJ*: magical, wintry forests],
Sparkling without a single defect.¹

捨遺簡要	冀捨危嶮	[Z 雜務簡要	捨茲煩染]
萬行貞固	六塵方掩		
烈烈霜心	昭昭玉檢	[Z檢]	
如彼瓊珪	[Z林]	皎無瑕點	

The praise does not directly explain the meaning of the title of the chapter, "Miscellaneous Essentials," but it does analogize the collection of textual knowledge to the perfection of virtue as aesthetic pleasures. One must "omit" or "abandon" (*she*) unnecessary text (*yi*), afflictions (*fanran*), dust/sense-fields (*chen*), or dangers (*weixian*) in order to hold firm to the "summarized es-

¹ *T* no. 2122.j99.1019a02–05 and *T* no. 2123.j20.194a07–10; cf. Su and Zhou 2003, 6.2863.

sentials” (*jianyao*): and in so doing, one becomes frigid, brilliant, sparkling like a jewel (or jeweled forest). To whom are these anthology chapter-concluding praises directed, and who speaks them? The anthologist addresses himself in completing the great task of completing the anthology; the editor alters some characters to improve internal rhyme (“jade” *gui/kwej* to “forest” *lin/lim* to better match “heart” *xin/sim*),² reduce repetition of characters; the reader finds instructions to apply to her own reading and compilation practices. Each impersonator of the voice could imagine the others speaking it—the images resonate with those already deployed in the titles and prefaces of the anthologies as well as across the universe of Buddhist textual tradition sampled therein.

The praise addresses the scriptural quotes of the thirty or ninety-nine fascicles preceding it, but more proximately, the materials in the chapter it shares a fascicle with. What kind of materials end up in “Miscellaneous Essentials” when the first character “miscellaneous” (*za* 雜) suggests something uncategorizable—and perhaps, inessential—about them? The title of the category promises both the necessity and orderliness of everything that has come before; it also threatens that orderly necessity by suggesting that late additions could always be found to supplement the whole.³ Its “Explaining the Meaning” borrows prefacing lines from two of Senyou’s collections—the first lines from his essay on translation from *A Collection of Records* (reproduced in Chapter Three, Part 4) and his preface to the *Collection from the Garden of Dharma* (Appendix C, paragraph 1) are respectively employed to celebrate writing as a skillful means and scriptural economy as the task of a scholar confronted with proliferation.⁴ The next nine sections of “Miscellaneous Essentials” in *A Grove of Pearls* cover “2. Four Reliances” (*siyi* 四依); “3. Four Fruits” (*siguo* 四果); “4. Four Foods” (*sishi* 四食); “5. Clean Mouths” (*jingkou* 淨口); “6. Ringing the Bell” (*mingzhong* 鳴鐘); “7. Entering the Mass” (*ruzong* 入眾); “8.

² Following Kroll 2017b for Middle Chinese pronunciations.

³ See Nicoll-Johnson 2017 on *za* as a target for early medieval Chinese bibliographic effort. Harper 2016, 326 acknowledges *za* ‘mixture, blend, miscellany’ as having a “positive connotation” in early and medieval Chinese bibliography.

⁴ *T* no. 2122.j99.1013a15–23 and *T* no. 2123.j20.184b01–09; cf. Su and Zhou 2003, 6.2839–40.

Seeking the Dharma” (*qiufa* 求法); “9. Signs of Decay” (*shuaixiang* 衰相); and “10. Miscellaneous Practices” (*zaxing* 雜行). How these materials are reshuffled for *Collected Essentials* underscores, in part, the arbitrariness of classification: in the first place, Sections 5, 6, 7, 9, and 10 of *A Grove of Pearls* reappear as Sections 8, 9, 10, 11 and 13 in *Collected Essentials* respectively, only the new Section 8 has the new name “Protecting Purity” (*hujing* 護淨); in the second place, “4. Four Foods” finds a new location as “Section 5: Giving Foods” (*shishi* 施食) in *Collected Essentials* “Chapter 7: Receiving Invitations” (*shouqing* 受請) and the first excerpt from “8. Seeking the Dharma” appears in “Section 2: Seeking the Dharma” in *Collected Essentials* “Chapter 18.6: [Perfection of] Wisdom” (*zhahui* 智慧); and finally, new sections 2–4, 5–7, and 12 have been imported from “Chapter 77: Suffering” (Sections “2. Selected Excerpts” → “2. Suffering” [*yuanku* 怨苦]; “4. Eight Sufferings” [*baku* 八苦]; and “6. Residences of Bugs” [*chongyu* 蟲寓]), 94 “Pollution” (Sections “2. Five Pungencies” [*wuxin* 五辛]; “3. Sneezing” [*dieqi* 嚏氣]; and “4. Going to the Bathroom” [*bianli* 便利]), and “Chapter 26: Dreams” (Section 3) respectively. Some material in *A Grove of Pearls*’s “Miscellaneous Essentials”—“2. Four Reliances,” “3. Four Fruits,” and much of “8. Seeking the Dharma”—does not appear in *Collected Essentials* at all, but all the material in *Collected Essentials*’s “Miscellaneous Essentials” appears somewhere in *A Grove of Pearls*, often selections from chapters that did not make the final cut, so to speak. “Miscellaneous Essentials” suggest the negotiable limits to the category of “essential”: passages on “suffering” may not merit their own chapter in the abridged anthology, but they still merit inclusion.

The two versions of “Miscellaneous Essentials” also suggest the limits on an anthologist’s time and the conceit of his project: sections like “Four Foods,” “Clean Mouths,” or “Signs of [God’s] Decay” seem like natural fits for other chapter-categories in *A Grove of Pearls*, and for *Collected Essentials* Daoshi moves the first to an already existing chapter, keeps the second in “Miscellaneous Essentials,” and omits the last. With more time to practice scriptural economy, an anthologist can move, keep, or delete passages. The point, however, of offering the right pas-

sages and putting them in the right places is to have them distributed, recited, and practiced.⁵ And this is perhaps why Daoshi ends his anthology with an image not of imperfection but of the pure, unspoiled mind, radiant as a gem.

I close my dissertation with this short discussion of “Miscellaneous Essentials” because it is in many ways a microcosm of *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*. Its paratext instructs its reader how to regard the text on the page as a product of a chain of editorial interventions that must be further managed by the reader. Its categories not only enable consultative reading, but they also allow for the shuttling of passages for making new anthologies from it. It frames quotes from scriptures as summarial essences on particular topics, and bundles them together as a miscellany for later readers to plot uses, whether it is teaching about Buddhist hermeneutics through the “Four Reliances,” recapitulating the Buddha’s listing of the “Eight Sufferings,” or decorating liturgy with verses on how monastic bell-ringing generates merit by awakening all sentient beings. Finally, “Miscellaneous Essentials” recognizes the arbitrariness of Daoshi’s whole project: of course ninety-nine *pian* in ninety-nine fascicles, or twenty-nine *bu* in nineteen fascicles, are not enough to exhaust the Buddhist scriptures of their essential lines of text! Like Mouzi suggests, rivers do not need to be exhausted to quench one’s thirst. Anthologies—like the Buddha’s sermons, his disciples’ councils, his followers’ *tripitakas*, or his translators’ scriptures—are entirely redundant but absolutely necessary. The point is to make skillful use of them.

⁵ There is a high proportion of passages from the regulations in this chapter; like Chapter 95 on the “Sufferings of Illness,” it appears to share citations with Daoxuan’s regulations commentary, the *Epitome on Conduct and Procedure*, XSC, see Hsu 2017.

Appendices

Appendix A: A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma Table of Contents¹

1. Measurement of Kalpa-Ages (*jieliang* 劫量) j1;
2. The Three Realms (*sanjie* 三界) j2-3;
3. Suns and Moons (*riyue* 日月), j4;
4. The Six Paths (*liudao* 六道), j5;
 - 4.1. Heavens (*zhutian* 諸天);
 - 4.2. Humans (*rendao* 人道);
 - 4.3. Asuras (*xiuluo* 修羅);
 - 4.4. Ghosts (*guishen* 鬼神), j6;
 - 4.5. Animals (*chusheng* 畜生);
 - 4.6. Hells (*diyu* 地獄), j7;
5. Thousands of Buddhas (*qianfo* 千佛), j8;
 - 5.1. The Seven Buddhas (*qifo* 七佛);
 - 5.2. Causes and Conditions (*yinyuan* 因緣);
 - 5.3. Lineage (*zhongxing* 種姓);
 - 5.4. Descent into Womb (*jiangtai* 降胎);
 - 5.5. Birth (*chutai* 出胎);
 - 5.6. Rearing (*shiyang* 侍養), j9;
 - 5.7. Physiognomy (*zhanxiang* 占相);
 - 5.8. Travel and Study (*youxue* 游學);
 - 5.9. Marriage (*nafei* 納妃), j10;

¹ Title translations adapted from Teiser 1985, Muller 2010, Campany 2012b, and other Western-language studies focusing on single chapters. I have also delineated the section titles of the largest chapters (these “mega-chapters” are larger than two fascicles)—many of these sections feature their own subordinate system of *bu*-sections.

- 5.10. Detesting Suffering (*yanku* 厭苦);
- 5.11. Going Forth (*chujia* 出家);
- 5.12. Attaining the Way (*chengdao* 成道), j11;
- 5.13. Preaching the Dharma (*shuofa* 說法);
- 5.14. Nirvana (*niepan* 涅槃), j12;
- 5.15 Councils (*jieji* 結集);
- 6. Paying Respect to Buddhas (*jingfo* 敬佛), j13;
 - 6.1. Explaining the Meaning (*shuyi* 述意);
 - 6.2. Recollecting the Buddha (*nianfo* 念佛);
 - 6.3. Contemplating the Buddha (*guanfo* 觀佛), j14;
 - 6.4. Amitābha (*Mituo* 彌陀), j15;
 - 6.5. Maitreya (*Mile* 彌勒), j16;
 - 6.6. Universal Worthy (*Puxian* 普賢);
 - 6.7. Sound Perceiver (*Guanyin* 觀音);
- 7. Paying Respect to the Dharma (*jingfa* 敬法), j17–8;
- 8. Paying Respect to the Sangha (*jingseng* 敬僧), j19;
- 9. Extending Respect (*zhijing* 致敬), j20;
- 10. Fields of Merit (*futian* 福田), j21;
- 11. Taking Refuge in Faith (*guixin* 歸信);
- 12. Laymen and Laywomen (*shinü* 士女);
- 13. Entering the Path (*rudao* 入道), j22;
- 14. Modesty (*cankui* 慚愧), j23;
- 15. Guidance (*jiangdao* 獎導);
- 16. Preaching and Attending (*shuoting* 說聽), j23–4;
- 17. Understanding (*jianjie* 見解), j25;
- 18. Past Lives (*suming* 宿命), j26;

19. Utmost Sincerity (*zhicheng* 至誠), j27;
20. Divine Wonders (*shenyi* 神異), j28;
21. Miraculous Connections (*gantong* 感通), j29;
22. Preservation (*zhuchi* 住持), j30;
23. Concealment (*qiandun* 潛遁), j31;
24. Monstrous Anomalies (*yaoguai* 妖怪);
25. Transformations (*bianhua* 變化), j32;
26. Sleep and Dreams (*mianmeng* 眠夢);
27. Promoting Merit (*xingfu* 興福), j33;
28. Concentrating Thought (*shenian* 攝念), j34;
29. Making Vows (*fayuan* 發願);
30. Dharma Garments (*fafu* 法服), j35;
31. Lighting Lanterns (*randeng* 然燈);
32. Hanging Banners (*xuanfan* 懸幡), j36;
33. Flowers and Incense (*huaxiang* 華香);
34. Chants and Hymns (*baizan* 唄讚);
35. Paying Respect to Stūpas (*jingta* 敬塔), j37–8;
36. Monasteries [saṃgha-ārāma] (*qielan* 伽藍), j39;
37. Relics [śarīra] (*sheli* 舍利), j40;
38. Offering (*gongyang* 供養), j41;
39. Receiving Invitations (*shouqing* 受請), j41–2;
40. Wheel-Turning Kings (*lunwang* 輪王), j43;
41. Rulers and Ministers (*junchen* 君臣), j44;
42. Accepting Remonstrance (*nalian* 納諫), j45;
43. Investigation (*shencha* 審察);
44. Caution (*sishen* 思慎), j46;

45. Frugality (*jianyue* 儉約);
46. Correction of Faults (*chengguo* 懲過), j47;
47. Harmoniousness (*heshun* 和順);
48. Enjoining Morality (*jiexu* 誠勗), j48;
49. Loyalty and Filiality (*zhongxiao* 忠孝), j49;
50. Unfiliality (*buxiao* 不孝);
51. Repaying Kindness (*baoen* 報恩), j50;
52. Ignoring Kindness (*beien* 背恩);
53. Good Friends (*shanyou* 善友), j51;
54. Evil Friends (*eyou* 惡友);
55. Choosing Associates (*zejiao* 擇交);
56. Family (*juanshu* 眷屬), j52;
57. Comparing Amounts (*jiaoliang* 校量);
58. Skillful Debate (*jibian* 機辯), j53;
59. Stupidity (*yugang* 愚戇);
60. Fraudulence (*zhawei* 詐偽), j54;
61. Indolence (*duoman* 惰慢);
62. Destroying Heresy (*poxie* 破邪), j55;
63. Wealth and Status (*fugui* 富貴), j56;
64. Poverty and Baseness (*pinjian* 貧賤);
65. Debts (*zhaifu* 債負), j57;
66. Quarreling (*zhengsong* 諍訟);
67. Slander (*moubang* 謀謗), j58–9;
68. Incantations (*zhoushu* 呪術), j60–1;
69. Sacrifice (*jisi* 祭祀), j62;
70. Physiognomy (*zhanxiang* 占相);

71. Rain Prayers (*qiyu* 祈雨), j63;
72. Gardens and Fruits (*yuanguo* 園果);
73. Fishing and Hunting (*yulie* 漁獵), j64;
74. Compassion (*cibei* 慈悲);
75. Releasing Animals (*fangsheng* 放生), j65;
76. Salvation from Danger (*jiu'e* 救厄);
77. Suffering (*yuanku* 怨苦), j66–7;
78. Karmic Conditioning (*yeyin* 業因), j68;
79. Retribution (*shoubao* 受報), j69–70;
80. Crime and Fortune (*zuifu* 罪福), j71;
81. Desires as Obstructions (*yugai* 欲蓋);
82. The Four Modes of Birth (*sisheng* 四生), j72;
83. The Ten Fetters (*shishi* 十使);
84. The Ten Evil Acts (*shie* 十惡), j73;
 - 84.1. Explaining the Meaning (*shuyi* 述意);
 - 84.2. Karmic Causes (*yeyin* 業因);
 - 84.3. Retributions (*guobao* 果報);
 - 84.4. Murder (*shasheng* 殺生);
 - 84.5. Theft (*toudao* 偷盜), j74;
 - 84.6. Sexual Misconduct (*xieyin* 邪淫), j75;
 - 84.7. Lying (*wangyu* 妄語);
 - 84.8. Insult (*ekou* 惡口), j76;
 - 84.9. Slander (*liangshe* 兩舌);
 - 84.10. Empty Talk (*qiyu* 綺語);
 - 84.11. Avarice (*qiantan* 慳貪), j77;
 - 84.12. Malice (*chenhui* 瞋恚), j78;

- 84.13. Wrong View (*xiejian* 邪見), j79;
85. The Six Perfections (*liudu* 六度), j80;
- 85.1. Donation (*bushi* 佈施), j80–1;
- 85.2. Keeping Precepts (*chijie* 持戒), j82;
- 85.3. Forbearance (*renru* 忍辱);
- 85.4. Vigor (*jingjin* 精進), j83;
- 85.5. Meditation (*chanding* 禪定), j84;
- 85.6. Wisdom (*zhahui* 智慧), j85;
86. Repentance (*chanhui* 懺悔), j86;
87. Taking Precepts (*shoujie* 受戒), j87;
- 87.1. Explaining the Meaning (*shuyi*);
- 87.2. Encouraging Keeping (*quanchi*);
- 87.3. The Three Refuges (*sangui*);
- 87.4. The Five Precepts (*wujie*), j88;
- 87.5. The Eight Precepts (*bajie*);
- 87.6. The Ten Good Acts (*shishan*), j89;
- 87.7. The Three Categories [of Pure Precepts] (*sanju*);
88. Breaking Precepts (*pojie* 破戒), j90;
89. Keeping the Fast (*shouzhai* 受齋), j91;
90. Breaking the Fast (*pozhai* 破齋);
91. Reward and Punishment (*shangfa* 賞罰);
92. Harm in Advantage (*lihai* 利害), j92;
93. Liquor and Meat (*jiurou* 酒肉), j93–4;
94. Pollution (*huizhuo* 穢濁);
95. Suffering of Illness (*bingku* 病苦), j95;
96. Abandoning the Body (*sheshen* 捨身), j96;

97. Funerals (*songzhong* 送終), j97;
98. Extinction of the Dharma (*famie* 法滅), j98;
99. Miscellaneous Essentials (*zayao* 雜要), j99;
100. Traditions and Records (*zhuanji* 傳記), j100.

Appendix B: Collected Essentials from the Scriptures Table of Contents

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<i>ZJYJ Chapter (bu) Title</i>	<i>FYZL Chapter Analogue(s) +</i>	<i>Additional Shared FYZL Content</i>
1. The Three Jewels (<i>sanbao</i>), j1;	6–8	—
1.1. Paying Respect to the Buddha (<i>jingfo</i>);	6	—
1.2. Paying Respect to the Dharma (<i>jingfa</i>), j2;	7	16; 19; 14
1.3. Paying Respect to the Sangha (<i>jingseng</i>);	8	—
2. Paying Respect to Stupas (<i>jingta</i>), j3;	35	36
3. Concentrating Thought (<i>shenian</i>);	28	29
4. Entering the Path (<i>rudao</i>), j4;	13	—
5. Chants and Hymns (<i>beican</i>);	34	—
6. Incense and Lanterns (<i>xiangdeng</i>);	33 and 31	32
7. Receiving Invitations (<i>shouqing</i>), j5;	39	38
8. Keeping the Fast (<i>shouzhai</i>), j6;	89	—
9. Breaking the Fast (<i>pozhai</i>);	90	—
10. Wealth and Status (<i>fugui</i>);	63	—
11. Poverty and Baseness (<i>pinjian</i>);	64	—
12. Guidance (<i>jiangdao</i>), j7;	15 (no content shared with analogue)	12; 13; 56; 48
13. Repaying Kindness (<i>baoen</i>), j8;	51	52
14. Liberating Animals (<i>fangsheng</i>);	75	73; 76
15. Promoting Fortune (<i>xingfu</i>);	27	—
16. Choosing Associates (<i>zejiao</i>), j9;	55	53; 54; 65; 46; 12; 47
17. Caution (<i>sishen</i>);	44	—
18. The Six Perfections (<i>liudu</i>), j10;	85	—
18.1. Donation (<i>bushi</i>);	“	—
18.2. Keeping Precepts (<i>chijie</i>);	“	—
18.3. Forbearance (<i>renru</i>);	“	—
18.4. Vigor (<i>jingjin</i>);	“	—
18.5. Meditation (<i>chanding</i>);	“	—
18.6. Wisdom (<i>zhihui</i>);	“	—
19. Karmic Conditioning (<i>veyin</i>), j11;	78	80
20. Desire as Obstruction (<i>yugai</i>), j12;	81	—
21. The Four Births (<i>sisheng</i>);	82	79
22. Retribution (<i>shoubao</i>), j13;	79	—
23. The Ten Evil Acts (<i>shie</i>), j14–5;	84	—

24. Cheating (<i>zhawei</i>), j16;	60	—
25. Indolence (<i>duoman</i>);	61	19
26. Liquor and Meat (<i>jiurou</i>), j17;	93	—
27. Physiognomy (<i>zhanxiang</i>);	70	15; 14
28. Hells (<i>diyu</i>), j18;	4.6	—
29. Funerals (<i>songzhong</i>), j19;	97	95; 69
30. Miscellaneous Essentials (<i>zayao</i>), j20.	99	77; 94; 26
<i>sanbao</i> 三寶 <i>xiangdeng</i> 香燈		

For *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures* (*Zhujing yaoji* or *ZJYJ*), the greatest unit is the “section” (*bu*), the next unit is the “accounts” (*yuan*), and the intermediary unit, when necessary for subdividing the larger *bu*-sections, is the “chapter” (*pian*) for sections 1 and 18. The second column demonstrates how all top-level *lei*-categories in *ZJYJ* can also be found as top-level *lei*-categories in *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* (*FYZL*). The majority of content found in a *ZJYJ* section will also be found in its *FYZL* analogue, and additional content is almost always locatable in another *FYZL* chapter. Lower-level *lei*-categories (*yuan*-accounts, usually) in *ZJYJ* are often shared with their *FYZL* analogues (for instance, Accounts 4-8 of *ZJYJ* “Section 7: Receiving Invitations” share the same names as sections 3–7 of *FYZL* “Chapter 39: Receiving Invitations”), but other *yuan* share names with *FYZL* *pian*-chapters not employed as *ZJYJ* *bu*-section titles (*ZJYJ* “Accounts 14.4: Salvation from Danger [*jiuwei*]” shares a title and some contents with *FYZL* Chapter 76). Appendix B, in consultation with Appendix A, suggests how to think about the structure of *ZJYJ* in relationship to the structure of *FYZL* at a macro-level by mapping their shared categories and contents. See notes to Chapter 6 and Appendices P and Q for examples of how to imagine the relationship between these two anthologies at the level of chapter and quotation.

Over two-thirds of *Collected Essentials*'s introductory "Explaining the Meaning" essays appear to be largely conserved across eponymous chapters and sections (*ZJYJ* 1.2 "Paying Respect to the Dharma" from *FYZL* 7 "Paying Respect to the Dharma"; *ZJYJ* 1.3 from *FYZL* 8; *ZJYJ* 2 from *FYZL* 35; *ZJYJ* 3 from *FYZL* 28; *ZJYJ* 5 from *FYZL* 34; *ZJYJ* 8 from *FYZL* 89; *ZJYJ* 9 from *FYZL* 90; *ZJYJ* 10 from *FYZL* 63; *ZJYJ* 11 from *FYZL* 65; *ZJYJ* 14 from *FYZL* 75; *ZJYJ* 15 from *FYZL* 27; *ZJYJ* 17 from *FYZL* 44; *ZJYJ* 18.1–6 from *FYZL* 85.1–6; *ZJYJ* 20 from *FYZL* 81; *ZJYJ* 21 from *FYZL* 82; *ZJYJ* 22 from *FYZL* 79; *ZJYJ* 23.1–10 from *FYZL* 84.4–13; *ZJYJ* 24 from *FYZL* 60; *ZJYJ* 25 from *FYZL* 61; *ZJYJ* 26 from *FYZL* 93; *ZJYJ* 27 from *FYZL* 70; *ZJYJ* 30 from *FYZL* 99); a handful of essays have been repurposed for other chapters (*ZJYJ* 1.1 from *FYZL* 6.2 "Recollecting the Buddha"; *ZJYJ* 4 from *FYZL* 5.4 "Descent into Womb"; *ZJYJ* 12 from *FYZL* 77 "Suffering"; *ZJYJ* 16 from *FYZL* 53 "Good Friends"; *ZJYJ* 19 from *FYZL* 84.0 "Ten Evils"; *ZJYJ* 29 from *FYZL* 95 "Sufferings from Illness"); and a few introductory essays appear to have been re-combined from multiple "Explaining the Meaning" essays (*ZJYJ* 6 from *FYZL* 31 "Lighting Lanterns" and 32 "Hanging Banners"; *ZJYJ* 7 from *FYZL* 38 "Offering" and 39 "Receiving Invitations"; *ZJYJ* 13 from *FYZL* 51 "Repaying Kindness" and 52 "Ignoring Kindness") or appear in other locations, as the essay "explaining" *ZJYJ* 28 closes the *FYZL* section 4.6 "Hells" (*T NO 2122.j7.330a23–b02*). A few chapter-closing verses are shared across the two Daoshi anthologies as well (under eponymous categories, *ZJYJ* 2; 5; 10; 13; 17; 20; 23.1–10; 24; 25; 26; 27; 97; and 99; under different categories, *ZJYJ* 7; 12; 14; 19; and 28; combined from multiple verses, *ZJYJ* 6 and 22), but many appear to have been newly composed because they are not found in *FYZL* (*ZJYJ* 1.1; 1.2; 1.3; 3; 4; 8; 9; 11; 13; 16; 21). As headings and scriptural quotes are shuttled, transposed, and recombined across the two anthologies, so too are the epideictic phrases and verses that introduce and conclude chapters and sections.

Appendix C: Golden Basket Discourse Table of Contents¹

<i>JZL Chapter (yuan) Title</i>	<i>FYZL Analogue(s)</i>	<i>Shared Quotations</i>
1. Wrong View (<i>xiejian</i> 邪見);	84.13 Wrong View	4/5
2. Murder (<i>shahai</i> 殺害);	84.4 Murder (<i>shasheng</i> 殺生)	2/10 (3 analogues in 3 other chapters)
3. Cursing (<i>mali</i> 罵詈);	84.8 Insult (<i>ekou</i>)	4/7 (1 analogue found in another chapter)
4. Repentance (<i>chanhui</i> 懺悔);	86. Repentance	0/3 (1 analogue found in another chapter)
5. Calling on the Buddha (<i>chengfo</i> 稱佛);	6.2 Recalling the Buddha (<i>nianfo</i>)	3/3
6. Contemplating Images (<i>guanxiang</i> 觀像);	6.3 Contemplating the Buddha (<i>guanfo</i>)	3/3
7. Hearing the Dharma (<i>tingfa</i> 聽法);	7.2 Listening to the Dharma	4/5
8. Seeking Dharma (<i>qiufa</i> 求法);	7.3 Seeking Dharma	4/4
9. Precepts (<i>jie</i> 戒);	85.2 Keeping Precepts (<i>chijie</i>); 87. Taking Precepts (<i>shoujie</i>)	N/A
10. Feeding (<i>shi</i> 食);	39.4 Gifting Food (<i>shishi</i> 施食)	N/A
11. Karma (<i>ye</i> 業);	78. Karmic Conditioning (<i>yeyin</i>)	N/A
12. Donation (<i>bushi</i> 佈施);	85.1 Donation	N/A
13. Stinginess (<i>qian</i> 慳);	84.11 Avarice (<i>qiantan</i>)	N/A
14. Stupas (<i>ta</i> 塔);	35. Paying Respect to Stupas	5/15
15. Images (<i>xiang</i> 像);	27.5 Repair and Construction (<i>xiuzao</i> 修造)	3/7 (2 analogues in 2 other chapters)
16. Incense and Flowers (<i>xianghua</i> 香花);	33. Flowers and Incense (<i>huaxiang</i>)	1/7 (1 analogue found in another chapter)
17. Lanterns (<i>deng</i> 燈);	31. Lighting Lanterns (<i>randeng</i>)	3/5
18. Banners and Palinquins (<i>fangai</i> 幡蓋);	32. Hanging Banners (<i>xuanfan</i>)	2/4 (1 analogue found in another chapter)

¹ Following Miyai and Motoi, 2011 reproduction of Beomeo-sa woodblock print of table of contents from first fascicle of *JZL*. Miyai and Motoi are able to reconstruct the first and second fascicles of *JZL* from one set of sources (consisting of accounts 1–4 and 5–8), and the fifth and sixth fascicles from another set of sources (consisting of accounts 14–17 and 18–21, though enumerated 15–18 and 19–22). Contents and their enumeration differ from witness to witness, but only the Beomeo-sa print provides a table of contents for the whole work (rather than for individual fascicles).

19. Going Forth (<i>chujia</i> 出家);	13. Entering the Path (<i>rudao</i>)	4/7 (1 analogue found in another chapter)
20. Kasaya Robes (<i>jiasha</i> 袈裟);	30. Dharma Garments (<i>fafu</i>)	5/6
21. Filiality (<i>xiaoyang</i> 孝養);	50. Loyalty and Filiality (<i>zhongxiao</i>)	4/6 (2 analogues in another chapter)
22. Miscellaneous (<i>za</i> 雜).	99. Miscellaneous Essentials (<i>zayao</i>)	N/A

Across various witnesses of *Golden Basket Discourse*, both chapters and the excerpted quotes they contain are referred to as “accounts” (*yuan* 緣). Bolded chapter titles share elements with chapter- or section-titles (*pian* 篇; *bu* 部) in *A Grove of Pearls*. Chapter/section analogues are conjectural, especially for *JZL* Chapters 9–13 and 22, of which only putative quotations thereof survive.² Shared quotations report how many of passages in a *Golden Basket* chapter share doppelgangers in its *Grove of Pearls* analogue, summarizing reports by Miyai and Motoi 2011. For the purposes of this table, I count as quotations the rubricated, enumerated quoted accounts (*yuan*) filed under every chapter (also *yuan*) as well as unenumerated quotations that introduce chapters and unenumerated quotations appended to the official accounts.

² Miyai and Motoi 2011, 624–52, relate citations of *JZL* in the *Six Documents of Yichu* (*Yichu liutie* or *Shishi liutie*) that fall into these categories.

Appendix D: Some Major Chinese Buddhist Compilation Projects (4th century–10th century)

The table below charts four of the most prolific collector-monks of the early medieval period, Sengyou and Baochang of Jiankang in the Southern Liang and Daoxuan and Daoshi of Chang’an in the early Tang. It plots some of the important predecessor and intermediary collections that emerge in the works of the four collector-monks as well as secondary literature, but does not pretend to be comprehensive. This chart offers way to keep track of how *A Grove of Pearls* imagines itself (and is imagined) as taking part in a web of interrelated works and authors, many of which were also internally organized through *lei*. The chart also outlines how each work conceives of and enumerates its constituent divisions.

z = 帙 *zhi* (“wrapper”)

j = 卷 *juan* (“scroll” or “fascicle”)

p = 篇 *pian* (“chapter”)

b = 部 *bu* (“section”)

y = 緣 *yuan* (“account”)

lu = 錄 *lu* (“catalog”)

ji = 記 *ji* (“record”)

x = 序 *xu* (“preface”)

zh = 傳 *zhuan* (“tradition” or “biography”)

pu = 譜 *pu* (“genealogy”)

item = organizational element either unspecified or largely mixed (as in apologetic collections)

The titles and authors of nearly all of these works (up to Daoshi and Daoxuan) can be gleaned from “Section 3: Miscellaneous Collections” (*zaji* 雜集) in “Chapter 100: Records” *zhuanji* 傳記 of *A Grove of Pearls*.¹ In this mini-catalog of sorts, Daoshi tabulates the titles of 227 works of 2549 fascicles composed (*zhuan* 撰) by Chinese Buddhists over the past few centuries and under eleven of the dynasties since Western Jin (265–317). The titles of the works are listed roughly chronologically, includes catalogs, prefaces, commentaries, and discourses as well as collections, and is about half as long as a contemporaneous catalog it strongly resembles, Daoxuan’s sixth subcatalog of his *Catalog of the Inner Books of the Great Tang* (*Da Tang neidianlu*), titled “Catalog of Transmissions, Creations, Annotations, and Commentaries of Monastics and Lay Over the Periods” (*lidai daosu shuzuo zhujie lu* 歷代道俗述作註解錄), roughly the first half of the tenth and final fascicle of Daoxuan’s *Inner Books*.² Unlike Daoxuan’s subcatalog which introduces a series of works with the name of its shared commissioner or author, Daoshi’s “Miscellaneous Collections” concludes a series of works with a new line providing a count of titles produced, a count of fascicles totaled, and the name of commissioner and author (including a monk’s monastery, place of origin, and dynastic sponsorship).³ Though Daoxuan’s catalog takes more pages and records slightly more works (more than 260), it catalogs fewer authors (71 to Daoshi’s 86).⁴ It is often difficult to ascertain the genre, contents, or structure of a work based on its name, and sometimes more infor-

¹ *T* no. 2122.j100.1020b15–1025a16; or Zhou and Su 2003, 6.2871–86.

² *T* no. 2149.j10.326a18–333a27. Both of these catalogs may have been inspired by (and drawn from) Daoxuan’s more comprehensive chronologically arranged dynastic catalogs that form the first five fascicles to the *Inner Books*, which are also arranged by translator/composer but include more detailed biographical notes. In many cases Daoshi’s entries for an author more strongly resemble the entry in Daoxuan’s dynastic catalog. For dynasties before the Tang, Daoxuan in turn obviously followed in the mold of (and drew from) Fei Zhangfang’s catalog *T* no. 2034 of the Sui. On the strong connection between these two catalogs, see Ōuchi 2013, chapter 6 and Storch 2015.

³ Daoxuan is less consistent in providing exact counts of composition and fascicles employed.

⁴ Subcatalog 6 is only longer in page-length because it reproduces the table of contents of Lu Cheng’s *Dharma Discourses* from *CSZJJ* (see below) for its first half. Among their many differences, Daoxuan lists some works of Sui Tiantai patriarchs Zhiyi and Guanding but Daoshi does not.

mation about these works can be gleaned from other Chinese Buddhist (and sometimes secular) bibliographic and biographical sources. For catalogers Daoxuan and Daoshi, all these works belonged in the same bibliographic category that could be listed chronologically; for scholarly purposes I try to tease out loosely defined generic categories: I. Catalog; II. Apologetic; III. Genealogy; IV. Hagiography; V. Miracle Tale Collection; VI. Regulations Digest; VII. Anthology; VIII. Other Collections.⁵

	A. [Pre-Liang]	B. Sengyou 僧祐 (445– 518)⁶	C. Baochang 寶唱 (?– 519?)⁷	D. [Intermedi- aries]	E. Daoxuan 道 宣 (596–667)⁸	F. Daoshi 道世 (596– 683)⁹	G. [Descend- ants]
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⁵ See Tso 1993, 175–202 for a similar generic system to classify medieval scholar-monks’ historical writings.

⁶ Link 1960 still offers the clearest conspectus of Sengyou’s life and works. Daoshi lists 14 works, six of which are shared with Daoxuan’s list of 11 (and listed below). The other eight appear to be the headings of “records” bearing Sengyou’s authorship taken from *CSZJJ*. Daoxuan’s historical catalog lists the same 14 works as Daoshi’s.

⁷ De Rauw 2005 disputes Baochang’s authorship of the *Traditions of the Bhikṣuṇīs* and reviews sources on his life and works along the way. Daoshi’s catalog counts nine works while Daoxuan’s counts eight; Daoshi has added *Catalog of the Names of Buddhas*. Daoxuan’s historical catalog lists the same 9 works as Daoshi’s.

⁸ Tan 2002 provides an appendix listing works attributed to Daoxuan. Liu 2011, 6–35, evaluates various lists of Daoxuan’s works in the Chinese Buddhist bibliographic and historiographic traditions, comparing them to what is extant. For full accounts of Daoxuan’s life, Wagner 1995 (Appendix A, translation of Daoxuan’s biography in *SGSZ*, 255–261); Fujiyoshi 2002; Liu 2007 (Appendix I, reproduction and commentary on Hongyi’s biography of Daoxuan [1991]); Liu 2011, 6–34. Daoxuan’s historical catalog lists eighteen of his own works, but his subject catalog lists nine; Daoshi’s list has grown to twenty-two. The first and third lists are longer from elaborating the titles of many of Daoxuan’s vinaya commentaries.

⁹ Fu 1994 lists 14 works attributed to Daoshi and suggests their contents. See Appendix J on Zanning’s biography of Daoshi for more notes on Daoshi’s other works. Daoxuan’s *DTNDL* catalogs list seven and six works by his compatriot; Daoshi’s own catalog has expanded the list to 11 works.

	A.	B. Sengyou	C. Baochang	D.	E. Daoxuan	F. Daoshi	G.
I. Catalog (<i>mulu</i> 目錄)¹⁰	Daoan's 道安 <i>Comprehensive Catalog of Scriptures</i> . ¹¹	<i>A Collection of Records on the Production of the Three Baskets</i> , <i>CSZJJ</i> . ¹²	<i>Catalog of Scriptures of the Liang Dynasty</i> . ¹³	1. Fajing's 法經 <i>Catalog of Scriptures [of the Great Sui]</i> ; ¹⁴ 2. Fei Zhangfang's <i>Records of the Three Jewels through the Ages</i> , <i>LDSBJ</i> . ¹⁵ 3. Yancong's 彦琮 <i>Catalog of Scriptures of the</i>	<i>Catalog of the Inner Books of the Great Tang</i> , <i>DTNDL</i> . ¹⁷	<i>FYZL</i> "Chapter 100: Records." ¹⁸	1. Zhisheng's 智升 <i>Catalog of Śākya's Teaching of the Kaiyuan Reign</i> , <i>KYL</i> . ¹⁹ 2. Yuanzhao's 圓照 <i>Newly Authorized Catalog of Śākya's Teaching of the Zhenyuan Reign</i> . ²⁰

¹⁰ The terminology and systems for each medieval Chinese Buddhist catalog builds on and contests the form and content of its predecessors. On this chart, I attempt to capture the top levels of internal organization for the surviving works. Evidence for other catalogs can be determined from citations of and even fullscale borrowings from earlier catalogs within later catalogs; beginning with Fei, the tables of contents of predecessor catalogs start to be listed in "meta-catalog" portions of catalogs. See Storch 2014, especially her appendices, for a more comprehensive view of catalogs produced in this period as well as how they were internally organized.

¹¹ *Zongli zhongjing lu* 綜理眾經錄 in 1j [lost] (374). For a recent conspectus on this work in English, Storch 2014, 30–6.

¹² *Chusanrang jiji* 出三藏記集 in 10–16j [5ji + 16lu + 120x + 32zh], *T* no. 2145 (515–518). The transmitted versions of this work are in 15 fascicles. I have simplified the counts here to reflect the general internal fourfold structure of the work ("1. Records" [j1]; "2. Catalogs" [j2–5]; "3. Prefaces" [j6–12]; and "4. Biographies" [j13–15]) and how contents are enumerated at the beginning of every scroll—in practice, "catalogs" appear in the third division as well as the second, and "prefaces," "records," and much else besides appear throughout the first three divisions of the work. See Link 1960 for a translation of the general preface and conspectus of the work; Link 1961a and b for a full translation of the first fascicle of "records."

¹³ *Liangdai zhongjing mulu* 梁代眾經目錄 in 4j [20lu] [lost] (520). First draft, called the *Catalog of [Scriptures from] the Buddha Hall of the Flowering Grove [Park]*, *Hualin fodian [zhongjing mu]lu* 華林佛殿目錄, completed by Sengshao 僧紹 in 518. Cf. Storch 2014, 52–9.

¹⁴ [*Da Sui*] *Zhongjing mulu* [大隋]眾經目錄 in 7j [9lu] *T* no. 2146 (594). Storch 2014, 87–90.

¹⁵ *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶記 in 15j [17lu + 2lu], *T* no. 2034 (597). Three fascicles of "annals" (*dinian* 帝年) are followed by 9 fascicles of 17 dynastic catalogs, two fascicles for catalogs of the two vehicles, and a final fascicle with a postface and tables of contents for this and earlier scriptural catalogs. See Storch 2014, 90–9, and 2015.

				<i>Renshou Reign.</i> ¹⁶			
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¹⁷ *Da Tang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄 in 10j [10lu], *T* no. 2149 (664). Storch 2014, 120–3. The first catalog takes five of the ten fascicles, and contains 18 dynastic catalogs on the model of Fei’s catalog. Chapter Seven offers analyses of [sub]catalogs 3 and 4 in the structure of the whole catalog.

¹⁸ *Zhuanji* in 1j [3b], *T* no. 2122.j100. I count the second through fourth sections (“Translations”; “Miscellaneous Collections”; “Prajñā”) of this chapter as scriptural catalogs. The second section derives its figures from the historical and registered subject catalogs of the *DTNDL*, counting scriptures translated by dynasty and then counting scriptures registered under basket and vehicle in monastic collections. The fourth section offers information about the contemporaneous six-hundred fascicle *Mahāprajñāparamitā Scripture* (*T* no. 220) translation project with Xuanzang at its helm, that is to say, the nature, lengths, and previous translation histories of the scriptures of the sixteen assemblies, pieced together perhaps with the help of Xuanze’s prefaces to the assemblies appended to the transmitted work. These notes may have circulated separately on their own—see a work in Daoshi’s bibliography attributed to Xuanze dated to 666 (*T* no. 2122.j100.1023c19–20). The other main sections of this chapter—lists of dharmic deeds done by Chinese Monarchs (“Section 5: Merit Rousers”) and an account of the Buddha’s life squared against the Chinese annals tradition (“Section 6: Counting the Ages”) also share textual material with apologetic work by Falin and Daoxuan.

¹⁹ *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 in 20j [19lu + 1lu + 7lu + 2lu], *T* no. 2154 (730). 19 dynastic catalogs over 9 fascicles, a metacatalog of previous catalogs for the tenth fascicle, 7 subject catalogs over the next eight fascicles, and 2 canon registries for the two vehicles for the nineteenth and twentieth fascicles. See Storch 2014, 123–8, 134–6.

²⁰ *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 in 30j [3lu + 19lu + 1lu + 7lu + 2lu], *T* no. 2157 (794–800). Storch 2014, 117. The work begins with three new special catalogs and largely adapts Zhisheng’s framework for the rest of it. While it uses fifty percent more fascicles, it is less than fifteen percent larger by page-length (277 to 246 *Taishō* pages), and most of its expansion can be attributed to additions of material to the Tang dynastic catalogs.

¹⁶ [*Renshou*] *zhongjing mulu* [仁壽]眾經目錄 in 5j [7lu], *T* no. 2147 (602). The six subcatalogs are not explicitly defined as such (*lu*) by their headings. Two successor catalogs of the early Tang were apparently updates to the Renshou catalog—Xuanwan’s imperial catalog of Gaozu’s reign; and Jingtai’s catalog, contemporaneous with Daoxuan’s and transmitted as *T* no. 2148 (664). Storch 2014, 99–101.

	A.	B. Sengyou	C. Baochang	D.	E. Daoxuan	F. Daoshi	G.
II. Apologetic (hongming 弘明, “propaganda”)²¹	1. Lu Cheng’s 陸澄 <i>Dharma Discourses</i> ; ²² 2. Xiao Ziliang’s 蕭子良 <i>Dharma Collection</i> . ²³	<i>Collection on Propagating and Clarifying</i> , HMJ . ²⁴	1. <i>Further Dharma Wheel Discourses</i> ; ²⁵ 2. <i>Dharma Collection</i> . ²⁶	1. Falin’s 法琳 <i>Discourse on the Destruction of Heterodoxy</i> , PXL ; 2. Falin’s <i>Discourse on the Explanation of What is Correct</i> , BZL . ²⁷	1. <i>Expanded Collection on Propagating and Clarifying</i> , GHMJ . ²⁸ 2. <i>Collected Balanced Discourses between Buddhists and Daoists in An-</i>	<i>Discourse on Explaining the False and Manifesting the True</i> . ³⁰	

²¹ To borrow the name Sengyou coined for his *Collection of Propagating and Clarifying* to describe the documents of Chinese Buddhist authorship he collected, we might consider these works as “propaganda” *hong* rather than apologetic, even if they were also conceived of as works written to “defend the Dharma” *hufa*. See Zürcher 2007, 11–17, for a description of the sources in *HMJ*. Generically speaking, the “apologetic” work of *HMJ* includes treatises, dialogues, correspondence, prefaces, memorials, vademeca, and praise-prose. As early as the Southern Qi, these kinds of works that normally circulated independently of each other could be bundled together in large collections. By the time of Daoxuan’s sequel to *HMJ*, more and further genres of propaganda and defense had been developed for him to pick and choose for his own collection.

²² *Falun* 法論 in 16z or 103j or 260 items [lost] (465–472). On Lu Cheng’s collection, especially as a precursor to *HMJ*, see Liu 2011, 80–3.

²³ *Faji* 法集 in 13z or 116j or 48 items [lost] (late 5th c). Xiao Ziliang’s collection contained works authored by himself; appended to it are a catalog of seventeen “personally copied” (*zishu* 自書) scriptures, the *Dharma Collection* of Ziliang’s younger brother Xiao Zilun 蕭子倫 (479–494) comprising two fascicles of eleven works, and a catalog of eleven scriptures “personally copied... and annotated” (*zixie bing zhu* 自寫...並註) by Xiao Zilun. For further elaboration on the contents of these collections, see Hureau 2010, 756; my counts differ from hers because I count the “personally copied” scriptural catalogs separately. Seeing as these tables of contents include personally copied scriptures, these were likely singular collections. For fascicle 12 entries 1 and 2, see *CSZJJ*, T no. 2145.j12.82c22–87a14; Su and Xiao 1995, 428–57.

²⁴ *Hongming ji* 弘明集 in 10–14j [57 items], T no. 2102. The transmitted versions of this work are in 14 fascicles. See Ziegler 2015 and 2017; Schmidt-Glintzer 1976.

²⁵ *Xu falun lun* 續法輪論 in more than 70j [lost]. Discussed in Daoxuan’s biography of Baochang and no other contemporary catalogs. Daoshi’s “Miscellaneous Collections” catalog, however, notes a *Turning the Dharma Wheel Discourses* collection in 180j composed by a team of “Great Worthies and [Lay] Scholars” (*dade bing xueshi*) in the Liang. T no. 2122.j100.1021c23–24.

²⁶ *Faji* 法集 in 140j [lost]. This work can be found in the bibliographic treatise of the *History of the Sui*, see de Rauw 2005, 209n370.

²⁷ *Poxie lun* 破邪論 in 2j, T no. 2109 (622); *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論 in 8j [12p], T no. 2110 (626). Falin’s two explicitly apologetic works were written to combat the memorials of Fu Yi early in the reign of Gaozu. See Jülch 2014, a study of Falin “the apologetic monk” that includes translations of the first work and more than half of the second work. Both Daoshi and Daoxuan would borrow from these works extensively.

²⁸ *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 in 30j [10p of over 560 items], T no. 2103 (664). On the use of classification to organize *GHMJ* and its precedents in other Southern Dynasties compilations, see Liu 2011, 80–120.

					<i>cient and Mod- ern Times</i> ²⁹		
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³⁰ *Bianwei xianzhen lun* 辯偽顯真論 in 1j [6p?]. Fu 1994, 184–5, equates this work with the six essays attached as “accounts of stimulus-response” to “Chapter 62: Destroying Heresy” in *A Grove of Pearls* at T no. 2122.j55.699c24-709c11. Fu notes that these pieces—the titles of which are all concerned with “truth” (*zhen*) or “falsity” (*wei*)—are quoted at length in the fourteenth-century *General Annals of Buddhas and Patriarchs over the Ages* (*Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載) entry for 666, where Nianchang 念常 describes Daoshi as composing work to demonstrate the fabrication of new Daoist scriptures (T no. 2036.j22.581b09-c22). The essays appended to “Destroying Heresy” in *A Grove of Pearls* share much material with Falin’s discourses from earlier in the century (Jülch 2014, 1.173-4), and also share language with materials attributed to Daoxuan and other authors collected in *GHMJ* and *Ji gujin Fodao lunheng*. Yancong’s three-fascicle *Separate Tradition of the Dharma-Protecting Śramaṇa Falin of the Tang* (*Tang hufa shamen Falin biezhuān* 唐法琳護法別傳, T no. 2051), which includes lines from Falin’s compositions that do not otherwise appear in the two transmitted works, also shares language reproduced by Daoshi and Daoxuan.

²⁹ *Ji gujin Fodao lunheng* 集古今佛道論衡 in 4j [30 items], T no. 2104 (661–4). This work shares many quotations with Falin’s two apologetic works, see Jülch 2014, 1.161–2 and 166. Though more topically focused on court debates, it shares many components with Daoxuan’s larger *GHMJ*. See Assandri 2009. For a Japanese translation of the preface, see Ōuchi 2013a, 50-60.

	A.	B. Sengyou	C. Baochang	D.	E. Daoxuan	F. Daoshi	G.
III. Genealogy (<i>pu</i> 譜) ³¹		<i>Genealogy of the Śākya</i> , <i>SJP</i> . ³²	<i>JLYX</i> Chapters on “Buddha” and “The Śākyas.” ³³		<i>Genealogy of the Śākya Clan</i> . ³⁴	<i>FYZL</i> “Chapter 5: A Thousand Buddhas.” ³⁵	

³¹ While the term “genealogy” or *pu* reminds us of vertically-organized charts of patrilineal descent and religious lineages, these genealogies only feature lists or charts of personages intermittently. In broadest conception, they are anthologies piecing together narratives of the Buddha’s familial origins, kin-relations, and discipleship (disciples take on the Śākya-clan name). Sengyou’s, Baochang’s, Daoxuan’s, and Daoshi’s contributions to this genre are largely anthological in nature, drawing together excerpts from cited scriptures under a roughly chronological rubric. Only Sengyou’s and Daoxuan’s call themselves *pu*. See Durt 2006, 52–9, for an attempt to delineate medieval Chinese “biographical collections of the Buddha.”

³² *Shijia pu* 釋迦譜 in 4–10j [25 *pu* + 9 *ji*], *T* no. 2040 (~516). This work appears as 5j in *CSZJJ*.j12, and as 5j or 10j (with 5j of additional quotations folded in between j1 and j2) in its received form, but Daoshi records it as 4j and Daoxuan as 10j. See Durt 2006 for an English-language study of this anthology and the broader genre.

³³ *Fobu* 佛部 and *zhushi bu* 諸釋部, in 4j [66 items], *T* no. 2121.j4–7.

³⁴ *Shijia shipu* 釋迦氏譜 in 1j [5xu, further subdivided into “traces” *ji* 跡, “phenomena” *xiang* 相, and “accounts” *yuan* 緣], *T* no. 2041 (665). Also called the *Abbreviated Genealogy of the Śākya Clan* (*Shujiashi lüepu* 釋迦氏略譜) in later catalogs. Durt 2006, 59, has a desultory few lines on this work.

³⁵ *Qianfo* 千佛, in 5j [15b], *T* no. 2122.j8–12. See Chapter Five, Part 1.4 for more on the last section of this megachapter.

	A.	B. Sengyou	C. Baochang	D.	E. Daoxuan	F. Daoshi	G.
IV. Hagiography (<i>sengzhuān</i> 僧傳, “traditions of monastics”) ³⁶		1. <i>CSZJJ</i> j13–15; ³⁷ 2. <i>Records of the Sarvāstivāda School</i> . ³⁸	1. <i>Traditions of Famous Monks</i> ; ³⁹ 2. <i>Traditions of Bhikṣuṇī</i> . ⁴⁰	Huijiao’s 慧皎 <i>Traditions of Eminent Monks</i> , <i>GSZ</i> . ⁴¹	<i>Continued Traditions of Eminent Monks</i> , <i>XGSZ</i> . ⁴²		Zanning’s 贊寧 <i>Song Dynasty Traditions of Eminent Monks</i> , <i>SGSZ</i> . ⁴³

³⁶ Kieschnick 1997 discusses the three collections on eminent monks: Huijiao’s, Daoxuan’s, and Zanning’s. Other biographies and biographical collections of monastics were named, authored, and circulated—some are alluded to in Huijiao’s general postface and some others are listed by Buddhist catalogs and official historical catalogs, but few survive. Interestingly, the tables of contents of *MSZ* and *GSZ* do not specifically designate the individual biographical units as *zhuān*, while the rest usually follow this practice meticulously. I do not include independently circulating hagiographies of individual monks like Falin (*T* no. 2087) or Xuanzang (*T* no. 2053).

³⁷ [32zh].

³⁸ *Sapoduo bu ji* 薩婆多部記 in 5j [107zh + 26zh + 5ji] [lost]. Daoshi and Daoxuan refer to this work as the *Traditions of the Sarvāstivāda Masters and Disciples* (*Sapoduo shizi zhuān* 薩婆多師資傳). Wang 1994, 192–9, translates the preface and table of contents, rendering the titular *bu* as *nikāya*. The first two fascicles of biographies—western lineages of names—are not denominated as *zhuān*, while the second two fascicles feature monastics who had careers in China, nearly all of which have biographies that can be found in *GSZ*.

³⁹ *Mingseng zhuān* 名僧傳 in 30j [425zh] [lost] (519). The *Meisōdenshō*, *X* no. 1523 is based on a work that survives in Japan that purports to have extracted selections, including a full table of contents, from Baochang’s work, and offers scholars the best sense of what this work may have been like. Its system of organization, like Baochang’s *JLYX* or Sengyou’s anthologies categorized monks by the fascicle, and each fascicle either bore its own subject or was one in an enumerated series of scrolls dedicated to a subject. In their catalogs, Daoshi and Daoxuan add another fascicle to the scroll count for the preface and table of contents. See Kieschnick 2011, 540–2, for a recent summary of the two works attributed to Baochang.

⁴⁰ *Biqiuni zhuān* 比丘尼傳 in 4j [4 dynasties of 65zh], *T* no. 2063. *Traditions of the Bhikṣuṇī* was probably not composed by Baochang, see de Rauw 2005. See Tsai 1994 for a full translation of the work.

⁴¹ *Gaoseng zhuān* 高僧傳 in 14j [10 categories of 257zh], *T* no. 2059 (519). One seeming innovation of Huijiao’s to the genre was the addition of appended biographies to any one of the main enumerated biographies; by this measure there are 259 additional appended biographies; see Wright 1954; Kieschnick 1997 and 2011.

⁴² *Xu gaoseng zhuān* 續高僧傳 in 30j [10p of 485zh], *T* no. 2060 (645–). See Wagner 1995; according to the Taishō edition of this work, there are 219 appended biographies. But having access to what seem to be alternate editions of *XGSZ* produced during or shortly after Daoxuan’s lifetime, scholars debate if and how a ten-fascicle work titled *Later Compiled Continued Traditions of Eminent Monks* (*Houji xu gaoseng zhuān* 後集續高僧傳) attributed to Daoxuan in catalogs like Daoshi’s and Daoxuan’s own were incorporated into a transmitted *XGSZ*.

⁴³ *Song gaoseng zhuān* 宋高僧傳 in 30j [10p of 532zh], *T* no. 2061 (988–c. 1000). An additional 125 biographies are appended to the main biographies.

	A.	B. Sengyou	C. Baochang	D.	E. Daoxuan	F. Daoshi	G.
V. Miracle Tale Collections (<i>ganying</i> 感應 / <i>zhiguai</i> 志怪) ⁴⁴	1. Gan Bao's 干寶 <i>Records in Search of the Supernatural</i> ; ⁴⁵ 2. Liu Yiqing's 劉義慶 <i>Records of the Hidden and Visible Worlds</i> ; ⁴⁶ 3. Wang Yan's 王琰 <i>Records of Signs from the Unseen Realm</i> . ⁴⁷			1. Yan Zhitui's 顏之推 <i>Tales of Vengeful Souls</i> ; ⁴⁸ 2. Hou Bo's 侯白 <i>Citations of Marvels</i> . ⁴⁹ 3. Tang Lin's 唐臨 <i>Records of Miraculous Retribution</i> ; ⁵⁰ 4. Lang Yuling's 郎餘令 <i>Uncollected Miraculous Retribution</i> . ⁵¹	1. <i>Records Collecting Miraculous Connections of the Three Jewels on the Sacred Continent, GTL</i> ; ⁵² 2. <i>Record of Miraculous Connections of Regulations Master Daoxuan</i> ; 3. <i>Record of Miraculous Connections to</i>	<i>A Collection of Numinous Responses to Śākya's School</i> . ⁵⁶	Dai Fu's 戴孚 <i>Great Book of Marvels</i> . ⁵⁷

⁴⁴ Campney 1996 has the best discussion of these collections as a genre. While Daoshi cites a large battery of miracle tale collections by name (sometimes inconsistently), the most highly cited are Wang Yan's *Signs from the Unseen Realm* (126); Gan Bao's *Search of the Supernatural* (88); sequels to *Search of the Supernatural* (51); Tang Lin's *Record of Miraculous Retribution* (48); Lang Yuling's sequel *Uncollected Miraculous Retribution* (47); Yan Zhitui's *Tales of Vengeful Souls* (38); and Liu Yiqing's *Records of the Hidden and Visible Worlds* (17). For these figures, see the index in Paper 1973. Of the works on the chart, all the collections from Wang's to Daoshi's are represented in Daoshi's bibliography, and I have offered Daoshi's fascicle-count for these collections. The majority of the collections have been transmitted down to us through recompilation in late imperial times, sometimes seemingly by piecing together items cited in various secular and Buddhist *leishu* as well as from premodern Buddhist collectanea by Daoxuan and Falin.

⁴⁵ *Soushen ji* 搜神記 in 20j [464 items?] (~350). Translation by Dewoskin and Crump 1996; see also the discussion of its complex textual history in Campney 1996, 55–62.

⁴⁶ *Youming lu* 幽明錄 in 20–30j (early 5th c). See study by Zhang 2014, and forthcoming translation Zhang 2018.

⁴⁷ *Mingxiang ji* 冥祥記 in 10j [129 items?] (490). See study and translation, Campney 2012b.

⁴⁸ *Yuanhun zhi* 冤魂志 in 2j [62 items?] (mid-6th c). Translation and study Cohen 1982; see also Dien 1968.

⁴⁹ *Jingyi zhuan* 旌異傳 in 20j (late sixth c.). See Campney 1996, 90. This work in particular is not cited by name in *FYZL*, but is alluded to by title twice.

⁵⁰ *Mingbao ji* 冥報記 in 2j [57 items?], *T* no. 2082 (650s). See study and translation Gjertson 1989.

⁵¹ *Mingbao shiyi* 冥報拾遺 in 2j (663). See Gjertson 1989, 34–6, on this sequel.

					<p><i>the Regulations</i>;⁵³</p> <p>4. <i>Illustrated Scripture of Jetavana Monastery in the Śrāvasti Kingdom in Central India</i>;⁵⁴</p> <p>5. <i>Regulations Master Daoxuan's Records on Miraculous Instruction on the Preservation of the Dharma</i>.⁵⁵</p>	
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⁵² *Ji shenzhou sanbao gantong lu* 集神州三寶感通錄 in 3j (6 sub-collections), *T* no. 2106 (664). On this collection, its sub-collections (on stūpas [20y], relics, images [50y], monasteries [13], scriptures [38], and monks [30]), and its close relationship with *FYZZ* and Daoxuan's other work, Shinohara 1990, 1991a, 1991b, 1998, and 2003a.

⁵⁶ *Shimen linggan ji* 釋門靈感集 in 50j [lost]. Only listed in Daoxuan's catalog—Fu suggests it may have been a precursor or spinoff project of *A Grove of Pearls*. Fu 1994: 187. “Linggan” was also the name of the monastery in southeast Chang’an, founded by Sui Wendi in 582, where Daoshi began his training; see Xiong 2000, 256.

⁵⁷ *Guangyi ji* 廣異記 in 20j (771). See study by Dudbridge 1995.

⁵³ *Daoxuan lushi gantong lu* 道宣律師感通錄 in 1j, *T* no. 2107 (667); and *Lüxiang gantong lu* 律相感通錄 in 1j, *T* no. 1898 (667). These two works are nearly the same, and record the contents of spirit communications Daoxuan personally recorded rather than miracle tales he had collected, as are the following two works (and a few others not listed). They are not indexed or rubricated very strongly.

⁵⁴ *Zhong Tianzhu Shewei guo Qihuan si tujing* 中天竺舍衛國奇幻死圖經 in 2j, *T* no. 1899 (667). For a translation and study, see Tan 2002.

⁵⁵ *Yifa zhuchi ganying ji* 遺法住持感應集 in 7j, [lost] (667). These four works appear as among the last five listed in Daoshi's catalog of Daoxuan's works in “Records.” For more on the last work, see Shinohara 2000 and 2003b and my Chapter Five, Part 1.4 and Chapter Six, Part 4 below. For how these four works are cited and quoted in *A Grove of Pearls*, see Kawaguchi 1978; Tomita 2001.

	A.	B. Sengyou	C. Baochang	D.	E. Daoxuan	F. Daoshi	G.
VI. Regulations Digest (<i>lüchao</i> 律抄)			1. <i>Manual for Confession and Eradication of Sin from the Scriptures</i> ; 2. <i>Manual for Offering Food to Holy Monks from the Scriptures</i> ; 3. <i>Essentials Extracted for the System of Regulations</i> . ⁵⁸	<i>Record of the System of Regulations according to the Ten Recitations</i> . ⁵⁹	<i>Epitome on Conduct and Procedure with Abridgments from and Emendations to the Four-Part Regulations, XSC</i> ; among many others. ⁶⁰	1. <i>Examined Essentials of the Four-Part Regulations</i> ; ⁶¹ 2. <i>Epitome of the Four-Part Regulations for Nuns</i> ; 3. <i>Rites for Accepting Precepts</i> ; 4. <i>Rites for Worshipping Buddha</i> . ⁶²	

⁵⁸ *Zhongjing chanhui miezui fa* 眾經懺悔滅罪法 in 3j [lost]; *Zhongjing gong shengseng fa* 眾經共聖僧法 in 5j [lost] (516); and *Chuyao lüyi* 出要律義 in 20j [lost], title of the same work in 14j attributed to Fachao 法超 in *XGSZ*, T no. 2060.21.1.607a21.

⁵⁹ *Shisong lüyi ji* 十誦律義記 in 10j [lost]. Link 1960, 28; *CSZJJ* T no. 2145.j12.94a24–94c01 for preface and table of contents. Each of the ten fascicles dealt with an enumerated topic (“Three Recitations”; “Seven Methods”) and may have had further rubrication.

⁶⁰ *Sifenlü [shanfan buque] xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補缺行事鈔 in 3j (30p), T no. 1804 (626, first draft). Chen 2007 is the best English-language study of this work to date, and it examines several others of Daoxuan’s regulations commentaries as well. More recently, see translation into English and study of a small section by Pettit 2017; and see also investigation into Daoxuan’s thinking on precepts in his commentaries by Newhall 2014. Other surviving regulations commentary in Taishō include T no. 1806, T no. 1808, T no. 1892–1897.

⁶¹ *Sifenlü taoyao* 四分律討要 in 5j, X no. 743, is attributed to one Xuanyun, is divided into 16 chapters (*zhang*) across three fascicles.

⁶² *Sifenlü nichao* 四分律尼抄 in 5j [lost]; *Shoujie yishi* 受戒儀式 in 4j [lost]; *LiFo yishi* 禮佛儀式 in 2j [lost]. On Daoshi’s oeuvre see notes to Zanning’s biography, Appendix J.

	A.	B. Sengyou	C. Baochang	D.	E. Daoxuan	F. Daoshi	G.
VII. Anthology (leishu 類書)	1. Unknown, <i>Scriptures from the Garden of Dharma</i> , ⁶³ 2. Zhizang's 智藏 <i>Grove of Meanings</i> . ⁶⁴	1. <i>Genealogy of the Śākya</i> , SJP , ⁶⁵ 2. <i>Records on the Universe</i> , ⁶⁶ 3. <i>Collection [of Origins in Miscellaneous Opportune Conditions] from the Garden of Dharma</i> . ⁶⁷	1. Sengmin's 僧旻 <i>Epitome of Essentials from the Scriptures</i> ; 2. <i>Anomalous Phenomena from the Scriptures and Regulations</i> , JLYX . ⁶⁸	1. Yu Xiaojing's 虞孝敬 <i>Broad Essentials of the Inner Canon</i> , ⁶⁹ 2. Xiao Gang's 蕭綱 <i>Joined Jade-Disks of the Dharma Jewel</i> , ⁷⁰ 3. Tanxian's 曇顯 <i>Zhou Essentials from the Scriptures</i> , ⁷¹ 4. Daoji's 道紀		1. <i>A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma</i> , FYZL , ⁷⁴ 2. <i>Collection of Essentials from the Scriptures</i> , ZJYJ . ⁷⁵	

⁶³ *Fayuan jing* 法苑經 in 189j [lost] (late 5th c). Discussed in Chapter Two and Three.

⁶⁴ *Yilin* 義林 in 80j [lost] (520–3). *T* no. 2122.j100.1021c11–13. Emperor Jianwen commanded twenty other Great Worthies along with Zhizang to compile this work.

⁶⁵ In 5–10j (see Row III above).

⁶⁶ *Shijie ji* 世界記 in 5j [20ji] [lost]. Discussed in Chapter Two, Part 2.2.3.

⁶⁷ *Fayuan* [zayuan yuanshi] ji 法苑雜緣源始集 in 10–14j [208ji] [lost]. The great majority, but not all of the headings describe their contents as “records” (*ji*). Many of the scriptural excerpts (in the first five fascicles, which are organized according to a Three Jewels typology) describe themselves as “records of account/karmic condition” (*yuanshi*). Discussed in Chapter Two, Part 2.2.4.

⁶⁸ *Zhongjing yaochao* 眾經要抄 in 88j [lost] (508) and *Jinglü yixiang* 經律異相 in 50j [22b and 782 items], *T* no. 2121 (516). According to its preface and catalog entries, the second work was apparently a revision and reduction of the former, which no longer survives. They both used *lei* for organization, and the second enumerates its contents by fascicle. In their catalogs, Daoshi and Daoxuan add five fascicles to the scroll count of *JLYX* for the preface and table of contents. On the former work, see Ōuchi 1977a. On disagreements over enumerating the *bu*-sections, see Dong 2011.

⁶⁹ *Neidian boyao* 內典博要 in 40j [lost] (547–549). Daoshi notes the work was “in the vein of *Imperial Overview* or *Garden of Categories*” *Huanglan Leiyuan zhi liu* 皇覽類苑之流, and that Yu later became a monk named Huiming 慧命, *T* no. 2122.j100.1021c14–17. The work is name-checked in Li Yan's preface to *FYZL*.

⁷⁰ *Fabao lianbi* 法寶連璧 in 200j [lost] (552). According to Daoshi, Xiao Gang directed scholars to compile this work, *T* no. 2122.j100.1022a02–05. The preface to this work survives in *GHMJ*20. See Ōuchi 1976; Liu 2009; Wu 2010b.

⁷¹ *Zhou zhongjing yao* 周眾經要 in 22j [lost]. Daoshi notes that Tanxian also compiled a single-fascicle work called the *One-Hundred and Twenty Dharma Gates* (*Yibaiershi famen* 一百二十法門) for Yuwen Heitai. See *T* no. 2122.j100.1022a22–25.

				<i>Golden Basket Discourse, JZL,⁷² 5. Jing'ai's 靜 藹 Collection on the Three Jew- els.⁷³</i>			
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⁷⁴ *Fayuan zhulin* in 100j [100p], *T* no. 2122 (668).

⁷⁵ *Zhujing yaoji* 諸經要集 [or *Discourse on Good, Evil, and Karmic Retribution, Shan'e yebao lun* 善惡業報論] in 20j [30b], *T* no. 2123 (660s).

⁷² *Jinzang lun* 金藏論 in 7j [22y] (late 6th c). Not referenced in *FYZL*, but discussed at length by Daoxuan in *XGSZ*j30. Much of the material found in surviving excerpts of *JZL* resemble materials collected in *FYZL*.

⁷³ *Sanbao ji* 三寶集 in 11j [lost] (late 6th c). See *T* no. 2122.j100.1022b10–12. Its composition is further detailed in Jing'ai's biography at *XGSZ*.j23.3.627a26–b01. Though Daoxuan classified him as an “apologist” (*hufa*), he was considered by Daoshi to be a preeminent self-immolator as well—for sources on his self-immolation account, see Benn 2007, 227–8.

	A.	B. Sengyou	C. Baochang	D.	E. Daoxuan	F. Daoshi	G.
VIII. Other Collections	1. Xiao Ziliang's 蕭子良 <i>Dharma Gates of Pure Conduct for Pure Dwelling Disciples</i> ; ⁷⁶ 2. Xiao Ziliang's <i>Records on the Three Jewels</i> ; ⁷⁷ 3. Daohuan's 道歡 <i>Essentially Embraced Dharma Gāthā from the Scriptures</i> . ⁷⁸	1. <i>Miscellaneous Records and Inscriptions for the Dharma Collection</i> ; ⁷⁹ 2. <i>Dharma Collection</i> . ⁸⁰	1. <i>Catalog of Names of Spirits who Protect the Empire according to the Scriptures</i> ; 2. <i>Catalog of the Names of the Buddhas from the Scriptures</i> ; 3. <i>Catalog of Names of the Dragon Kings who Protect the Empire according to the Scriptures</i> . ⁸¹	1. Huijing's 慧淨 <i>Prime Blossoms from the Garden of Poetry</i> ; ⁸² 2. Xuanzang's <i>The Great Tang Record of Western Regions</i> ; ⁸³ 3. Wang Xuance's 王玄策 <i>Record of Travels in Western Countries</i> . ⁸⁴	<i>A Geography of the Śākyas</i> . ⁸⁵	1. <i>Collected Annotations on the Diamond Prajñā Scripture</i> ; ⁸⁶ 2. <i>Dhyāna Gate Contemplation of the Great and Lesser Vehicles</i> ; 3. <i>Abbreviated Calming and Contemplation of the Great Vehicle</i> ; 4. <i>Discourse on Respect and Merit</i> ; 5. <i>A Hundred</i>	

⁷⁶ *Jingzhuzi* [jingxing famen] 淨住子淨行法門 in 20j [lost, preserved in abbreviated form in *GHMJ*, T no. 2103.j27] (late 5th c). I have not consulted Vande Walle, 1976.

⁷⁷ *Sanbao ji* 三寶記 in 20j [lost] (late 5th c). Daoshi's catalog of Prince Wenxuan's work is considerably less extensive than either Sengyou's or Daoxuan's; in addition to these two works, he adds a three-fascicle work called *Proofs that Spread and Illuminate* (*Xuanming yan* 宣明驗) and a twenty-fascicle work called *Record of Miscellaneous Meanings* (*Zayi ji* 雜義記), see T no. 2122.j100.1021a24–27. There are additional works named after “pure dwelling disciples” (*jingzhuzi*) in Xiao Ziliang's catalog in *CSZJJ*, but no mention of the *Records on Three Jewels* in particular (T no. 2122.j12.85b02–86a28). Daoxuan mentions that *Records on the Three Jewels* were also called *Buddha History*, *Dharma Traditions*, *Sangha Records* (*Foshi fazhuan senglu* 佛史法傳僧錄) T no. 2149.j10.331a17; here he is following Fei, who lists the same details for a 10j *Records* (*LDSBJ*, T no. 2034.j11.96b27).

⁷⁸ *Zhongjing yaolan faji* 眾經要攬法偈 in 21 poems (*shou* 首) [lost] (504). T no. 2122.j100.1021b16–17. Source is likely *CSZJJ*, T no. 2145.j5.39b12–13, listed as a “doubtful” compilation.

⁷⁹ *Faji zajiming* 法集雜記銘 in 7–10j [lost]. The intention of this collection was to collect records on the Buddha's tooth and notes on translation and to circulate further inscriptions by famous laypersons (Liu Xie; Shen Yue) for famous monks, events, and places; see Link 1960, 28; *CSZJJ*, T no. 2145.j12.94c02–15.

⁸⁰ *Faji* 法集 in 8z or 62–68j. Sengyou's name for the eight works listed in this column.

⁸¹ *Zhongjing huguo guishenming lu* 眾經護國鬼神名錄 in 3j [lost] (516); *Zhongjing zhufoming lu* 眾經諸佛名錄 in 3j [lost] (516); and *Zhongjing yonghu guotu zhulongming lu* 眾經擁護國土諸龍名錄 in 1j [lost] (517). The titles of these works differ slightly from listing to listing.

⁸² *Xu shiyuan yinghua* 續詩苑英華 in 10j [lost] (mid-7th c). Also known as the *Prime Blossoms of Poetry from the Inner Books* (*Neidian shi yinghua* 內典詩英華, see T no. 2149.281c10 and 333a05) in Buddhist bibliography. In non-Buddhist historiography, Huijing is responsible for an anthology of recent poems (from Liang-Tang), not necessarily Buddhist, titled the *Prime Blossoms from the Garden of Poetry, Ancient and Modern, Continued* (*Xu gujin shiyuan yinghua* 續古今詩苑英華), a sequel to a work from the 630s attributed to Liu Xiaosun 劉孝孫 called *A Garden of Poetry, Ancient and Modern, Arranged by Category* (*Gujin leixu shiyuan* 古今類序詩苑); see Kroll 2017a, 305. The surviving preface to Huijing's sequel, authored by Liu himself, and quoted in full in Daoxuan's biography of Huijing (XGSZ.j3.3.443b22–444a08), begins by praising Buddhism and its entrance into China, and ends by articulating a lineage of Chinese “Buddhist” poets whose poems are worth preserving as a collection. Not to be confused with the great tenth-c. Song thousand-fascicle collection by Li Fang 李昉 (925–996), the *Prime Blossoms from the Garden of Literature* (*Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華).

⁸³ *Datang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 in 12j [138 countries *guo*], T no. 2087 (646). English translations by Beal 1884; Li 1996.

⁸⁴ *Xiguo xingzhuan* 西國行記 in 60j [lost] (660s). Listed as *Record of Western Regions* (*Xiyuzhi* 西域志) by Daoshi's catalog, and cited under many other different names. Translations of excerpts from this work in a *Grove of Pearls*, see Ray 2011; for its appearances in *ZJYJ* and *FYZL*, see Yamauchi 1974 and Wang 2016.

⁸⁵ *Shijia fangzhi* 釋迦方志 in 2j (8p), T no. 2088 (651). Eight essays, some which collect texts from other sources, exploring the range of Buddhist phenomena over (Chinese) space and time. Ed. Fan 2000. For study and partial translation in English, see Nicol 2016.

⁸⁶ *Jingang banruo jingji zhu* 金剛般若經集注 in 3j [lost]. A preface by Li Yan survives in *GHMJ*, T no. 2103.j22. For similarities between prefaces Li Yan composed, see next chapter.

⁸⁷ *Daxiao sheng chanmen guan* 大小乘禪門觀 in 10j [lost]; *Dasheng luezhiguan* 大乘略止觀 in 1j [lost]; *Jingfu lun* 敬福論 in 3j [lost]; *Bai yuanwen* 百願文 in 1j [lost]. The final work only appears in Daoxuan's catalog—perhaps it was a precursor or follow-up project for collecting a hundred *shuyi* for *A Grove of Pearls*? On Daoshi's oeuvre see notes to Zanning's biography, Appendix J.

Appendix E: Preface to Collection from the Garden of Dharma (Sengyou)

Preface and Table of Contents to the *Collection of Origins in Miscellaneous Opportune Conditions from the Garden of Dharma*, *Fayuan zayuan yuanshi ji*, composed by Śhākya Sengyou¹

『法苑雜緣原始集』目錄序

釋僧祐撰

- 1) The scriptural baskets² are vast, the records and traditions are diverse and profound.³
[This vastness] is that by which the attainment of the way is brought to all places, being dis-

¹ T no. 2145.j12.90b04–22; cf. Su and Xiao 1995, 476–7. I translate the preface, not the table of contents (90b23–93b10). For translations in the appendix I have placed all variant characters in square brackets [], following Taishō. Plus and minus (+, -) indicate extra and missing characters respectively. Where the text appears in multiple places across the Taishō (in *GHMJ* and *FYZL* in the case of Li Yan’s preface to *FYZL* in Appendix H, for instance), I indicate alternate sources (C = *CSZJJ*; D = *DTNDL*; G = *GHMJ*; Z = *ZJYJ*) before the variant characters. Within sources, I present variants from other canons (S = Song, or Zifu Canon; Y = Yuan, or Puning Canon; M = Ming, or Jiaying Canon; G = “Palace Edition,” or Fuzhou Canon; see Li and He 2015) after the variant characters. I adapt punctuation from Su and Xiao 1995 and other Zhonghua editions.

² *Jingzang* here likely refers not to the collection of sūtra as distinct from the other two collections of vinaya and abhidharma, but to the totality of Buddhist writings purporting to originate from the Buddha, what in other contexts Chinese Buddhists refer to as the *sanzang*, tripitaka. They are counterposed here to *jizhuan*, the later-created “records and biographies.”

³ *Fenlun* (literally, “many-threaded”), like *haohan* 浩汗 (used to describe vast bodies of water, but homophonic characters for *hao* 浩濤濤顯灑 and for *han* 汗瀚溘 used to render the word *haohan* [*HYDCD* 5.1214–1217; 6.30; 6.90; 6.141; 6.223; 12.357] suggest connotations of “brilliance” as well as expansiveness), has both praiseworthy and blameworthy connotations: the diversity and depth of written works is both profound and marvelous as well as disorganized and difficult. *Haohan* is compiled in three other places in *CSZJJ* in introductory pieces compiled by Sengyou—once in Daoan’s description of the *Fangguang banruo boluomi jing* (T no. 221) to characterize the difficult, wondrous vastness of the original scripture which necessitated his digest and commentary (j5.4.39c02–051; cf. Su and Xiao 1995, 227); once again by Daoan in his foreword to the **Abhidharmavibhāṣā* (*Piposha[lun]*, T no. 1547) to describe its “depth and breadth and vastness like the Great Ocean, from which emerge a thousand jewels” 猶大海與深廣浩瀚千寶出焉 (j10.15.73b27; cf. Su and Xiao 1995, 381); and a final time in Sengrui’s foreword to the *Great [Perfection of] Wisdom Treatise* (*Dazhi shilun*, T no. 1509), where the Illumination that transcends language is said to be “inaudible, invisible, and vast of shores” 照本希夷津涯浩汗, and thus new analyses of the language-bound Tripitaka are necessitated (j10.19.74c17; cf. Su and Xiao 1995, 386). See the use of *haohan* in Daoshi’s foreword to *ZJYJ*, see Appendix I, paragraph 6. The *haohan* and *fenlun* pairing appears again in Daoshi’s introduction to his “Chapter 58: Cleverness in Debate” (*jibian*) in *A Grove of Pearls*, where the “Tripitaka is vast and the Seven Orders [of monastics] is diverse and profound” 三藏浩汗，七衆紛綸 (T no. 2122.j53.681b17; tr. Young 2015, 1). The two other instances of the usage of *fenlun* in the *CSZJJ*—namely, in Sengrui’s foreword to Kumārajīva’s *Small Edition* [*Prajñāpāramitā*] *Scripture* (*Xiaopin jing*, j8.4.54c25; cf. Su and Xiao 1995, 297) and Xuanchang’s foreword to his no longer extant *Tradition of Harivarman* (*Halibamo zhuan*, j11.8.78c21; cf. Su and Xiao 1995, 407)—indicate an at least ambiguous connotation for *fenlun*: the effect of skillful means but the cause for doctrinal diversity and confusion, the fracturing of original unity.

closed to future scholars. The traces of stories⁴ about establishing the Teaching are radiantly known completely; and the origins of accounts for the instruction of commoners are luxuriantly all preserved.⁵

夫 經藏浩汗，記傳紛綸。
所以 道[導SYM]達群方，開示後學，
設教緣跡，煥然備悉，
訓俗事源，鬱爾咸在。

2) However, [while] the sermonizer⁶ and the heroic noble [monastic] are sharply proficient in the Dark Meaning; the novitiate and late practitioner,⁷ have [merely] focused their wills on reading scriptures aloud.⁸ The result is that in regular affairs pertaining to the Dharma, they practice them monthly but none are aware of [these affairs'] origins; in the continual rites practiced by the Sangha, they employ them daily but do not know [these rites'] beginnings. Is this not extreme?

然而 講匠英德，銳精於玄義；
新進晚習，專志於轉讀。

⁴ On the overlapping meanings of *yuan* in this title—"contributing causal factors or conditions" (*pratyaya*) to "history of such contributing factors as affects the Buddhist religion," see Link 1960, 27n77. It may abbreviate *yinyuan* (*nidāna*) or "causation" at large, which can also denote "historical narrative" *avadāna* genre, "affinity," "series of events," "episode," or "fate." On the pre-Buddhist and post-Buddhist meanings of *yuan*, see *HYDCCD*, 9.956-60.

⁵ This first paragraph is borrowed and adapted by Daoshi in his "Explaining the Meaning" section for *A Grove of Pearls* Chapter 99 and *Collected Essentials* Chapter 30, each titled "Miscellaneous Essentials" (*zayao*), *T* no. 2122.j99.1013a18 and *T* no. 2123.j20.184b04-07 are roughly comparable. See Conclusion.

⁶ *Jiangjin*, literally the "lecture crafter."

⁷ *Wanxi*—perhaps an aged practitioner whose mental acuity is not once what it was, or someone who began study of Buddhism late in his or her life.

⁸ *Zhuandu*, literally "turning-reading." Scripture recitation does not necessitate understanding of their contents, only knowledge of how to pronounce characters. See Chapter Seven, note 29 for discussion of this term where it names one of Daoxuan's catalogs.

遂令 法門常務，月修而莫識其源；
僧眾恆儀，日用而不知其始。
不亦甚乎！

3) I, with my rash temperament, after the [ritual] work finished, listened much (and became well-learned).⁹ In the interstices of the six hours (of the day), I inclined to remain behind for research and survey. Thus I have reviewed stories and accounts, sought for their origins. I have succeeded in stitching something together with brush and ink, making use of my predilections. I hope to have distinguished beginnings alongside evidencing their endings, to have illuminated the ancient alongside demonstrating the present.

余以率情，業謝多聞，
六時之隙，頗存[好SYM]尋覽。
於是 檢閱事緣，討其根本。
遂綴翰墨，以藉所好，
庶 辯始以驗末，明古以證今。

⁹ *Duowen* becomes a common translation for *bahuśruta* (“one who has heard much”) in Chinese Buddhist works, but it is also a commandment or term of praise for well-informed disciples in works like *Analects* (2.18; 7.28; 16.4; cf. tr. Ames and Rosemont 1998, “listen broadly,” 79; “learned much,” 117; “broadly informed,” 197). Variations of this eight-character sentence can be found in the forewords of five of the seven other compilations, all of which are included in the *CSZJJ*, and two of which have also been preserved separately. They seem to indicate a turn in the logic of a foreword where Sengyou introduces himself, his research interests, and his aspirations for the collection: 1) in *CSZJJ*, “[I, Seng]you, with my middling and superficial gifts, have long entrusted myself to the Gate of the Dharma...” (tr. modified from Link 1960, 40; *T* no. 2145.j1.1b04); 2) in *SJP*, “[I, Seng]you, with my obtuseness, after the [ritual] work finished, listened much (and became well-learned)” (*T* no. 2145.j12.4.87c01 and *T* no. 2040.j1.1a18); 3) in *Records on the Universe*, “[I, Seng]you, with my middling and stubborn temperament, dedicated myself to recovering lost articles” (*T* no. 2145.j12.5.88b25); 4) in *Records of the Sarvāstivādin Sect*, “Lowly I, with my middling and superficial gifts, have inherited the affairs of the *Ten Recitations* [*Sarvāstivāda vinaya*]” (*T* no. 2145.j12.6.89a12); and 5) in *HMJ*, “[I, Seng]you, with my nonessential studies, have willed deeply to propagate and defend [the faith]” (*T* no. 2145.j12.8.95b26 and *T* no. 2102.j1.1a19–20).

4) It extends to the collections¹⁰ of the Scripture-Intoning Instructors [Fascicle 6]; the assemblies of the Dragon Flower Holy Monks [Fascicle 7]; the Dharmas of the Bodhisattva Precepts [Fascicle 11]; the teachings of Evil Stoppers and Good Promoters [Fascicle 12].¹¹

至於 經唄導師之集，
龍花聖僧之會，
菩薩稟戒之法，
止惡興善之教。

5) Whether they were regulations established for emperors, or merit accumulated for the multitudes, they are all the foundational traces along the Eightfold Righteous Path and the glorious wide road of the [Buddhas who possess the] Ten Powers. Although these affairs are transmitted [to us] by forms and signs, still the merit is widespread throughout the universe.¹²

或制起帝皇，或功積黎庶，
並八正基跡[趾SYM]，十力遶路。
雖事寄形跡，而勳遍空界。

6) The grandness of the Song and Qi was to have truly spread this dharma; the Great Liang received the mandate, the leading crown of a hundred kings. The Divine Teaching flourishes throughout; Wisdom Transformative covers unseen.

¹⁰ *Ji* or collections is the thematic unit employed in the table of contents section below; here, however, it refers only secondarily to a textual unit, but primarily to a collecting of individuals, paralleling the “assemblies” (*hui*) in the following line. On *ji* see Chapters Six and Seven.

¹¹ These parallel descriptions indicate various subcollections in certain fascicles indicated again in the table of contents. Judging from the table of contents, the majority of the second half of *Fayuan ji* collects not accounts of origin from the translated scriptures, but mainly record deeds from the Southern Dynasties of the past century—Song, Qi, and the early Liang.

¹² *Kongjie* is probably not restricted to designate “the realm of emptiness” here.

宋、齊之隆，實弘斯法。
大梁受命，導冠百王，
神教傍通，慧化冥被。

7) From [my] youth to old-age, [I have] fully observed these three dynastic periods.¹³ I have continually wished for the treasured admonitions of the One Vehicle to be repaired anew alongside Heaven and Earth; for the flourishing achievements in the Four Assemblies [of Buddhists] to shine for a long time following the sun and the moon. Therefore I've recorded these old stories in order to commend these victorious accounts. These items and examples are varied and dense as in a thicket,¹⁴ so I've called it the “Garden of Dharma”—I've divided it with categories, ten fascicles¹⁵ in all. How can I be satisfied to simplify such profound knowledge?¹⁶ This is to be distributed in the circle [of adherents] only.

¹³ Sengyou (445–518) lived through the end of the Liu Song, the entirety of the short-lived Qi, and the beginning of the Liang Dynasties.

¹⁴ *Congza*—this term is also employed with positive connotations by Sengyou's good friend and colleague Liu Xie 劉勰 (fl. 5th c.) in “Chapter 44: Discussion on the Art of Writing” (*zongshu*), of his literary treatise *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* (*Wenxin diaolong* 44; cf. tr. Shih 1959, 229–33). This essay, which bills itself as “the hub where the thirty spokes [i.e., other essays in the work] converge” (44.5), argues that great writing differentiates itself from poor writing when a writer's inner qualities like “comprehensive view of [the] field” (*yuanjian quyū*) and “penetration [of items and examples]” (*dapan tiaoli*) are manifested in “making timely answers to varying circumstances, [moving] in perfect harmony with the proper standard” (*yinshi shunji dong bu shizheng*) leading to writing in which “we shall find galloping in parade like spirited chargers a host of brilliant ideas, and a **clustering galaxy** of exquisite expressions” (*yiwei tengyue er sheng, ciqu congza er zhi*). It is suggestive here that Liu Xie describes the art of composition in plausibly Buddhist terms of “skillful means”—especially in this essay where he alleges that extraordinary writers know how to write just the perfect amount—neither too much nor too little—in their “triumphant drive through the garden of literature” (*zhisheng wenyuan*, 44.2). While anthologists employ “skillful means” rhetoric in reflecting upon how they provide composers with the proper tools, composers use the very same rhetoric in imagining genius, writing, and impact.

¹⁵ The table of contents following this preface, as listed in *CSZJJ*, contains fourteen fascicles in total. If we assume that the first five fascicles—passages from translated scriptures consisting of origin stories for particular Buddhist practices, organized by the Three Jewels (Buddha, Dharma, Sangha—the second and third category requiring two fascicles each), and the four topics listed above in the preface each obtained their own fascicle, we might assume that fascicles 8–10 (on “miscellaneous pictures and images” [*za tuxiang*] for fascicles 8–9 and “scriptural collections and maigre feasts” [*jingzang zhengzhai*] for fascicle 10), and fascicles 13–14 (on deeds of Liang Wudi [*Da Liang gongde*]) may have been added after the composition of the preface. Evidence from their respective forewords seems to indicate that both *CSZJJ* and *HMJ* may have originally been intended to be ten fascicles in length each, too. Their extant versions, however, are also larger than planned—fifteen and fourteen fascicles in length, respectively.

自幼屆老，備觀三代，
常願 一乘寶訓，與天地而彌新；
四部盛業，隨日月而長照。
是故 記錄舊事，以彰[章SYM]勝緣，
條例叢雜，故謂之『法苑』，
區以類別，凡為十卷。
豈足簡夫淵識，蓋布之眷屬而已。

¹⁶ *Yuanshi* (literally, “whirlpool recognition”); among works compiled in the Taishō, only appears in *CSZJJ*, but appears in four other locations, in its collected prefaces section: these prefaces are to the *Dapin jing* by Sengrui (j8.2.53a21; the *Daxiaopin duibi yaochao*) by Zhi Daolin (j8.5.56b21); the *Apitanxin* by Huiyuan (j10.11.72c03); and the *Da zhilun chao* also attributed here to Huiyuan (j10.21.76a22–23).

Appendix F: Preface to Anomalous Phenomena from the Scriptures and Regulations

Anomalous Phenomena from the Scriptures and Regulations,¹ Fascicle 1

Composed by Śramaṇa Sengmin, Baochang, etc. of the Liang²

『經律異相』卷第一[---M]

梁沙門僧旻寶唱等集 [梁天監十五年沙門寶唱等奉勅撰SY; 梁沙門寶唱撰M; 梁天監十五年奉勅撰G]

[+并SY]序

1) The Thus-Come seizes on karmic circumstance to respond with traces, and he expounds the teaching by following capacities.³ It covers both dragons and ghosts, not just gods and men. The transformation initiated with Kauṇḍinya, and the way concluded with Subhadra.⁴ The writ-

¹ Dong 2011, 85–6 uses the Taishō as a critical edition, and offers variants for other print canon editions not considered by Taishō editors; I will only mention variants in the translation that affect the meaning of the text significantly. Su 2012, 903–4 offers a punctuated edition and reading in modern Chinese. Dong reproduces the preface as a single paragraph, while Su renders it in four. Su’s four paragraphs (*duan*) correspond here with paragraphs 1–3, 4, 5–7, and the final line of 7. I have largely followed the Taishō line-breaks, which begins a new line with every reference to the emperor, Liang Wudi. (The Koreana edition of the preface is printed on one and a quarter pages with these six line-breaks. There are also three characters’ worth of respectful white space between “they asked” (*shang-xun*) and “the emperor’s thoughts” (*shentü*) in the final paragraph.) Taishō’s six paragraphs largely correspond here with paragraphs 1–2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.

² The various print editions render the byline differently: only the Koreana credits Sengmin while Palace Edition has no compilers in the byline, giving the date instead, Tianjian 15 (516).

³ The first three words in this phrase—“responds with traces” (*yingji*), “seizes on karmic circumstance” (*touyuan*), and “following capacities” (*suiji*)—are synonyms in a sense, indicating the perspicacious manner in which the Buddha reacts to varied situations. “Karmic circumstance” (*yuan*) and “capacity” (*ji*) are rich, multivalent terms that emphasize relationality: a *yuan* can refer to both to an objective causal condition and to a sentient being’s individual karmic trajectory, a *ji* can mean an individual’s innate capacity or refer to situational opportunity. In the parallel prose context, “responds with traces” might mean the same thing as “expounding the teaching” (*chanjiao*), “traces” emphasizing the Buddha’s material offering distinct from his immaterial “teaching.”

⁴ These are the first and last converts in the Buddha’s long career of giving sermons, discussed in JLYX, discussed in JLYX j13.7 and j22.7 respectively, the first and tenth of eleven fascicle-chapters on the Buddha’s *śravaka* (*shengwen*) disciples.

ings piled up in myriads; the slips accumulated in the chiliocosms.⁵ From the West they progressed and in the East they were consolidated, but they were hard to obtain and investigate!

如來 應跡投緣，隨機闡教。
兼被龍鬼，匪直天人。
化啟僑陳，道終須跋。
文積巨萬，簡累大千。
自 西徂東固[羌SYMG]，難得而究也。

2) So then, when Liu Xiang collated the books, the Dark Word had been contained for a long time; but when [Emperor] Han Ming[di] was stimulated to dream [of the Buddha], numinous proof all became apparent.⁶ From this point on forward, the transmissions and translations followed one after another: the Three Baskets' profound classics, although complete, abbreviated the universal; the Nine Divisions⁷ unclassified words have not yet fully been categorized and collected.

若乃 劉向校書，玄言[文G]久蘊；
漢明感夢，靈證彌彰。
自茲厥後，傳[翻SYMG]譯相繼。

⁵ The parallelism between “myriads” (*juwan*) and “chiliocosms” (*daqian*) is awkward in English; the Buddhist word “chiliocosm” could be rendered literally as “great thousands,” which closely parallels “huge myriads” and, in this context of “piling up” (*ji*), recalls Hui Shi’s risible line from “The World” chapter of the *Zhuangzi*: “What has no thickness cannot be piled up; yet it is a thousand *li* in dimensions!” 無厚不可積液，其大千里 (cf. tr. Watson 2013, 297, or Legge 1891b, 229).

⁶ Liu Xiang (77–6 BCE) is the foundational collector, bibliographer, and cataloguer of the Western Han Dynasty (202 BCE–9 CE). Han Mingdi (28–75 CE, r. 58–75), in East Asian Buddhist historiography, inaugurated the entrance of Buddhism into China after dreaming of the Buddha in 65 CE, sending emissaries westward, and welcoming the first Indian monks and scriptures who arrived as a result of the mission.

⁷ On Buddhists’ various specifications of the “Nine Aṅga”—a scheme for dividing the Dharma into literary genres—see Lamotte 1988b, 144–6. It is commonly referred to in the Chinese *Mahāsāṃghika Regulations* (*T* no. 1425) and *Nirvana Scripture* (*T* no. 374 or 375).

三藏奧典，雖已略周；
九部雜言，通未區集。

3) The Emperor is well matched to the perfectly enlightened and rivals in virtue the universally knowledgeable. He greatly propagates the scriptural teachings, equally benefitting monks and laypeople; he widely extends [the texts and spirit of] broad antiquity, and vastly gathers lost writings.⁸ From this, [as] scattered verses and free-flowing chapters frequently emerge, what has been stored up at present is indeed much!⁹

皇帝 同契等覺，比德遍知。
大弘經教，並利法俗；
廣延博古，旁採遺文。
於是 散偈流章，往往而[復SYMG]出，
今之所獲，蓋亦多矣。

4) His imperial edict¹⁰ is such: from a Semblance [Era] of the True [Dharma]¹¹ we gradually come to the End [Dharma]: belief and joy are fully on the decline. Phrases are overflowing, and rarely are they able to be made complete.

⁸ It appears that in writing his preface to this Liang Catalog, Fei Zhangfang inexactly copied from the beginning of this section to here, or Fei and the *JLYX* preface author copied from a similar source. See *T* no. 2034.j11.94b12–14.

⁹ Fei Zhangfang borrows phrasings from the first three lines to write his account of Liang Wudi and the commissioning of *JLYX* in the preface he wrote to his catalog of the Southern Qi–Liang (eleventh of the twelve fascicles organized in this way) in *LDSBJ*, *T* no. 2034.j11.94–b12–14. Daoxuan would later borrow Xiao Yan’s essay to compose the foreword for his Liang-period catalog (twelfth of eighteen dynasties) in *DTNDL*, *T* no. 2149.j4.263c21–23. This marks the first line-break of the preface. One earlier and three later line-breaks in the Koreana and Taishō—one before the word “emperor” and the other three before His “orders”—represent respect for His Highness. In the Koreana printing, some blank space also precedes “the king’s thoughts” (*shenlü*) in the final paragraph below.

¹⁰ *Shengzhi*, literally “sagely intention.”

¹¹ Usually the Sinitic schema of the “Three Periods” is presented from “True to Semblance” (*zhengxiang*) to End (*mo*), but this is one of the exceptions. On the development of the tripartite system in medieval China, which often listed the three periods as 500/500/10,000 years, see Nattier 1991, 65–117. Nattier describes how Kumārajīva’s translation choices allowed the tripartite scheme to emerge in Chinese exegesis; Daoshi mentions the bipartite

聖旨以為： 象[像SYMG]正浸[侵G]末，信樂彌衰：
文句浩漫，鮮[尠SYMG]能該洽[洽M]。

5) In the seventh year of Tianjian [508], he ordered Shi Sengmin¹² and others to prepare and epitomize the many classics, to manifest and prove the deep writings; to control and assemble their spiritual aims, to analyze and abbreviate their meaningful dawnings. For scrutiny and search, there were benefits for more than half the time. Only rarely were there “anomalous phenomena” still scattered through its many chapters. These were core explanations that were difficult to hear, markers for making them manifest had not yet been added.

以天監七年，勅釋僧旻等

備鈔眾典，顯證深文；
控會神宗，辭略意曉。
於鑽求者已有太半之益。
但 希有異相，猶散眾篇。
難聞祕說，未加標顯。

scheme of “True and Semblance” (*zhengxiang*) in his “Explaining the Meaning” introductions to three chapters in *A Grove of Pearls*, “Chapter 86: Repentance” (*chanhui*, T no. 2122.j86.912b09); “Chapter 98: Extinction of the Dharma” (*famie*, T no. 2122.j98.1005a10); and “Chapter 100: Records” (*zhuanji*, T no. 2122.j100.1019b05), but only the second of the three (a chapter wherein Daoshi collects many of the same sources Nattier does to investigate the “future time”) makes additional reference to the “End Period” (*modai*) in addition to “Truth” and “Semblance.” My translations of “Truth,” “Semblance,” and “End” dharmas here does not take a hard position on how the author of the foreword would indicate his own position in dharmic history, simply that conditions are not presently ideal and would certainly get worse in the (distant) future. Fei Zhangfang seems to have adapted these lines for his Liang Catalog preface, see T no. 2034.j11.94b14–16; among other small differences, he has inverted “Semblance of the True” (*xiangzheng*) to “True and Semblance” (*zhengxiang*) and “phrases are overflowing” becomes “the three baskets are overflowing” (*sanzang haoman*). On Daoxuan’s fluid conceptions on “End Dharma,” see Miyabayashi 1975.

¹² Biography collected by Daoxuan in *XGSZ*, T no. 2060.j5.8.461c23–463c12.

6) Next, at the end of the fifteenth year [516], he ordered Baochang¹³ to epitomize the essential accounts “from the scriptures and regulations,” all of which were made to follow categories allowing perusers to understand [them] easily.

又以十五年末[-SYMG]，

勅寶唱鈔經律要事，
皆使以類相從，令覽者易了。

7) Next, he ordered Shi Senghao of Xin'an Monastery,¹⁴ Shi Fasheng of Xinghuang Monastery,¹⁵ and others, to help inspect the reading. From this, a widely synthesizing the scriptural texts, they selected and gathered the core essentials. They asked for the emperor's thoughts, and they received set principles, altogether making fifty fascicles. Also, the table of contents was five fascicles. It was divided into five wrappers and given the name *Anomalous Phenomena from the Scriptures and Regulations*. Scholarship yet to come may broaden itself without [extra] labor.

又勅新安寺釋僧豪、興皇寺釋法生等，相助檢讀。

於是 博綜經籍，擇[搜SYMG]採祕要。
上詢 神[宸SYMG]慮取則成規，凡[已SY]為五十卷。
又 目錄五卷，分為五秩。
名為『經律異相』。
將來學者，可不勞而博矣。

¹³ In Fei Zhangfang's adaptation of the preface for his Liang Catalog preface, both Sengmin and Baochang are described as compilers of the second work which is said to have begun in Tianjian 7 [508] (*T* no. 2034.j11.94b14–17).

¹⁴ Senghao is not mentioned in other canonical sources. Baochang was appointed as abbot of the state-sponsored Xin'an Monastery in Jinakang in Tianjian 4 [505] until around five years later. See de Rauw 2005, 206.

¹⁵ While Fasheng is difficult to locate in the transmitted sources, Xinghuang Monastery was also an important nodal monastic center during the Southern Dynasties; Zhizang had been appointed abbot of Xinghuang by Emperor Ming during Taishi 6 of the Liu Song [470] (*XGSZ*, *T* no. 2060.j5.465c14–15).

Appendix G: Preface to the *Golden Basket Discourse*

Preface to the Golden Basket Discourse, a Collection of Essentials from the Scriptures¹

『眾經要集金藏論』序

1) As the sinking of the sound continually worsens, the parapets of the Dharma City [will] fall to ruin; as the flourishing of the light is encoffined on all four sides, the winds of heterodoxy will be raised. The path of reality is checked by dregs, and the scriptures flood over in profuse confusion; True and Semblance Dharmas² are mounds of dust, and when opponents meet, suddenly the battle begins.

自 聲沈越下，法城之頂欲³頽；
自⁴ 光盛四擲，邪見之風將舉。
真途滓遏，諸經奄以紛橫；
正像陵埃，異觀欻然競起。

¹ I by and large follow the editorial emendations of Miyai and Motoi in their critical edition of the only surviving original foreword to the *Jinzang lun* as found at the beginning of the “Otani MS” (Miyai and Motoi 2011, 387–8); see reproduction of these pages on the Otani manuscript at 11–15, and a transcription at 200–2. The manuscript is held at Otani University Museum in Kyoto with the holding number Yokō 餘甲 160, sixty-seven pages butterfly-bound into a single booklet comprising “the first two scrolls” of the *Golden Basket Discourse*, though only the materials of “Fascicle 1” match other witnesses to the text. A colophon dated Chōshō 3 (1134) describes the manuscript having surfaced at Hōryū-ji then. For more details on the booklet, its form, contents, and users’ annotations, see Miyai and Motoi 2011, 533–9. The title and preface can be found on the first five half-pages, from 1R to 3R. I have added punctuation and spacing to better highlight the parallel prose-nature of the preface. Miyai and Motoi’s critical edition renders the preface into five paragraphs, what are represented as paragraphs 1, 2–3, 4–6, 7, and 8 here. On the Otani manuscript, the third paragraph begins on a new page in the booklet, and all but the fourth paragraph begin at the top of a line, though there are no spaces at the end of previous lines that would indicate that line-breaks are being taken. The cover, “title page,” (*genhyō*) and “scroll-end titles” (*bidai*) simply refer to the work as “Golden Basket Discourse,” though the “scroll-head titles” (*naidai*) before the preface, the first scroll, and the second scroll refer to it by the full name here.

² See previous note on *zhengxiang*.

³ The editors added this character, presumably for parallelism.

⁴ The editors added this character, presumably for parallelism.

2) Then there was a king surnamed Yuwen and named Yong [Zhou Wudi] whose steps defined the Western Qin and who raised by himself the True Transformation. In the Jiawu year [574.2.7–575.1.27], he was led astray by evil demons, the Truth sank into the ocean of evil; suddenly there arose insane views inclining to wipe out the Three Venerables. Having arrived at the beginning of the first month of the Dingyou year that followed [577.2.4], the demons continued to flourish and suddenly had great power, they extinguished the Gao clan [of N. Qi] and captured their territory. As for their destruction of the Three Jewels, how can it be described? These evil acts are inconceivable—Yuwen Yong had the power to make the goodness of a spinning feather into an evil horde, the heart of tiny faith changed into a demonic mob.

時有國王，姓宇文名邕，跨處西秦，自揚正化。

於甲午年中，為惡魔所誤，正沒邪海，

即起狂見，傾蕩三尊。

至歲次丁酉之年，正月之初，

魔徒轉盛，輒有勢力，

吞滅高氏，握羅斯境。

破壞三寶，何可稱言。

夫惡業不可思議！

宇文邕，至能轉毛之善，即作邪群，

徼信之心，改為魔眷。

3) At this time, Śā[kya] disciples and [bhikṣu]ṇī wayfarers made their living as farmers, shed their shoulder-baring [saṃ]ghāṭī to be returned to assigned white mourning vestments. Marauders pillaged [them, and they were] friendless and kinless; [marauders] condemned and burned [their] shrines and images, [and Buddhists stayed] unfazed and fearless. The sanghārama, land of the Buddha, whence could it be espied? The roadside caitya, truly difficult to locate! [The

anti-Buddhists] clamored to oppose those grand singers of reality. Unravel their [postmortem] destinations, truly they had become demons. People are without eyes of wisdom, how are they able to embody the disasters of the future and present? Who can awaken to the stimulations of present-day evil deeds? People instead eat their own relatives, forcing the hundred surnames to starve and labor, their own flesh and bones filling the alleys and the wilderness.

是時 釋徒尼道，打作農民，
振去偏袒伽利，遣歸素服。
羈羅劫掠[掠]，無友無親；
焚誅塔像，無驚無懼。
伽藍佛地，爰可瞻看；
路左枝提，實難尋賭。
煩囂對此，盛唱真若；
繹其所趣，寔成魔侶。
人無慧目， 寧能⁵體未來現在之⁶殃也？
誰能覺即時惡業之感？
人有自食其親，能使百姓飢勞，⁷
骨肉盈於衢野。

4) In these times there was a Great Virtue Śramaṇa called Treatise Master Ji.⁸ He was extraordinary in his generation, his posthumous name, Treatise Master River Shade. His divine ca-

⁵ The editors added this character, presumably for parallelism.

⁶ The editors emended this from 交 in the manuscript.

⁷ The editors emended this from 斃 in the manuscript.

⁸ I follow Daoxuan and later traditions in preferring the silk radical *ji* to the word radical *ji*. Daoji's biography, as discussed in the chapter, is collected in *XGSZ*, T no. 2060.j30.2.701a17–b24. Unlike other biographies of Daoxuan's, I do not find evidence of any direct textual borrowing from the preface, though some themes are naturally shared. For a critical edition and *kundoku* reading of Daoji's biography based off of a manuscript of *XGSZ* from the Shōsōin collection, see Miyai and Motoi 2011, 715–22.

capacity was active and measured such that its reach leapt above the peaks of a myriad ancients; his intellect was high and bright such that its traces exceeded beyond the shores of a hundred contemporaries. He softened his brilliance⁹ to wait on things,¹⁰ and it streamed through the streets and lanes; he sharpened his frugality to establish power, and it excelled solely beyond fame and emolument. When he suddenly encountered these catastrophes, he hid his Four Eloquences¹¹ to put pause to his radiance; and meeting these strange calamities, he followed this fearlessness of his for his own personal use.

于時有大德沙門記[紀]論師。見世非常，易名河隱論師。

乃 神機操節，遐騰萬古之峰；
 智力高明，迹超百今之岸。
 和光待物，流潤街巷之中；
 厲儉成威，獨踰名養之外。
 忽逢斯厄，四辯¹²奄以停輝；
 遇此奇災，無畏從茲自用。

5) Always looking up to mourn numinous images, he offered his compassion to crying trees in the wild; and bending down to grieve sentient beings, he provided his thoughts to seized bodies in the throng. He pursued quiet residence in free buildings, selecting the tracks of goats and deer [carts]; he hid behind closed doors in empty mansions, checking the traces of ox carts.¹³ All

⁹ To follow the Way, one “softens brilliance” (*heguang* 和光) and “joins with dust” (*tongchen* 同塵). See *Laozi* 4; cf. tr. Legge 1891a, 50.

¹⁰ This is an allusion to Confucius’s advice to Yan Hui on how to “fast the mind” (*zhaixin* 齋心) at *Zhuangzi* 4.2, one “hears with the spirit” (*ting yiqi* 聽以氣) which is “empty” (*xu* 虛) and naturally “waits on things” (*daiwu* 待物). Cf. tr. Legge 1891b, 208–9; or Watson 2013, 25.

¹¹ “Chapter 58: Skillful Debate” from *A Grove of Pearls* quotes the *Four-Part Regulations* to enumerate the “Four Eloquences” (*sibian, pratisamvid*): “eloquence” or “unhindered articulation” in “dharma” *fa* 法, “meaning” *yi* 義, “language” *ci* 辭, and “full explanation” *liaoliao* 了了. See *T* no. 2122.j53.683a12–13.

¹² The editors emended this from 辦 in the manuscript.

¹³ “Goat,” “deer,” and “ox” are the three “carts” of the famous “Burning House Parable” from the *Lotus*.

this time he had never caught a glimpse of royal rooms, who would have drawn the patterns [of writing] on the pages?

恒¹⁴ 仰悼靈¹⁵像，野與泣樹之悲；
 弣愍群生，薨赴捉身之念。
遂 靜居閑館，推採羊鹿之蹤；
 闔扇空樓，被察牛車之跡。
既 未闕王殿，誰畫葉上之文？

6) Moreover, the scriptures that circulated in the capital and Han Valley¹⁶ being few, and for ages [Daoji] had lamented the abundant breadth of their gates of teaching being difficult to encompass in our practices of writing. He selected the essential words, composed into brief quotes; collected the seven fascicles, distinguished into different sections. Thereby, this essence of the scriptures was titled *Golden Basket*. The treatise master was skilled in modeling the path for syllables, the characters equivalent to carved gold; he was crafty in spreading the chapter sections, the words the same as engraved jade. In discussing the words and actions as karmic causes, every phrase is clear and distinct; in explaining how karmic effects follow from their causes, every line is thorough and detailed. In minutely presenting recompense for good and evil,¹⁷ they are like the non-difference of shadow [from shape] or echo [from sound]; in flowingly illuminating the karmic connections of the multitude, one plucks out the extreme root of poverty. This is to say, with the golden plates in the world, one can resolve the cataracts of blindness to arouse

¹⁴ The editors emended this from 坦 in the manuscript.

¹⁵ The editors emended this from 掉 in the manuscript.

¹⁶ The geographic scope of “the capital and the Han Valley” *jingdu Hanzhong* 京都漢中 likely extends beyond the capital at Ye in Hebei (or Northern Zhou’s capital at Chang’an) and the Han River valley in Shanxi to encompass greater Northern China.

¹⁷ The single character for “recompense” (*bao*) would better parallel the next line if it were a two-character synonym with *bao* as one of its characters like 果報 *guobao* or 報果 *baoguo*. Alternately, a 4–6 structure could be retained by excising a character from “multitude” (*tuzhong*).

to the eyes of wisdom; by selecting the pearls for fostering belief, one can draw from the basket of jewels to delight the poor woman.

且涉¹⁸京都漢中之經少，

歷歎 教門豐廣，寫習難周。

簡摘要言，撰為約引，

集成七卷，別為異部。

乃是 眾經之精，題號『金藏』。

論師 善模音軌，字等彫金；

巧布篇章，言齊鏤玉。

談因語行，句句分明；

說果從因，文文委悉。

曲陳 善惡之報，若影嚮之無差；

流照 有緣之徒眾，拔貧窮之根際。

即是 金錍在世，決瞽瞍啟於慧眼；

挑發信珠，引寶藏悅於貧女。

7) I admire his eminent virtue, briefly expounding on his intent like this. I will have exhausted the merit of the cutting-knife, it is not what my tube-knowledge is able to express here.

余羨其高德，略申厥趣如之。欲盡剖厥之功，非我管知能述耳。

8) Altogether now there are nine fascicles, twenty-four chapters, and 192 entries.

都和今有九卷，有二十四章，有百九十二條。

¹⁸ The editors emended this from 沙 in the manuscript.

Appendix H: Preface to A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma (Li Yan)

This translation is based on the document that prefaces full print copies of *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*. A nearly identical document dating itself to two years earlier can be found in Daoxuan’s *Expanded Collection of Propagating and Clarifying* (*Guang hongming ji*), the twenty-fifth item in its “Chapter 4: Purposes of Dharma” (*fayi* 法義), and this translation makes note of their differences. Decisions about where paragraphs begin and end are mine, though I do take some cues from other editors’ decisions in punctuating the work.¹

Preface to *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*

Composed by Li Yan (zi: Zhongsi) of Longxi²

Grand Master for Court Discussion and Court Gentleman of the Orchid Pavilion³

『法苑珠林』序

朝議[散YM]大夫蘭臺侍郎

隴西李儼字[-M]仲思撰

[G 朝議大夫行中臺司元大夫

隴西李儼字仲思撰 {entirely replaced by 李儼 in M}]

¹ Cf. *A Grove of Pearls* T no. 2122.j1.269a15–b24 alongside *Propagating and Illuminating* [GHMJ = G] T no. 2103.j20.246b12–c18. For T no. 2122, Taishō follows Koreana in representing the preface as an unbroken block of text; for T no. 2103, a single line-break begins with “Great Tang” (*Da Tang*) in my 13th paragraph below, and this appears to represent a single character of respectful white space in the Koreana edition. Zhou and Su 2003, 1.1–2, breaks the preface into two paragraphs corresponding here to paragraphs 1–5 and paragraphs 6–14. Su 2012, 905–8, analyzes the preface as six paragraphs, corresponding here with paragraphs 1–4; 5; 6–8; 9–11; 12–13; and 14. Many thanks to Koichi Shinohara for sharing with me his draft translation of this preface.

² In present-day Gansu.

³ See Hucker 1985, entries 326 (*ch’ao yi tai-fu*), 3561 (*lan-t’ai-ssu*), and 3563 (*lang*), respectively. In the GHMJ version of the preface, dated two years earlier, Li Yan is titled Great Master for Court Discussion and Acting Grand Master of the Central Pavilion. For the implications of the discrepancy in Li’s title across preface witnesses on dating the composition of *FYZL*, see Kawaguchi 1974, 168–9.

1) Now as for the origins of the Six Component lines [of the hexagrams], they were because the Eight Trigrams were created in proper order.⁴ In the beginning there was writing,⁵ shining in the ancient works. There were the Phoenix Seals and the Dragon Maps,⁶ the Jade Characters on Golden Strips;⁷ the different tracks of the Hundred Schools, the diverse distribution of the Ten-Thousand Scrolls.

自[洎SYMG; G洎SYM]夫

六爻爰起，八卦成列。

肇有書契，昭[照SYMG]乎訓典。

鳳篆龍圖，金簡玉字；

百家異轍，萬卷分區。

2) Although Principle mastered⁸ the essential and subtle,⁹ and Language exhausted the scope of things, still their “recording of emotions and the inclusion of human nature”¹⁰ did not

⁴ *Bagua chenglie* (“The Eight Trigrams were created in the proper order”) are the very first four characters in the second half of the “Appended Phrases” (*Xici* 2.1), an early summary of the *Book of Changes* included therein (Legge 1963, 379; alternate translation in Lewis 1999, 257).

⁵ *Shuqi* (literally “writing and marking”). As the “Appended Phrases” continues through the inventions of the culture heroes, the final innovation of the sages detailed is the replacement of “knotted cords” (*jiesheng* 結繩) with “writing and marking” (“written characters and bonds”) (Legge 1963, 385). *Zhaoyou shuqi* also found in the collection of Xuanzang’s memorials preserved in Japan, *Memorials and Records of Śramaṇa Xuanzang (Si shamen xuanzang shangbiao ji* 寺沙門玄奘上表記, T no. 2119), at the beginning of a preface titled “Memorial on Installing Scriptures, Treatises, Etc” (*Jin jinglun deng biao* 進經論等表) dated Zhenguan 20.07.13 (646), a year and a half after his return, and in the opening line to Li Yan’s memorial for Daoyin.

⁶ *Fengzhuan* can be found throughout the Daoist Canon to describe their magic writing. The “Phoenix Seals” are found more often juxtaposed with “Dragon Registers” (*longzhang* 龍章); they are paired with “Tortoise Writing” (*guiwen* 龜文) alongside “Jade Characters on Silver Screens” (銀[金+扇]玉字) in Xuanzang’s memorial (T no. 2119.818a16). In pre-Buddhist literature, *longtu* can refer to the *hetu* 河圖 (“river map”) or *matu* 馬圖 (“horse map”) brought out of the Yellow River by the dragon horse during the prehistoric reign of the sage rulers. On dragons, Fu Xi, and the origins of writing, see Lewis 1999, 205–7. On the “River Map” as legitimating portent and as mythical origin for writing, Hsieh 2005, 133–44.

⁷ *Jinjian yuzi* refer to sacred writings recovered by Yu the Great in the *Springs and Autumns of Wu and Yue (Wuyue chungqiu* 吳越春秋), chapter 6, section 3, “Outer Tradition of King Wuyu of Yue” (*Wuyue chungqiu quanyi*, 244); later, Daoists would claim to have recovered in part from these invaluable writings (*HY* 1316).

⁸ *Lijiu* is also used to describe the compilation of the encyclopedic *Huainanzi*. See the concluding lines of *Huainanzi* 21.21.305: “we wanted to strongly abbreviate its diction, glancingly summarize its essentials, without perverting its ways or entering it partially and thus making it insufficient to plum the meaning of *dao-de*. Therefore

yet depart from inside the realm;¹¹ “the beginning and the end”¹²—how could these not be outside the common world?

雖 理究精微，言殫物範。
而 紀情括性，未出於寰中；
 原始要終，詎該於俗外。

3) There were also the teachings of the Librarian and discussions of the Gardener,¹³ the Jewel Scriptures fleeting and absurd, and the Ornamented Works crooked and weird¹⁴—they achieved nothing more than carving in ice, and were as unreal as writing in the air.

we wrote down twenty chapters, thus *mastering the Principle* of Heaven and Earth, connecting the affairs of the people, provisioning the Way of the Emperors!” 欲強省其辭，覽總其要，弗曲行區入，則不足以窮道德之意。故著書二十篇，則天地之理究矣，人間之事接矣，帝王之道備矣！

⁹ *Jingwei*—this pair of adjectives, strewn throughout the Warring States corpus to describe what are heavenly and wise—are used to describe the teaching of the *Book of Changes* in the *Book of Rites* 26 (“refined and subtle,” Legge 1885, 2.255–6).

¹⁰ *Jiqing kuoxing* also in the “Memorial on Installing Scriptures, Treatises, etc.” attributed to Xuanzang, in close proximity to its other shared allusion to describe the totality of pre-Buddhist wisdom—it “does not depart beyond the realm” 未出寰區之表 (*T* no. 2119.818a07–a08), see note below.

¹¹ *Huanzhong*—literally “what is in the walls.”

¹² *Yuanshi yaozhong* is also language featured in the second half of “The Appended Phrases” (*Xici* 2.9) to proclaim how the structure of the *Book of Changes* is coterminous with the universe. Also in foreword to Daoxuan’s genealogy *Shijiapu* *T* no. 2040. This quotation is paired with *jiqing kuoxing* in the biography of Xu Guang 徐廣 (352–425) in *Jinshu* 82.2159: Before glorifying the biographical figures of this division in the history, Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (578–648) praises the kings of antiquity for establishing the office of historian to write histories describing “the beginning and the end” as well as “the recording of emotions and the inclusion of human nature.”

¹³ *Zhuangzi* 13.6 produces a dialogue between Confucius and Laozi. Lao Dan is “the Librarian” (*zangshi*) who refuses to help Confucius or entertain his philosophy; see Watson 2013, 103–4. Zhuangzi is referred to as “the Gardener” (*yuanli*) in *Shiji*, 63.2143.

¹⁴ These are likely references to the precious scriptures of the Daoists—“Jewel Scriptures” (*baojing*) could refer to the works of the Numinous Jewel or Lingbao tradition. Compare this line to one in Li Yan’s epitaph for Daoyin: “Also we have the fleeting discourses of Jewel Scriptures, the nesting (“allegorical”) phrases of Ornamented Works, for driving the phoenix to ascend the clouds and riding the dragon to perch upon the moon. Their tracks are equivalent to the spinning [ball of] thread [representing samsāra], as empty as indulging one’s will upon the mountain of evil; their deeds compete may be compared to the ropes [of karma] that bind, in that how could one recognize righteous conduct on the path to enlightenment? Would not the Golden Mouth [of the Buddha] that instructs illuminatingly be better?” 亦有寶經浮說，錦籍寓詞，駕鳳升雲，驂龍棲月。跡均轉縷，空溯志於邪山；事比繫繩，詎知方於覺路？孰若訓昭金口 *Quan Tangwen* 201.2034. For descriptions of the jeweled materiality of Daoist scriptures in official histories *Book of Later Han* and *Book of Sui*, see Bumbacher 2015, 116–18.

亦[G而SYMG]有

藏史之說，園吏之談。

寶經浮誕，錦籍紆怪。

同鏤冰而無成，若書空而匪實。

4) Compare these with the Wondrous Teachings like garlanded flowers, the Deep Phrases upon written leaves; the breadth and width of the Two Vehicles and the depth and density of the Eight Canons.¹⁵ Set them to contest with regard to shallowness and depth, weigh them for superiority and inferiority—[the former] is still like the smallness of an anthill compared to the loftiness of Mount Song or Mount Hua,¹⁶ the water collected in the footsteps of a cow¹⁷ compared to the lengths of the Yangtze and the Han Rivers!

與夫 貫華妙旨，寫[G+貝SYMG]葉玄詞；
二[三SYMG]乘之宏博，八藏之沈[沆SG]祕。
競以淺深，較其優劣。
亦猶 蟻垤[蛭SYG;G蛭G]之小，比峻於嵩華；
牛涔之微，爭長於江漢。

5) Now, [the canon] contains systems of Manifest Understanding and the patterns of Latent Secrets,¹⁸ the gates to liberation and the gardens of spells.¹⁹ From absolute beginning to abso-

¹⁵ “Two Vehicles” (*ersheng*) comprise the Greater and Lesser Vehicles; “Eight Canons” (*bazang*) refers to the totality of Buddhist teachings, and it seems unimportant which set of eight Li may be referring to.

¹⁶ In Chapter 14 (“Defeating the Six [Heterodox] Masters”) in *Scriptures on the Wise and the Foolish*, T no. 202.j2.361b11–15, the king Prasenajit compares the smallness of an anthill to the immensity of Mt. Sumeru to compare Buddha’s virtue to that of his opponents, the six heterodox masters.

¹⁷ *Huainanzi*, 13.18: “The cow footprint puddle cannot give birth to eels, and a honeycomb cannot accommodate a swan egg: small shapes are insufficient to contain large forms!” 夫牛蹄之涔，不能生鱗鮪，而蜂房不容鵠卵；小形不足以包大體也。

¹⁸ *Xianliao* versus *yinmi*: two contrasting terms of exegesis, exoteric and esoteric.

lute end, it all tallies with Real Suchness,²⁰ the minds of beginners and experts alike return to Correct Awakening.²¹ It leads confused beings from the sea of desire, whence the dust of emotions and the dirt of the mind and are all dispelled;²² it draws the poor son to the room of mercy, where he arrives at clothes and jewels as well as [his father's most prized] topknot pearl.²³ Its transformative power overflows the area of all the silt ever swept along by the Ganges; its merit covers eons of as many minute particles in the universe. Its greatness, its perfection cannot be praised enough!

夫其 顯了之義，隱密之規，
解脫之門，總持之苑。
前際後際，並契真如；
初心末心，咸歸正覺。
導迷生於慾海，情塵共心垢同消；
引[G弘G]窮子於慈室，衣寶與髻珠雙至。
化溢ù沙之境，功被微塵之劫。
大哉至矣，不可得而稱焉。

¹⁹ *Jietuo* and *zongchi*: two contrasting terms of Buddhist aspiration, the former centrifugal, the latter centripetal and often used to translate Buddhist spells or *dhāraṇī*. See Copp 2008 for a reading of *dhāraṇī* / *tuoluoni* / *zongchi* as not merely being translated as “spells” or “mnemonic formula,” but having a semantic range more akin to the English “comprehensive grasp.” The first paragraph of Li Yan’s memorial to Daoyin pairs “Garden of Spells” (*zongchi zhi yuan*) with “Shores of Nirvana” (*niepan zhi an*) in presumably describing the Buddha’s extinction and subsequent canonization of the Buddhist scriptures (*Quan Tangwen* 201.2034).

²⁰ In his preface (see note 5 above), Xuanzang pairs “Real Suchness” with “Absolute Silence” (*kongji* 空寂), *T* no. 2119.818.a17.

²¹ Two originally Buddhist expressions of the ultimate: *zhenru* and *zhengjue*.

²² The metaphors do not match perfectly here: perhaps the deluded are led *into* the sea of desire not to their doom but as a precondition to their minds being cleaned. Compare with Xuanzang’s preface: “[the Dharma] leads the confused masses out from the realms [as many as] sands [of Ganges]; it protects grieving associates from kalpas [as many as grains of] dust” 導群迷於沙界，庇交喪於塵劫 *T* no. 2119.818a09–10.

²³ This recalls “Chapter 4: Belief and Understanding” of the *Lotus Scripture*, tr. Hurvitz 2009, 78–94. The “poor son” is drawn to the guard his estranged father’s storehouse of riches to draw his daily wages, but before he dies, the father reveals to his son his identity and that the storehouse is his inheritance. Li argues that like the Buddha, the father, or a storehouse of jewels, *A Grove* is not only good in and of itself, but good for bringing people into the Buddhist fold.

6) Ever since [the meteors] that accompany the rain was evidenced in the Zhou²⁴ and [the Buddha] who matches the sun became clear in the Han,²⁵ since Cai Yin roamed out west and Zhu Lan travelled east,²⁶ the phrases of the Golden Mouthed one, the teachings of the Jeweled Tower²⁷ filled the silks and accumulated in script, covering the Central Regions.

泊 偕兩[雨YM; G雨]徵周，佩日通漢，
蔡愔西涉，竺蘭東遊，
金口之詞，寶臺之旨，
盈縑積籀，被乎中域。

7) But the spooling of scrolls²⁸ proliferated immensely, and the flow of strips²⁹ grew deeply vast—the Real Nature and True Origin³⁰ in the end were difficult to survey thoroughly.³¹

²⁴ *Xieyu* refers to the meteor shower in the seventh century BCE as described in sources like *Shiji* 38.1625. Medieval Buddhist historians would correlate this event in the Chinese histories with the birth of the Buddha. For Fei Zhangfang's squaring of these prooftexts from the "inner" and "outer" classics, see *LDSBJ*, T no. 2034.j1.23b07–10; and for the pairing of Han Dynasty miracles with Zhou Dynasty "aerolite" (*yeyun*) sighting in Chinese Buddhist parallel prose, see *GHMJ*, T no. 2103.j6.127a24–25 (Cai Mo) and j22.261b01–b02 (Mingjun).

²⁵ *Peiri* is used to describe the image of the figure the emperor Mingdi dreams in *Hou Hanshu* 42.1428. See notes below.

²⁶ Cf. Adamek's 2007 discussion of the sources for the myth of the dream of Emperor Ming in her study and translation of the *Lidai fabaoji* (discussion: 21–3; translation: 300–4); Chavannes 1905b, 546–8. The most popular source for contemporary Chinese historians is *GSZ* in the biographies of Kāśyapa Mātāṅga and Zhu Falan (*GSZ*, j1).

²⁷ The Golden Mouth (*jinkou*) and Jeweled Tower (*baotai*) are two instruments by which the Dharma is propagated. Li Yan deploys the "Golden Mouthed One" epithet for the Buddha in the middle of his preface to *A Grove of Pearls*, but he uses it near the beginning of the Daoyin memorial (paired with "Jade Box" [*qiongxiang*] of Buddhist teachings) and near the end of the *Diamond Annotations* (paired with "Jade Spools" [*yuzhou*] of Buddhist teachings).

²⁸ *Juanzhou*—in the period before print, this word could refer to writing in general.

²⁹ *Tiaoliu* is used several times in the *Wenxin diaolong* to describe the diversification of genre and form. It could carry the meaning of an outline of topics or a system of regulations. My translation for this word and its partner *juanzhou* errs on the side of the literal and material.

³⁰ *Shixiang* and *zhenyuan*: a quick search for these terms in *Scripta Sinica* seems to indicate that they were popular terms of art in both medieval Buddhist and Daoist canons, though *zhenyuan* appears far more frequently in the Daoist canon and only begins appearing in the Buddhist canon through Sui-Tang commentarial traditions, and *shixiang* appears in earlier Buddhist translations.

³¹ *Xianglan*—Forke 1962, 2.375, suggests "carefully consider" in his translation of the "Simplicity of Funerals" chapter in *Lunheng*.

而 卷軸繁夥，條流深曠，
實相真源，卒難詳覽。

8) We arrive at the rule of our Creator, His Majesty the August of Tang. The Mysterious Teaching is declared; the disciples in black are full and complete. The splendor they transmitted and waters they conveyed shine on and irrigate the terrains; their Indic sounds and tones of praise are shouted and whispered in the cities and provinces. The flourishing of broad proclamation³² is in the difficulty of exhausting its “finger analogies.”³³

暨 我皇唐造物聖上君臨。
玄教聿宣；緇徒充合[洽SYMG]。
傳輝寫液，照潤區宇；
梵響讚[G誦]音，喝[G唱SYM]咽都甸。
弘宣之盛，指喻難極。

9) We have at Ximing Monastery³⁴ the Great Virtuous³⁵ Master Daoshi (styled Xuanyun): he is a leader of the School of Śakyamuni. In his youth he toweringly gathered sands,³⁶ and he

³² *Hongxuan* becomes a popular term for describing the Buddha’s preaching in Sui-Tang commentary.

³³ *Zhuangzi* 2.6 begins “by means of a finger to illustrate (*zhiyu*) that the finger is not a finger is not so good a plan as to illustrate that it is not so by means of what is not a finger”; see tr. Legge 1891a, 183. Li Yan might be recapitulating Zhuangzian notions of value relativism and pluralist pragmatism: if all teachings are true in a relative sense, this could account for both the inexhaustibility and flourishing of teachings.

³⁴ On the provenance of Ximing Monastery (completed in 656), see Xiong 2000, 262–5.

³⁵ *Dade* is a generous term of praise even in pre-Buddhist texts; in translated Buddhist texts it can translate the term of respect for aged monks or bodhisattvas, *bhadanta*, elder. In the Sui and beyond it can be a title bestowed to fully ordained Chinese monks or Daoist Masters.

³⁶ *Jusha*—“collecting sands to make a Buddha stupa” is described as an action of playing children in “Chapter 2: Expedient Devices” of the *Lotus Scripture*, T no. 262.j1.8c24–25; cf. Hurvitz 2009, 36, “There are even children who in play / Gather sand and make it into buddha stūpas / Persons like these / Have all achieved the Buddha path.”

dropped the decorations at the age of brightly colored clothes;³⁷ generously compassionate he guided ants,³⁸ and he supported his accomplishment at the platform of full ordination.³⁹

屬有 西明寺[-SYMG;G-]大德道世法師字玄暉，是[G-]釋門之領袖也。
幼嶷聚砂，落飾綵衣之歲；
慈殷接蟻，資成具受之壇。

10) The elements of the precepts were roundly understood, and he offered protection to even the gem-swallowers.⁴⁰ The meanings of the regulations⁴¹ were perfectly known, and were rejoiced in just as through a shining mirror.⁴² He cherished the Great Vehicle, thoroughly illuminating the Ultimate Reality.

戒品圓明，與吞珠而等護；
律義精曉，隨照鏡而同欣。

³⁷ *Luoshi* (“dropping the decorations”) refers to the plain adornment of the Buddhist novice, contrasting with *cai yi* (“brightly colored clothes”) that refer to the attire appropriate for children to wear.

³⁸ The famous story of the Buddhist novice who used a branch to rescue ants from drowning in flood-waters (and consequently was able to live for eighty full years instead of dying in eight days) is quoted in the “Chapter 76: Salvation from Danger,” T no. 2122.j65.782c18–26.

³⁹ Full ordination could not be conferred until twenty years of age. Zanning would borrow language from this paragraph to narrate Daoshi’s youth Appendix J, paragraph 1.

⁴⁰ *Tunzhu* may refer to the story of the goose who swallowed a gem. Supposedly exemplifying the virtue of precept-upholding, a monk is to have received death-blows from a householder in order to protect the animal thief from slaughter. See the full story in the *Great Adornment Treatise-Scripture* (*Da zhuangyan lunjing*, T no. 201, j11.319a20–321a18, no. 63). For a translation, see Huber 1907, 321–30. This story is referenced as one which a Buddhist novice reflects upon as he is being tempted by a householder’s daughter in order to maintain his vows in the *Scripture on the Wise and the Foolish* (*Xianyu jing*, T no. 202, No. 24 “The chapter on śramaṇeras upholding precepts up to suicide” (*Shami shoujie zisha pin*), quoted by JLYX, T no. 2121.j22.9, “The śramaṇera protects the precepts by immolation of his beloved self” (*Shami hujie she suoai shen*), 120b22–121a15. The first quotation is cited in *A Grove of Pearls* in its “Chapter 85.2: Keeping Precepts,” T no. 2122.j82.891b09–892a25.

⁴¹ I’ve also translated “meanings of the regulations” *lüyi* as “System of Rule,” as in the titles of Sengyou’s and Baochang’s regulation digests (see Appendix D, Row VI).

⁴² See one of opening verses to the *Dharmaguptakapratimokṣa* that Daoshi would have been familiar with, “Like a man who looks himself in the mirror (*zhaojing* 照鏡) and rejoices or grieves (*xinqi* 欣感) depending on his beauty or ugliness, so the explaining of the precepts (*shuojie*, *poṣadha*) is just like this, one worries or delights depending on their preservation or desolation” (*Sifenlü jieben*, T no. 1429.1915b08–09).

愛慕大乘，洞明實相。

11) Therefore, he with eminent erudition was summoned to reside at Ximing [Monastery], and then taking free time [after studying]⁴³ the Five Schools,⁴⁴ he read the Three Baskets extensively. For the benefit of successive generations ancient and modern, [the canon] was designed for many people;⁴⁵ and although its phraseology was in elegant taste, [Daoshi] was not satisfied with its wide recording. So he plucked the best flowers from the garden of literature,⁴⁶ sniffed out the jasmine blossoms of the great meaning, and with categories he compiled it. He called it *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*, summed up in a hundred chapters and bound into ten wrappers.

爰以英博，召居西明，

遂以 五部餘閑[G閒M]，三藏遍覽。

以為 古今綿代，制[G製SYM]作多人。

雖 雅趣佳詞，無足於博[傳SYMG; G傳SYMG]記，

所以 搦文囿之菁華，嗅大義之瞻[蒼SYMG]蔔。

⁴³ Compare *yuxian* “free time” with Sengyou’s self-accounts of compilation in his prefaces (Appendix E, paragraph 3).

⁴⁴ *Wubu* here are the five vinaya schools of the Mahāsāṃghika, Dharmaguptaka, Sarvāstivāda, Mahīśāsaka, and the long-lost Kāśyapīya (*XSC*, *T* no. 1804.j1.3b21–b25).

⁴⁵ From “For the benefit” up to the end of this paragraph, Zanning in Daoshi’s biography in *SGSZ* copies nearly character for character Li Yan’s foreword, *T* no. 2061.j4.2.726c19–22, see Appendix J, paragraph 5. As discussed above, Li’s foreword must have been an important source for Zanning’s biography of Daoshi, borrowing words, phrases, and themes throughout.

⁴⁶ *Wenyou*, the “Garden of Literature,” was applied to a different genre of writings in works like the *Wenxin diaolong* and preface to the *Wenxuan*. For *Wenxin diaolong* 28, Shih 1959 translates *wenyou* as “Garden of Letters” in the first citation so as to pair better with its parallel term, “Forest of Literature” (*hanlin* 翰林), 164. For Xiao Tong, “Garden of Letters” pairs with a “Forest of Literature” (*cilin* 辭林) too. Perhaps Li Yan is intentionally hearkening to Liu and Xiao’s works in this paragraph of the preface. Following his invocation of the “Garden of Letters,” Xiao writes, “Since the Zhou and Han, / Long ago, in the remote past, / There have been seven dynastic changes, / And over a thousand years have gone by. / The names of men of letters and great talents overflow the blue bags, / And the texts of swift writings from moist brushes fill the yellow covers. / Unless one omits the weeds, / And collects only the purest blossoms, / Though one doubles his effort, / It will be difficult to read more than half” (Knechtges 1982, 86).

以類編錄，號曰『法苑珠林』。

總一[事總SYM]百篇，勒成十帙。

12) While the meaning is abundant, the writing is brief,⁴⁷ a style based in Mr. Yu [Xiaojing]’s *Comprehensive Essentials [of the Inner Canon]*⁴⁸; tracks are announced and the Way is mirrored, emulating superior [Seng]you’s [*Collection that*] *Spreads and Illuminates [the Dharma]*. Its language accompanied by beauty; its Way accompanied by clarification. [Daoshi] has raised [dharma] to the Utmost Complexity⁴⁹ while losing nothing; he has packaged up the Glorious Gate,⁵⁰ and certainly exhausted it.

義豐文約，紐[細S]虞氏之『博要』；

跡宣道鏡，晞祐上之『弘明』。

其言以美；其道斯著。

舉至蹟而無遺。包妙門而必盡。

⁴⁷ *Yifeng wenyue*—Fazang would use this exact four-character phrase to describe his own commentary to *The Awakening of Faith* in his massively influential *Commentary on The Awakening of Faith*, in opposition to other Buddhist treatises where the “writing is plentiful and the meaning is distant” (*Dasheng qixin lun yiji*, T no. 1846.241a08–09.)

⁴⁸ [*Neidian*] *boyao* in 30 fascicles was compiled by Yu Xiaojing 虞孝敬 (fl. 6th c.) in the early sixth century in his capacity as Instructor (*wenxue*) for the Prince of Xiangdong, Xiao Yi 蕭繹 (508–555), future emperor of Liang. Learned in both secular and Buddhist literatures, Yu was to have become a monk later in his life. The work was to have “encompassed scriptures and treatises, with items threading through the Śākya Gate, containing many essential accounts and taking up all records, in a fashion quite identical to the *Huanglan* or *Leiyuan*” (*DTNDL* on *Samghavarman, T no. 2149.j1.426b08–11). For references to this lost work and its compiler in Fei Zhangfang’s *LDSBJ*, Daoxuan’s *DTNDL* and *XGSZ*, as well as Daoshi’s bibliography in Chapter 100 of *FYZL*, see Chen 2007, 51n77. These references all resemble one another quite closely. Daoxuan also cites the work in a list of fifteen before his compilation of *Supernatural Monks* in *GTL* (T no. 2106.434a24; studied in Shinohara 1990). These citations suggest its survival and consultation through the mid-Tang Dynasty.

⁴⁹ *Zhiji*—according to the *Book of Changes*’s “Appended Phrases” commentary, the sage was able to “survey all the complex phenomena under the sky,” and encode them in *The Changes* such that its entries may “speak of the utmost complex phenomena [*zhiji*] under the sky” (*Xici* 1.8; cf. Legge 1963, 349).

⁵⁰ *Miaomen* constitutes a reference to Buddhist teaching that appears as early as in translations by northerner Zhu Fonian of the 4th and early 5th c, thrice in the *Scripture of the Appearance of Light* (*Chuyao jing*, *Dharmapāda* T no. 212), and once more in the *Bodhisattvas’ Necklace Primary Activities Scripture* (*Pusa yingluo benye jing* T no. 1485). Its Daoist connotations (*Laozi* 1) can also be observed, however.

13) For if the language is proliferate, then the emotions sink; if the meaning is abbreviated, then little will be heard.⁵¹ He did not want to emptily plot forth idle verbiage, to falsely fill the scrolls. Taking the accounts that could not be abandoned, these articles were quite a lot, and the reading took place over many days, which he returned to in order to know their essentials.⁵² And therefore in the first year of the Zongzhang period (668)⁵³ of the Great Tang, with the Year (i.e. Taisui 太歲) in Zhixu,⁵⁴ and the pitchpipes at *guxian*,⁵⁵ on the thirtieth day of the third month, the collection was complete.

但 文繁則情墮；義略則寡聞。
 不欲 虛構浮詞，假盈卷軸。
 以事不可却，文翰似[以SYMG]多；
 披覽日久，還知其要。

[In G, this paragraph begins here with 粵以]

故於[G--]大[G有M]唐總章元年[G麟德三年]，
 歲在執徐[G攝提]，律惟[G維SYMG]沽[G姑M]洗，
 三[五SYMG]月三十日，纂集斯畢。

⁵¹ *Guawen*—Hirakawa 1997, 386, suggests this word as a translation for *alpaśruta*, the opposite of someone well-learned who has “heard a lot” (*duowen, bahuśruta*).

⁵² Text from here up to the beginning of the paragraph are not represented in the version of the foreword recorded in Daoxuan’s *GHMJ*, perhaps transmitted from an earlier version, because the version of the foreword circulating with the full *Grove of Pearls* has Li Yan with a higher position in the byline and with a later date of completion in the following sentence, see next note.

⁵³ Third year of the Linde (666), according to the version circulating in the *GHMJ*. Kawaguchi 1974 believes the character “three” is a miscopying for “one” (元), suggesting that the *GHMJ* version of the *FYZL* foreword had first been transcribed in 664.

⁵⁴ Zhixu is the fifth in a series of twelve year names through which the hemerological agent Taisui, sometimes translated “Counterjupiter,” moves on a yearly basis. Zhixu corresponds to *chen*, among the twelve earthly branches, thus indicating an *wuchen, gengchen, renchen, jiachen, or bingchen* year in the sexagenary cycle. Zongzhang 1 was a *rongchen* year. *GHMJ* has instead Sheti (= *yin*) for Zhixu, pointing to Linde 3 (666). Thanks to Daniel Morgan for explaining the calendrics to me.

⁵⁵ According to the theory of “watching the ethers” (*houqi* 候氣), the earth’s *qi* would act to spontaneously sound a (properly-installed) pitchpipe, moving through the twelve notes of the chromatic scale over the course of the twelve months of the (normal) civil year. In this scheme, *guxian*—MI in solfeggio notation—corresponds to month three. Thanks to Daniel Morgan for contributing this footnote.

14) I hope that you may seize its abstruse phrases, explore the scrolls to obtain the wishing jewels;⁵⁶ track the rectified way, unroll the texts to drink the sweet dew. Unravel it to know the subtle; contemplate it to see the abstruse. Set it in its surroundings and they shall be uniformly shone upon; lift it to the heavens and they shall be totally long-lasting.

庶使 緝玄詞者，探卷而得意珠；
軌正道者，披文而飲甘露。
繹之以知微，觀之而覩奧[G隩,奧SYMG]。
與環景而齊照；將旋[G璇,璇SYMG]穹而共久。

⁵⁶ *Yizhu* is short for *ruyizhu*, or the wishing-jewel, paralleling “sweet dew” in the next phrase. In the context of the title and foreword, however, *yizhu* may also be construed as “pearls of meaning” or “pearls for thinking.”

Appendix I: Preface to Collected Essentials from the Scriptures (Daoshi)

Preface to *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures*¹

Compiled by Shi Daoshi, Śramaṇa at Ximing Monastery²

諸經要集序

[+大唐Y,+唐M]西明寺沙門釋[-SYM]道世[-G; SY+玄暉]集[撰SYMG]

1) Originally now, the Dharma Body is of one aspect, but we reverence its disparate appearances; the Rectified Teaching is without bias, but in speaking and hearing it it has various meanings. The old teachers received “equal [dharma]-rain,”³ while their disciples got explanations for different listeners.

原夫 法身一相，瞻仰異容；
 正教無偏，說聽殊旨。
 故師有等雨之況，
 弟子有異聞之說。

2) Precisely for this reason, according to abilities was it conferred and following capacities it was both shallow and deep. [These teachings] extended as a Great Net⁴ over the Twelfefold

¹ T no. 2123.j1.1a01–27.

² Taishō represents this preface as a single paragraph. Su 2012, 908–10, on the other hand, interprets it as four paragraphs (*duan*), correlate here with paragraphs 1–4; 5; 6–7; and 8 respectively.

³ *Dengyu*, refers to the indiscriminate distribution of the Buddhadharma as explicated in “Chapter 5: Medicinal Herbs” of the *Lotus Scripture*, T no. 262.j3.20a20. “Eminent and lowly, superior and inferior, / observers of precepts, violators of precepts, / those fully endowed with proper demeanor, / those not fully endowed, / those of correct views, of erroneous views, / of keep capacity, of dull capacity—/ I cause the Dharma rain to rain on all equally, / never lax or neglectful. / When all the various living beings / hear my Law, / they receive it according to their power, / dwelling in their different environments” (tr. Watson 1993, 103; cf. Hurvitz 2009, 101).

⁴ Though attested in pre-Buddhist works, the term *dagang* does not become popular in the Chinese Buddhist corpus until Sui-Tang, particularly in commentary on the *Lotus*.

Division of the Teaching, as a Broad Channel with its Eighty Thousand Dharma Gates.⁵ At the Dragon Palace, in the west it was accumulated—inexhaustible, the knowledge contained in lush groves! The Elephant Carriages galloped east⁶—how exhaustive the instructions on the leaves held in hand!

良以 隨機授與，逐器淺深。
至如 十二分教之大綱，
八萬法門之廣派[網M]。
龍宮西蓄，未盡懋[怒SYM, 恕G]林之知。
象駕東馳，豈窮手葉之誨。

3) Therefore, not having traveled over the great ocean, one has not seen the marvel of the effulgent sun; not having looked up to the grand mountains, one has not witnessed the form of their cloud-piercing height. Obtaining the jewel from the Black Dragon,⁷ then one can test it against the non-treasure of the fish eye;⁸ having heard the sound of the Yellow Bell, then one will realize the certain thinness in tone when the clay jar is struck.⁹

⁵ 84,000; cf. Lamotte 1988b, 148.

⁶ Wu Zetian uses language curiously similar to the foreword in her preface to the *Huayan jing*, T no. 279.1a10, to juxtapose the western origins of Buddhism with the eastward progress of Buddhist scriptures. Chengguan's commentary to the empress's preface identifies a pun in the word *xiangqu*—the character *xiang* both refers to the Semblance Dharma (*xiangfa*) and the elephants upon which scriptures were brought into China.

⁷ See *Zhuangzi* 32.14. Zhuang tells this parable to a man who had received ten carriages from the king of Song: a boy recovers a pearl of great value from a deep pool, but his father tells him to smash it because he must have stolen it from under the chin of the sleeping Black Dragon. Cf. tr. Watson 2013, 285.

⁸ The Sui masters Zhiyi (538–597), Jizang (549–623), Guanding (561–632) each make reference to the fact that “fish-eyes are not jewels” in their commentaries (Zhiyi: *Miaofa lianhua jing xuanyi*, T no. 1716.780b1; *Miaofa-huajing wenju*, T no. 1718.70c01; *Sinianchu*, T no. 1918.564a14). In his memorials to the throne in the early Tang (~621), Fu Yi would liken Confucianism to a bright jewel and Buddhism to a fish-eye (Abramson 2001, 60).

⁹ This could be a reference to a line in the first chapter of Xu Gan's *Discourse on the Mean*, where Xu uses a series of metaphors to illustrate the superior understanding that the educated have over the unlearned. In music, the *huangzhong* was a pitch bell used to fix the rest of the set; see Makeham 1985, 65.

是以 不遊大海，未覩沃日之奇；
不仰太山，靡覩干霄之狀。
得驪龍之珍，乃驗魚目之非寶；
聽黃鍾之節，方知擊缶之為細。

4) Therefore know that the Recondite Meaning¹⁰ of Śāya[muni]’s Canon is what saints and regulars esteem. Truly it is the Secret Jewel of Men and Gods; it exceeds the Faint Sound¹¹ of the Ruhists and Mohists. Its power shakes the Great Thousand [worlds]¹² and its light passes beyond the Superb Hundred-Million [aeons];¹³ its benefits extend to as many realms as there are grains of sand and its merit surpasses as far in kalpas as there are particles of dust. As for its techniques of Broad Salvation,¹⁴ they are indeed great.

故知 釋典幽宗，聖凡所尚。
寔人天之祕寶，越儒墨之希聲。
威振大千，光超巨億；
益覃沙界，功逾塵劫。
弘濟之術，其大矣哉。

¹⁰ Huiyuan (334–416) uses this term in his essay *Shamen bujing wangzhe* in *Hongming ji*, T no. 2102.30a04. Another early Buddhist appearance of *youzong* can be found in Sengrui’s (378–444) postface to Kumarajīva’s translation of the *Lotus*, T no. 262.62b27.

¹¹ *Xisheng* is the “Faint Sound” characteristic to “Great Tones,” analogous to the “Great Forms [of the Dao that are] without shape” in *Laozi* 41.

¹² *Daqian* is short for “great trichiliocosm” 三千大千世界.

¹³ *Juyi* parallels *daqian*, but was used to mean “countless numbers” in pre-Buddhist texts as well.

¹⁴ *Hongji* has strong Buddhist connotations, but is also found in *Book of Documents*, cf. tr. “great assistance” in Legge 1965, 2.548.

5) But the Time and Conditions had not yet gathered—Miraculous Connection¹⁵ has its diversity. [This would be the case] until the dawn forest changed its colors¹⁶ and the evening dreams aroused the signs,¹⁷ creating the foundation for the White Horse [Temple],¹⁸ gradually being covered by the age of the Red Crow.¹⁹ The holy traces were felt far and wide, and the years extended beyond six-hundred; the monastics and laypeople received benefit, each equal to [that given to] one’s only son.

但 時緣未會，感通有殊。
 暨 晨林變采，霄[彩宵SYMG]夢啟徵。
 創開白馬之基，漸被赤烏之歲。
 聖迹遐感，年逾六百；
 道俗蒙益，等同一子[字G]。

6) Grieve that [the periods of] Rectified Dharma and Semblance Dharma have become invaded and displaced,²⁰ as we’ve flowed into the End Times!²¹ The lives of those with ordinary

¹⁵ *Gantong*. Cf *Book of Changes*, *Xici* 1.10; cf. tr. Legge 1963, 350. Here *The Changes* is brought into Buddhist terminology.

¹⁶ Perhaps a reference to Xuanzang’s *Datang xiyu ji*, *T* no. 2087.930b18–19, where according to the Chinese pilgrim, the “mountains and valleys shook and reverberated; the vapour and clouds changed their appearance” in response to Dignāga (ca. 480–520) having composed his compendious treatises on logic in the country of Andhra (Beal 1884, 2.217–18).

¹⁷ *Xiaomeng qizheng* is likely a reference to the preface to the *Faji*, compiled in the *CSZJJ*, *T* no. 2145.j12.85b22. Falin would reuse the term in *BZL*, *T* no. 2110.550a02. Both authors likely were referring to the dreams of Emperor Han Mingdi (r. 57–75) of a golden man—in Chinese Buddhist historiography, the event that precipitated the arrival of Buddhism into China.

¹⁸ The monastery built in Luoyang in 64 CE by Emperor Mingdi to welcome the first monks who came to China.

¹⁹ *Chiwu*—in other words, 238–251 CE, under Sun Quan 孫權 (182–252) of Eastern Wu (r. 222–252)—this was when Sun was converted to Buddhism by Kang Senghui, and Sun patronized—and perhaps employed at court—both the superstars Senghui and Zhi Qian (Zurcher 2007, 46–55).

²⁰ *Qinyi*—the word is used again by Daoshi to introduce “Section 2: Governing Regulations” in “Chapter 22: Preservation” in *FYZL*, *T* no. 2122.j30.506a25 in connection with the Decline of the Dharma alongside the weakening of law and order under imperial rule. See Appendix R, Item 2.

²¹ Compare this passage to very first line of the introductory essay of *A Grove of Pearls* “Chapter 98: Extinction of the Dharma”: “The Rectified and Semblance Dharma have devolved, and the Teaching has flowed into the End Times!” 正像推移教流末代 (*T* no. 2122.j98.1005a10). The East Asian Buddhist three-period system of True

emotions²² are benighted and short, and the lives of those with capacities for judgment are dusky and lost. With every day there is deterioration of customs: the Teaching is sunk; the Way is dead.²³ And therefore the old rules and regulations have been substituted with errors; the traces of the Teaching are drowned in the depths.²⁴ The literary phrases were vast in scope,²⁵ and in the end they were difficult to find and survey.

慨 正像浸[侵SYMG]移，沿流末代。
凡情闇短，器識昏迷。
日有澆醜：教沈道喪。
所以 彝章訛替，教迹淪湮[胥SG]。
文句浩汗，卒難尋覽。

7) Therefore in the middle of the Illustrious Rejoicing (*xianqing*: 656–661), I read all of the scriptures.²⁶ Following circumstances, I pursued the essentials: what people are able to practice

Dharma, Semblance Dharma, and End Dharma first shows up in the historical record in the thought of Huisi in 558 (Nattier 1991, 110–1). On lineage brother Daoxuan’s invocations of “end dharma,” see also Miyabayashi 1975.

²² *Fanqing* becomes popular in Sui-Tang scriptural commentary.

²³ *Jiaoshen daosang*—perhaps an inversion of the phrase Sengyou uses to explain the title of his compilation the *HMJ* in his foreword to it: “to propagate the Way and clarify the Teaching” (*hongdao mingjiao*) T no. 2102.1a25 or Huijiao’s ambition “to propagate the Way and explain the Teaching” (*hongdao shijiao*) with his *GSZ*, T no. 2059.422c

²⁴ *Lunxu* or “ruined” is found multiple times in the *Book of Odes*, see for instance, Legge 1876, 1.230, 1.233, and 1.324.

²⁵ *Haohan*, “floodlike and expansive,” used in *Huainanzi*, 2, to describe “nothingness” (*wu*); used again in Liu Xie’s *Wenxin diaolong* 8 to describe multitudes of records. See Appendix E, note 3 on Sengyou’s usage in his preface to *Collection from the Garden of Dharma*.

²⁶ *Yiqiejing*—this term may also be rendered, not unproblematically, as “canon.”

and the karmic rewards of good and evil.²⁷ I've recorded from a thousand records, and written down thirty chapters,²⁸ tied up into two bundles.

故於顯慶年中，

讀一切經，隨情逐要：

人堪行者，善惡業報。

錄[條M]出一千，述篇三十，勒成兩帙。

8) I hope followers and commoners will rely on it for practice, and that the transmitted lamp can have a prototype. They may honor and search for the Profundity of Śākyamuni's Canon—not known to the one of shallow consciousness; the Mystery of those who have left the common—how could it possibly be contested by the impeded and doubtful!²⁹

冀 道俗依[流M]行，傳燈有據。

敬尋 釋典深奧，非淺識之[而SYM, -G]所知；

出俗幽微，豈滯惑而能辯[辨SYMG]

9) From these good reasons, while the ocean is big, [still] the boat is light; while the mountains are tall, [even] the dust is delicate. Brandishing a knife it is easy to rend [cloth], but weaving brocade is difficult to accomplish. Not grasping ordinary knowledge, one chatters absurdly

²⁷ Teiser 1985, 123, translates these lines such that the compiler reads all the scriptures in order to pursue a singular “essential point: the actions borne by humans result in good and evil karmic retribution.” I have pluralized “essentials” here to better match with the received title of *Collected Essentials*—it may very well be that these few lines inspired the title. It is also possible, however, to read the titular *yaoji* as the “essential collection” or “the collection pertaining to the essential.”

²⁸ *Pian*—in the received *Collected Essentials*, the primary chapter unit is the *bu*, the secondary unit the *yuan*, and *pian* is reserved to name the occasional intermediary unit, as in “Chapter 1: Three Jewels” and “Chapter 18: Six Perfections.” The received *Collected Essentials* contains thirty *bu*.

²⁹ *Zhihuo* is used by Zheng Daozi 鄭道子 (364–427) in his “Shen bumie” essay to describe an audience he would like to benefit in his explanation of the “immortality of the spirit,” *T* no. 2102.j5.28a06; cf. tr. Ziegler 2015, 164.

about the Esoteric Works. I've simply planted the topic headings,³⁰ to add more would embarrass me.

良由 海大舟輕，山高塵眇。
 操刀易割，製錦難成。
 不揆庸識，妄談祕典。
 輒樹題目，更增愧慙矣。

³⁰ *Zheshu*—language is shared by Huijiao in a postface to *GSZ*, T no. 2059.j14.423a03 where he apologizes to future readers for having “planted ten categories” without regard to the sections’ relative size.

Appendix J: Song Traditions of Eminent Monks, “Biography of Daoshi” (Zanning)

Tradition of Daoshi of Ximing Monastery at [Chang’an, the] Capital of the Tang¹

唐京師西明寺道世傳

1) Shi Daoshi had the cognomen Xuanyun² and surname Han.³ He had ancestors from Yique⁴, but because his grandfather served as an official, they were capital people. At birth he was rich,⁵ but he grew into intelligence, suddenly detested gathering sands,⁶ and resolved to rescue ants.⁷ His parents doted on him, [so] they refused his requests, but after a while fulfilled his heart’s desire.

釋道世，字玄暉，姓韓氏，厥先伊闕人也。祖代因官為京兆人焉。生且渥潤，漸而聰敏，俄厭眾沙，思參救蟻。二親鍾愛，遏絕其請，久而遂心。

¹ From the Zanning’s *SGSZ*, T no. 2061.j4.2.1.726c06–727a04. Fu 1994 intersperses Zanning’s biography throughout a study of Daoshi’s life and works.

² On various names of Daoshi in biographic sources across canonical sources, Chen 1992, 235n7; Fu 1994, 157; Wu 2007, 93n1; Wu 2009, 34n1 (in some later sources “Xuanyun” appears as “Xuanhui” 玄暉/輝 or “Juehui” 覺暉)

³ A surname shared by at least one other in *XGSZ* (j8.4 Daoping [488–559] of Ping’en [Hebei], exegete) and four others profiled in *SGSZ* (j10.14 Hengyue [702–780] of Tangshan [Shanxi], meditator; j20.20 Shenjian [745–844] of Xunyang [Jiangxi], resonator; j28.7 Guangyu [895–960] of Jincheng [Shanxi], promoter of merit; and j29.21.2 Fahe [723–811] of Cizhou [Shanxi], sermonist). None of the other Hans came from Daoshi’s hometown.

⁴ In present-day Henan, just south of Luoyang. In 293 BCE, the kingdom of Han (Daoshi’s former surname) joined forces with the kingdom of Wei and lost an important battle to the kingdom of Qin at Yique. Later it would constitute the site of the Longmen Grottoes, which began to be carved and maintained as a religious site in the late fifth century under the Northern Wei (Ch’en 1964, 170–80). According to *SGSZ*, the monk Yuangui (644–716 CE)—surname Li—was from Yique, born a few generations after Daoshi came up in Chang’an, but Yuangui stayed in Henan on Mt. Song (T no. 2061.j19.2).

⁵ *Worun*, “rich” as irrigated soil, ruddy in complexion, or generous in sentiment.

⁶ “There are even children who in play / gather sand (*jusha*) and make it into buddha stūpas” (*Lotus*, T no. 262.j1.8c24; Hurvitz 2009, 36). In Li’s preface, child Daoshi’s gathering of sand, presumably to build stūpas, is invoked as a sign of his early faith; in *SGSZ* “gathering sands” (*zhongsha*) is conceived as a childish, dirty, common activity.

⁷ An arhat allowed his novice seven days to visit home because he foresaw that he would die at the end of the seventh day. On his way home, the śramaṇera saw ants drowning, removed his robe to dam the flow of the water and moved the ants to higher ground. Shocking the arhat by returning from home alive, the novice escapes his fate and lives a long life. See *Za baozang jing*, T no. 203.j4.468c25–469a05, story forty-four. See Chavannes 1911, 3.41–2, no. 404, for a French summary, or Willemsen 1994, 107 for an English translation. See Li Yan’s preface at Appendix H, paragraph 9 to compare.

2) When he was twelve, he left home at Qinglong Monastery [Black Dragon Monastery],⁸ from wielding the virtue vessel⁹ he stopped to overlook the enjoyment mirror;¹⁰ the regulations school he grindingly examined, and books he drillingly read through, he especially admired the Great Vehicle, shiningly comprehended the Real Nature.¹¹ In his time his repute was great, and those in the Three Bulwarks [East, North and West of Chang'an] admired and took refuge in him.¹²

時年十二，於青龍寺出家，從執德瓶，止臨欣鑑，律宗研覈，書籍鑽尋，特慕上乘，融明實性。于時籍甚，三輔欽歸。

3) In the Xianqing Era (656–659), the Great Emperor regarded the scriptures and treatises that Master Xuanzang had translated to be too few to install in the palace. So Cien Monastery's Great Nobles alternated in practicing the way without stopping [to translate and install more],

⁸ The monastery at this site in Chang'an did not receive this name until 712; Linggan Monastery had been built in 583, but was destroyed in 622, and reconstructed in 663 as Guanyin Monastery. On the naming and renaming of this monastic site through the Sui and early Tang, see Kawaguchi 1976.

⁹ The spiritually efficacious but easily damageable “virtue vessel” is a powerful metaphor for rigorous keeping of the precepts. It finds scriptural precedent in the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Treatise*, T no. 1509.j13.154a03–28 (transcribed at *A Grove of Pearls* T no. 2122.j88.933b26–c17, the last excerpt cited under “Subsection 3: Powers” [gongneng] of “Section 5: The Eight Precepts” in “Chapter 8: Receiving the Precepts”) and the *Great Adornment Treatise*, also translated by Kumārajīva, T no. 201.j3.269b28–c17 (transcribed at *A Grove of Pearls* T no. 2122.j82.893a04–20, the last excerpt cited under “Subsection 2: Selected Quotations” of “Section 2: Keeping Precepts” [chijie] of “Chapter 85: The Six Perfections.”) For an English translation of the former, see Lamotte 2001, 2.611–13; for a French translation of the latter (“vase de commandements”), see Huber 1908, 68. Daoxuan and Daoshi employ the term in their biographies and commentaries (T no. 2060.j19.584b04 [in describing young Guanding’s maintenance of the precepts]; T no. 1804.j2.53c20–21; T no. 2122.j82.889c19–20 [from the “Explaining the Meaning” section for the perfection of “Keeping Precepts” where the *Great Adornment Treatise* quotation is cited]).

¹⁰ The “mirror for enjoyment” is the preserved pratimokṣa.

¹¹ See Li Yan’s preface (Appendix H, paragraph 10) to compare.

¹² Chen 1992, 235n5.

while [Dao]shi also partook of their elect. And for the imperial crown prince was built Ximing Monastery, wherein exceptional erudites were summoned to occupy.¹³

顯慶年中，大帝以玄奘師所翻經、論，未幾詔入內，及慈恩寺大德更代行道，不替於時，世亦預其選。及為皇太子造西明寺，爰以英博召入斯寺。

4) Then Regulations Master Daoxuan was on that path practicing the Regulations, and [Dao]shi also elaborated alongside of him. They together drove the cart of the Five Schools; they joined to lead along the tracks of the Three Vehicles.¹⁴ No-one reached them, and the hopes for the Way were fragrant.

時道宣律師當塗行律，世且旁敷，同驅五部之車，共導三乘之軌。人莫我及，道望芬然。

5) Further, relying on time outside his lecture regimen, he still surveyed the treasuries of utmost depth. For the sake of successive generations ancient and modern, [the canon] was designed for many people; and although its phraseology was in elegant taste, it was insufficient in its transmitted records. Because of this, he plucked the best blossoms from the garden of literature, sniffed out the jasmine blossoms of great meaning, and with categories he compiled it. He called it *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*, summed up in a hundred chapters and bound into ten wrappers.¹⁵

¹³ Fu 1994, 170–2, argues that Zanning has distorted the chronology of Daoshi’s tenure at these monasteries while mis-transcribing passages on the first three Tang emperors from *A Grove*’s “Chapter 100: Records.” Fu calculates that Daoshi must have assisted in Xuanzang’s project as early as Zhenguan 19 (645) at Hongfu Monastery; moved to Cien in Zhenguan 22 (648); and arrived to stay at Ximing when it was built in Xianqing 3 (658) where he stayed until the end of his life.

¹⁴ “Five Schools” and “Three Vehicles” may have been inspired by Li Yan’s pairing of “Five Schools [of Regulations]” and “Three Baskets” (Appendix H, paragraph 11)

¹⁵ Paraphrasing (and then transcribing) from Li Yan’s preface (Appendix H, paragraph 11).

復因講貫之餘，仍覽甚深之藏。以為古今綿代，製作多人，雖雅趣佳辭，無足於傳記。由是搦文囿之菁華，嗅大義之瞻蔔，以類編錄，號『法苑珠林』，總一百篇，勒成十帙。

6) It began with “Length of Kalpas,” ended with “Miscellaneous Notes,”¹⁶ and before each sectional category was prefaced a separate discussion. This allowed surveying scholars to attain access to entries according to section in order to gather up what was known, as with lifting a net by the headrope or a coat by the collar. Shi dedicated himself to this for a full ten years, and finally in Zongzhang 1 (668) he finished,¹⁷ Gentleman of the Orchid Pavillion Li Yan made for him a general preface, and his literary work circulated in all-under-heaven.

始從『劫量』，終乎『雜記』，部類之前，各序別論。令學覽之人，就門隨部，撿括所知，如提綱焉，如舉領焉。世之用心周乎十稔，至總章元年畢軸，蘭臺郎李儼為之都序，此文行于天下。

7) He also wrote *Karmic Retributions of Good and Evil* and *Discourse on Trust and Fortune* which totaled twenty-three fascicles;¹⁸ *Dhyāna Gate Contemplations of the Great and Lesser Vehicles* and *Great Vehicle Contemplation* which totaled eleven fascicles;¹⁹ *Rites for Accepting*

¹⁶ Transmitted editions of *FYZL* end with a 99th fascicle “Chapter 99: Miscellaneous Essentials” (*zayao*) and a 100th fascicle “Chapter 100: Records” (*zhuanjì*). Zanning may not be distinguishing between chapter titles and topics covered.

¹⁷ On the various sources recording a year for *FYZL*’s completion, see Kawaguchi 1974 and Wang 2016.

¹⁸ *Discourses on Karmic Retributions of Good and Evil* in 20 fascicles appears in a catalog of works attributed to Daoshi in *SYMG* canonical editions of *A Grove of Pearls*; in the Koreana Edition of the canon, one finds *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures* in 20 fascicles in its place. To argue that the same work was known by these two titles—modern scholars also point to the line in Daoshi’s auto-preface to *Collected Essentials* where he refers to its contents as elucidating “karmic retributions of good and evil” (*shan’è yebao*), see Appendix I, paragraph 7. This phrase is also used, however, in *A Grove of Pearls* in Daoshi’s commentarial apologia for describing the contents of the included Chinese-recorded miracle tales on animals (*T* no. 2122.j6.321c21–28); an earlier source for the line (and some other lines of Daoshi’s commentary here) appears early in Tang Lin’s preface to his *Miraculous Retribution* collection of miracle tales—see *T* no. 2082.j1.787b28–788a28, tr. Gjertson 1989, 154–7. Earlier sources, including the bibliographic chapter of *A Grove of Pearls*, refer to the *Discourse on Trust and Fortune* as the *Discourse on Respect and Fortune* (*Jingfulun*) in three fascicles.

¹⁹ The Koreana edition of *A Grove of Pearls* adds two characters to the *Great Vehicle Contemplation* to render the title *Great Vehicle Abbreviated Calming and Contemplation* (*Dasheng lue zhiguan*) in one fascicle—perhaps a

Precepts and Rites for Worshipping Buddhas which totaled six fascicles;²⁰ *Examined Essentials of the Fourfold Regulations* in five fascicles; *Epitome of the Fourfold Regulations for Nuns* in five fascicles;²¹ and *Collected Annotations on the Diamond Scripture* in three fascicles;²² these ten titles comprise 153 fascicles in total.²³

又著『善惡業報』及『信福論』共二十三卷，『大小乘禪門觀』及『大乘觀』共十一卷，『受戒儀式』、『禮佛儀式』共六卷，『四分律討要』五卷、『四分律尼鈔』五卷，『金剛經集注』三卷，十部都一百五十三卷。

8) Though [Dao]shi wrote quite a lot, his death was not observed. His name violated the prohibition on Taizong's name, so he was known by his cognomen only. Thus, he was called “Xuanyun.”²⁴

one-fascicle digest of the ten-fascicle original. Daoshi appears to reference the larger work by different names once in *A Grove of Pearls* at j15.399a10–14 (“Section 6.4: Amitābha”) and twice in *Collected Essentials* at j10.101a24–26 (“Section 18.5: Meditation”) and at j1.6c24–25 (“Section 1.1.5: Calling on Maitreya Buddha”).

²⁰ These works appear to be listed first in the bibliographic fascicle of *FYZL*.

²¹ *A Grove of Pearls* seems to cite these works (“*Ten-Fascicle Epitome of Regulations for Monks and Nuns*, *Sengni shijuan lüchao* 僧尼十卷律鈔) at T no. 2122.j74.844a23–b01 (“Subsection 4: Sangha Property” in “Chapter 5: Theft” in “Chapter 84: Ten Evils”); *Collected Essentials* has a parallel citation for its analogous section at T no. 2123.j14.130c28–131a06 (Section 23.2 “Theft”). The bibliographic fascicle of *A Grove of Pearls* lists two separate five-fascicle epitomes for monks and nuns respectively, as does Zanning. The three-fascicle *Examined Essentials of the Vinaya* (*Pini taoyao* 毘尼討要 X no. 743) carries Daoshi’s cognomen in its attribution line; X no. 724 and X no. 747 (three-fascicle *Epitome on Fourfold Regulations for Bhikṣuṇīs*, *Sifenlü biqiuni chao* 四分律比丘尼鈔 and the two-fascicle *Epitome on the Meanings Gathered from Fourfold Regulations for the Vinaya*, *sifenlü shi pini yichao* 四分律拾毘尼義鈔) bear attributions by Daoxuan. All these works appear to be related to Daoxuan’s project in organizing the vinaya tradition through epitome; recent bibliographies of Daoxuan in English, see Tan 2002, 358–61; Chen 2007, 199–200.

²² Li Yan, the author of the preface to *FYZL*, has also written a preface for Daoshi’s *Collected Annotations*, preserved in *Expanded Collection for Propagating and Clarifying*, *GHMJ*, T no. 2103.j22.259c19–260a26.

²³ For one of the most complete listings of works attributed to Daoshi, see Fu 1994, 178–87. Zanning appears to have adapted his list in *SGSZ* from something close to Daoshi’s list of 11 (or 10) works included in the non-Koreana canonical edition of *A Grove of Pearls*, rather than from a catalog of Daoshi’s works listed in Daoxuan’s or Zhisheng’s catalogs.

²⁴ Wu 2007 disputes Zanning’s assertion on whether Daoshi was primarily known as Xuanyun to avoid the “shi” in Taizong’s name.

世頗多著述，未測其終。名避太宗廟諱，多行字耳，故時稱玄暉焉。

Appendix K: Introduction to *FYZL* “Chapter 7: Paying Respect to the Dharma” (Daoshi)

“Section 1: Explaining the Meaning”¹

述意部第一

1) I have heard: in silent extinction it does not move, and thus there are no signs and no words; in stimulation it consequently connects, and thus there are names and are teachings.² Accordingly, a single verse of four [characters] is difficult to hear; the fire of three-thousand [universes] is easy to enter.

蓋聞 寂滅[然SYMG]不動，是則無象[Z像SYMG]無言；
感而遂通，所以有名有教。
是以 一四之句難聞，三千之火易入。

2) We hope that: with congealed cold silencing the night, the shining moon lengthening over the evening, [one] resides alone in empty space,³ chanting scriptures. Exhaling, inhaling through *gong* and *shang* tones, the text and characters distinctly clear; words and meanings flowing beautifully, the rhyming sounds interlink. Striking the minds of crowds of people, they benefit the

¹ This is a translation of the *shuyi* essay for “Chapter 7: Paying Respect to the Dharma,” *T* no. 2122.j17.412a03–12, which is reproduced as the *shuyi* essay for “Chapter 1.2: Paying Respect to the Dharma” in *ZYJ*, *T* no. 2123.j2.8c25–9a05; cf. Su and Zhao 2003, 2.567. See Appendix P, Item 1.

² A common sentiment in prefaces. See Kūkai’s lines introducing the “Buddhist Iconic Objects” (*foxiang deng*) he brought to Japan in his *Catalog of Imported Items* (*Shōrai mokuroku*, *T* no. 2161.1064b22–3) of 807, translated in Hakeda 1972, 145, reproduced by Kasulis 1988, 272: “The Dharma is beyond speech, but without speech it cannot be revealed. Suchness transcends forms, but without depending on forms it cannot be realized. Though one may at times err by taking the finger pointing at the moon to be the moon itself, the Buddha’s teachings which guide people are limitless.” This pairing of speech and forms occurs as well in the first two lines of Daoshi’s preface to *Collected Essentials*: “Originally now, the Dharma Body is of one aspect, but we reverence its disparate appearances; the Rectified Teaching is without bias, but in speaking and hearing it it has various meanings” (see Appendix I, paragraph 1).

³ Four characters in this sequence most commonly cited in Xuanzang’s late 640s translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi-sāstra*, *Yuqie shidilun*, *T* no. 1579, authorship attributed to Maitreya.

good of living creatures. They are sufficient to cause ghosts to leap in celebration, spirits to delight. With long practice [recitation is] purely ripened, and the literary meanings are deeply illuminated; with respectful mind [recitation is] richly intoned, utmost sincerity is darkly stimulated.

庶使 凝寒靜夜，朗月長宵[霄SYMG]。
 獨處空閑，吟誦經典。
 吐納宮商，文字分明。
 言味流美，詞韻相屬。
 適眾人心，利生物[Z物生SYMG]善。
足使 幽靈欣曜[躍SYMG, Z]，精神悅豫。
 久習純[Z淳SYMG]熟，文義洞曉。
 敬心殷誦，至誠冥感。

3) Trust and know that in keeping and upholding a single gāthā merit is spread broadly and deeply; in writing down and copying a single word effects transcend many kalpas. Therefore [Mahā-]kāśyapa received [dharma] respectfully, he was not stingy in peeling off his skin,⁴ Sadā[prarudita's] mind delighted in not stinting the sprinkling his blood.⁵ This is the first gate of the Sweet Dew; the final virtue of Entering the Path.

信知 受持一偈，福利弘深；

⁴ This refers to Mahākāśyapa's statement in the *Nirvana* ("I shall now peel my skin off for paper, remove my blood for ink, use my marrow for water, and crush my bones to make a brush to write out a copy of this *Great Nirvana Sutra*," *T* no. 374.j14.449a19–21 or *T* no. 375.j13.691a13-15; tr. Eubanks 2011, 127). For other lists of stories wherein the body is offered as a medium for copying down dharma (skin as parchment; bone as brush; blood as ink), see Lamotte 2001, 1.130–1n276; 2.549–50n91; 2.755 (cited in Ohnuma 2007, 294n61, 334n39).

⁵ This refers to a story that recurs in the *prajñāparamitā* literature wherein the questing bodhisattva Sadāprarudita (*satuobolun* transliterated or *changdi* "always wailing" translated) washes the sanctuary of his teacher Dharmodgata with his blood. (Lokakṣema's *Daoxing banruo jing*, *T* no. 224.j9–10; Mokṣala's *Fanguang banruo jing*, *T* no. 221.j20; Kumarājīva's *Mohe banruo boluomi jing*, *T* no. 223.j27; and Kumarājīva's *Xiaopin banruo boluomi jing*, *T* no. 227.j10).

書寫一言，功超數[Z累]劫。

是以 迦葉頂受，靡倍剝皮；

薩陀心樂，無辭灑血。

此是 甘露之初門，

入道之終德也。

Appendix L: Transcription of S. 4647, in relationship to T no. 2122

1. Transcription

I have added modern Chinese punctuation—periods, commas, ideographic (serial) commas, colons, quotation corner-brackets, source-indicating angle-brackets—to aid in reading. Line numbers proceed from right to left, parentheses indicate small-character interlineal commentary, and ellipses at the beginning and end of lines indicate where the manuscript breaks off. “Blank space” on the page is indicated by underscore, and I have indicated repetition marks (“”) found on the page that signal the replication of the most recently brushed characters. Green highlighting indicates that characters alternate to the variants listed in the Taishō printing (“popular character forms” *suzi* 俗字) were used. Pink highlighted characters in square brackets indicate partially legible characters. Yellow highlights indicates moments of even greater variance from the Taishō printed edition; for instance, the five characters “birth; going forth; nir[vana]” at the end of line three abbreviate four lines that repeat the characters preceding (“the Buddhas of the Ten Directions all employ midnight of the eighth day of the fourth month to be born; they all use midnight of the eighth day of the fourth month to quit home and learn the way; they all use midnight of the eighth day of the fourth month to obtain the Buddha path; they all use midnight of the eighth day of the fourth month to go to parinirvana”). Characters in curved brackets following a yellow-highlighted character indicate a character that might have been meant, according to Taishō or my best guess; and cyan-highlighted characters in curved brackets indicate characters that are found in Taishō and seem to have been skipped over by the scribe.

S4647, Recto.

- 1 ...『譬喻經』云：「佛以臘月八日神通降伏六師，““ 不如，投水而死。仍廣說法[諸]外道。.....
- 2 ...以法水洗我心垢，我今請僧洗浴，以除身穢，仍為常緣（此經文乃...）」 ____
- 3 ...『灌佛形像經』云：「佛告天下人民：十方諸佛，皆用四月八日生時出{去}家泥.....
- 4 ...像春夏之際，殃罪悉畢，万物普生，毒氣未行，然用三種香。 ____
- 5 ...『溫室經』云：「佛告祇域長者：澡浴之法，當用七物除去七病 __
- 6二淨水 _ 三澡豆 _ 四酥膏 _ 五淳灰 _ 六楊枝 _ 七內衣。 _ 除七病者： _ 一四大安隱 _
- 7四除寒水 _ 五除熱氣 _ 六除垢穢 _ 七身輕目清。 _ 七福者： _ 一無病常安...
- 8端正 三體香衣潔淨 四肌體濡澤威德 五饒多人從拭拂 六口齒香好
- 9 七... _ 自然衣服。」 ____ 又『十誦律』云：「洗浴得五利： _ 一除塵垢 _ 二皮膚一色 _ 三破寒熱

10 四氣調 _ 五少病。」 ____ 又『福田經』云：「昔阿難取眾僧浴水洗瘡，後獲卅相？壽福。」 _

11 又『僧祇律』云：「凡若浴時，先須掃灑令淨。辦具薪炭，溫暖得所。乃打撻稚，應{知}入浴。

12 各以腰帶繫衣，安衣架上。入浴不得掉兩臂，以手遮前。與師揩者，當先白已無{罪}又

13 不得一時舉兩手，閉戶而坐，令身汗出。籌量用水，不得多用。不得裸形而浴。若

419 14 坐水[中，至臍]亦得。」 ____ 述曰：_「因明洗僧，遂申歎德。恐邊遠道俗，不閑法用，故略明

15耳。 ____ 竊惟尼連河裏，非有垢而見除；嵐毘園內，實無塵而示蕩。

16昇之本，灌澡為澄潔之原。可謂乘香範於前修，振芳猷於後業。

17華之水，以濯一乘之賓；西方瑩八德之池，用滌九品之輩。故

18造溫室之心；長者晨言，敬申洗僧之願。遂蒙 ____ 如來善巧，近

- 19大覺垂慈，遠記五天之報。然今此處摩訶施主某官，斯乃運廣大
- 20無上業。生生常脩佛事，世世常轉法輪。故能信正法於群邪，敬緇徒於像季。
- 21 深知講宣四句，價重隋珠；飯沐一僧，田高異道。遂使共相率勵，勸課等侶，各
- 22 捨淨財，同崇此福。於是辦七物於嘉時，洗三尊於此日。又能屈請高德某法師講宣
- 23 『溫室洗浴眾僧經』一部。法師乃時稱學海，世号詞宗。出玄義而似雲屯，決眾難而
- 24 方泉涌。能使俗{浴}徒開解，猶朗日之闢重昏；法侶除疑，等嚴霜之卷零葉。今既
- 25 玄章盡軸，座停雷梵之八音；澡俗{浴}時臻，次歎洗僧之七物。 _____
- 26 一者、鴻鑪熾火，巨鑊氛氳。密室既已除寒，龍泉自然汎熱。 ____ 二者、輕清德水，流堪金池。
- 27 蕩垢皎若開紅，身首霑便玉潤。 ____ 三者、銀光豆屑，細滑遍於兜羅。却膩本
- 28 若雲披，潔體方開露日。 ____ 四者、八味酥膏，五香芬馥。排風去痺，未謝摩祇；

29 瑩質光顏，何慙妙藥。 ____ 五者、玉管神灰，雪華霜潔。邪風遇便息扇，亂

30 [想]賴已恬凝。六者、青楊細柳，綠幹輕條。去熱則口發幽蘭，淨齒則氣含優鉢。

31 [七者]齊縑魏素，持作內衣。蔭患并得身安，蕩報自然光飾。 ____ 七物並皆精備，

32慈悲，為歎呪願。 _____

421 33 _____

34須預蕩十力之形；迴託天宮，當澡彼六和之眾。譬若聲調響

35 順.....理必然，非關鬼神之授。然今施主等仰襲醫王，建斯溫室。

36 營辦七.....獎率有緣，弘揚妙典。以茲殊勝，莫大善根，先用莊嚴今日某甲

37 有大[勢力].....轉法輪，獲大神通，世世脩佛事。長幼受無窮之智，眷屬極

- 38 不夭之年。……與朝霧俱消，嘉處共繁星等烈{列}。諸施主等願高臨八正，趣大道
- 39 於菩[提].....惠蒼生而無盡。又願片時營佐之者，除七病而莫遺；毫分助讚之
- 40 徒，獲七福而無竭。見聞隨喜，咸趣法城，叩頭彈指，齊昇佛果。 _____
- 41 敷揚玄教，已自周圓。嚴儀洗具，復皆備訖。唯衆一心，奉請三寶。 _____
- 42 稽首歸依，上請十方諸仏，三世慈尊，五分法身，真應兩體，九十八使或縛已
- 43 盡，三十[二相]微妙莊嚴，實無四求，假同四事，為衆生故，有感便來。 ____
- 44 唯願各.....尼寶殿，坐碼礪雲中，放百億光明，照三千刹土。梵王
- 45 持蓋，帝釋布華，降此道場，入溫室浴。」 ____ 頌曰： _____
- 46 「三寶冥興 _ 四生標式 _ 慈蔭十方 _ 恩流万德 _ 智抱八藏 _ 化周百億 _ 酬恩義重
- 47 斯由福力 _ 彩畫雕形 _ 傳經建福 _ 舟濟橋樑 _ 興齊{齋}沐浴 _ 不顧身命 _____

48 精誠何柳{抑} _ 盛哉勝業 _ 功成難測」 _____

49 降胎述 _ 「夫誠心內感則至覺如在。刑{形}力外單{殫}則法身咫尺。是以能仁本師隨

50 緣赴機。愍焰宅之既焚，傷欲流之永霧。託白淨之宮，降摩耶.....

51 金之色，破無明之闇。居茲三惑，示畫篋之非真；出彼四門，驚.....

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S4647, Verso.

1 述背恩¹ _ 蓋聞四生沉溺，必假舟航；六趣昏迷，本憑獎道{導}。是故三...

2 應蒼民，曲垂提引，令脫苦難。況復違背重恩，豈不永沈苦海。是...

3 毒，夫蒙王賞；樵人害熊，現報臂落。良由違恩業重，現受交報。故智...

¹ Of the four category "headings" that are legible on S. 4647, "Denying Kindness" places the verb first: "explaining Denying Kindness" (*shu beien*) rather than "Incarnation explained" (*jiangtai shu*), for instance.

4 者大悲之本，開善業之初門。人所愛敬，名譽遠聞，死得生天，終成佛道。...

5 甚於畜生也。_____

6 昔周時河南有一人名彥偉，姓王，兇惡常只{好}遊獵。父母訓教全不依從，夜以土袋壓其父

7 母口上。尋有鬼神？翻{翻}其土袋即於自身，唱叫父母舊{救}之，叩頭而卒。_____²

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8 _____

9 _____

10 _____

11 _____

12 _____

² Lines 6–7 are significantly abbreviated from their putative source—see the first part of Chapter Four for a closer look.

- 13異珎{珍}，在人共寶；玄儒別義，遐迹同遵。豈必孔生自國，便欲師從；
- 14 佛處遠邦，有心捐弃。不勝事功，輒陳愚亮。是非之理，不敢自專。昔孔丘辭逝廟，千
- 15 載[之]規[模]；釋迦言往寺，萬代之靈塔。欲使見形剋念，佛像歸心。敬師忠主，其義
- 16 一也。至如丁{蘭}束帶，孝事木母之形；無盡解瓔，奉承多寶佛塔。眇尋曠古，邈想
- 17 清塵。既種成林，於理不越。又案『禮經』：「天子七廟，諸侯五廟。」大夫卿士，各有階級。故
- 18 天曰.....圓丘；地曰祇，祭地於方澤；人曰鬼，祭之於宗廟。龍鬼降雨之勞，牛
- 19 畜挽犁.....由或立形村足，樹像城門。豈況天下天³，三界大師；此方他方，四生慈父。
- 20 威德.....遵，風化為万靈之範。故善人迴向，若群流之歸禎壑；大光攝
- 21 受，.....星。自月支遺影，那[立+常]竭灰身。舍利遍流，祇桓遂造。乃聖乃

³ A small mark next to 下 indicates that these should be read in reverse order.

22貴，冀此獲安者矣。_____

23虛寂，故能圓應無方。以其無方之應，故應{無}不適。比以陰陽愆候，亢旱

24西郊之雨莫應。_ 聖上憂兆庶之失業，恐稼穡之不登。減膳恤刑，

25食。精誠格於上下，玉帛遍於山川。靈液莫霑，祈雲罕積。仰惟慧炬{...}⁴憑，三

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26 寶，敷演一乘。轉讀微言，樹茲大福。願法教始開，慈雲遐布；玄言一闡，沛澤遠潭。嘉禾

27 連透{秀}於原野，瑞菓遍生於林木。衣唯服於八登，食必資於七穫。世界鬱若眾香，含生

28 宛如安養。無請不諧，有祈必應。並沐茲定水，絕聖智之原；闢此愛羅，超有無之境也。

29 發願述 __ 夫佛果夙絕，登之有階；法雲峻極，屆之有漸。是以創發大誠，則玄福招於極

30 果；初立弘誓，則妙願遍於來際。一念興行，遂感塵劫之瑞花；半刻虔躬，乃得大千之

⁴ Seventeen characters (a line?) skipped here.

31 甘露。盖是大乘之根基，種智之津衢也。_____

32 救厄述 __ 夫慈悲弘力之施，祈福舒患之請，誠至可感，列聖同然。而觀音

33 大士獨見哀聞。是以投火有必糜之軀，海漂無或生之命。但瞬息之頃，言念歸向，

34 則洪海可竭，烈火飛涼。或臨刀項上，白刃不傷；或墜深坑，全身無損；或枷禁桎梏，散

427 35 誕形軀。如是得力，備鑒鑑難盡。若懇誠克己，必感靈徵；若浮漫情惰，艱危叵救。__

36 僧寶述⁵ __ 夫論僧寶者，謂禁戒守真，威儀出俗。圖方外以發心，棄世間而立

37 法。官榮無以動其意，親屬莫能累其想。弘道以報四恩，育德以資三有。高越

38金玉，稱為僧也。是僧寶利益，不可稱紀。故經曰：「縱有持戒{破戒}，若長若

⁵ In *A Grove of Pearls*, this passage “explains the meaning” of a large chapter titled “Paying Respect to the Sangha” (*jingseng pian*); in *Collected Essentials*, however, the title of the chapter and the essay have been transposed to a subchapter titled “Sangha Jewel” (*sengbao pian*).

- 39敬，不得輕慢。」若違斯旨，交獲重罪。若待太公為卿相，則千載無
- 40為師訓，万代無羅什。何得見一僧行過，上累佛宗；見一人戒
- 41。止可以道廢人，以人不弘道也。不可以人廢道，以道是人師也。故釋
- 42真佛寶。金口所說，理行教果。是真法寶。得果沙門，是真僧
- 43 寶。.....一礼，万累冰消；一讚一稱，千災霧卷。自惟薄福，不逢正化；賴蒙遺
- 44 迹，幸承餘蔭。金檀銅素漆紵丹青，圖像聖容，名為佛寶。紙絹竹帛，
- 45 書寫玄言，名為法寶。鬚髮染衣，執持應器，名為僧寶。此之三種，體相雖
- 46 假，用表真容。敬之永絕長流，箴之常招苦報。如木非親母，礼則響逸千齡；
- 47 凡非聖僧，敬則光逾万代。是知斯風已扇，遐迹共遵。冥資含識，神功罔測。儻
- 48 有所虧，獲罪弥大。既許出家，理宜革俗。如宋朝無識，初信邪惑，駭動物情，

49恠。後悟鍾釁，還申礼敬。宋室荆蠻齷齪，江漢崎嶇，詎得反比大

50聖御。且如『禮』云：「介者不拜為失。」豈同去俗之人，身被忍鎧，屈節白

51不可。三寶既同，義須齊敬，可不偏遵佛，法頓棄僧尼。故法不自

52 [弘]， “ 之在人。 “ 能弘道，故須齊敬者也。 _____

429

53 _____

54 _____

55 _____

56 _____

57 _____

2. Comparison to Transmitted Text

I have reproduced quoted pseudo-paragraphs from *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*, and “run” my highlighter over characters that seem to have appeared in general sequence on S. 4647. Punctuation is reproduced from Taishō, and I have not included character variants for ease of reading—parentheses here indicates small-character interlineal commentary. The first eighteen pseudo-paragraphs represented here are the totality of the section on “Washing the Sangha” (Recto A), while the next eight labelled passages represent pseudo-paragraphs found under seven “Explaining the Meaning” sections (Recto B, Verso A, and Verso C–G) and one miracle tale (Verso B). I have also indicated how the Taishō passages correspond with the Su and Zhou critical edition, which aided in my punctuation for the transcription above. Many but not all of these passages can be located in 5 Daoshi’s smaller anthology, *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures*. My translation (Appendix M) will indicates where the text of the anthology can be compared to “originals” in the Taishō.

Recto Passages:

A. Taishō Edition of *FYZL*: J33, “Chapter 27: Promoting Merit,” “Section 8: Washing the Sangha”⁶

1. J33.543a17–21 and S. 4647r1–2.

洗僧部第八

⁶ Zhou and Su 2003, 3.1051–7.

如譬喻經云。佛以臘月八日神通降伏六師。六師不如投水而死。仍廣說法度諸外道。外道伏化白佛言。佛以法水洗我心垢。我今請僧洗浴以除身穢。仍為常緣也(今臘月八日洗僧唯出此經文)。

2. J33.543a22–b10 and S. 4647r3–4.

又摩訶剎頭經。亦名灌佛形像經云。佛告天下人民。十方諸佛皆用四月八日夜半時生。皆用四月八日夜半時去家學道。皆用四月八日夜半時得佛道。皆用四月八日夜半時般泥洹。佛言。所以用四月八日者。為春夏之際殃罪悉畢。萬物普生毒氣未行。不寒不熱時氣和適。今是佛生日。故諸天下人民共念佛功德浴佛形像。如佛在時。以示天下人。佛言。我為菩薩時。三十六返為天王帝釋。三十六返作金輪王。三十六返作飛行皇帝。今日諸賢誰有好心念釋迦佛恩德者。以香華浴佛形像求第一福者。諸天鬼神所證明知。四月八日浴佛法時。當取三種香。一都梁香。二藿香。三艾納香。合三種草香按而漬之。此則青色水。若香少者可以紺黛秦皮權代之。又用鬱金香手按漬之於水中。按之以作赤水。以水清淨用灌像訖。以白練拭之。斷後自占更灌名曰清淨。其福第一也。

3. J33.543b11–22 and S. 4647r5–9.

又溫室經云。佛告祇域長者。澡浴之法當用七物除去七病。得七福報。何謂為七物。一者然火。二者淨水。三者澡豆。四者酥膏。五者淳灰。六楊枝。七者內衣。此是澡浴之法。何謂除七病。一者四大安隱。二者除風。三者除濕痺。四者除寒水。五者除熱氣。六者除垢穢。七者身體輕便眼目清明。是為除七病。得七福者。一者四大無病所生常安。二者所生清淨面首端正。三者身體常香衣服淨潔。四者肌體濡澤威光德大。五者饒多人從拂拭塵垢。六者口齒香好所說肅用。七者所生之處自然衣服。

4. J33.543b23–c01 and S. 4647r9–10.

又十誦律云。洗浴得五利。一除塵垢。二治身皮膚令一色。三破寒熱。四下風氣調。五少病痛。舍利弗。夏盛熱時有一客作人。園中汲水灌樹。見舍利弗發小信心。喚舍利弗脫衣樹下。以水澆洗身得輕涼。作人後命終即生忉利天上。有大威力。為功雖少。以遇良田獲報甚多。即下詣舍利弗所散華供養。舍利弗因其信心為說法要。得須陀洹果。

5. J33.543c02–17.

又賢愚經云。爾時首陀會天下閻浮提。至世尊所請佛及僧洗浴供養。世尊默然許可。即設飲食并辦洗具溫室。暖水調適酥油浣草。皆悉備有。於是世尊及諸比丘。納受其供共洗浴已。并厚飲食。其食甘美世所希有。食竟澡漱各還本處。是時阿難白佛。此天往昔作何功德。形體殊妙威相奇特。光明顯赫如大寶山。佛告阿難。乃往過去毘婆尸佛時。此天彼世為貧家子。常行庸作以供身口。聞佛說洗僧之德。情中欣然便勤作務。得少錢穀用設洗具。并及飲食請佛眾僧而以盡奉。由此福行壽終之後。生首陀會天有此光相。七佛已來乃至千佛出世亦皆如是洗佛及僧。佛授記曰。於未來世兩阿僧祇百劫之中當得作佛。號曰淨身。十號具足。

6. J33.543c18–23.

又雜譬喻經云。昔佛弟難陀。乃往昔維衛佛時人。一洗眾僧之福功德。自追生在釋種身。珮五六之相神容晃昱金色。乘前之福與佛同世。研精道場便得六通。古人施一猶有弘報。況今檀越能多行者。普等之行必逮尊號。加增歡喜廣度一切。

7. J33.543c24–544a11 and S. 4647r10.

又福田經云。有比丘名阿難。白世尊曰。我念宿命生羅閱祇國為庶民子。身生惡瘡治之不瘥。有親友道人來語我言。當浴眾僧取其浴水。以用洗瘡便可得愈。又可得福。我即歡喜往到寺中。加敬至心。更作新井香油浴具洗浴眾僧。以汁洗瘡尋蒙除愈。從此因緣。所生端正金色晃昱不受塵垢。九十一劫常得淨福慶祐廣遠。今復值佛心垢消滅逮得應真。又⁷十誦律云。外國浴室形圖猶如園倉。開戶通煙下作伏瀆。出外內施三擎閣齊人所及處。以瓶盛水滿三重閣。火氣上升。上閣水熱。中閣水暖。下閣水冷。隨宜自取用無別作湯。故云淨水耳。又⁸增一阿含經云。爾時世尊告諸比丘。造作浴室有五功德。云何為五。一除風。二病得瘥。三除去塵垢。四身體輕便。五得肥白。若有四部之眾。欲求此五功德者。當求造浴室。

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8. J33.544a12–a21 and S. 4647r10–14.

又僧祇律云。若欲浴時使園民等掃灑。令辨具薪炭溫暖得所。乃打撻稚應知入浴。各以腰帶繫衣作識安衣架上。入時不得掉兩臂而入。一手遮前而入。若欲與師揩者。當先白己無罪。不得一時舉兩手。當先令揩一臂一手覆前竟。次揩一臂一手及餘內外已。閉戶而坐令身汗出。籌量用水不得多用。若池水洗自恣無罪。不聽露地裸形而浴。若水齊腰腋得用無罪。若坐水中至臍亦得。出已取己衣著正理而去。

9. J33.544a22–544a23 and S. 4647r14–15.

述曰。因明洗僧遂申歎德。恐邊遠道俗不閑法用。故略明法事以標厥致耳。

⁷ ZJYJ begins a new line for this quote.

⁸ ZJYJ begins a new line for this quote.

10. J33.544a24–b24 and S. 4647r15–32.

竊惟尼連河裏非有垢而見除嵐昆園內實無塵而示蕩。故知洗沐是清昇之本。灌澡為澄潔之原。可乘香範於前修。振芳猷於後業。所以東國泛七華之水。以濯一乘之賓。西方瑩八德之池。用滌九品之輩。故使醫王夜念發造溫室之心。長者晨言敬申洗僧之願。遂蒙如來善巧。近說七物之儀。大覺垂慈。遠記五天之報。然今此處摩訶施主某官。斯乃運廣大心行無上業。生生常修佛事。世世常轉法輪。故能信正法於群邪。敬緇徒於像季。深知講宣四句價重隋珠。飯沐一僧田高異道。遂使共相率勵勸課等侶。各捨淨財同崇此福。於是七物於嘉時。洗三尊於此日。又能屈請高德某法師。講宣溫室洗浴眾僧經一部。法師乃時稱學海。世號詞宗。出玄義而似雲屯。決眾難而方泉涌。能使俗徒開解。猶朗日之闢重昏。法侶除疑。等嚴霜之卷零葉。今既玄章盡軸。座停雷梵之八音。藻浴時臻。次歎洗僧之七物。一者鴻鑪熾火巨鑊氛氳。密室既已除寒。龍泉自然泛熱。二者輕清德水流湛金池。蕩垢皎若蓮開紅。身首霑便土潤。三者銀光豆屑細滑逼於兜羅。却膩本若雲披潔體方開露日。四者八味酥膏五香芬馥。排風去痺未謝摩抵。瑩質光顏何慚妙藥。五者玉管神灰雪華霜潔。邪風遇便息扇。亂想賴已恬凝。六者青楊細柳綠幹輕條。去熱則口發幽蘭。淨齒則氣合優鉢。七者齊縑魏素持作內衣。陰患并得身安。蕩報自然光飾。七物並皆精備一心奉上。惟眾慈悲為歎祝願。

11. J33.544b25–c10 and S. 4647r34–41.

夫欲起居淨國。必須預蕩十力之形。迺託天宮。先當澡彼六和之眾。譬若聲調響順形直影端。因果之理必然。非關鬼神之授。然今施主等仰襲醫王建斯溫室。營辦七物洗浴三尊。獎率有緣弘揚妙典。以茲殊勝莫大善根。先用莊嚴。今日某法師等有大勢力。生生常轉法輪獲大神通。世世常修佛事長幼受無窮之智。眷屬極不夭之年。障累與朝霧俱消。嘉慶共繁星等列。諸施主等。願高臨八正。趣大道於菩提。富有七珍。惠蒼生而無盡。又願片時營佐之者。除七病而莫遺。豪

分助讚之徒。獲七福而無竭。見聞隨喜咸趣法城。叩頭彈指齊昇佛果。敷揚玄教已自周圓。嚴儀洗具復皆備訖。唯眾一心奉請三寶。

12. J33.544c11–16 and S. 4647r42–45.

稽首歸依上請十方諸佛三世慈尊。五分法身真應兩體。九十八使惑纏已盡。三十二相微妙莊嚴。實無四求假同四事。為眾生故有感便來。唯願各各乘摩尼寶殿。坐碼礪雲中放百億光明照三千刹土。梵王持蓋帝釋布華。降此道場入溫室浴。

13. J33.544c17–21.

次請發心已上補處已還歡喜離垢之人。善慧法雲之士。三賢十聖一切諸菩薩。惟願運天人於掌內。安法界於毛端。齊馭四足之靈鵬。俱聘六通之神驥。不見相而見。不來相而來。降此道場入溫室浴。

14. J33.544c22–26.

次請山中宴坐獨覺大人。言下證真四果高士。及向趣聖僧賓頭上座等。惟願空中振錫戲六神通。雲內持瓶具十八變。發波斯之信仰。伏勞度之邪心。及此現前和合大眾。百臘已下乃至無臘。並入溫室浴。

15. J33.544c27–545a02.

次請山中宴坐獨覺大人。言下證真四果高士。及向趣聖僧賓頭上座等。惟願空中振錫戲六神通。雲內持瓶具十八變。發波斯之信仰。伏勞度之邪心。及此現前和合大眾。百臘已下乃至無臘。並入溫室浴。

16. J33.545a03-05.

次請弘慈本誓誓度四生。方便善權權形六道。隨聲即至如影赴身。不念即彰不請之友。並入溫室浴。

17. J33.545a06-07.

次請三界天眾四海龍王八部鬼神一切含識有形之類蠕動之流。並入溫室浴。

18. J33.545a08-16 and S.4647r45-48.

歎請既周。大眾和合頌讚持香依次行。道頌曰。

三寶冥興	四生標式
慈蔭十方	恩流萬德
智抱八藏	化周百億
酬恩義重	斯由福力
彩畫彫形	傳經建福
舟濟橋梁	興齊沐浴
不顧身命	精誠何抑
盛哉勝業	功成難測

B. Taishō Edition of *FYZL*: J8, “Chapter 5: A Thousand Buddhas,” “Section 4: Incarnation,” “Subsection 1: Explaining the Meaning.”⁹

J8.339b07; b11–15 and S.4647r49–51.

降胎部第四(此別六部)

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述意部第一

夫誠心內感則至覺如在。形力外殫則法身咫尺。是以能仁本師隨緣訃機。愍焰宅之既焚。傷欲流之永霧。託白淨之宮。降摩耶之胎。啟黃金之色。破無明之闇。居茲三惑。示畫篋之非真。出彼四門。驚浮雲之易滅也。

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⁹ Zhou and Su 2003, 1.290.

Verso Passages:

A. Taishō Edition of *FYZL*: J50, “Chapter 52: Dismissing Kindnesses,” “Section 1: Explaining the Meaning.”¹⁰

J50.665c15–24 and S. 4647v1–5.

背恩篇第五十二(此有二部)

述意部第一

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蓋聞。四生沈溺必假舟航。六趣昏迷本憑獎導。是故三寶大慈俯應蒼民。曲垂提引令脫苦難。況復違背重恩。豈不永沈苦海。是故婦人鳩毒夫蒙王賞。樵人害熊現報臂落。良由違恩業重現受交報。故智度論云。知恩者生大悲之根本。開善業之初門。人所愛敬。名譽遠聞。死得生天。終成佛道。不知恩者甚於畜生也。

B. Taishō Edition of *FYZL*: J49, “Chapter 50: Unfiliality,” First Tale of Karmic Response.¹¹

J49.663a07–a19 and S.4647v6–7.

¹⁰ Zhou and Su 2003, 4.1516–17. Parts of this essay appear as well in *Collected Essentials* in the second half of the “Explaining the Meaning” for “Chapter 13: Repaying Kindnesses” (*baoen*), which adapts the “Explaining the Meaning” from the eponymous chapter in *FYZL* for its first half. For the analogous passage, which includes the quote from the *Great Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom*, see T no. 2123.j8.67c14–19.

¹¹ Zhou and Su 2003, 3.1504. On this passage, see first part of Chapter Four.

周時有人。姓王。字彥偉。河南人。為性兇惡好游獵。父母孤養憐愛極重。每諫不許共惡人交游。復抑不聽射獵。恐損身命不存係嗣。偉不從父訓常獵不止。兼逐惡人常為龐過。父母既見不止兇行。罰杖五十。身瘡不得出。以恨父母。伺夜眠之後。密以土袋壓父母口。加身坐上望氣不出。意令遣死無有瘡癍。將為卒亡不猜己身。忽見有鬼來入堂內震動家內。大小並覺翻偉床前。偉便仰臥。土袋已在偉腹。父母蘇覺。遂挽兒腹上土袋。不能去身。偉復見鬼壓土袋上。極困垂死。唱叫救命。合家大小及以隣人。併力挽之必竟不移。偉聲不出。但得以手叩頭。合掌而卒。

C. Taishō Edition of *FYZL*: J62, “Chapter 69: Sacrifices,” “Section 1: Explaining the Meaning.”¹²

J62.750a10–27 and S.4647v13–22.

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竊聞。金玉異珍在人共寶。玄儒別義遐邇同遵。豈必孔生自國便欲師從。佛處遠邦有心捐棄。不勝事切輒陳愚亮。是非之理不敢自專。昔孔丘辭逝。廟千載之規摹。釋迦言往。寺萬代之靈塔。欲使見形剋念面像歸心。敬師忠主。其義一也。至如丁蘭束帶。孝事木母之形。無盡解嬰奉承多寶佛塔。眇尋曠古。邈想清塵。既種成林。於理不越。又按禮經。天子七廟。諸侯五廟。大夫卿士各有階級。故天曰神。祭天於圓丘。地曰祇。祭地於方澤。人曰鬼。祭之於宗廟。龍鬼降雨之勞。牛畜挽犁之効。由或立形村足。樹像城門。豈況天上天下三界大師。此方他方四生慈父。威德為萬億所遵。風化為萬靈之範。故善人迴向。若群流之歸溟壑。大光攝受。如兩曜之伴眾星。自月氏遺影那竭。灰身舍利遍流祇洹遂造乃聖乃賢。憑茲景福。或尊或貴。冀此獲安者矣。

¹² Zhou and Su 2003, 4.1825–6. See also *ZJYJ*, where the same essay is not labelled as an “explaining the meaning,” but begins “Section 9: Sacrifices” in “Chapter 29: Funerals,” T no. 2123.j19.181b22–c10.

D. Taishō Edition of *FYZL*: J63, “Chapter 71: Rain Prayers,” “Section 1: Explaining the Meaning.”¹³

J63.761b23–c06 and S.4647v23–28.

夫聖道虛寂故能圓應無方。以其無方之應故應無不適。比以陰陽愆候亢旱積時。北墉之禮久申。西郊之雨莫應。聖上憂兆庶之失業。恐稼穡之不登。減膳恤刑。霄衣肝食。精誠格於上下。玉帛遍於山川。靈液莫霑祈雲罕積。仰惟慧炬潛曜。無幽不燭。神功叵測。有感必通。所以仰憑三寶。敷演一乘。轉讀微言。樹茲大福。願法教始開。慈雲遐布。玄言一闡。沛澤遠覃。嘉禾連秀於郊原。瑞菓遍生於林木。衣唯服於八蠶。食必資於七穫。世界鬱若眾香。含生宛如安養。無請不諧。有祈必應。並沐茲定水。繼聖智之原。闢此愛羅超有無之境也。

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E. Taishō Edition of *FYZL*: J34, “Chapter 29: Making Vows,” “Section 1: Explaining the Meaning.”¹⁴

J34.552a15–21 and S.4647v29–31.

發願篇第二十九(此有二部)

述意部第一

夫佛果夔絕登之有階。法雲峻極屆之有漸。是以創發大誠。則玄福招於極果。初立弘誓。則妙願遍於來際。一念興行。遂感塵劫之瑞華。半刻虔躬。乃得大千之甘露。蓋是大乘之根基。種智之津衢也。

¹³ Zhou and Su 2003, 4.1869–70.

¹⁴ Zhou and Su 2003, 3.1083. See also *ZJJ*, where the same essay is not labelled as an “explaining the meaning,” but begins the “Section 4: Making Vows” in the “Chapter 3: Concentrating Thought,” *T* no. 2123.j3.26b26–c01.

F. Taishō Edition of *FYZL*: J65, “Chapter 76: Salvation from Danger,” “Section 1: Explaining the Meaning.”¹⁵

J65.782b15–25 and S.4647v32–35.

救厄篇第七十六(此有五部)

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述意部第一

夫慈悲弘力之施。祈福紓患之請。誠至可感。列聖同然。而觀世大士獨見哀聞。是以投火。有必糜之軀。海漂無或生之命。但瞬息之頃言念歸向。則洪海可竭。烈火飛涼。或臨刀項上白刃不傷。或墜墮深坑全身無損。或枷禁桎梏散誕形軀。如是得力。備鑒難盡。若懇誠克己必感靈徵。若浮漫惰情艱危叵救也。

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G. Taishō Edition of *FYZL*: J19, “Chapter 8: Paying Respect to the Sangha,” “Section 1: Explaining the Meaning.”¹⁶

J19.422c25–423a26 and S.4647v36–52.

敬僧篇第八(此有四部)

...

述意部第一

¹⁵ Zhou and Su 2003, 4.1952.

¹⁶ Zhou and Su 2003, 2.611–12. See also *ZJYJ*, where the same essay is labelled as an “Explaining the Meaning” for the third sub-chapter (*pian*) on the “Sangha Jewel” of the first chapter (*bu*) on the “Three Jewels,” *T* no. 2123.j2.16a29–b21. The *ZJYJ* version of the essay is slightly shorter, lacking certain lines.

夫論僧寶者。謂禁戒守真威儀出俗。圖方外以發心。棄世間而立法。官榮無以動其意。親屬莫能累其想。弘道以報四恩。育德以資三有。高越人天重逾金玉。稱為僧也。是知僧寶利益不可稱紀。故經曰。縱有持戒破戒若長若幼。皆須深敬不得輕慢。若違斯旨交獲重罪。若待太公為卿相。則千載無太公。要得羅什為師訓。則萬代無羅什。何得見一僧行過上累佛宗。見一人戒虧便輕上法。止可以道廢人。以人不弘道也。不可以人廢道。以道是人師也。故釋迦佛等。是真佛寶。金口所說理行教果。是真法寶。得果沙門。是真僧寶。致令一瞻一禮萬累冰消。一讚一稱千災霧卷。自惟薄福不逢正化。賴蒙遺迹幸承餘蔭。金檀銅素漆紵丹青。圖像聖容名為佛寶。紙絹竹帛書寫玄言。名為法寶。[髟+剔]髮染衣執持應器。名為僧寶。此之三種體相雖假。用表真容。敬之永絕長流。箴之常招苦報。如木非親母。禮則響逸千齡。凡非聖僧。敬則光逾萬代。是知斯風已扇遐邇共遵。冥資含識神功罔測。儻有所虧獲罪彌大。既許出家理宜革俗。如宋朝無識初信邪惑駭動物情道俗驚怪。後悟鍾馗還申禮敬。宋室則荆蠻齷齪江漢崎嶇。詎得反比大國金輪聖御。且如禮云。介者不拜。為失豈同。去俗之人身被忍鎧。握節白衣理所不可。三寶既同義須齊敬。不得偏遵佛法頓棄僧尼。故法不自弘弘之在人。人能弘道故須齊敬也。

Appendix M: Translation of Source Passages to S. 4647 from *A Grove of Pearls*

My translation of S. 4647 reproduces putative source-passages from *A Grove of Pearls*. It attempts to give a sense of how the passages may have looked in a complete version of the anthology by translating certain format conventions from the Taishō (e.g., headings, line-breaks, interlinear commentary), which in turn reproduces formatting conventions from the Tripiṭaka Koreana. Like the copyist of S. 4647, it does not always attempt to reproduce the text, character-by-character, and bracketed text attempts to assist modern readers in indicating the sequence of paragraphs (matching to Appendix L), glosses for difficult terminology, and summarized content. I have typically sought to summarize passages that S. 4647 seems to have ignored. I have also added paragraph-breaks to the bathhouse sermon and the “Explaining the Meaning” essays—typically rendered without line-break, even when they are very long—for added readability.

Recto Passages:

[A. Translation of Selected Portions from Taishō Edition of *FYZL*: J33, “Chapter 27: Promoting Merit,” “Section 8: Washing the Sangha”]

[1.] According to the *Parable Scriptures*:¹ ‘On the eighth day of the twelfth lunar month [*la*], the Buddha used supernatural powers to subdue the Six [Non-Buddhist] Masters; the Six Masters

¹ The *Piyu jing* 譬喻經 in ten fascicles, attributed to Fasui 法邃 of the Jin Dynasty who “collected extracts from scriptures” (*chaoji zhongjing* 抄集眾經), is no longer extant. *T* no. 2145.j2.10a20–22. When Daoshi cites *The Old Combined Parable Scriptures* (*Jiu za piyu jing* 舊雜譬喻經), he means the two fascicle scripture attributed to Kang Senghui (*T* no. 206); when he cites [*The Newer*] *Combined Parable Scriptures* (*Za piyu jing* 雜譬喻經), he means the single-fascicle scripture attributed to Lokakṣema (*T* no. 204). When Baochang cites Fasui’s *Parable Scriptures*, he often refers to it specifically by name as the *Ten-Fascicle Parable Scriptures* (*Shijuan piyu jing* 十卷譬喻經). Some version of this account from *Parable Scriptures* likely also existed in Sengyou’s *Collection from the Garden of Dharma* (*Fayuan ji*), titled “A record accounting for the bathing on the eighth day of the twelfth lunar month” *layue bari yu yuanji* 臘月八日浴緣記, citing *Parable Scriptures*, and being the thirteenth account of the fifth fascicle, categorized under the “Sangha Jewel” (*sengbao*) (see table of contents at *T* no. 2145.j12.92a07).

were not as [powerful as the Buddha], fell into the water, and died. He still expansively preached the Dharma, and saved many non-Buddhists. Having been transformed, they told the Buddha that “the Buddha has used the water of Dharma to wash the dirt from our minds; we presently request to bathe the Sangha in order to remove pollution from the body and thus produce permanent [good] causes.” {Today on the eighth day of the twelfth lunar month monks are washed, and this [custom] only comes from this scripture.}²

[2.] Also the *Mahāsattva Scripture*, also called the *Scripture on Bathing the Buddha Statue*, says:³ ‘The Buddha addressed the people of the world: “the Buddhas of the Ten Directions all employ midnight of the eighth day of the fourth month to be born; they all use midnight of the eighth day of the fourth month to quit home and learn the way; they all use midnight of the eighth day of the fourth month to obtain the Buddha path; they all use midnight of the eighth day of the fourth month to go to parinirvana.” The Buddha said: “the reason why the eighth day of the fourth month is used is that it is at the border between spring and summer when terrible sins are all extinguished, the ten-thousand things are all born, the poisonous vapors are not yet circulating, it is neither cold nor hot, and the seasonal vapors are suitable. Today is this Buddha’s birthday, and therefore people of the world all think about the Buddha’s virtues and bathe the Buddha’s image, as if the Buddha were still here, in order to inform people of the world.” The Buddha said: “when I was a bodhisattva, thirty-six times I was Śakra, King of the Gods; thirty-six times I was a golden wheel-turning king; thirty-six times I was a flying emperor. Today, whichever worthies have a good mind to think on the kind virtues of Śākyamuni Buddha should take incense and flowers to bathe the Buddha image to seek the number-one merit. This is certi-

² T no. 2122.j33.543a17–21. *ZJYJ* does not line-break here.

³ Compare to the [*Foshuo*] *Moheshatou jing* 佛說摩訶殺頭經 of one fascicle, T no. 696.797c16–798b26, attributed to Shengjian, active at turn of 4th–5th c. At around 300 characters in length, the quotation represents around a fourth of the entire scripture. The Taishō edition notes that Tripiṭaka Koreana adds a small-character note after announcing the title, “(also called the *Scripture on Bathing the Buddha Statue*),” and that the later imperial print editions switch the title and alternative title.

fied knowledge of gods and spirits. When one employs the method to wash the Buddha on the eighth day of the fourth month, one should collect three kinds of incense: 1) *douliang* incense, 2) *huo* incense, and 3) *aina* incense. Mix the three kinds of herbal incense, press and steep them: this will be black-colored water. If there is not enough incense, you can use dark purple lotus or the bark of ash to substitute for it. Also you should use dark gold incense, pressing and steeping it by hand in some water: press it to make red water. Use the water for purification, employing it when the bathing of the statue has ended. Use white silk to wipe it off, and after you stop you can decide for yourself whether to wash again. It is called ‘purification,’ and its merit is number-one.⁴”

[3.] The *Bathhouse Scripture* says:⁵ ‘The Buddha instructed Householder Jīvaka: in the methods of bathing, you ought to use seven items in order to remove the seven illnesses and obtain the seven meritorious responses. What are the seven items? 1) kindled fire; 2) pure water; 3) bath pods; 4) ointment; 5) sterile ash; 6) a willow branch; 7) underclothes. This is the method for bathing. What is called “removing the seven illnesses”? 1) the Four Great Elements are stabilized; 2) Wind Disease is removed; 3) Damp Paralysis is removed; 4) Piercing Cold is removed; 5) Hot *Qi* is removed; 6) impurity is removed; 7) the body becomes light and relaxed, and the eyes become clear and bright. This is “removing the seven illnesses.” As for the seven merits—1) the Four Great Elements being without illness, wherever you are born you will be continually safe; 2) wherever you are born, you are clean and your appearance dignified; 3) the body continually fragrant, your clothes are spotless; 4) your flesh nourished, one’s eminence shines and one’s virtue grows big; 5) your wealth being great, retainers brush off dirt; 6) your mouth

⁴ *T* no. 2122.j33.543a22–b10.

⁵ Compare to the *Scripture on [Bathing the Sangha in] the Bathhouse*, [*Foshuo*] *wenshi [xiyu zhongseng] jing* 佛說溫室洗浴眾僧經 in one fascicle, attributed to An Shigao of the second century, *T* no. 701.802c28–803a15. From beginning to end, around 70 characters or 30% of the 255-character excerpt has dropped out, and the whole scripture is around 1200 characters long. For a complete translation and short study of the scripture, see Salguero 2017. A passage similar to this one likely appeared in Sengyou’s anthology, noted above, as the anecdote directly preceding the *Metaphor Scriptures* excerpt (see table of contents, *T* no. 2145.j12.92a06).

and teeth are fresh and good, and whatever is said [by you] is seriously performed; 7) wherever you are born, the clothes are of-themselves [wonderful].⁶

[4.] The *Ten-Recitations Regulations* says:⁷ ‘One obtains five advantages from bathing: 1) removing filth; 2) curing the body’s skin by making it one color; 3) breaking chills and fever; 4) lowers winds and adjusts *qi*; 5) reduces pain from illness.’ [The *Combined Basket Scriptures* say:]⁸ ‘Śāriputra, in the full heat of summer, had a guest worker who drew water from a garden in order to water some trees. Seeing Śāriputra, he began to have a little faith. He called out to Śāriputra to remove his clothes underneath the tree, and used water to wash the body until it was light and fresh. After the servant died he was reborn up in Tuṣita Heaven, and he had great power. Even though his deeds were but few, by encountering a Field of Excellence, he harvested a great many rewards! So he came down to where Śāriputra was and scattered flowers in offering. Śāriputra, because of this believing mind, preached the essentials of the Dharma for him, and he obtained the *srotāpanna* fruit.’⁹

[5.] Also the *Scriptures on the Wise and the Foolish* say: ‘[A god from Śuddhavāsa come to bathe Buddha and his assembly; under a previous Buddha, he had been a poor worker who had spent his small salary of grain to bathe a Buddha.]¹⁰

⁶ T no. 2122.j33.543b11–22.

⁷ Also known as the *Sarvāstivādinaya*, this translation was worked on by Puṇyatāra and Kumārajīva over the early fifth century. Compare with the *Shisong lü*, T no. 1435.j57.422a10-11.

⁸ Here is an instance where *A Grove of Pearls* loses a citation, making it seem as if the Śāriputra story immediately follows discussion of the five advantages in the *Ten Recitations* 十誦律. Compare the story about Śāriputra and his bather to [Foshuo] *zazang jing* in a single fascicle, T no. 745.558c13–25, attributed to the fifth-c. pilgrim-translator Faxian, not to be confused with the more frequently cited ten-fascicle *Combined Treasures Scripture*, *Za baozang jing* 雜寶藏經, T no. 293, translation attributed to Kekaya and Tan Yao in 472. The story, with the same citation but with greater detail, is also copied in Baochang’s *JLYX*, T no. 2121.j14.4.70a29–70b12.

⁹ T no. 2122.j33.543b23–c01.

¹⁰ T no. 2122.j33.543c02–17. Compare *Scriptures on the Wise and the Foolish*, *Xianyu jing* 賢愚經 in thirteen fascicles, translated by Huijue during the Northern Wei, T no. 202.j9.409c07–410a08, the thirty-sixth of sixty-two stories.

[6.] Also the *Combined Parable Scriptures* say: ‘[Nanda was born into the Śākya clan by bathing a monk in a past life.]¹¹’

[7.] Also the *Scripture on Fields of Merit* says:¹² ‘There was a bhikṣu named Ānanda who spoke to the World-Honored One: I remember that in a past life I was born in the Rājagṛha kingdom as a commoner boy. On my body grew evil sores that could not be healed. A dear Buddhist (*daoren*) friend of mine came and spoke to me: you should bathe some monks, and retrieving their bathwater, use it to wash your sores and they will be healed immediately. Besides, you can also get merit! I then felicitated and went into the temple; with greater reverence and utmost mind took [water from] a newly built well, scented oils and bathing implements to wash some monks. And when I saved some to wash my sores, and as soon as it covered them they were healed away! From these causes and conditions, I was born upright with golden skin, luminescent so as not to absorb any dirt. For ninety-one kalpas I continually obtained clean merit and celebrated my fortunes far and wide. At present before the Buddha, my mind’s filth is extinguished and I have obtained arhathood.’ Also the *Ten-Recitations Regulations* says:¹³ ‘[A description of how bathhouses work in foreign nations (*waiguo*)—fire combined with triple-layered water storage results in hot, warm, and cold water that can be called “pure water.”].’ Also the *Increasing-by-Ones Āgama Scriptures* says:¹⁴ ‘[The Buddha lists the five virtues obtained through building bathhouses]’¹⁵

¹¹ *T* no. 2122.j33.543c18–23. Compare *Combined Parable Scriptures*, *Za piyu jing* 雜譬喻經, the single-fascicle translation attributed to Lokakṣema, *T* no. 204.j1.501a01–14, the ninth of twelve stories on the scroll.

¹² Compare to the *Scripture on Fields of Merit*, [*Foshuo zhude*] *futian jing*, 佛說諸德福田經 in one fascicle, *T* no. 683.778a05–14, attributed to Fali and Faju of Western Jin. From about 150 characters of “original” passage extracted from the middle of the scripture, 130 or so remain.

¹³ This quote cannot be found in the *Ten-Recitations Regulations*, or anywhere else (besides *Collected Essentials*) for that matter. It reads more like travel literature or one of Daoxuan’s visions of western architecture.

¹⁴ Compare with *Increasing-By-Ones Āgama Scriptures*, *T* no. 125.j28.703a02–09, the second account in “Chapter 36: Hearing the Dharma.” This *Ekottarāgama-sūtra* was translated by Gautama Saṃghadeva in 397.

¹⁵ *T* no. 2122.j33.543c24–544a11.

[8.] Also the *Sāṃghika Regulations* says:¹⁶ ‘If you wish to have a bathing, you must command the park attendants to sweep and spray it to make it clean. They should prepare firewood and coal to heat the place. Then they should strike the *ghaṇṭā* [bell] in order inform the monks that they may enter the bath. Each should use their bathing-girdle (*yaodai*) to tie some cloth to make a banner, and place their clothes on the clothes shelf. When they enter they may not drop both arms into it, one hand must cover the front and enter. If they are going to wipe their master, they should first tell them so as not to sin themselves. It is not allowed for even one moment to lift both hands; they must first be ordered to wipe one arm and one hand as it covers the frontal region. Next wipe the other arm and hand as well as all other parts, outside or inside. Once finished, close the window and sit to let the body sweat. Ration the amount of water to use and do not use more. If pond water is used to wash, it is as one pleases and there is no fault. It is not allowed to bathe the naked form out in the open. If the water is even with the waist and armpits, you can use it without sin. If you sit in the water and it comes up to the belly, this is also sufficient. After exiting, get dressed in your own clothes, correct yourself and leave.’¹⁷

[9.] Commentary: ‘This [piece] is in order to explain “washing monks” and then describe its praiseworthy virtues. It is feared that monks and laypersons from remote corners are not adept in these methods and their applications. Thus, we briefly describe the rites in order to demonstrate their extensions, and that is all.’¹⁸

¹⁶ Compare with the *Mahāsāṃghika Regulations*, [*Mohe*]sengqi lü, T no. 1425.j35.509a15–b10, translation attributed to Buddhahadra and Faxian during the early fifth c. The passage here represents less than half of the original passage (around 400 characters).

¹⁷ T no. 2122.j33.544a12–21, *ZJYJ* breaks off here.

¹⁸ T no. 2122.j33.544a22–544a23.

[10.] ‘I venture to say: within the waters of Nairāñjanā, there is no dirt which is not eliminated; inside the park of Lumbinī, it is truly without dust that is not swept away. Thus know that bathing is the root of pure ascension; getting clean constitutes the source of pure spotlessness. It can be said that conveying scents is modeled on past practice; that stimulating fragrance serves as an example to future deeds. Therefore, the eastern kingdoms let flow the water of Seven Flowers to pour over the guests of the One Vehicle; and the western regions let shine the pools of the Eight Virtues in order to wash the cohort of the Nine Ranks. Thus is impelled: the Medicine King thinks in the night and comes up with the idea of the bathhouse; the Householder speaks in the morning, reverently stating his wish of bathing monks. Thereupon we enjoy the excellent craft of the Thus-Come One, who explicates nearby the rites of the Seven Items, as well as the mercy bestowed by the Great Awakened One, who records far away the rewards of the Five Heavens.

Now then, in this place there is a Mahā-benefactor named Official X—who has circulated the wide, great mind and performed the unexcelled deed. Life after life he has continually practiced Buddha feats; one existence after another he has continually turned the Dharma wheel. Thus we were able to trust in the True Dharma among the flocks of heretics, and revere in the Disciples in Black even in the Age of Semblance. Know deeply that to proclaim a quatrain of gāthā has a price heavier than a rare jewel; and to feed and bathe a single monk has a field higher than that of an alternative path. Consequently, we share mutual encouragements, empowering the lessons to the monks. Each surrender of pure fortune is an honor to this merit. Therefore, we [use] the Seven Items at this lucky time and wash the Three Honored Ones on this day.

We also are able to humbly invite the Highly Virtuous Dharma Master Y to explain to us the single work *Scripture on Bathing the Sangha in the Bathhouse*. The Dharma Master may then at this time be praised as an Ocean of Learning, the world may call him a Literary Temple, producing mysterious meanings just as the clouds converge, resolving hosts of difficulties just like a geyser spouts. Able to make lay followers enlightened, it is just like how the bright sun pene-

trates heavy dusk; the Dharma disciples are removed of doubt, equivalent to how the severe frost sweeps up spare leaves.

Today already the mysterious chapters are exhaustively spooled out: we may sit and stop the Eight Tones of Thunderous Brahmic. The time for bathing has arrived: next we may praise the Seven Items for Washing Monks.¹⁹

First: the blazing fire from the Swan Brazier (*honglu*), the vigorous steam from the great cauldron. The dense room has already removed all cold and the Dragon Spring (*longquan*) already spreads heat of itself.

Second: the virtuous water so light and pure that flows clear as from golden ponds. It shakes off filth brilliant just like a lotus most red; bodies and heads are as moist as jade most luxuriant.

Third: the silvery gleaming bean shavings, fine and slippery, pressed into *tūla* (cotton floss). It removes grease originally like a cloud wrap; it purifies the body similarly to exposing it to the sun.

Fourth: the eight-flavored butter paste, with the fragrance of five scents. It banishes wind and eliminates lethargy without dispelling *maghī* (antidote to poisons); of glittering substance and bright colors, an unashamed miracle drug.

Fifth: the divine ash of jade pipes (bamboo), frosty pure as snowflakes. Evil winds are instantly fanned away; chaotic thoughts are stilled of themselves.

Sixth: the green trunks and light twigs of blue poplars and thin willows. It removes heat such that the mouth exudes dark orchids; it purifies teeth so that the *qi* contains *utpala* (blue lotus).

Seven: silks of Qi and Wei are taken up to make underwear. Hidden troubles thus obtain bodily comfort; clean rewards of themselves are flashy decorations.

¹⁹ For the source of the “seven items,” see excerpt from the *Bathhouse Scripture* of paragraph 3 above.

These Seven Items are all refined supports, and single-mindedly offered up. I think with much compassion, in order to make praise, incant a vow, and think on the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha.²⁰

[11.] ‘Now if you wish to establish a pure kingdom, you must prepare by cleaning the forms of those with Ten Powers (Buddhas); to provide for the heavenly palace, you should first wash the crowds of those with Six Harmonies (Monks). It must be as if the sounds harmonize and the tones flow, the forms straight and the images upright: the logic of karmic cause and effect is necessarily like this, and of no relation to what gods and spirits might confer.

So, now the benefactors have imitated the Medicine King in admiration and erected this bathhouse, having furnished it with the Seven Items in order to bathe the Three Honored Ones. Rewards follow the lines of karmic effect, promoting the wondrous collection; by this terrific victory it is a tremendous root of goodness. By first using solemn adornments, today Dharma Master Y and others have great influence, life after life continually turning the Dharma Wheel; they harvest great superpowers, one existence after another he continually practices Buddha feats. Elders and youth receive the wisdom of limitlessness; family members attain years of non-death. Obstructions and ties along with the morning dew all evaporate! Luck and celebration together with the clusters of stars alike are arrayed. The benefactors we vow to be as high as the Eightfold Righteous Path, may they arrive at the Great Way through Bodhi; may they be as rich in possessing the Seven Jewels, favoring the common people in a limitless way. We vow that in an instant that for those who built and assisted, may the Seven Illnesses be eliminated and not be passed down; in less than a minute, for those followers who supported and praised the project, may they receive the Seven Fortunes and without exhaustion. May witnesses and auditors facilitate with us and all arrive at the Dharma City; may those who kowtow in a snap neatly ascend to the Buddha Fruit. Endorsing the Mysterious Teaching, one is already round and complete. Dig-

²⁰ T no. 2122.j33.544a24–b24.

nified ritual and washing implements have all been supplied. Now may we all single-mindedly invoke the Three Jewels.²¹

[12.] ‘Kowtowing and taking homage, we invoke the Buddhas of the Ten Directions and the Compassionate Honored Ones of the Three Worlds, the Five Part Dharma Body, and the Double Body of True Response. The Ninety-Eight Fetters and Bonds of Doubt are all exhausted; the Thirty-Two Characteristics and Subtle Wonders are adornments. Truly, there are no Four Requests, false as the Four Matters: on behalf of sentient beings, they are stimulated and immediately come. We only wish for each riding in Maṇi jewel canopies, or sitting within emerald clouds emitting ten billion lights illuminating the three-thousand fields. The Brahma King holds his shade; Śakra strews flowers for him: they descend to this ritual ground and enter into the bathhouse to bathe.²²

[13. Next, all of the Bodhisattvas are invited to enter the bathhouse to be washed.]²³

[14. Then the Pratekyabuddhas, Arhats, Śrāvakas of the Four Stages, other eminent monks are invited.]²⁴

[15. Repeat of previous paragraph in Koreana edition]²⁵

[16. Then all bodhisattva-practitioners of the Six Paths are invited.]²⁶

²¹ *T* no. 2122.j33.544b25–c10.

²² *T* no. 2122.j33.544c11–16.

²³ *T* no. 2122.j33.544c17–21.

²⁴ *T* no. 2122.j33.544c22–26.

²⁵ *T* no. 2122.j33.544c27–545a02. I did not find this duplicate paragraph when I examined K1406V39P0622c, the 33rd of 48 pages of the fascicle, at the Tripitaka Koreana website. Perhaps the Taishō editors used a different Koreana.

²⁶ *T* no. 2122.j33.545a03–05.

[17. Finally, all gods and spirits, all manners of being from across the universe are invited.]²⁷

[18.] The praiseful invitation being complete, the crowd having gathered to chant praises bear incense and next make their circumambulation. The verse says:²⁸

The Three Jewels are mysterious and celebrated,
Those of the Four Births mark this with their rituals.
Kindheartedness is favored [unto them] from [the Buddhas of] the Ten Directions,
Kindness flows in through their Myriad Virtues
Wisdom embracing the Eight Baskets
Transforms completely Ten Million [Worlds].
The justice of repaying this kindness is heavy:
From this [repayment,] merit is empowered.

They colorfully draw, carve in figure,
Transmit scriptures to build merit!
Boats for ferrying and bridges too,
They hold *zhai* and sponsor baths.
No longer observing the fate of their bodies,
With such intense sincerity, what can restrain them?
Flourishing, lo, a victorious deed—
What such an act shall complete is difficult to fathom.²⁹

²⁷ j33.545a06–07.

²⁸ These chapter-ending, rhyming verses or “praises” are typically attributed to Daoshi in late imperial collections of Tang poetry. Sometimes they appear to have been adapted from poems authored by others that one can find collected in Daoxuan’s *GHMJ*. Other times a version of the poem appears in *ZJJ*, sometimes to close a different category-chapter. This verse, however, is only found in *FYZL*.

B. Translation of Taishō Edition of *FYZL*: J8, “Chapter 5: A Thousand Buddhas,” “Section 4: Incarnation,” “Subsection 1: Explaining the Meaning”

Now, when Sincere Mind is stimulated within, there is Utmost Awakening right there; when the power of bodily form is exhausted without, the Dharma Body is nigh.³⁰ Thereby, the Great Master Aply Humane (Nengren = Śākyamuni) was able to follow conditions to meet capacities. He lamented that the Burning House was already aflame, and was aggrieved of the permanent fog from the River of Desire. So he was entrusted to the palace of White Purity (Baijing = Śuddhodana) and descended into the womb of Māyā. Emitting the form of gold, he destroyed the darkness of ignorance. Residing in these Three Delusions, he declared the unreality of the painted box; and going forth through those Four Gates, he was astounded by the easy extinction of floating clouds.³¹

Verso Passages

A. Translation of Taishō Edition of *FYZL*: J50, “Chapter 52: Dismissing Kindnesses,” “Section 1: Explaining the Meaning.”

²⁹ *T* no. 2122.j33.545a08–16.

³⁰ This line is also found in a repentance text authored by Wang Sengru (ca. 464–ca. 521) of Southern Qi and Liang, see *T* no. 2103.j15.207b04–06.

³¹ *T* no. 2122.j8.339b11–15. The rest of the passage builds from elements from a preface to a verse to the Bodhi Tree, both authored by Xiao Gang (503–551), otherwise known as Emperor Jianwen of Southern Liang. See *T* no. 2103.j15.204a29–b05. A longer portion of Xiao Gang’s preface, overlapping with the text presented here, can also be found as the first third of Daoshi’s “explanation of the meaning” of the Buddha’s “Chapter 5.11: Going Forth” (*chujia*). See *T* no. 2122.j10.360c29–31a05. The rest of the “Going Forth” essay appears to borrow passages from Yancong’s (fl. late 6th c.) *Treatise on the Penetration of the Absolute* (*Tongji lun*, *T* no. 2103.j4.113b17–117c5) as well as from Falin’s (572–640) *Discourse on the Destruction of Heresy* (*Poxie lun*, *T* no. 2109). The entire essay on “Going Forth” appears to have been repurposed for the “Explaining the Meaning” for *Collected Essentials*, “Chapter 4: Entering the Path” (*rudao*), *T* no. 2123.j4.28a19–28b10.

I have heard. Those of the Four Births are sunk and drowned; they need the ships to ferry them. Those of the Six Paths are comatose; they fundamentally depend on leadership to encourage them. Therefore, the Great Mercy of the Three Jewels deigns to respond to the masses: bestowing guidance, they allow liberation from difficulty. How much the reverse when one turns against weighty kindness, how couldn't one be eternally sunk in the sea of suffering? Therefore, a wife tries to poison his wine, but the husband remains ignorant and the king rewards him; a woodcutter injures a bear, and as present recompense his arms fall off.³² For this reason exactly, when one turns against kindness, the karma is weighty and presently one receives commensurate recompense.

The *Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom* says: “Know that kindness gives birth to the root of compassion and opens the initial gate of good karmic action. The person will be loved, their reputation will carry far. When they die they will be born in heaven, finally attaining the Buddhadharma. Ignorant of kindness, one is worse than the animals.”³³

B. Translation of Taishō Edition of *FYZL*: J49, “Chapter 50: Unfiliality,” First Tale of Karmic Response

In Zhou there was a man named Wang Yanwei of Henan. He had a malicious nature and loved to hunt. His parents raised him alone and loved him dearly, but he disobeyed them at every remonstrance, and toured together with bad people. Again they prohibited him from hunting, fearing that he would injure himself and cut off the family line. Wei did not obey his father's instruction

³² The two stories alluded to here are represented in the first and second excerpt of the chapter, from the *Scripture of a Hundred Parables*, *Baiyujing*, T no. 209 and a work cited as the *Collected Essentials [or Accounts] from the Scriptures* 諸經要集[事]. For an account of (and confusions caused by) the second cited quotation, see Chapter Four, note 86. For the two stories in *A Grove of Pearls*, see T no. 2122.j50.665c26–666b03 and 666b04–22 respectively.

³³ T no. 2122.j50.665c15–24. Compare quote with [*Da*]zhidu lun, T no. 1509.j49.413c23–25, translation attributed to Kumārajīva.

and continued to go hunting along with bad people and committed serious offense. His parents already saw that he would not stop his evil behavior, so they caned him fifty times. His body covered with welts, he was unable to go out, and he hated his parents for it. He waited until night for them to fall asleep, and covertly used a sack of dirt to asphyxiate his parents. Sitting upon their mouths, he hoped that they would not breathe. He intended that in sending them to their deaths, he would have no more welts. There would soon be deaths, but he did not anticipate it would be his own. Suddenly, he saw that a ghost had entered into the hall, startling the family. Both adults and children witnessed an inversion before the master bed: now Wei was lying on his back, with the sack of dirt on his stomach! The parents had revived, and then pulled at the sack of dirt on their son's stomach, but they were unable to free his body. Wei then saw the ghost pressing down on the sack of dirt. In dire straits and about to die, he howled out for salvation, and the entire household and its neighbors joined forces to pull it, but it was finally not movable. Wei made no more sounds, and was only able to use his hands to kowtow, bring his palms together, and die.³⁴

C. Translation of Taishō Edition of *FYZL*: J62, Chapter 69: Sacrifices,” “Section 1: Explaining the Meaning.”

I have heard. Gold and jade are different treasures, but are among people equally gems. The Mysterious (i.e. Buddhism) and Ruhism have separate meanings, far and near they are both respected. Why is it necessary that because Kong was born in this kingdom then we want to follow his teachings, but because the Buddha abided in a faraway state, then we mindful beings abandon him? Unexcelled in all things [Confucius] still demonstrated brilliance to the idiots. The pattern of right and wrong [Buddhists] dare not arrogate to themselves.

³⁴ T no. 2122.j49.663a07–19. This tale only survives in *A Grove of Pearls*, which cites another source, Li's *Turn the Mind Record* 李『歸心錄』. See Chapter Four, Part 1.1.

Long ago Kong Qiu spoke but passed away: the Temple has provided a model for emulation for thousands of years. Śākya[muṇi]’s talked but left: the Monastery has made pagodas numinous for ten-thousand ages. They wanted to make it so that in seeing the forms [a temple-goer] could subdue thought, and in facing the statues they could hone the mind. To respect the master and be loyal to lords—their meaning is the same.

Just like Ding Lan [gave for her to wear] a waistband in filial service to the form of his wooden mother, or No Exhaustion [Wujin = Akṣayamati] surrendered his necklace, respectfully serving the many-jeweled Buddha stupas. The insignificant seeks the world of ancients, we reminisce from afar their holy dust. Thus the seed becomes a forest, and the grain of the wood is not cut against (reason is not exceeded).

Also, according to the *Book of Rites*, “Sons of Heaven have Seven Temples, Feudal Lords have Five Temples, Senior Officials and Ministers each have their Ranks.³⁵” Thus Heaven is called “Spirit” (*shen*): we sacrifice to heaven at the Round Mound. Earth is called “Earth-God” (*qi*); we sacrifice to earth at the Square Ditch. People are called “Ghost” (*gui*); we sacrifice to them at ancestral shrines. [So we have] the power of Dragons and Ghosts sending down rain and the efficacy of oxen and livestock who pull the plows.

This is because of some who erect figures at the foot of hamlets or plant statues at gates in walls. How much the more does the Great Master of the Three Realms of the Heavens Above and the Universe Below, serve as the Kind Father of the [Those Born By the] Four Births, in this place or that place. His prestigious virtue is honored by trillions; his cultivating manners are the model for myriads of souls. Thus, good people turning to him is like the crowds of rivers return to the great

³⁵ Beginning to quote *Book of Rites* 10 and lapsing into paraphrase, see Legge 1885, 1.397–8.

pool. The embrace of the great light is comparable to two shining orbs being accompanied by the masses of stars.

From the shadow left in Yuezhi, and the ashen body from [Kuśi]nagara, the śarīra flow everywhere, Jetavaṇa was imitated in constructing [places to honor them].³⁶ [These places were] then Holy, then Virtuous—relying on these great blessings. The Revered, the Honored—we hope that these may safeguard peace!³⁷

D. Translation of Taishō Edition of *FYZL*: J63, “Chapter 71: Rain Prayers,” “Section 1: Explaining the Meaning.”

Now the Holy Way is empty and extinguished, and therefore it is able to respond roundly without bounds. Because of this response of boundlessness, therefore there is nowhere the response does not connect.³⁸

Take for instance when you miss an opportunity in the cycle of *yin* and *yang*, then there is severe drought for accumulated seasons: ceremonies at the Northern Wall extend for a long time, but rain in the Western Suburbs will not reply. The emperor worries about the lost enterprise of the multitudes, and fears the non-emergence of the sowing and reaping. He eats vegetarian, lessens punishment out of pity, the dark-clothed ones and liver eaters. Absolute sincerity is there both

³⁶ “Śarīra” here extends to mean all kinds of relics. I have tried to capture the authors’ attempt to place “foreign sounds” in parallel formation.

³⁷ *T* no. 2122.j62.750a10–27. Parts of this passage have been constructed from elements also found in a memorial against the Northern Zhou persecution against Buddhism authored by Wang Mingguang 王明廣 in response to Wei Yuansong 衛元嵩 (fl. late 6th c). See *GHMJ*, *T* no. 2103.j10.157a15–160a07, especially 159a06–a23. For a conspectus of the chapter that follows, see Teiser 1988, 66–70.

³⁸ These opening lines are also found in Zhu Zhaozhi’s 朱昭之 “Critique of the Daoist Gu’s *Discourse on the Non-Chinese and the Chinese*” 難顧道士夷夏論 collected in the *HMJ*, *T* no. 2102.j7.43a26–27. Cf Ziegler 2015, 258.

above and below; gems and silks are spread throughout the hills and rivers. Numinous Liquid (rain) will not moisten and the Prayed for Clouds will seldom aggregate.

Only face the Lantern of Wisdom with its latent brilliance, and no secluded area will be unilluminated! Miraculous feats will be unfathomable, and stimulations must succeed. Therefore reverence the Three Jewels and spread the One Vehicle; scroll and read the subtle words, plant these great merits. Wish that the Teaching of Dharma may begin to open, that the Clouds of Kindness may spread far and wide, that the Mysterious Word clarify at once, that Abundant Moisture [go] to distant ponds.

Ears full of grain will successfully flower in the open country outside the city; lucky fruits will grow everywhere in groves. The only clothes worn shall be from the Eight Silkworms; the only food enjoyed will be from the Seven Harvests. The worlds will be as lush as multitudinous perfumes; *sattvas* will be as gentle as they are in the Land of Bliss [Anyang Paradise].

Without invitation there will be no harmony; if there is prayer there must be response. And one may wash in these Still Waters, and continue to the source of Holy Wisdom; one may break free from this net of desire, and surpass the territory of existence and non-existence.³⁹

E. Translation of Taishō Edition of *FYZZL*: J34, “Chapter 29: Making Vows,” “Section 1 : Explaining the Meaning.”

Now, the Buddha Fruit is supreme, but to ascend to it there are steps; the Dharma Cloud is extreme, but to arrive at it there are gradations. Therefore we begin with great sincerity, so that abstruse virtue may attract to the extreme fruit; we start with the great vow, so that wondrous wish

³⁹ T no. 2122.j63.761b23–c06.

may extend over into eternity. A single thought having been raised up, this then stimulates the auspiciousness for kalpas [as numerous as all grains of] dust; half an instant of pious bowing, and one obtains sweet dew for a chilliocosm. This is the root and essence of the Great Vehicle, the thoroughfare toward the seed of wisdom!⁴⁰

**F. Translation of Taishō Edition of *FYZL*: J65, “Chapter 76: Salvation from Danger,”
“Section 1: Explaining the Meaning.”**

Now, Compassion is the application of the grand power, and praying for blessings is the invitation to relieve distress. Sincerity at the utmost can stimulate; the line of saints is the same in this.

And They Who Perceive the [Sounds of the] World (Guanshi[yin] = Avalokiteśvara) the great hero is of singular vision and collects what is heard. Therefore, [for example, one may find oneself] thrown in the fire, where the body will certainly be destroyed; or floating in the ocean, where there is no fate of staying alive. Still, in a split second, one speaks, thinks on, and takes refuge in [Guanyin], and then the flooded seas will be exhausted, the raging flames will quickly go cold.

Or, the nape of the neck may face the knife, but the bare blade will not injure. Or, one may fall into a deep pit, but the whole body will be without injury. Or, one may be restricted by cangue and shackles, but one will achieve a free and unfettered body. Like this one obtains power: the lessons that may be prepared [on this model] are difficult to exhaust.⁴¹

⁴⁰ T no. 2122.j34.552a15–21.

⁴¹ While “Salvation from Danger” includes many Guanyin miracle tales, it does not cite the famous passage in the *Lotus* which promises Guanyin’s protection from fire, drowning, knives, and imprisonment. On Avalokiteśvara in the *Lotus* and their impact on Chinese religious life as reflected through miracle tale, see Company 1993.

If one is sincere and honest and conquers the self, then necessarily one will stimulate numinous omens. If one is overflowing with lazy emotions, difficulties and dangers are impossible to be rescued from.⁴²

G. Translation of Taishō Edition of *FYZZ*: J19, “Chapter 8: Paying Respect to the Sangha,” “Section 1: Explaining the Meaning.”

Now to discourse on the Sangha Jewel: It refers to one who keeps true to the regulatory precepts, one who has decorously (in accordance with the regulations) departed from the common. Someone aspires to beyond the world by arousing the mind, rejects the world within and establishes dharma. Bureaucratic glory cannot move his intention; relatives are unable to rein down his aspirations.⁴³ Spreading the Way in order to respond to the Four Kindnesses, teaching Virtue in order to enhance the Three Existences. Its eminence exceeds people and gods, its weight extends beyond gold or jade, and it is called "Sangha." Thus know that the benefits of the Sangha Jewel cannot be fully described.

Thus the scriptures say: No matter if they hold or break precepts, whether they are old or they are young, every monastic must be deeply respected, and may not be lightly treated. If you violate this tenet, you will collect in exchange serious offense.⁴⁴

⁴² T no. 2122.j65.782b15–25.

⁴³ The opening definition of “sangha” and first few lines appear to have been borrowed from Sui Period Yancong’s *Discourse on Fields of Merit*, T no. 2108.j2.452c13; c21–22. For a study and translation of Yancong’s essay, see Jülch 2012; see 14 and 16 for translations of the poached lines, with further notes.

⁴⁴ The particular scriptural quotation cannot be found, but the theme of paying respect to young and naughty monastics can be identified among the passages included in this chapter, especially in “Section 4: Damages of Contravening [Respect for Monastics]” (*weisun*). The four characters “whether they are old or they are young” can also be found in an excerpt from the *Scripture of the Dharma-Treasury Transmission* (*Fu fazang jing*, T no. 2058) included in the chapter, prefacing a story about Aśoka’s bathing a seven-year old novice by introducing the king as someone who would pay respect to all śramaṇa (T no. 2122.j19.425a26–28).

If you wait for a Duke Tai to be your minister, then it may be a thousand years before there is a Duke Tai. And if you want Kumārajīva as your instructor, then it may be ten-thousand ages before there is a Kumārajīva.⁴⁵ How can it be that if you see one monk act wrongly that it implicates above the Buddhist lineage, or if you see one person break a precept then one neglects the higher dharma? One is only able to use the Way to abandon the person because the person is not spreading the Way; one is unable to use the person to abandon the Way, because the Way is the master of the person.⁴⁶

Thus Śākyamuni Buddha and the like—this is the true Buddha Jewel. What was spoken by the Golden Mouth: theory, practice, teaching, result—this is the true Dharma Jewel. The Śramaṇa who obtains the result—this is the true Sangha Jewel. Thus is the command: one respectful look, one courtesy and ten-thousand fetters are forever abolished; one praise, one commendation and a thousand disasters sweep off like smoke.

I think to myself how unfortunate [is he who] has not encountered the Upright Transformation. I request for myself to inherit its tracks, to happily carry forth the legacy. Gold sandalwood; bronze and white; lacquer-black linens; red and blue, portraits and statues of the holy face: they are called the Buddha Jewel. Paper, silk, bamboo, and bolts; brushed and written mysterious words: they are called the Dharma Jewel. Shaved heads, dyed clothes, those maintaining the requisite implements: they are called the Sangha Jewel.

⁴⁵ Duke Tai of Qi (11th c BCE) helped overthrow the wicked Shang and became a Confucian hero. This line comes from the memorial against the Northern Zhou Buddhist persecution by Wang Mingguang, *GHMJ* T no. 2103.j10.159a26–27. See note 37 above.

⁴⁶ These lines appear to come from Daoxuan's evaluations of previous emperors that comprise the sixth and seventh fascicles of his *Expanded Collection on Propagating and Clarifying the Dharma*—here he is summing up his evaluation on Emperor Taiwu of Northern Wei, the first of the three Wu persecutors, see *GHMJ*, T no. 2103.j6.126b10–13.

These three kinds, although their bodies and forms are conventional, their practices and manifestations are the true visages. Respect them, and forever is broken the endless stream; disdain them, and continually beckon the recompense of suffering. Even though wood was not [Ding Lan's] biological mother, in worshipping it, his renown carried for a thousand years.⁴⁷ As for extraordinary holy monks, if you pay respect to them, the brilliance will go beyond ten-thousand ages. Thus know this wind is already instigated, near and far it is obeyed the same; the mysterious offers provision to sentient beings, divine works are immeasurable. Supposing there is some mistreatment, then one accrues a fully large sin; thereby [Buddha] allowed the home-leavers to administer appropriately and reform the secular.

For example, in the Song Dynasty the ignoramuses initially believed in evil and doubt. They frightened and stirred creatures' feelings, monks and laymen alike were amazed. Later they awoke to their cups of sacrificial blood [sin?], and returned to extend their ceremonious respect. The Song house was narrow-minded in Jing and Man [in Hunan]; rugged in the Jiang and Han [rivers]. How amazing that obtained such reversal to the great kingdom, the golden wheel holy and imperial!

Moreover, the *Book of Rites* say: "One in armor who does not bow has erred."⁴⁸ How could it be the same for the people who have left the common—bodies that would be covered in blades and armor, bearing tallies [of fealty], wearing white? According to reason this cannot be. The Three Jewels are just the same, the meaning must be honored and respected; it is not allowed not to pay respect to the Buddha and Dharma, to halt or abandon Monks and Nuns.

⁴⁷ Ding Lan was alluded to in C above.

⁴⁸ Paraphrasing *Book of Rites* 1, tr. Legge 1885, 1.96, where the man in armor "does not bow, but makes an obeisance indeed, but a restrained obeisance."

Thus, the Dharma does not self-propagate; the propagation lies in its people. People are able to propagate the Way,⁴⁹ and therefore they should be honored and respected.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ “People are able to propagate the way, it is not the way that propagates people,” *Analects* 15.29. This allusion had long been commandeered by Buddhists, especially in the title of their two apologetic collections, *Collection on Propagating and Clarifying the Dharma* series of Sengyou and Daoxuan.

⁵⁰ *T* no. 2122.j19.422c27–423a26.

Appendix N: Table of Dunhuang Manuscripts Associated with Daoshi's Anthologies

I have adapted Motoi Makiko's 2012 survey of Dunhuang manuscripts identified with Daoshi's anthologies to tabular format for easier reference and comparison. For a list of further manuscripts since identified by Fujii and others, see Chapter 5.

	Name	Format	Corresponding Sections
1. Dunhuang Manuscripts of <i>FYZL/ZJYJ</i>			
a	BD01191	Scroll, 10p?, 29.4 x 398cm	<i>ZJYJ</i> j11
b	P.3653	Scroll, 6p, 29.0 x 177.5cm	<i>ZJYJ</i> j9
c	P.2295	Scroll, 12p, 26.0 x 364cm	<i>ZJYJ</i> j4
d	S.5915	Sewn booklet (列帖), 8p, 22.2 x 13.6cm	<i>FYZL</i> j67, 68, 74, 75
e	S.5624	Concertina (折帖), 15p, (~)29.0 x 8.5cm	<i>FYZL</i> j32–49; 51–64; 90–91
f	P.2163	Scroll, 40p, 27.0 x 1510cm	<i>ZJYJ</i> , j11–20
2. Extracts (抜き書き) from <i>FYZL/ZJYJ</i>			
g	S.3997	Scroll, 2p, 29.8 x 70cm	<i>FYZL</i> j37, 41, 42
h	S.4647/4647v	Scroll, 1p, 28.3 x 71.3cm	<i>FYZL</i> j33 and various

3. Use (利用) of <i>FYZL/ZJYJ</i> in Precept Conferral Rituals			
i	P.2370v	Scroll, 5p, 25.2 x 193.3cm	<i>ZJYJ</i> j5
j	S.6888	Scroll, 30p, 28.7 x 594.4cm	<i>FYZL</i> various; <i>JLYX</i> various

Appendix O: Synopsis 1 for “Chapter 5.15: Councils”

In sketching the structure of chapters and sections from *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma*, I have attempted to translate the headings and titles of works cited as literally and as close to Daoshi’s idiom as possible. Because scriptures are usually cited at the beginning of quoted excerpts, often initiating a line-break on the page, I have used Daoshi’s citations to mark out textual units beneath the levels of “chapter” (*pian* 篇), “section” (*bu* 部), “subsection” (also *bu*), and even “subsubsection” (also *bu*) as in the case of “Councils.” For easier reference, I have added enumeration and notes on the quote following each citation to help coordinate between the scriptural quotes as reproduced in the anthology with the “originals” from the transmitted tradition as collected in the Taishō canon. I translate cited titles as Daoshi names them. Within parentheses I have reproduced how Daoshi represents the title of the work he cites in Chinese, with square brackets [] indicating characters in the title that Daoshi omits that contemporary Taishō includes, and curly brackets {} indicating characters that Daoshi includes that contemporary Taishō omits. On many occasions, the scripture cited does not match the scripture quoted, or the quoted passage appears different, sometimes dramatically so, from the so-called source. Thus, the notes to excerpts delineate (1) where in the Taishō *FYZL* the quote may be found; (2) textual notes on the nature of the quotation(s) that follow the citation, particularly their relationship to cited and quoted source(s), for which I will usually translate a “full title”; (3) scholarship or translations I have found on the cited and quoted texts, especially as regards the contents of the quotation; (4) parallel citations and quotations from Daoshi’s *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures* (*ZJYJ*, *T* no. 2123), where they exist. Additionally, notes to sections indicate how line-breaks, *gāthās*, *dhāraṇī* text, main-text commentary, and interlineal commentary divide a section and the quotations that comprise it into “[pseudo-]paragraphs.” By elucidating the structure of these chapters in somewhat pedantic fashion, these synopses attempt to represent simultaneously 1) how the literal text of a Buddhist *leishu* called *A Grove of Pearls* may have appeared to its community; 2) how the text imagined a vast body of religious literature as quotable

text through citation practice; and 3) how Daoshi built *A Grove of Pearls* from preexisting textual sources, directly acknowledged or otherwise. I employ many of these passages in my arguments about what *A Grove of Pearls* is and does, and I hope it can serve as a preliminary basis for future scholarship on its structure and contents.

Section 15: Councils (this section has two subsections)¹

Subsection One: Explaining the Meaning

1. Essay.²

Subsection Two: Councils (this subsection has four sub-subsections)

2. Essay.³

Subsubsection One: Great Vehicle Council (*dashengjieji* 大乘結集)⁴

3. *Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom* and *Treatise of Diamond Immortal* (*Dazhidu lun* 大智度論 and *Jingangxian lun* 金剛仙論; *T* no. 1509 and *T* no. 1512).⁵

¹ The selection of *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* catalogued here represents *T* no. 2122.j12.373a04–381a25, or Zhou and Su 2003, 1.414–44. This represents around 80% of fascicle 12, which is a little shorter (29 pages) than the mean length (33.4 pages) of a *FYZL* fascicle in the Koreana canon.

² (1) *T* no. 2122.j12.373a06–13. (2) Compare Sengyou’s general preface to *CSZJJ*, *T* no. 2145.j1.01a07–13; cf. Su and Xiao 1995, 1–2. The last two lines seem to have been newly composed. (3) For English translation to Sengyou’s catalog preface, see Link 1960, 34–40. I have identified essays and comments that regard themselves as paratextual among the enumerated elements of *A Grove of Pearls*, most obviously through the marker “it is commented” (*shuyue* 述曰); commentary that is bracketed may have been harder to tease apart from the scriptural quotations preceding them, and was often identified with the help of a critical edition and comparison with canonical sources for quotations.

³ (1) *T* no. 2122.j12.373a15–26. (2) This essay develops the typology of canonizing councils found below in the subsubsections.

⁴ This subsubsection appears as two paragraphs broken to introduce item 4 and the verses of item 7. The tone is commentarial and the quotations are rather sketchy: they seem to paraphrase poorly or inaccurately. The first paragraph introduces Mañjuśrī’s council and the idea that other disciples besides Ānanda heard and transmitted scriptures, while the second paragraph introduces and elaborates upon the three Ānandas.

⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.j12.373a28–b06. (2) This passage appears to both abbreviate and add new elements to a passage from the extant *Treatise of Diamond Immortal*, translation attributed to Bodhiruci in 536; compare *T* no. 1512.j1.801a03–17. (3) Funayama 2006, 48–50, argues that the *Treatise of Diamond Immortal* records Bodhiruci’s lecture on “Diamond Immortal’s” subcommentary to Vasubandhu’s commentary on the *Diamond* (*T* no. 236). The passage excerpted discusses three post-nirvana councils: those of the Five Hundred, the Seven Hundred, and the one outside the Iron-Enclosed Mountains which involved the Thus-Come One, the Buddhas of the Ten Directions, and countless Bodhisattvas and Arhats. Daoshi’s quotation, which neglects to copy discussion of the

4. *Nirvana Scripture* (*Niepan jing* 涅槃經, wrongly attributed?).⁶

5. *Vimalakīrti Scripture* (*Weimo[jie suoshuo] jing* 維摩[詰所說]經, *T* no. 475).⁷

first and second councils here, seems to interpolate Mañjuśrī as a convener of the third council, and to add a closing line about Ānanda not having been the only disciple to have heard the scriptures. At any rate, *Treatise of Diamond Immortal* is missing from Daoxuan’s catalog. One reference to the alternate “Mahāyāna council” involving Mañjuśrī and Maitreya in the *Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom* can be found at *T* no. 1509.j100.756b14–15, also cited by Lamotte 1988b, 133. The closing commentary of the *Treatise* purportedly addresses the ninetyeth and ultimate “entrustment” chapter (*zhulei* 囑累) of the root text, the *Perfection of Wisdom*, and the discussion of the bodhisattva-led council (“some say” *yourenshuo* 有人說) arises in response to a question about why Ānanda repeated the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā* at the arhat but not the bodhisattva councils (756a21–22). The more famous passage on the Council of a Thousand Persons from the *Treatise*, however, is cited and quoted by Daoshi below in subsection three.

⁶ (1) *T* no. 2122.j12.373b07–b11. (2) Zhou and Su 2003 were unable to locate the source of this quotation in any of the *Nirvana* corpus, and neither was I. (3) Peter Gregory (H-BUDDHISM query 19 March 2003, “3 Ānandas Again”) locates an origin of the three Ānandas receiving three different baskets from the Buddha in Sui-Tang scriptural exegetical commentary—though the extant *Treatise of Diamond Immortal* provides the earliest appearance of this idea at *T* no. 1512.j1.800c25–28. “Three kinds of Ānanda” (*sanzhong Anan* 三種阿難) each speak “Thus have I heard” for the three vehicles of teachings (*sansheng* 三乘; *daxiaozhongsheng* 大小中乘). Zhiyi 智顛 (538–597) specifies the three sets of baskets as “Small Vehicle Baskets” (*xiaoshengzang* 小乘藏) received by Ānanda (*Anantu* 阿難陀, glossed as “Joy” [*huanxi* 歡喜]), “Combined Baskets” (*zazang* 雜藏) received by Ānanda (*Ananbatuo* 阿難跋陀, glossed as “Joy Virtue” [*huanxixian* 歡喜賢]), and “Buddha Baskets” received by Ānanda (*Ananshaqie* 阿難娑伽, glossed as “Joy Ocean” [*huanxihai* 歡喜海]). According to Zhiyi, these three Ānandas can supposedly be found in the *Scripture on True Dharma Mindfulness* (*Zhengfa nian[chu] jing* 正法念處經, *T* no. 721, though I was not able to locate this). Again, according to Zhiyi, to these three, a fourth “classical basket Ānanda” (*dianzang Anan* 典藏阿難) who received the “Bodhisattva Baskets” (*pusazang* 菩薩藏) may be found in the Āgamas. These references all point to the same person who would transmit and preserve four separate teachings (*sifamen* 四法門, *sijiao* 四教). See nearly overlapping commentarial lines in *Miaofa lianhua jing wenju* 妙法蓮華經文句 *T* no. 1718.j1.04a20–24 and *Renwang huguo banruojing shu* 人王護國般若經疏, *T* no. 1705.j1.256b08–12, Zhiyi’s commentaries on the introductory fascicles to the *Lotus* and *Humane Kings Scriptures* respectively. Jizang 吉藏 (549–623) refers to the three Ānandas in three separate commentaries, citing three different sources. In one commentary, he names the three Ānandas (*Anan* for Zhiyi’s *Anantu*; *Ananqieluo* 阿難伽羅 for his *Ananshaqie*) with glosses receiving Baskets of the “Listener,” “Sole-Awakener,” and “Bodhisattva” (*shengwenzang* 聲聞藏, *yuanjue zang* 緣覺藏, *pusazang*) respectively in his commentary to the *Śrīmālā* (*Shengman baoku* 勝鬘寶窟, *T* no. 1744.j1.c12–18) and cites the *Repentance of Ajataśatru Scripture* (*Shewang chanhui jing* 闍王懺悔經). In a second commentary, on the *Vimalakīrti*, he cites a work titled *Scripture on Collecting the Dharma Baskets* (*Jifazang jing* 集法藏經) for the same information (*Weimo jing yishu* 維摩經義疏, *T* no. 1781.j1.a13–17; work also seemingly cited for another piece of information in same author’s commentary on the *Lotus*, the *Fahua yishu* 法華義疏, *T* no. 1721.j1.453c18–19). A third commentary finds Jizang citing the *Treatise of Diamond Immortal* to list the three Ānandas (named Ānanda-Ocean [*Ananhai*], Ānandabhadra [*Anantuopoluo* 阿難陀婆羅], and Ānanda-Virtue [*Ananxian*]) as preserving the “Great Vehicle,” “Middle Vehicle,” and “Small Vehicle Dharma Baskets” respectively (*dashengfazang*, *zhongshengfazang*, *xiaoshengfazang*): the speaker of “thus have I heard” for the *Humane Kings Scripture* is Ānanda-Ocean, according to the *Renwang huguo banruo jingshu* 人王護國般若經疏 (*T* no. 1707.j1.b8–12). Kuiji’s 窺基 (632–682) commentary on the *Lotus* approximates Jizang’s *Vimalakīrti* commentary, citing the *Record on Collecting the Dharma* (*Jifa zhuan* 集法傳) in his *Miaofa lianhua jing xuanzan* 妙法蓮華經玄贊, *T* no. 1723.j1.663b8–12). Woncheuk 圓測 (613–696), one of Xuanzang’s other students, offers Ānanda, Ānanda-Virtue, and Ānanda-Ocean as preservers of the “Listener,” “Sole-Awakener,” and “Bodhisattva” dharmas respectively, and cites both the *Treatise of Diamond Immortal* and *The Repentance of Ajataśatru Scripture* in his commentary on *Humane Kings* called the *Renwang jingshu* *T* no. 1708.j1.363b22–27. Daoshi shares with the *Treatise of Diamond Immortal* the specification of the baskets according to vehicle; and with commentators Zhiyi and Jizang, he is able to offer their names. His recollection is closer to Jizang’s—maybe he was also citing the *Treatise of Diamond Immortal* and adding his own glosses as Jizang seems to have—but he also followed in the tradition of obscure attribution. See Gregory, “3 Ānandas Again” for nineteen Taishō loci between *Diamond Immortal* in the early sixth century through Zongmi in the early ninth.

6. [Comment.]⁸

7. *Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom* ([*Da*] *zhidu lun*, *T* no. 1509).⁹

8. Interlineal Comment.¹⁰

Subsubsection Two: Council of Five Hundred (*wubaijieji* 五百結集)¹¹

9. *Bodhisattva Incarnation Scripture* (*Pusa* [*cong Doushutian jiang shenmu*] {*chu*}*tai* [*shuo guangpu*] *jing* 菩薩處胎經/[菩薩從兜術天降神母胎說廣普經], *T* no. 384).¹²

10. *Sāṃghika Regulations* ([*Mohe*] *sengqi lü* [摩訶]僧祇律, *T* no. 1425).¹³

⁷ (1) *T* no. 2122.j12.373b11–b14, with some terms abbreviated. (2) Compare *T* no. 475.j2.548a22–25, from “Chapter 7: Contemplating Sentient Beings” (*guan zhongsheng* 觀眾生), where Śāriputra debates the goddess. The most popular edition of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* is attributed to Kumārajīva in 406. (3) See McRae 2004, 128.11, for translation of the source passage.

⁸ (1) *T* no. 2122.j12.373b14–b16. (2) This comment continues the discussion of the Three Ānandas from the supposed *Nirvāna* quote.

⁹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j12.373b16–b20, one-and-a-half gāthās. (2) Compare *T* no. 1509.j2.69b12–17 for the full three gāthās, attributed to Ānanda, from “Chapter 1.3: General Explanation of ‘Thus Have I Heard’” (*zongshui* *rushi woben shilun* 總說“如是我聞”釋論). For an English translation of the **Mahāprajñāpāramitōpadeśasāstra*, attributed to Nāgārjuna as author and Kumārajīva as translator (402–405), see Lamotte 2001, 97–9. (3) These verses are often quoted by various Sui-Tang exegetes in their commentaries on the major Mahāyāna scriptures, for instance, Jingying Huiyuan 淨影慧遠 (523–592), Zhiyi, Jizang, Kuaiji, and Chengguan 澄觀 (738–839). In commentaries, they are not punctuated as gāthā but as text; usually *Perfection of Wisdom Treatise* would be cited, but sometimes commentators would quote a shorter excerpt like the first gāthā (Jizang on the *Vimalakīrti*, *T* no. 1781.j1.919a02–04 cites *DZDL*, as does Zhiyi on the same text, *T* no. 1778.569a08–11); other times they would cite an abbreviated one-and-a-half gāthās similar to Daoshi’s excerpt (Jingyung Huiyuan on *Nirvana*, *T* no. 1764.j1.617a13–17 cites *Scripture of the Turning of the Wheel of Dharma* [*Zhuanfalun jing* 轉法輪經 *T* no. 109], as does Fazang 法藏 (643–712) in a commentary on *Flower Adornment* at *T* no. 1733.j2.126a23–26 and Li Tongxuan 李通玄 (635–730) on the same scripture at *T* no. 1739.j9.775c07–09); yet other times they would cite longer text that resemble those found in the *Treatise* (Jizang on *Humane Kings* in *T* no. 1707.j1.316b25–27 cites *DZDL*j2). Finally, Kuaiji cites the *Perfection of Wisdom Treatise* for the abbreviated quote and says that the “*Scripture of the Turning of the Wheel of Dharma* also has this gāthā” (*Chapters of the Grove of Meanings from the Garden of Dharma of the Great Vehicle*, *Dasheng fayuan yilin zhang* 大乘法苑義林章 *T* no. 1861.j2.270b13–17). Both Daoshi’s longer excerpt from the *Perfection of Wisdom Treatise* below (*T* no. 2122.j12.375c23–26) and Sengyou’s analogous excerpt in *CSZJJ*, *T* no. 2145.j1.3b21–23 contain these verses in full near their ends. That Daoshi cites this passage twice in the same section suggests that Subsection One of “Councils” was composed at a different time or transcribed from an intermediary source.

¹⁰ (1) *T* no. 2122.j12.373b21. (2) This comment, found only in the Koreana, affirms that even as the sources disagree, wherever it says that an Ānanda “personally heard” (*qinwen* 親聞) the teachings, it can be said that the third Ānanda must have also “eternally heard” (*changwen* 常聞) the teachings.

¹¹ This subsubsection appears as five large paragraphs, the first commensurate to items 9–10; the third, and a line or two of the fourth, representing item 11; and the final three representing item 12. A pair of gāthā divide the *Four-Part Regulations* excerpt into three paragraphs.

¹² (1) *T* no. 2122.j12.373b23–c02. (2) Compare *T* no. 384.j7.1058a19–27; it has been slightly abbreviated. The *Wide and Universal Scripture of the Exposition Given by the Bodhisattva Descending from Tuṣita Heaven into his Heavenly Mother’s Womb* is attributed to Zhu Fonian, late 4th c (between 365–384). Originally five fascicles and five fascicles in most print canons, it is seven fascicles long in Koreana and Taishō. (3) See note 14 to Item 11.

11. *Bodhisattva Incarnation Scripture* (*Pusa [cong Doushutian jiang shenmu] {chu}tai [shuo guangpu]jing*, *T* no. 384).¹⁴

12. *Four-Part Regulations* (*Sifen lü* 四分律, *T* no. 1428).¹⁵

Subsubsection Three: Council of a Thousand Persons (*qianrenjieji* 千人結集)¹⁶

13. *Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom* (*[Da] zhidu lun*, *T* no. 1509).¹⁷

Subsubsection Four: Council of Seven Hundred (*qibaijieji* 七百結集)¹⁸

14. *Four-Part Regulations* (*Sifen lü*, *T* no. 1428).¹⁹

¹³ (1) *T* no. 2122.j12.373c02–c15. (2) Compare *T* no. 1425.j32.489c26–493a19, highly abbreviated. Largely excised from 490b12–491a12. The *Mahāsāṃghika Regulations* was translated by Buddhahadra and Faxian in 416. (3) Lamotte mentions this account at 1998: 135.

¹⁴ (1) *T* no. 2122.j12.373c16–374a04. (2) Compare *T* no. 384.j7.1058a27–b23, nearly all of the final *pin* of the extant scripture, titled “Chapter 38: Producing the Scriptures” (*chujing* 出經). The sequence of excerpting appears to be 1058a27–b16 (highly abbreviated up through b13), b19–b23, and b16–b19. And compare *T* no. 2122.j12.373c22–29 with *Collection of Records* passage *T* no. 2145.j1.4a22–29 (and the locus of citation *T* no. 384.j7.1058b13–23). (3) The *Collection of Records* excerpt of the analagous passage has been translated into English in Link 1961b, 282–3; cf. Lamotte 1988b, 133; Legittimo 2007, 134–131.

¹⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.j12.374a04–b20. (2) Compare *T* no. 1428.j54.966a19–968b28, highly abbreviated. Largely excised from 966a19–968c17. The *Caturvargavinaya* or *Dharmaguptakavinaya* was translated by Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian by 413. (3) See Lamotte 1988b, 134–5.

¹⁶ The single excerpt represented under this subsubsection features 14 paragraphs of varying lengths, sometimes representing lines or verses of dialogue. There are seven patches of verse of four-character (the first), seven-character (the second), and five-character lengths (patches three through seven).

¹⁷ (1) *T* no. 2122.j12.374b22–376a14. (2) Compare *T* no. 1509.j2.67b22–69c03, from “Chapter 1.3: General Explanation of ‘Thus Have I Heard’” (*zongshui* rushi woben *shilun* 總說如是我聞釋論), highly abbreviated at times. Also compare to *CSZJJ*, *T* no. 2145.j1.1b23–4a04 and *JLYX* *T* no. 2121.j13.3.65a13–c13. The former most carefully tracks *T* no. 1509.j2.66b22–70a05, though not always in strict linear fashion; the latter begins at *T* no. 1509.j2.67b12 and ends at 69c26. Thus, with regard to amount of scripture copied, *CSZJJ* has reproduced over two Taishō pages (213 lines) while *FYZL* has reproduced a page and two columns (138 lines) and *JLYX* has only reproduced two columns (58 lines). *CSZJJ* also cites over the greatest range (313 lines), *JLYX* within this range (217 lines), and *FYZL* within that (187 lines). As Baochang copies individual characters from the “original” account that Sengyou does not, and as Daoshi copies individual characters that have been copied by either of his two predecessors, I assume that the *JLYX* excerpt does not represent a direct copying from *CSZJJ*, and that the *FYZL* excerpt does not represent a direct copying from either of the two earlier anthologies. (3) For an English translation of the excerpt as it appears in *CSZJJ*, Link 1961a; English translation from Lamotte 2001, 1.85–101 for full range of *CSZJJ* excerpt and 90–9 for *Grove* excerpt. See Chapter Five, Part 1.4 for a fuller analysis of this excerpt.

¹⁸ This subsubsection features one paragraph for the *Regulations* excerpt and fourteen additional paragraphs for the excerpt from the *Preservation of the Teaching*. I believe only Item 14 belongs under Subsubsection Four proper; Item 15 appends the Section while Item 16 appends the Chapter.

15. *Records of Miraculous Instruction [on the Preservation of the Dharma] given to Regulations Master Daoxuan (Daoxuan lüshi [yifa zhuchi] gan{ying}[tong] ji 道宣律師感應記/[道宣律師逸法住持感通記], not extant).*²⁰

16. Verse.²¹

Accounts of Stimulus-Response (Twelve numinous proof-tales indexed here)²²

17. Essay.²³

¹⁹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j12.376a16–24. (2) Compare *T* no. 1428.j54.968c19–c24 and 971b27–c02, the beginning five and ending five lines of the council account. Note how this passage is pulled from further down the scroll as Item 12 above. (3) See Lamotte 1988b, 134–5.

²⁰ (1) *T* no. 2122.j12.376a25–378a17. (2) The excerpt here is the fourth of the seven from this lost work found in *A Grove of Pearls*, and its title is abbreviated differently every time. (3) Some language in the final four pseudo-paragraphs of the revelation (377c27–378a17) resembles descriptions of the physical collections of the Three Baskets at Jetavana as revealed in Daoxuan’s *Illustrated Jetavana Scripture*; see Tan 2002, 301–5. For studies focusing on other excerpts from this lost work, Shinohara 2000 and 2003b, the former of which describes what can be known about the work as a whole, identifies its seven excerpts across *FYZL*, and focuses on the fifth excerpt about the Buddha’s robe and its latter-day distribution; the latter of which focuses on the seventh excerpt about the Buddha’s begging bowl. Kawaguchi 1978 and Tomita 2001 also catalog appearances of Daoxuan’s works in *FYZL*. Barrett translates and discusses some passages from the first and fourth excerpts of the work included in *FYZL*, with regard to the use of seals in the development of printing, in Barrett 2012, 7–22, esp. 15 translates a paragraph from this excerpt. See my Chapter Five, Example 4, note 48.

²¹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j12.378a18–25. (2) Compare *T* no. 2103.j16.212a16, “Inscription for the Miraculous Stone Image” (*ruishixiang ming* 瑞石像銘), attributed to the Liang Dynasty poet Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513). On Shen Yue as a religious poet, see Mather 2003, 251.

²² The appended verse above and miracle tales below fall conclude “Chapter 5: A Thousand Buddhas” as a whole, not merely the section on councils in particular. The table of contents itself reads like a capsule mythistory of Buddhism in China, and I have attempted to preserve something of its linearity by capitalizing the names of the dynasties, which would have been the first character or two characters of each heading. Though Daoshi tallies twelve “accounts” in this section, some of the accounts share a single citational source (18–19) while others contain multiple citations (20, 23, 25). The first seven “accounts” typically cite their sources before quoted passages; “accounts” 27 and 29 end with interlineal comments suggesting sources for the materials preceding them. See the following notes for further discussion of possible source-texts.

²³ (1) *T* no. 2122.378b05–14. (2) Compare with the introduction to Daoxuan’s essay on “The Penetration of the Buddha’s Power” (*tongju* 通局), the sixth of eight in his *A Geography of the Śākyas (Shijia fangzhi* 釋迦方志), *T* no. 2088.j2.969c27–970a09; cf. Fan 2000, 100–1. Among the differences in Daoshi’s essay include its first and final lines. (3) See Nicol 2016, 22n42 for discussion of the title of the essay (Nakamura 1197c suggests reading *tongju* as “universal and limited,” a binary typology for the miraculous powers of the Buddha), discussion of the essay’s structure and argument (240–52), and translation of the essay introduction (358–9). As noted by Nicol (359n136), the language of “marks of the entire body or of fragments of the body, and the appearance of groups of stūpas or scattered stūpas” 全身砸身之相，聚塔散塔之義 in this essay also appears to have been appropriated by Daoshi for his introductory essay to “Paying Respect to Stūpas” (*T* no. 2122.j.578b9–15 and *T* no. 2123.j.19c9–15). The seven enumerated excerpts that follow this one (18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24) as well as excerpt 26 are also found in the sixth essay of Daoxuan’s *Geography*; both seem to adapt similar series of passages, though out of sequence, from Falin’s 法琳 *Discourse on the Destruction of Heterodoxy (Poxie lun* 破邪論, *T* no. 2109), with the *FYZL* edition usually resembling an even more abbreviated account. Falin’s discourse, in turn, cites many additional historical texts or quotes passages from historical works that may have been apocryphal. That Daoshi’s “Accounts of

18. “*The Books of ZHOU* record the timing of the Buddha’s birth.”²⁴
19. “*The Books of ZHOU* record on the timing of the Buddha’s extinction.”²⁵
20. “The Historical Records record that the Buddha was a Great Sage.”²⁶
21. “By Emperor Xiaowu of the FORMER HAN, the Buddha’s teaching had already been heard.”²⁷
22. “By Emperor Ai of the FORMER HAN, precepts had been circulating.”²⁸
23. “During the reign of Emperor QIN Shihuang, the Buddhadharma had already arrived.”²⁹
24. “In [Ban Gu’s] ‘Treatise on Suburban Sacrifices’ from the LATTER HAN, the Buddha was the Great Sage.”³⁰
25. “During the reign of Emperor Ming of LATTER HAN, all Three Jewels were circulating.”³¹

Response” here follow the basic structure of Daoxuan’s “Penetration of Buddha Power” suggests the influence of the latter on the former.

²⁴ (1) *T* no. 2122.378b15–21. (2) Compare *Geography* (*T* no. 2088.970a10–18) for a lengthier recollection.

²⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.378b22–25. (2) Compare *Geography* (*T* no. 2088.970a18–21). (3) Nicol discusses these two anecdotes together, their putative source (*Alternate Records from the Books of Zhou*, *Zhoushu yiji* 周書異記), and Daoxuan’s other borrowings of these accounts from *Poxie lun* (252–6). For passage from *Destruction*, see *T* no. 2109.j2.478b06–28, German translation Jülch 2014, 1.238–240.

²⁶ (1) *T* no. 2122.378b26–c13. (2) Three passages here cite *Spring and Autumn* [*Annals*] 春秋, the *Liezi* 列子, and the *Scripture of Laozi’s Western Ascension* [*Laozi xisheng jing* 老子西昇經] in order to praise the Buddha with the words of Confucius and Laozi. (3) Compare *Geography*, which quotes the first lines of the second passage (citing *Historical Records*) and the same passage from the *Scripture of Laozi’s Western Ascension*; see *T* no. 2088.j2.970a23–26 (translation by Nicol 2016, 360–1). And also compare *Destruction* (which cites all three of these passages with the same sources and in the same order as Daoshi, *T* no. 2109.j2.476c13–16; c28–477a10). German translation by Jülch 2014, 1.222–3, 224–5.

²⁷ (1) *T* no. 2122.378c14–c19. See subsequent note.

²⁸ (1) *T* no. 2122.378c20–379a05. (2 and 3) For this and the previous passage compare *Geography* *T* no. 2088.j2.970a27–b05 (Nicol 2016, 361–2) and *Destruction*, which incorporates an explicit citation of the *Weishu*, *T* no. 2109.j2.478c11–20 (Jülch 2014, 1.241–3).

²⁹ (1) *T* no. 2122.379a06–17. (2 and 3) These three pseudo-paragraphs, which actually begin in the reign of Han Chengdi and discuss Liu Xiang’s 劉向 (77–6 BCE) putative investigations to compare them with what later Buddhist catalogs and scriptures will say, follow *Geography* fairly closely (*T* no. 2088.j2.970b05–b29, translation by Nicol 2016, 362–5). Compare *Destruction* *T* no. 2109.j2.484c12–29, Jülch 2014, 1.304–6.

³⁰ (1) *T* no. 2122.379a18–b01. (2 and 3) This famous passage, which quotes the *Book of Latter Han* at length, is comparable to *Geography* (*T* no. 2088.j2.970b29–c13; Nicol 2016, 365–6), and is also cited in *Destruction* (*T* no. 2109.j2.479a07–19; Jülch 2014, 1.244–5).

³¹ (1) *T* no. 2122.379b02–379c06.

26. “In the WESTERN JIN two stone icons of [past Buddhas] Vipaśyin and Kāśyapa floated here by sea.”³²

27. “During Emperor QI Wenxuan’s reign was obtained the Buddha’s tooth.”³³ The previous several items are from the *Inner Tradition of the Dharma in the Han* (*Hanfa[ben] neizhuan* 漢法本內傳), as well as from records like miscellaneous histories or the *Traditions of Eminent Monks* (*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, *T* no. 2059).

28. “In the SUI, Tiantai Shi Zhiyi’s stimulated sighting of three jeweled staircases [descending from the heavens].”³⁴

29. “In the TANG, Shi Tanrong of Luzhou stimulated the appearance of the Seven Buddhas.”

³⁵ The two persons above are from the *Tang Traditions of Eminent Monks* (*{Tang} [xu] gaoseng zhuan* 唐高僧傳/續高僧傳, *T* no. 2060).

(2) These four pseudo-paragraphs are extracted from the first two biographies of Kāśyapa Mātāṅga and Zhu Falan in Huijiao’s *Traditions of Eminent Monks* (*Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2059.j1.322c15–323a07 and 323a08–23). Unlike the extant *Eminent Monks*, the biography of Zhu Falan ends with miracle tales involving Falan and Emperor Ming. (3) See French translation of source materials, Shih 1968, 1–4; Japanese translation Funayama 2009, 1.25–34.

³² (1) *T* no. 2122.379c07–380a03. (2) Compare *Eminent Monks*, *T* no. 2059.j13.409c18–c27 in the biography of Huida, the first of fourteen “Promoter of Works of Merit” (*xingfu* 興富). (3) See Nicol 2016, 373, for a translation of the version in *Geography* as well as previous scholarship on versions of this story, recorded at least once more each by Daoxuan and Daoshi (in the *Collection of Three Jewels*) and chapter on “Paying Respect to the Buddha” respectively).

³³ (1) *T* no. 2122.380a04–b28. (2) It is unclear the origins of this story, whose heading mistakes Emperor Wenxuan of Northern Qi 齊文宣帝 (AKA Gao Yang 高洋, 526–559) with Prince Wenxuan of Southern Qi 齊文宣王 (AKA Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良, 460–494). The earlier Wenxuan had a series of dreams about the tooth relic’s arrival. The final interlineal comment-citation cites “Miscellaneous histories” (*zashi* 雜史) along with the *Inner Tradition of the Dharma in the Han* (*Han fa neizhuan*) and the *Traditions of Eminent Monks* for all of the accounts preceding. Perhaps it is from the lost *Record of the Buddha’s Tooth* (*Foya ji* 佛牙記) that Sengyou once collected (*T* no. 2145.j12.94c10; Su and Xiao 1995, 498)!

³⁴ (1) *T* no. 2122.379b29–381a06. (2) Compare Daoxuan’s *Continued Traditions of Eminent Monks*, *T* no. 2060.j17.3.565a08–567c01, from biography of Zhiyi, a “meditator.” (3) For the study of Tiantai Zhiyi’s biography (538–597), see Hurvitz 1962, where the *XGSZ* biography is employed to balance “sectarian” Tiantai/Tendai biographies of Zhiyi.

³⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.381a07–25. (2) Compare *Continued Traditions of Eminent Monks*, *T* no. 2060.j20.3.589a22–590a02, from biography of Tanrong, a “meditator.” Both this and previous biography are comparably highly abbreviated.

Appendix P: Synopsis 2 for “Chapter 7: Paying Respect to the Dharma”

Chapter 7: Paying Respect to the Dharma (this chapter has six sections)¹

Section One: Explaining the Meaning

1. Essay.²

Section Two: Hearing the Dharma (*tingfa* 聽法)³

2. *Scripture of the Dharma-Treasury Transmission* (*Fu fazang{jing}* [yinyuan zhuan] 付法藏經/[付法藏因緣傳], *T* no. 2058).⁴

3. *Scriptures on the Wise and the Foolish* (*Xianyu* [yinyuan] *jing* 賢愚[因緣]經, *T* no. 202).⁵

¹ The chapter of *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* catalogued here represents *T* no. 2122.j17.411c29–j18.422c19, or Zhou and Su 2003, 2.567–610. It encompasses the second half of fascicle 17 and the entirety of fascicle 18, and the “Accounts of Stimulus-Response” are all located on fascicle 18. Fascicles 17 and 18 are 35 and 29 Korean pages in length respectively, close to the mean length of a *Grove of Pearls* fascicle (33.4). Many but not all of the scriptural excerpts appear in similar sequences under similar headings in *Collected Essentials from the Scriptures* (*Zhujing yaoji*, *ZJYJ*: 1–5, 9–10, 16–19, 21–32); the eponymous *bu*-section in *Collected Essentials* seems to recycle and reorder content from this chapter and Chapter 16 from *A Grove*. The table of contents of “Chapter 1.2: Paying Respect to the Dharma” in *Collected Essentials* are as follows: 1. Explaining the Meaning; 2. Preaching the Dharma; 3. Hearing the Dharma; 4. Gradual and Sudden; 5. Seeking the Dharma; 6. Stimulating Fortune; 7. Repaying Kindness; and 8. Defaming Dharma. The titles of Accounts 3, 5, 6, and 8 parallel Sections 2, 3, 4, and 6 of the eponymous chapter in *A Grove of Pearls*, and many of the same quotes are shared; and most of the quotes in Section 5 can be found in *ZJYJ* Accounts 6. Most other headings and quotations appear to be shared in *FYZL* Chapter 16 (see Appendix Q), but five quotations from *FYZL* “Chapter 14: Modesty” also appear to round out the selections for *ZJYJ* Accounts 5. If excerpts below have parallels in *Collected Essentials*, I offer their second location in Taishō under (4).

² (1) *T* no. 2122.412a03–12. (2) The essay appears to have borrowed several lines from Huijiao’s essay extolling the “Chanters” chapter (seventh of ten) in his *Traditions of Eminent Monks*. Compare *GSZ*, *T* no. 2059.7.j12.409a13–22; Japanese translation at Funayama 2009, 4.252–255. I analyze this essay in Chapter Three, Part 4. (4) Compare *Collected Essentials*, *T* no. 2123.j2.8c25–9a05, the “Explaining the Meaning” for “Chapter 1.2: Paying Respect to the Dharma.”

³ This section is cleanly divided into five paragraphs, the first three corresponding with Items 2–4, and the last two, interrupted by a verse, representing Item 5. Many of these excerpts, along with those featured in the next section, “Seeking the Dharma,” appear in earlier Chinese Buddhist anthologies under similar section-headings. See Chapter Five, Part 1.3.

⁴ (1) *T* no. 2122.412a14–b21. (2) Compare *Tradition on the Causes and Conditions of Dharma-Treasury Transmission*, *T* no. 2058.j6.321c26–322b26. *Dharma-Treasury Transmission* was compiled by Tan Yao and Kinkara in 472, and I adapt Young’s 2015, 21, translation for the title of the work. (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.j2.10c20–11a27, midway through “Accounts 3: Hearing the Dharma” (*tingfa*) in “Paying Respect to the Dharma,” after [several] passages seemingly copied direct from “Section 9: Benefits” (*liyi*) from “Chapter 16: Preaching and Hearing” (see chapter synopsis in Appendix Q).

⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.412b22–c07. (2) Compare *Scriptures on Causes and Conditions of the Wise and the Foolish*, *T* no. 202.j12.436c07–437a28. The compilation of the *Damamūkanidānasūtra* is attributed to Huijue in 455: it is called “Story 58: Parrots Hear the Four Truths” (*er yingwu ting sidi* 二鸚鵡聽四諦). (3) For a study of the entire work and its Khotanese context, Mair 1993. (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.j2.11a28–11b13, following previous item.

4. *Scriptures on the Wise and the Foolish* (*Xianyu* [yinyuan] *jing*, *T* no. 202).⁶

5. *The All-Pleasing Regulations* (*Shanjian lü* [piposha]{*lun*} 善見律[毘婆沙]論, *T* no. 1462).⁷

Section Three: Seeking the Dharma (*qiufa* 求法)⁸

6. *Combined Jewel-Treasury Scriptures* (*Za baozang jing* 雜寶藏經, *T* no. 203).⁹

7. *Nirvana Scripture* ([*Daban*] *niepan jing* [大般]涅槃經, *T* no. 375).¹⁰

8. *Nirvana Scripture* ([*Daban*] *niepan jing*, *T* no. 375).¹¹

⁶ (1) *T* no. 2122.412c08–c16. (2) Compare *T* no. 202.j12.437b01–20, “Story 59: A Bird Hears a Bhikṣu Preach the Dharma and is Reborn in Heaven” (*niao wen biqiyu shengtian* 鳥聞比丘法升天). (3) See note above. (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.j2.11b14–22, following previous item.

⁷ (1) *T* no. 2122.412c17–413a04. (2) Compare *T* no. 1462.j4.697c01–21, from *The All-Pleasing Regulations Vibhāṣa*, being a translation of the *Samantapāsādikā* by Buddhaghōṣa, translated by Saṃghabhadra in 488. (3) For an English translation of the story from the *Visuddhimagga, The Path of Purification: The Classic Manual of Buddhist Doctrine and Meditation*, tr. Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli 2011, 203–4. (4) See parallels at *JLYX*, *T* no. 2121.j48.257c16–c24 and *T* no. 2123.j2.11b23–c10, following previous item.

⁸ Each new item is introduced by a new line break: Item 6 is the first paragraph; Item 7 the next three; Item 8 the following two; Item 9 the final paragraph. Items 7 and 8 each feature verses that necessitate paragraph breaks.

⁹ (1) *T* no. 2122.413a06–a18. Duplicated at *T* no. 2122.j27.483a21–b05, “Chapter 19: Ultimate Sincerity,” Section 7 “Seeking Result” (*qiuguo* 求果). (2) Compare “original,” *T* no. 203.494c01–21. The *Samyuktapiṭakasūtra*, translated by Tan Yao and Kiṅkara in 472 around the same time as the *Dharma-Treasury Transmission* above. Here it is titled “Story 115: Account of a Woman with Utmost Sincerity Obtains the Fruit of the Path” (*niiren zhicheng daoguo yuan* [baishiwu] 女人至誠得道果緣[百十五]). (3) See Chavannes 1911, 3.127, no. 419 for a summary, “Le vieux bhikṣu ignorant et la femme qui entre en méditation”; or Willemsen 1994, 232–3 for an English translation.

¹⁰ (1) *T* no. 2122.413a19–b17. (2) The full title of the *Mahānirvāṇasūtra* could be translated *Great Parinirvāṇa Scripture*. Daoshi may be quoting the thirty-six fascicle Southern Version by Huiyan, et al., produced in the Liu Song (424–452), a revision of the Northern Version composed by Dharmakṣema at the beginning of the fifth century (414–421). It is unclear which version is being cited here because the quoted text is so abbreviated and the Northern and Southern versions of this passage are so similar. Compare Northern Version, *T* no. 374.j14.449b08–451b01; and Southern Version *T* no. 375.j13.691b03–693b06, from “Chapter 7 [or 19]: On Holy Actions” (*shengxing* 聖行). (3) English Translation of *T* no. 375 (labelled *T* no. 374) by Yamamoto 2007, 196–200. (4) Compare *JLYX*, *T* no. 2121.j8.12.43a22–c27, which cites fascicle 13 of the *Nirvana*, which indicates the “Southern Version,” and seems to quote a slightly greater range and content (two columns rather than one). *JLYX* titles the passage, “Self-Immolation for Hearing Half a Gāthā” (*wei wen banji sheshen* 為聞半偈捨身) in its first fascicle on the “Self-Cultivated Bodhisattva” (*zixing pusa* 自行菩薩).

¹¹ (1) *T* no. 2122.413b18–413c08, abbreviated. (2) Compare “originals,” nearly identical, *T* no. 374.j22.497a12–497b18, *T* no. 375.j20.740c7–741a10, from “Chapter 10 [or Chapter 22] Bodhisattva Highly-Virtuous King, Illumination Universally Shining.” (3) Translation Yamamoto 2007, 306. (4) Compare *JLYX*, *T* no. 2121.j8.14.44a20–b10, which cites fascicle 2 of the *Nirvana*, which indicates the “Southern Version.” That this and the previous quotation in *FYZL* are found in such close proximity in *JLYX* suggests that Daoshi copied these quotes from *JLYX*.j8 rather than from either of the two *Nirvana Scriptures*. This passage in particular resembles the *JLYX* abbreviated passage more closely than either resemble the extended “source” passages. *JLYX* titles the passage, “In Selling the Body as Offering to the Buddha for Hearing a Single Verse from *Nirvana*, No Wound from Gouging out Flesh” 賣身封佛聽涅槃一偈割肉無瘻 in its first fascicle on the “Self-Cultivated Bodhisattva” (*Zixing pusa* 自行菩薩).

9. *Scripture on the Samādhi that Collects All Merits* (*Ji yiqie fude sanmei jing* 集一切福德三昧經, *T* no. 382).¹²

Section Four: Stimulating Fortune (*ganfu* 感福)¹³

10. *Universal Dazzlement Scripture* (*[Foshuo] puyao jing* [佛說]普耀經, *T* no. 186).¹⁴

11. *Flower Adornment Scripture* (*[Da fangguang Fo]huayan jing* [大方廣佛]華嚴經, *T* no. 278).¹⁵

12. *Great Vehicle Adornment Treatise* (*Dasheng zhuangyan [jing]lun* 大乘莊嚴[經]論, *T* no. 1604).¹⁶

¹² (1) *T* no. 2122.413c09–414a05. See also *T* no. 2122.j85.907c22–24 for a far briefer citation of this excerpt, merely mentioning the protagonist’s name and abilities, in “Section 85.6: [Perfection of] Wisdom.” (2) Compare *T* no. 382.j2.995c07–996c18. The translation is attributed to Kumārajīva by cataloger Zhisheng (*T* no. 2154.j4.512c03, j11.592c02, and j19.704b18–19), who also notes that previously the title also designated an earlier translation of the same work *Scripture on the Samādhi the Equalizes Merits* (*Dengji zhongde sanmei jing* 等集眾德三昧經) *T* no. 381, attributed to Dharmarakṣa. (4) *T* no. 2123.j2.12c09–13a05, under “Accounts 5: Seeking the Dharma” (*qiufa*) beneath “Chapter 1.2: Paying Respect to the Dharma,” followed by an interlineal note (13a05–06) citing the *Nirvana* episode (Item 7 on this list, not otherwise included in *ZJYJ*) and the episode from the *Prajñāpāramitā* on Sadāpradita’s using parts of his body to copy out the scripture, and ends by stating that “causes and conditions like these are countless and cannot be exhaustively explained” 如涅槃經雪山童子為半偈捨身大品經薩陀菩薩為求法故打骨出髓等如是因緣無量不可具說. On Sadāpradita, see Appendix K, note 5.

¹³ This section is broken into nine paragraphs of varied lengths, and the nine paragraphs almost map onto the nine scriptural excerpts. Item 14 takes up paragraphs 5 and 6, and Item 15, the *Nirvana* quote, is found at the end of paragraph 6.

¹⁴ (1) *T* no. 2122.414a07–a28. (2) Compare “original,” *T* no. 186.j8.537a10–b08, from “Chapter 29: Praising the Buddha” (*tanfo*), from the *Lalitavistarasūtra*, a Mahāyāna biography of the Buddha, translated by Dharmarakṣa in 308. (3) See “Chapter 27: Epilogue” of English translations from Tibetan Kangyur by Dharmachakra Translation Committee, 2013, 341–2 or Bays 1983, 668–9, for the first four sets of eight boons. Note that the quote in *Grove* does not denote the “Universal Dazzlement Scripture” in particular as the source of boons, whereas the Taishō “Universal Dazzlement Scripture,” *T* no. 186 refers to itself as such (*puyao jingdian* 普耀經典). (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.13b06–27, in “Accounts 6: Stimulating Fortune” of “Chapter 1.2: Paying Respect to the Dharma.”

¹⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.414a29–b02. (2) *The Great Universally Expansive Scripture on the Buddha’s Flower Adornment* or *Buddhāvataṃsakamahāvaiṣṭyasūtra* was translated by Buddhahadra around 420, and is often rendered in English as the *Garland Sūtra*. Compare passage with *T* no. 278.j46.691b21–23, third fascicle of “Chapter 34: Entering the Dharma Realm” (*rufajie* 入法界, *Gaṇḍavyūha*). (3) See Cleary 1993, 1185 for a translation in English of parallel passage in Śikṣānanda’s 699 translation *T* no. 279.j62.336a05–09 for these lines in Ocean-Cloud’s (Haiyun 海雲, Sagaramegha) sermon to Good-Wealth (Shancai 善財, Sudhana), third fascicle of “Chapter 39: Entering the Dharma Realm.”

¹⁶ (1) *T* no. 2122.414b03–06. (2) *Adorning the Great Vehicle, Mahāyānasūtralaṃkāraśāstra*, attr. Maitreya, Asaṅga for the verses and Vasubandhu for the commentary, translated by Prabhākraramitra (630–633). Compare “original,” *T* no. 1604.j13.659c12–16, from Vasubandhu’s commentary in “Chapter 23: Abiding in Practice” (*xingzhu* 行住). (3) See Jamspal, et al.’s note on the “ten Dharma practices” (*daśadharmacarita*) for their translation from the Chinese in *The Universal Vehicle Discourse Literature*, 2004, 333n37.

13. *Treatise Analyzing the Middle and the Extremes* (*Zhongbian fenbie lun* 中邊分別論, *T* no. 1599).¹⁷

14. *Bodhisattva Treasury Scripture* ([*Da baoji jing da*] *pusazang [hui] {jing}*) 菩薩藏經/[大寶積經大菩薩藏經會], *T* no. 310.12).¹⁸

15. *Nirvana Scripture* (*Niepan jing*, wrongly attributed?).¹⁹

16. *Collected Scriptures on the Perfections without Limit* ([*Liu*] *du {wuji} jijing* 度無極集經/[六度集經], *T* no. 152).²⁰

¹⁷ (1) *T* no. 2122.414b07–11. (2) *Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya*, translated by Paramārtha in the mid-sixth c. Verses attributed to Maitreya and Asaṅga, commentary to Vasubandhu. Compare “original” at *T* no. 1599.j2.461a28–b03 in “Chapter 7: Unsurpassable Vehicle” (*Wushang sheng*). (3) See translation from Sanskrit in “The Separation of the Middle From Extremes” in *Seven Works of Vasubandhu* (Anacker 1984, 260); translation of verses from Tibetan of the “ten Dharma activities,” with enumeration and commentary by Khenpo Shenga at *Middle Beyond Extremes* (Dharmachakra Translation Committee 2006, 131). This same passage is also cited by Shuchen Tsültrim Rinchen (1697–1774), the “Great Editor” of Degé, in his *Blue Annals*, but applied to the “culture of the book”; see translation by Schaeffer 2009, 142.

¹⁸ (1) *T* no. 2122.414b12–c04. (2) Xuanzang translated the *Great Bodhisattva Treasury Scripture* (*Da pusazang jing* 大菩薩藏經) in twenty fascicles in 646, and Bodhiruci II would incorporate it into his translation of the *Great Heap of Jewels Scriptures*, *Ratnakūṭasūtra* as the twelfth assembly (fascicles 35–54). Not to be confused with scriptures of the same title (*Pusazang jing*) translated by Kumārajīva in three fascicles in 406 (and incorporated into *Ratnakūta* as the seventeenth assembly, “Pūrṇa” (fulouna 富樓那), *T* no. 310.17.j77–79); and by Saṃghavarman in one fascicle in the early sixth c. (*T* no. 1491). For a summary of the term and title “Bodhisattva Treasury” (*pusazang*; *bodhisattvapīṭaka*) see Pederson 1976, 23–35. Compare “original” at *T* no. 310.j53.315a28–b19, near the end of the fourth scroll of “Chapter 11: Prajñāpāramitā” of the nineteenth scroll of “Assembly 12: Bodhisattva Treasury” of the 53rd scroll of the *Heap of Jewels*.

¹⁹ (1) *T* no. 2122.414c04–05. (2) Scholars have not been able to locate this passage in the *Nirvana* corpus, which does not even seem to feature the word “Buddha mother.” See, however, these same sixteen characters in fascicle 15 of Fei Zhangfang’s *LDSBJ*, early in his preface to the entire catalog: “It is discoursed that as for depth in benefiting creatures, nothing surpasses the Dharma. How? The Dharma is the Buddha’s mother; the Buddha is born from the Dharma. The Thus-Come [Buddhas] of the Three Times all make offering to the Dharma.” 論益物深無過於法。何者法是佛母佛從法生。三世如來皆供養法。 *T* no. 2034.j14.120b14–16. In the following line, Fei appears to cite and paraphrase a passage from the *Victorious Heavenly King Scripture* that manifests as Item 19 in this chapter: “if you make offerings to the Dharma, this just is making offerings to the Buddha.” 故勝天王般若經云：若供養法即供養佛。(20b16.) Fei may have been drawing on the supposedly Han period *Great Skillful Means Scripture on the Buddha’s Repayment of Kindness* (*Da fangbian fo baoen jing* 大方便佛報恩經), which has the Buddha explaining to his disciple Upālī how the “singular dharma” can be spoken of as the Three Jewels, concluding: “The Buddha takes dharma as his teacher, the Buddha is born from the Dharma; the Dharma is the Buddha’s mother, the Buddha perdures by relying on the Dharma. 佛以法為師，佛從法生；法是佛母，佛依法住。” (*T* no. 156.j6.157b13–14).

²⁰ (1) *T* no. 2122.414c06–c26. (2) Known today as Kang Senghui’s *Scriptures on the Collected Six Perfections* (*Liudu jijing*, **Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha*), translated (and perhaps compiled) in 251. Compare excerpt with “original,” *T* no. 152.j6.35b22–36a24, titled “Story 66: Boy Hearing Dharma Understands Scripture,” under the chapters (*zhang*) for the Perfection of Vigor (*jingjin*, *virya*). (3) Translation by Chavannes 1910, 1.240–4, no. 66 “Sūtra de jeune enfant qui, dès entendu la Loi, l’expliqua.” (4) Probably copied from *JLYX*, *T* no. 2121.j45.237b03–237c05, the twelfth account on the scroll, titled, “Pregnant Woman Continually Chants Scripture and Gives Birth to a Son Very Wise, whose Teachings Many People Follow” (*nüren huai ren kouchang songjing*, *shenger duozhi*, *wei duoren suo zong* 女人懷妊口常誦經生兒多智為多人所宗), in the section under Women Commoners (*nü shuren* 女庶人

17. *Scripture on the Incarnation of Śāriputra* (*Shelifu chutai jing* 舍利弗處胎經, lost).²¹

18. *Traditions of Eminent Monks* (*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, T no. 2059).²²

Section Five: Dharma Masters (*fashi* 法師)²³

19. *Victorious Heavenly King Scripture* (*Sheng tianwang [bore boluomi] jing* 勝天王[般若波羅蜜]經, T no. 231).²⁴

20. *Flower Adornment Scripture* (*[Da fangguang Fo] huayan jing*, T no. 278).²⁵

21. *Nirvana Scripture* (*[Daban] niepan jing*, T no. 375).²⁶

). See also ZJYJ, T no. 2123.j2.13b28–c19, in “Accounts 6: Stimulating Fortune” of “Chapter 1.2: Paying Respect to the Dharma,” following an excerpt resembling Item 10 above.

²¹ (1) T no. 2122.414c27. (2) Like Zhou and Su 2003, I have also been unable to locate this scripture in any catalogs. Much information about Śāriputra, however, could have been gleaned from the *Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom* T no. 1509.j11.137a25–c21 where one can also find the characters “his mother was also brilliant” (*mu yi congming* 母亦聰明) 137c10. This DZDL passage is cited and quoted at greater length in *A Grove of Pearls*, T no. 2122.j53.682c21–684c04, “Section 3: Arhats” under “Chapter 58: Skillful Debate.” (4) See as well T no. 2123.j2.13c20, following previous excerpt.

²² (1) T no. 2122.414c28–a01 references *Eminent Monks*, though the stories about Kumārājīva’s pregnant mother there are not as they are told here. (2 and 3) In Kumārājīva’s *Eminent Monks* biography, it is Kumārājīva, not his mother, who memorizes “a thousand gāthās”; nor is he said to double his memory after getting pregnant. The account in *GSZ* does tell the story of Śāriputra’s mother’s pregnancy (see excerpt #17 immediately above), see T no. 2059.j2.330a23–24 or Sengyou’s *CSZJJ*, T no. 2145.j14.100b04–05 (Robert Shih, 61.). *A Grove of Pearls* quotes more fully the biography of Kumārājīva from *GSZ* at T no. 2122.j25.472c18–c28, paired with Faxian as the two “Accounts of Stimulus-Response” for “Chapter 17: Understanding” (*jianjie*). See Lu 2004, 7–13 for a study of Huijiao’s adaptations to earlier accounts of Kumārājīva’s mother. (4) Compare T no. 2123.j2.13c21–23, the sole citation of *Eminent Monks* in *Collected Essentials*, following previous excerpt.

²³ This section features four paragraphs. The first two paragraphs contain Items 19 and 20 respectively; the third contains Items 21–23; the final one contains Item 24. Only the first excerpt discusses “Dharma Masters” explicitly; the contents of the other five passages suggest that the category could be translated “Dharma as Master.”

²⁴ (1) T no. 2122.415a03–10, slightly abbreviated with an “Also says” (*youyun* 又云) to indicate an ellipsis. (2) Compare “original,” T no. 231.j7.725b29–c08, from “Chapter 16: Entrustment” (*fuzhu* 付囑), near the end of the *Victorious Heavenly King Prajñāpāramitā Scripture*, *Pravaradevarājaparipṛcchā*, tr. *Upasūnya in 565. (4) Compare T no. 2123.13c24–14a02, in “Accounts 6: Stimulating Fortune” of “Chapter 1.2: Paying Respect to the Dharma,” following an excerpt paralleling Item 18 above.

²⁵ (1) T no. 2122.415a11–19. (2) Compare to “original,” T no. 278.j35.626b01–10. Third fascicle of “Chapter 32: The Arising of the Thus-Come Nature of the Jewel King” (*baowang rulaixingqi pin* 寶王如來興起品). (3) Cleary 1993, 1008 for an English translation of parallel lines in Śikṣananda’s 699 translation of *Adornment* (T no. 279.j52.274b29–c09) on the metaphor of the Buddha as a golden-winged king of birds.

²⁶ (1) T no. 2122.415a20–26. (2) Four excerpts from *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* under a single citation, final three introduced with “Also says” (*youyun* 又云). Compare the Northern Edition, T no. 374.j3.384c28–29, j9.417b15–16, j22.496c18–19, j7.406b18–21. Compare the Southern Edition, T no. 375.j3.624c21–22, j9.658b17–18, j20.740b04–05, j7.647b06–08. There are effectively no differences in source passages to allow whether *Grove* quotes the Northern or Southern Edition here. First excerpt from “Chapter 3 [or 6]: Merit of the Name” (*mingzigongde*); second excerpt from “Chapter 4: Thus-Come Nature” (*rulaixing*) or “Chapter 15: Moon Metaphor” (*yueyu*); third excerpt from “Chapter 10 [or 22]: Universal Spreading Light Noble Virtue King Bodhisattva” (*guangming bianzhao gaogui dewang pusa*); and fourth excerpt from “Chapter 4 [or 10]: Four Truths” (*sidi*) respectively. (3) For translations, see

22. *Flower Adornment Scripture* ([*Da fangguang Fo*] *huayan jing*, *T* no. 278).²⁷

23. *Dharma Flower Scripture* ([*Miao*]fa [*lian*]hua *jing* [妙]法[蓮]華經, *T* no. 262).²⁸

24. *Nirvana Scripture* ([*Daban*] *niepan jing*, *T* no. 375).²⁹

Section Six: Defaming Dharma (*bangfa* 謗法)³⁰

25. Essay (quotes *Scripture on Paying Respect and Merit* 敬福經, lost).³¹

26. *Great Collection Scriptures* ([*Da fangdeng*] *dajijing* [大方等]大集經, *T* no. 397).³²

27. *Great Prajñā Scripture Fascicle 404* (*Da banruo* [*boluomiduo*] *jing* 大般若[波羅蜜多]經, *T* no. 220).³³

Yamamoto 2007, 49, 123, 305, 97. (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.14a03–09, in “Accounts 6: Stimulating Fortune” of “Chapter 1.2: Paying Respect to the Dharma,” following Item 19 above.

²⁷ (1) *T* no. 2122.415a26–28. (2) Compare with “original,” *T* no. 278.j24.551c14–16. In the third of the ten stages in the second fascicle of “Chapter 22: Ten Stages” (*shidi* 十地). (3) See Cleary 1993, 723 for translation from Śikṣānanda (*T* no. 279.j24.187c28–a01). (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.14a10–12, in “Accounts 6: Stimulating Fortune” of “Chapter 1.2: Paying Respect to the Dharma,” following previous item.

²⁸ (1) *T* no. 2122.415a29–b03. (2) *Scripture on the Lotus Flower of the Fine Dharma*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*, translated by Kumārajīva in 406, commonly called the *Lotus Sūtra* in English. Compare excerpt with *T* no. 262.j6.47c03–07, the very first lines of the famous “Chapter 19: Merits of the Dharma Preacher” (*fashi gongde* 法師功德). (3) Translation, see Hurvitz 2009, 242. (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.14a12–16, in “Accounts 6: Stimulating Fortune” of “Chapter 1.2: Paying Respect to the Dharma,” following previous item.

²⁹ (1) *T* no. 2122.415b04–b23. (2) Two excerpts from *Nirvana* under a single citation, with “it is also cited” (*youyun* 又云) breaking them up. Compare with Northern Version, *T* no. 374.j6.398a09–12 and 398c09–399a05, both from fascicle 6, the third fascicle of “Chapter 4: Thus-Come Nature” (*rulaixing* 如來性). Southern Version, *T* no. 375.j6.638b18–20 and 639a20–b19, categorizes these passages as falling under “Chapter 8: Four Reliances” (*siyi* 四依). (3) See Yamamoto 2007, 78–9 for a translation of this passage. (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.14a17–b06, under same section and chapter, following previous item.

³⁰ This section features seven paragraphs for eight excerpts: Items 28 and 29 share the fourth paragraph, and each of the other quotes receives their own independent paragraph.

³¹ (1) *T* no. 2122.415b25–c03. (2) The single-fascicle, unattributed *Scripture on Paying Respect and Merit* seems to have been classified as a “doubtful” or “spurious” scripture in catalogs since the Sui. See Daoxuan’s categorization of it as spurious in *DTNDL* at *T* no. 2149.j10.8.335b23. I cannot locate a source for this short quote, promising grand demerits for miscopying a single character in a scripture, earlier than Daoshi’s anthologies. Note as well the similarity in title between this scripture and a three-fascicle composition attributed to Daoshi called the *Discourse on Paying Respect and Merit* (*Jingfu lun* 敬福論)—see Appendix D, Row VIII. (4) *T* no. 2123.15b06–13, inaugurating “Accounts 8: Defaming Dharma” in eponymous chapter.

³² (1) *T* no. 2122.415c04–07. (2) *The Great Universally Expansive Scriptures of the Great Collection*, *Mahāvaiṣṭyāmahāsamñipātasūtra*. Compare with *T* no. 397.j44.290c19–22, from “Chapter 12: Three Refuges Save Dragons” (*sangui jilong* 三歸救龍) of “Division 14: Sun Treasury” (*rizang* 日藏, *sūryagarbha*) of the scripture, originally translated by Narendrayaśas in the late sixth c. in the Sui Period. *Great Collection* in sixty fascicles was assembled during the Sui by Sengjiu in 586; Narendrayaśas’s “Sun Treasury” comprises of fascicles 34–45 in the Taishō edition. (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.15b14–17, under “Accounts 8: Defaming Dharma” in eponymous chapter, following previous item.

³³ (1) *T* no. 2122.415c08–12, with interlineal commentary after the citation specifying the 440th fascicle. (2) Compare with *T* no. 220.j440.215c28–a03. From “Chapter 44: Affairs of Māra” (*moshi* 魔事) of the 2nd division in the

28. *Scripture on the Lotus Flower Treasury of the Great Vehicle* (*Dasheng lianhua zang jing* 大乘蓮花藏經, lost).³⁴
29. *Treatise on Ānanda's Requesting the Precepts* (*Anan qing jielü lun* 阿難請戒律論, lost).³⁵
30. *The Greater Scripture* (*Dapin jing* [mohe bore boluomi jing] 大品經/[摩訶般若波羅蜜經], *T* no. 223).³⁶
31. *Nirvana Scripture* ([*Daban*] *niepan jing*, *T* no. 375).³⁷
32. *Dharma Flower Scripture* ([*Miao*]fa [*lian*]hua jing, *T* no. 262).³⁸
33. Verse.³⁹

recently translated, 600-fascicle *Great Prajñāpāramitā Scripture* or *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*, translated and assembled by Xuanzang from 660–663. (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.15b18–22, following previous excerpt.

³⁴ (1) *T* no. 2122.415c13–16. (2) I cannot find this scripture in any medieval catalogs—the *Scripture on the Great Vehicle Lotus Flower Horse-Headed Rakṣa* (*Dasheng lianhua matou luocha jing* 大乘蓮華馬頭羅刹經) is recorded beginning in Sui catalogs as an anonymous Mahāyāna scripture (*LDSBJ*, *T* no. 2034.j13.113c07) and as a forgery (Fajing, *T* no. 2146.j2.126b24). A scripture titled “Great Vehicle Lotus Flower Jewel-Attainment Bodhisattva Dialogues with Retribution-Response Śramaṇa” (*Dasheng lianhua Baoda pusa wenda Baoying shamen jing* 大乘蓮華寶達菩薩問答報應沙門經) that gives detailed descriptions of hells is frequently excerpted in the *Buddha Name Scripture* (*Foshuo foming jing* 佛說佛名經, *T* no. 441). The two titles are equated and judged apocryphal by Zhisheng in 730 (*KYL*, *T* no. 2154.j18.675b15). In the same subcatalog, Zhisheng also notes that the twenty-fascicle *Buddha Name Scripture*, used for confessions, is often referred to as the *Horse-Headed Rakṣa Scripture* by the uneducated (672a16–b04, where he also quotes the *Nirvana*’s famous prediction of scriptures forged through recompilation [see *A Grove of Pearls* “Chapter 22: Preservation,” Item 10]). (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.15b23–26, following previous excerpt.

³⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.415c16–23. (2) The title of this scripture is listed twice by Daoxuan as a forged scripture, first in the introductory essays to *XSC*, *T* no.1804.j1.3c09–10 and second in *DTNDL*, *T* no. 2149.j10.336a09. It is listed among similarly titled forged scriptures in both loci; Zhisheng attributes Daoxuan as discoverer of its inauthenticity (*T* no. 2154.j18.677a20, a26–b02). (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.15b27–c04, following previous excerpt.

³⁶ (1) *T* no. 2122.415c24–416a09. (2) Kumārajīva’s *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*, early fifth century translation. Compare excerpt with *T* no. 223.304c10–25, from “Chapter 41: Destruction of Belief” (*xinhui* 信毀). (3) See Conze 1975a, 288 for English translation from a Sanskrit analogue under section “II.11.2.1 Deeds conducive to the ruin of dharma” or “Chapter 35: Hells” where the Buddha replies to Subhuti. (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.15c05–20, following previous excerpt.

³⁷ (1) *T* no. 2122.416a10–b01. (2) Compare with Northern Edition *T* no. 374.j6.399a23–399b14, from the third fascicle of “Chapter 4: Thus-Come Nature” (*rulaixing*) or Southern Edition *T* no. 375.j6.639c08–639c28, from “Chapter 8: Four Reliances.” (3) See Yamamoto 2007, 79–80. (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.15c21–16a12, following previous excerpt.

³⁸ (1) *T* no. 2122.416b01–b08, formatted as prose. (2) Compare with verse-rendered *T* no. 262.j3.14b25–c02; 14c27–28, and 16a08–09, all from the last verse-section of “Chapter 3: Parable” (*piyu* 譬喻), excerpting from a long exhortation against disparagers of the *Lotus*. (3) See Hurvitz 2009, 71–2, 74, 75. (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.16a12–18, following previous excerpt.

³⁹ (1) *T* no. 2122.415b09–15. (2) The third couplet can be found at *GHMJ*, *T* no. 2103.j15.196b09–10, “Praise to an Image of Śākyamuni Buddha” (*Shijiawen foxiang* 釋迦文佛像) attributed to Daolin 道林 (AKA Zhidun, 314–

Accounts of Stimulus-Response (Forty-one proof-tales indexed here)⁴⁰

34. “Proof-tale from *Inner Tradition-Scripture of the Dharma in the HAN*.”⁴¹ This one item above is from the *Inner Tradition of the Dharma-Root in the Han* (*Han faben neizhuan* 漢法本內傳).

35. “JIN, Layman Ding Deshen.”⁴²

36. “JIN, Layman Zhou Min.”⁴³

37. “JIN, Layman Dong Ji.”⁴⁴

38. “JIN, Layman Zhou Dang.”⁴⁵

366). Nearly all of the lines for the verse concluding the preceding chapter in *A Grove of Pearls*, “Chapter 6: Paying Respect to the Buddha” (*T* no. 2122.j17.411c20–412a01), can find precedent in Daolin’s piece. (4) For the eponymous chapter in *ZYJ* (*T* no. 2123.j2.16a18–26), there is a completely new verse featuring eight five-character couplets rather than eight four-character couplets. I have not been able to locate precedents for this verse.

⁴⁰ See Liang 2007 for an exhaustive cataloging and thematic analysis of the accounts listed here, which in sum comprise the eighteenth fascicle of *A Grove of Pearls*. Liang records Daoshi’s cited source for each of the forty-two accounts as well as alternate compilations that quote a similar account. She then discusses four themes that multiple accounts can be categorized under: miracles involving 1) scriptural translation (35, 40, 46, 50); 2) scriptural copying (52, 55, 56, 57, 61, 62, 63, 71, 73); 3) scriptural recitation (37, 41, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 53, 54, 56, 58, 59, 60, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68); and 4) physical scriptures themselves as miraculous agents (34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 47, 51, 62, 69, 70, 72, 74). Unlike the text itself, Liang counts 42 because she reads the eleventh item (no. 44) as two accounts contained under the same heading: she provides the heading “QI, Shi Bingdong of Wuling sights a hermit,” the nine characters that introduce a new paragraph and narrative in the text of “Accounts of Stimulus-Response” (at 418b23). Liang was not aware of Shinohara 1991b, which analyzes the relationship between Daoxuan’s collection of miracle tales “Records of Miraculous Scriptures” *ruijing lu* 瑞經錄 from *GTL*, *T* no. 2106.j3.426a19–30b23 and Daoshi’s *A Grove of Pearls*. Shinohara catalogs and interprets the 38 accounts from Daoxuan’s collection, indicating alternate versions of each of them across the shared corpus of Daoxuan and Daoshi’s surviving works, suggesting that Daoshi may have employed a version of Daoxuan’s miracle tale collections to produce his own “expanded version of Daoxuan’s *Ruijing lu*” (122). Versions of 18 of these 38 appear here among the 42 Daoshi has gathered, and versions of 7 of these 18 also appear elsewhere in *A Grove of Pearls*. Versions of 36 of the 38 (in roughly similar sequence) also comprise the tenth and final “subcatalog” of Daoxuan’s *DTNDL*, *T* no. 2149.j10.339a27–342a13.

⁴¹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.416c12–417a18. Compare the lengthier excerpt *T* no. 2122.j55.700a21–c10. (2) *T* no. 2106.j1.410b06, from the first of six subsections in the Accounts of Stimulus-Response for “Chapter 62: Destroying Heterodoxy” in *A Grove of Pearls*. These quotes from *Inner Tradition of the Dharma in the Han* likely derive from a similar quoted passage in Falin’s eponymous treatise, the *Treatise on the Destruction of Heterodoxy*, *T* no. 2109.j1.479b11–480b19; cf. Jülch 2014, 1.248–257). The passage immediately following the summarized and excerpted one, on a battle between Buddhists and Daoists in the age of Emperor Ming of the Han, summarizes the contents of the *Inner Tradition of the Dharma*. (3) See notes in the previous chapter synopsis (Appendix O) for more excerpts citing *Inner Tradition* that likely derived from Falin.

⁴² (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.417a19–b04. (2 and 3) See Campany 2012b, 71–3, no. 2.

⁴³ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.417b05–21. (2 and 3) See Campany 2012b, 110–12, no. 21.

⁴⁴ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.417b22–c21. (2 and 3) See Campany 2012b, 117–19, no. 24.

⁴⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.417c22–418a08. (2 and 3) See Campany 2012b, 119–20, no. 25.

39. “JIN, Layman Xie Fu.”⁴⁶ These five proof-tales above are from *Signs from the Unseen Realm* (*Mingxiang ji* 冥祥記).

40. “JIN, Śramaṇa Shi Daoan.”⁴⁷

41. “JIN, Śramaṇa Shi Sengsheng.”⁴⁸

42. “WEI, Śramaṇa Shi Zhu Shixing.”⁴⁹

43. “WEI, Śramaṇa Shi Zhizhan.”⁵⁰

44. “WEI, Śramaṇa Monk of Wuhou Monastery.”⁵¹ These six proof-tales above are from the *Liang Traditions of Eminent Monks* and miscellaneous records.

45. “WEI, Eunuch of the Taihe Reign.”⁵² See Hou Junsu’s *Citations of Marvels* (*Jingyi ji* 旌異記) which records this.

46. “SONG, Śramaṇa Shi Huiyan.”⁵³

47. “SONG, Bhikṣuṇi Shi Zhitong.”⁵⁴ The two proof-tales above are from *Signs from the Unseen Realm*.

48. “SONG, Śramaṇa Shi Huiqing.”⁵⁵

⁴⁶ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.418a09–19. (2 and 3) See Campany 2012b, 136–7, no. 36.

⁴⁷ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.418a20–27. (2 and 3) See Shinohara 1991b, 84, no. 2. For a Japanese translation of *GSZ*, *T* no. 2059.j5.1, see Funayama 2009, 2.105–39. For a comprehensive English-language study of Daoan, see Zürcher 2007, 184–204.

⁴⁸ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.418a28–b03. (2 and 3) See Shinohara 1991b, 84–5, no. 3. See Japanese translation of *GSZ*, *T* no. 2059.j12.7.4 by Funayama 2009, 4.219.

⁴⁹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.418b04–b11. (2 and 3) See Shinohara 1990, 336–9 for a discussion of the parallel Zhu Shixing miracle tale deployed as the second of thirty stories on “Supernatural Monks” (*shenseng*) division of *GTL*; 370n24 discusses the multiple appearances of the tale across *Eminent Monks* and the works of Daoshi and Daoxuan. See Japanese translation of *GSZ*, *T* no. 2059.j4.1 by Funayama 2009, 2.25–31.

⁵⁰ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.418b12–b18. (2 and 3) See Shinohara 1991b: 90–5, no. 11. This anecdote may be found in Zhizhan’s biography in the *Continued Traditions of Eminent Monks* (*T* no. 2060.j28.1.686a–2–b14), not in the *Liang* version as cited. The following two (or three) Items 44 and 45, including their closing citation from *Citations of Marvels*, can be found in the same location.

⁵¹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.418b19–b28. (2) A line-break identifies the sixth proof-tale on imperishable lips and tongue being excavated, lacking an entry in the table of contents above, at 418b23. (3) See Shinohara 1991b, 90–5, on nos. 12 and 13.

⁵² (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.418b29–c04. (2 and 3) See Shinohara 1991b, 90–5, on no. 14 “the passage on the eunuch” and the various citations for Items 11–14.

⁵³ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.418c05–14. (2 and 3) See Campany 2012b, 250–1, no. 121.

⁵⁴ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.418c15–22. (2 and 3) See Campany 2012b, 203, no. 83.

49. “QI, Śramaṇa Shi Huibao.”⁵⁶ The two proof-tales above are from the *Liang Traditions of Eminent Monks*.
50. “LIANG, He Gui of Nanhai.”⁵⁷ See the *Collection on Propagating and Clarifying (Hongming ji 弘明集)* records of Regulations Master Sengyou of the Liang Dynasty.
51. “Emperor Wu of [NORTHERN] ZHOU, Gaozu.”⁵⁸
52. “CHEN, Yan Gong of Yangzhou.”⁵⁹ The single proof-tale above is from the *Records of Miraculous Retribution (Mingbao ji 冥報記)*.
53. “Anonymous monk of Yangzhou from the beginning of the SUI.”⁶⁰
54. “SUI, Śramaṇa Shi Huiyi.”⁶¹ These two above are from the records of the *Tang Traditions of Eminent Monks (Tang gaoseng zhuan 唐高僧傳, T no. 2060)*.
55. “SUI, Śramaṇa Shi Fazang.”⁶²
56. “SUI, Anonymous Visiting Monk.”⁶³
57. “SUI, Śramaṇa Shi, Zhiyuan.”⁶⁴ The three proof-tales above are from the *Records on Miraculous Retribution*.
58. “TANG, Śramaṇa Shi Daoji.”⁶⁵ This one was told by Daoyi 道頤 [himself].

⁵⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.418c23–28. (2) See *T* no. 2059.j12.7.7.407b04–09, the seventh of twenty-one “reciters” in *GSZ*. (3) Japanese translation by Funayama 2009, 4.226–7.

⁵⁶ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.418c29–419a17. (2) Daoshi has likely misidentified the source here. See *T* no. 2060.j25.15.649a16–b04, where Huibao’s is the fifteenth of thirty-three “wonder workers” (*gantong*) in the first of two fascicles dedicated to thaumaturges in Daoxuan’s *XGSZ*.

⁵⁷ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.419a18–b09. (2) This story is actually found in Sengyou’s bibliographic collection, *Collection of Records*, embedded in a scriptural preface attributed to Wang Sengru 王僧儒 (465–522), cf. *CSZJJ*, *T* no. 2145.j7.16.50c02–22.

⁵⁸ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.419b10–13. (2 and 3) See Shinohara 1991b, 126–7, on no. 15, also unsourced in *Ruijinglu*.

⁵⁹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.419b14–c19. (2 and 3) See Gjertson 1989: 170–2 for a translation of *Mingbao ji* Tale #11. See Shinohara 1991:105–6 for discussion on no. 29 in *Ruijing lu*.

⁶⁰ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.419c20–420a02. (2 and 3) See Shinohara 1991b, 127 on no. 16 “anonymous monk in Yangzhou” in the *Ruijing lu*. It cannot be found in *Tang Eminent Monks* as claimed.

⁶¹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.420a03–b01. (2) See *T* no. 2060.j16.23.560b11–c17, under “Meditators” in *XGSZ*.

⁶² (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.420b02–19. (3) Gjertson does not include this story in his collection.

⁶³ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.420b20–c16. (2 and 3) See Gjertson 1989, 188–190 for a translation of *Mingbao ji* Tale #13.

⁶⁴ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.420c17–421a08. (2 and 3) See Gjertson 1989, 165–6 for a translation of *Mingbao ji* Tale #7. See Shinohara 1991b, 105 for discussion of no. 28 on Zhiyuan in the *Ruijing lu*.

59. "TANG, Shi Yisu."⁶⁶

60. "TANG, Shi Heshi of Fushui."⁶⁷

61. "TANG, Hu Yuangui, Magistrate of Longzhou."⁶⁸ Witnessed by Abbot Shenji 神祭 of Ximing Monastery of the Capital.

62. "TANG, Śramaṇa Shi Tanyun."⁶⁹ In the eleventh year of Zhenguan, the Regulations Master Daoxuan of Ximing Monastery of the Capital once came to this region, personally saw this, and has spoken on it.

63. "TANG, Mr. Xun, Scholar of Yizhou."⁷⁰ The five proof-tales above are from the *Records Collecting Miraculous Connections of the Three Jewels* (*Sanbao gantong ji* 三寶感通集).

64. "TANG, Lady Doulu."⁷¹

65. "TANG, Maidservant of Su Chang, a commissioner on the board of water control."⁷²

66. "TANG, Liu Jian, Adjutant of Xingzhou."⁷³

67. "TANG, Zhao Wenxin of Suizhou."⁷⁴

68. "TANG, Cheng Liubi of Pengzhou County."⁷⁵

⁶⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.421a09–12. (2 and 3) See Shinohara 1991b, 99–100 for discussion of no. 17 on Daoji in the *Ruijing lu* amidst other versions. Daoshi's attributed source, Daoyi, is a Taishō hapax.

⁶⁶ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.421a13–20. (2 and 3) See Shinohara 1991b, 99–100 for discussion of no. 20 on Yisu in the *Ruijing lu* amidst other versions. Compare to *XGSZ*, *T* no. 2060.j28.8.13.90a17–29, where Yisu is listed as a "Reciter."

⁶⁷ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.421a21–26. (2 and 3) See Shinohara 1991b, 99–100 for discussion of no. 21 on Shi Heshi in the *Ruijing lu* amidst other versions. Compare to *XGSZ*, *T* no. 2060.j28.8.13.90a29–b08, attached to the biography of Yisu directly preceding.

⁶⁸ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.421a27–b10. (2 and 3) See Shinohara 1991b, 127 for discussion of no. 22 on Yuangui in the *Ruijing lu* amidst other versions.

⁶⁹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.421b11–b23. (2 and 3) See Shinohara 1991b, 99–100 for discussion of no. 23 on Tanyun in the *Ruijing lu* amidst other versions. Compare to *XGSZ*, *T* no. 2060.j20.3.5.7.592c21–593b18 (especially 593b4–b11, a "Meditator").

⁷⁰ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.421b24–c08. (2 and 3) See Shinohara 1991b, 117 for discussion of no. 36 on the story about "the *Diamond* written in the sky."

⁷¹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.421c09–22. (2 and 3) See Gjertson 1989, 213–14 for a translation of *Mingbao ji* Tale #28. See Shinohara 1991b, 107–8 for discussion of no. 29 on Lady Doulu in the *Ruijing lu*.

⁷² (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.421c23–28. (2 and 3) See Gjertson 1989, 207–8 for a translation of *Mingbao ji* Tale #23. See Shinohara 1991b, 108–9 for discussion of Item 34 on the "maidservant seen by Su Chang" in the *Ruijing lu*.

⁷³ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.422a01–10. (3) Gjertson does not include this story in his study.

⁷⁴ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.422a11–b01. (3) Gjertson does not include this story in his study.

⁷⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.422b02–10. (3) Gjertson does not include this story in his study.

69. “TANG, Jia Daoxian of Luoyang.”⁷⁶

70. “TANG, Lu Huaisu, Man of Wujun.”⁷⁷ The seven proof-tales above are from *Records of Miraculous Retribution*.

71. “TANG, Qiao Qing, Adjutant of Henei.”⁷⁸

72. “TANG, Sun Shou, Man of Pingzhou.”⁷⁹

73. “TANG, Li Qianguan of Zhengzhou.”⁸⁰

74. “TANG, Scriptural Proof-Tale of Jiyin District in Caozhou.”⁸¹ The four proof-tales above are from the *Uncollected Miraculous Retribution* (*Mingbao shiyi* 冥報拾遺).

⁷⁶ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.422b11–16. (3) Gjertson does not include this story in his study.

⁷⁷ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.422b17–22. (3) Gjertson does not include this story in his study.

⁷⁸ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.422b23–b28.

⁷⁹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.422c01–07.

⁸⁰ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.422c08–13.

⁸¹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j18.422c14–16. (2) See Appendix D, Row V for more on Lang Yuling’s sequel to Tang Lin’s *Records on Miraculous Retribution*.

Appendix Q: Synopsis 3 for “Chapter 16: Preaching and Hearing”

Chapter 16: Preaching and Hearing (this chapter has nine sections)¹

Section One: Explaining the Meaning

1. Essay² (quotes *Vimalakīrti Scripture*, *T* no. 474 or 475 and *Scripture on the Way and its Power*)³

Section Two: Selected Quotes (*yinzheng* 引證)⁴

2. *Treatise on the Middle* (*Zhonglun* 中論, *T* no. 1564).⁵

3. *Treatise on Ten Stages* (*Shidi [jing]lun* 十地[經]論, *T* no. 1522).⁶

4. *Great Collection Scriptures* ([*Da fangdeng*] *daji jing* [大方等]大集經, *T* no. 397).⁷

¹ The chapter of *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* catalogued here represents *T* no. 2122.j23.459c02–j24.468c07, or Zhou and Su 2003, 2.746–83. It encompasses the last quarter of fascicle 23 and the entirety of fascicle 24. Fascicles 23 and 24 are 33 and 31 Korean pages in length respectively, very close to the mean length of a *Grove of Pearls* fascicle (33.4). Though an analogous “Preaching and Hearing” chapter cannot be located in *Collected Essentials*, about half of its passages (23–29, 31, 34–5, 37–43, 46–57, 61, 63–65), entirely culled from Sections 5 through 9, have been relocated into its respective “Paying Respect to the Dharma” chapter, where the passages from “Preaching and Hearing” form the majority of the passages. See notes to the synopsis on “Chapter 7: Paying Respect to the Dharma” (Appendix P) as well as the notes below, which indicate where *ZJYJ* passages can be found in Taishō under (4).

² (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.459c06–16. (2) In commemorating (or “explaining the meaning” of) the practice of instruction, Daoshi pairs “Horse-Neigh” (Aśvaghōṣa) with “Dragon-Tree” (Nāgārjuna), Confucius with Śākyamuni, and a passage from the *Vimalakīrti* with a passage from the *Laozi*. (3) On the Chinese imagination of Indian patriarchs Horse-Neigh and Dragon-Tree, see Young 2015. See following note on the quotations.

³ (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.459c10–11. Titles not cited—“scripture says” (*jingyue* 經曰) is paired against “the outer books say” (*waishuyun* 外書云). (2) For the first quotation, compare *T* no. 474.j2.535c22 (Zhi Qian’s) or *T* no. 475.j3.556b14–15 (Kumārajīva, who appears to have preserved precedent), either from “Chapter 13: Offering” (*gongyang* 供養). For second quotation, see *Laozi* 27. (3) “The offering of the Dharma surpasses all other offerings” (McRae 2004, 173); “the man of skill is a master (to be looked up to) by him who has not the skill; and he who has not the skill is the helper of (the reputation of) him who has the skill” (Legge 1891a, 70).

⁴ This section features many excerpted verses, which are introduced as *gāthās* (Items 2, 4, 5, 6, and 11). Many items are introduced with a new line-break: 2; 3; 5; 6; 7; 10; and 12.

⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.459c18–c21. (2) *Madhyamakaśāstra*, attr. Nāgārjuna for the verses (*kārika*), Piṅgala added commentary, tr. Kumārajīva in 409. Compare *T* no. 1564.39a16–17, from the final chapter of the work, “Chapter 27: Contemplation of Wrong Views” (*guan xiejian* 觀邪見). (3) English translations from Tibetan (Garfield 1995: 82; Siderits 2010: 256–7) suggest the Tibetan translation of “Chapter 27: Examination of Views,” does not contain the verse in Kumārajīva’s “31-verse” (*T* no. 1564.j4.36c24) edition, which would putatively have been found between verses 24 and 25 of 30. Bocking 1995, 390 shows this verse to be a verse from Piṅgala’s commentary, quoting the *Four Hundred Contemplations* (*Sibai guan* 四百觀), aka the *Hundred Treatise* (*Bailun* 百論), though Kumārajīva’s 404 translation of the *Hundred Treatise* (*T* no. 1509) does not contain this verse.

⁶ (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.459c21–c22. (2) *Daśabhūmikasūtrāśāstra*, attr. Vasubandhu, tr. Bodhiruci in 508. Compare *T* no. 1522.j2.134a20–24, commentary pertaining to lines on the first of the ten stages.

5. *Great Adornment Treatise* (Da[sheng] zhuangyan [jing]lun 大[乘]莊嚴[經]論, *T* no. 1604).⁸
6. *Treatise on the Nature of the Jewels* ([Jiujing yisheng] baoxing lun, [究竟一乘]寶性論 *T* no. 1611).⁹
7. [Comment].¹⁰
8. *Treatise on the Stages* ({*Dichilun* 地持論} [*Shidi jinglun* 十地經論, *T* no. 1522]).¹¹
9. [Comment].¹²
10. *Nirvana Scripture* ([*Daban*] niepanjing [大般]涅槃經, *T* no. 375).¹³

⁷ (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.459c22–c25. (2) *The Great Universally Expansive Scriptures of the Great Collection, Mahāvaiṣṭyamaḥsaṃnipātasūtra*. Compare *T* no. 397.j3.15a14–15, from “Chapter 2: Dhāraṇi Sovereign King Bodhisattva” (*tuoluoni zizaiwang pusa pin* 陀羅尼自在王菩薩品), whose translation has been attributed to Dharmakṣema in 420–1; during the Sui, Sengjiu would more than double the size of the scripture by adding independently circulating scriptures as “divisions” (*fen* 分) translated by Narendrayaśas among others, turning the scripture from a twenty-nine fascicle work to a fifty-eight or sixty-fascicle work.

⁸ (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.459c26–28. (2) Appears to cite Kumārajīva’s early fifth century of the *Treatise on the Adornment of Scriptures* (*Da zhuangyan jinglun, Mahāyānasūtralaṃkāra-śāstra*, *T* no. 201), attributed to Aśvaghōṣa, but instead quotes the similarly named *Treatise on the Scripture of Adorning the Great Vehicle, Mahāyānasūtralaṃkāraśāstra*, attr. Maitreya, Aśaṅga, and Vasubandhu, translated by Prabhākaramitra (630–633). Compare *T* no. 1604.j1.592c14–15 from “Chapter 2: Complete Principle” (*chengzong* 成宗, *siddhi*). (3) For an English translation from a Tibetan analogue, see Jampal, et al. 2004, 14, (“Chapter 1: Authenticity of the Universal Vehicle”), Verse 13.

⁹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.459c29–460a04. (2) *Treatise on the Nature of the Jewels of the Ultimate One-Vehicle, Ut-taraekayānaratnagoṭraśāstra* or *Ratnagoṭravibhāga*, verses attributed to Maitreya and commentary attr. Sāramati, translated by Ratnamati in 511. Compare with *T* no. 1611.j1.813b04–07, from “Chapter 1: Teaching” (*jiaohua* 教化). (3) The verses quoted by Daoshi are of the first eighteen verses of the text not found in Sanskrit or Tibetan editions, apparently composed by the translator Ratnamati. Cf. English translation by Takasaki 1966, 10.

¹⁰ (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.460a05–06. (2) The short comment corroborates the critiques of “novices these days” in the quotations preceding and succeeding: arrogance makes them bad exegetes.

¹¹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.460a06–a11. (2) The cited work is better known as Dharmakṣema’s early fourth century translation of the *Bodhisattvabhūmisūtra(śāstra)*, full title *Treatise on the Bodhisattva Stages (Pusa dichilun)*, *T* no. 1581. The quoted work, however, is Bodhiruci’s *Treatise on the Ten Stages* *T* no. 1522, cited above, though the five “faults” (*guo* or *guoshi* 過失) are phrased slightly differently and in a different order. Compare *T* no. 1522.j2.133c15–17, a column before the previous *Grove* excerpt. (4) Also cited even more succinctly in Daoxuan’s essay on eminent monks who specialize in “Reading Scripture” (*duosong* 讀誦), *T* no. 2060.j28.691a22–23.

¹² (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.460a06–a11. (2) Daoshi emphasizes cleanliness of mind as a prerequisite to preaching the Dharma, preparing the next quotation that explores the Great Vehicle as “sweet dew” or “poison” depending on the capacities of the mind that apprehends it.

¹³ (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.460a12–14. Daoshi seems to have rearranged the (or have quoted from a rearranged) source text. (2) *Great Parinirvāṇa Scripture, Mahānparinirvāṇasūtra*. Daoshi may be quoting the thirty-six fascicle Southern Version by Huiyan, et al., produced during the Liu Song (424–452), a revision of the Northern Version composed by Dharmakṣema at the beginning of the fifth century (414–421). It is unclear which version is being cited here because the quoted text is so abbreviated and the Northern and Southern versions of this passage are so similar.

11. *Treatise on the Nature of the Jewels* ({*Baoxing lun* 寶性論} [*Foxing lun* 佛性論, *T* no. 1610]).¹⁴

12. *Scripture on the Ten Wheels* ([*Da fangguang*] *shilun jing* [大方廣]十輪經), *T* no. 410).¹⁵

Section Three: Rites (*yishi* 儀式)¹⁶

13. *Three-Thousand Regulations* ([*Da biqiu*] *sanqian weiyi* [大比丘]三千威儀, *T* no. 1470).¹⁷

14. *Vibhāṣa Treatise on the Ten Abodes* (*Shizhu piposha lun* 十住毘婆沙論, *T* no. 1521).¹⁸

15. *Scripture on Mañjuśrī's Inquiries* (*Wenshushili wen jing* 文殊師利問經, *T* no. 468).¹⁹

16. *Scripture on the Original Activities of the Buddha* (*Fo benxing [ji]jing* 佛本行[集]經, *T* no. 190).²⁰

17. *Scripture on the Original Activities of the Buddha* (*Fo benxing [ji]jing*, *T* no. 190).²¹

Compare prose and verse passages at *T* no. 374.j8.409a19–b06 or *T* no. 375.j8.649c26–650a13, from “Chapter 4.5 [or 12]: Thus-come Nature” (*rulaixing* 如來性). (3) Cf. Yamamoto 2007, 104.

¹⁴ (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.460a14–6. (2) *Treatise on the Nature of the Jewels* *T* no. 1611, translated by Ratnamati in the early sixth century, is cited. But the quoted treatise seems to be the closely related *Buddha-Nature Treatise* (*Foxing lun*, *T* no. 1610), attributed by Vasubandhu and translated by Paramārtha mid-6th century. Compare quoted verses to *T* no. 1611.j2.800a26–27, from “Chapter 4: Actions” (*shineng, karma*) of “Division 4: Analysis of Characteristics” (*bianxiang*). (3) For English translation of passages surrounding the quoted verse, see King 1991, 118.

¹⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.460a17–25. (2) *Great Universally Expansive Scripture on the Ten Wheels*, *Daśacakraṣṭigarbhasūtra*, translator unknown, 6th c. Compare *T* no. 410.j4.619b19–23, b29–c06, from its “Chapter 6: Aspects of Present Knowledge of Kṣatriya and Caṇḍāla” (*shali zhantuoluo xianzhixiang pin* 刹利旃陀羅現智相品). (3) See Zhiru 2007, 225–8 for accounts of this anonymous scripture in scriptural catalogs.

¹⁶ This section features eight paragraphs total. The first corresponds with Item 13; Item 14 can be found from the beginning of paragraph two through the middle of paragraph four; Item 15 takes off here and ends with paragraph five and a verse; Item 16 includes paragraphs six and seven; Item 17–19 correspond to the final eighth paragraph.

¹⁷ (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.460a27–b07. (2) *Great Three-thousand Regulations for Bhikṣus*, attributed to An Shigao by Fang Zhangfang, anonymous by Sengyou and Daoxuan. Compare to *T* no. 1470.j1.917a12–19, c01–04.

¹⁸ (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.460b08–b18. (2) *Daśabhūmikavibhāṣaśāstra* attributed to Nāgārjuna, another commentary on the *Ten Stages Scripture*, translated by Kumārajīva, c. 405. Compare *T* no. 1521.j7.53c19–28, 54a10–11, from “Chapter 13: Discriminating Dharma Gifts” (*fenbie fashi* 分別法施). (3) Inagaki 1998, 53 for translation of verses from the chapter, 53.

¹⁹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.460b18–c02. (2) *Mañjuśrīparipṛcchāsūtra*, translation attr. to Saṃghabhadra in 518. Compare *T* no. 468.j1.493b27–c11, from the last lines of “Chapter 2: Bodhisattva Precepts” (*pusajie* 菩薩戒). (3) Translation McRae 2016: 43–4.

²⁰ (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.460c03–461a04. (2) **Buddhacaritasamgraha*, titled as *Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha* in Samuel Beal’s late-nineteenth c. English translation. Translated by Jñānagupta in the late sixth century. Compare *T* no. 190.j50.883c02–05, c10–17, 884a08–18, a26–b02, from second of two scrolls bearing “Chapter 52: Procedures for Preaching Dharma” (*shuofa yishi* 說法儀式). (3) See Beal 1875, 340–342 for his abbreviated translation of this section.

18. [Interlineal Comment] *Four-Part Regulations* (*Sifen lü* 四分律, *T* no. 1428).²²

19. *The All-Pleasing Regulations* (*Shanjian lü* [*piposha*] 善見律[毗婆沙], *T* no. 1462).²³

Section Four: Contravening Dharma (*weifa* 違法)²⁴

20. *Buddha Treasury Scripture* (*Fozang jing* 佛藏經, *T* no. 653).²⁵

21. *Increasing-by-Ones Āgama Scriptures* (*Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經, *T* no. 125).²⁶

22. *Increasing-by-Ones Āgama Scriptures* (*Zengyi ahan jing*, *T* no. 125).²⁷

Section Five: Discriminating Audiences (*jianzhong* 簡眾)²⁸

23. Essay.²⁹

24. *Repayment of Kindness Scripture* (*[Da fangbian Fo] baoen jing* [大方便佛]報恩經, *T* no. 156).³⁰

²¹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.461a05–a15. (2 and 3) Compare *T* no. 190.j50.884b10–20, same citation and chapter as *ibid.*

²² (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.461a15–16. (2) *Caturvargavinaya* or *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, translated by Buddhayaśas and Zhu Fonian by 413. Daoshi seems to be summarizing *T* no. 1428.j35.817a10–b01, from the Sixth Skandha (*jiandu* 犍度) of the second part of titular “four parts,” titled “Precepts on Preaching” (*shuojie* 說戒), and the opinions of unnamed “other regulation” (*yülü* 餘律) codes besides. Content-wise, Daoshi suggests that the *Four-Part Regulations* agrees with the other scriptural authorities cited above in this section with regard to monasteries not being allowed to sponsor simultaneous preachings.

²³ (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.461a16–20. (2) *The All-Pleasing Regulations Vibhāṣa Treatise*, being a translation of the *Sa-mantapāsādikā* by Buddhaghosa, tr. by Saṃghabhadra in 488. Compare *T* no. 1462.j7.721c29–722a03.

²⁴ Section heading and excerpts 20–22 missing in Korean; Taishō represents them as a single paragraph under the “Contravening Dharma” heading, following the end of the fascicle marker.

²⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.461a22–b19. (2) Attributed to Kumārajīva, in 405. Cf. *T* no. 653.j2.793c20–3, c26–28, 794a04–13, 793c01–03 from “Chapter 6: Pure Rules” (*jingfa* 靜法). (4) Compare *T* no. 2122.j30.508c27–509b12 (Appendix R, Item 14), the first half of which copies from the same part of the scripture.

²⁶ (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.461b19–b25. (2) *Ekottarāgama*, translation by Gautama Saṃghadeva in 397. Compare *T* no. 125.j17.634b27–c08, from “Chapter 25, Account 9: Four Birds” (*siniao* 四鳥).

²⁷ (1) *T* no. 2122.j23.461b25–c12. (2) Compare *T* no. 125.j17.635a03–29, from “Chapter 25, Account 10: Thunder” (*lei* 雷). (3) Analogue with *Āṅguttaranikāya* 4.102 “Clouds”—see Bhikkhu Bodhi 2012, 482–4 for translation of Pāli.

²⁸ Begins fascicle 24. This section features eleven paragraphs. The first, encompassing Items 23–25, breaks with a verse; the second and third are commensurate with Items 26 and 27 respectively; the fourth features Item 28 and Item 29; the fifth features Item 30; the sixth through eighth feature Item 30; the ninth is Item 32, and is mostly a verse; the tenth and eleventh contain Item 31 and are divided by a *dhāraṇī*.

²⁹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.461c20–c21. (2) This short line of commentary describes the Dharma master cleaning their mind and viewing the audience with compassion at the moment of ascending the seat to preach. (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.j2.9a07–08, inaugurating “Accounts 2: Preaching the Dharma” (*shuofa*).

³⁰ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.461c22–27. (2) *Great Skillful Means Scripture of the Buddha’s Repayment of Kindness*, translator unknown, dated to late second c. Compare *T* no. 156.j7.163c27–164a05, from “Chapter 9: Intimates” (*qinjin* 親近). (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.j2.9a08–14, following previous excerpt.

25. *Āgama Scriptures* ({*Ahan jing* 阿含經} [*Da zhidulun* 大智度論, *T* no. 1509]).³¹
26. *Five-Part Regulations* ({*Wufen lü* 五分律} [*Pinimu jing* 毘尼母經, *T* no. 1463?])³²
27. *Nirvana Scripture* ([*Daban*] *niepanjing*, *T* no. 375).³³
28. *Ten-Recitations Regulations* (*Shisong lü* 十誦律, *T* no. 1435).³⁴
29. [Comment].³⁵
30. *Scripture of a Hundred Parables and the Abhidharma Treatise* (*Baiyu jing* 百喻經, *T* no. 209, and [*A*] *pitan lun* 毗曇論).³⁶

³¹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.461c28–462a01. Daoshi does not specify which *āgama*, and he cites the same source for the quote elsewhere in *Grove of Pearls* at *T* no. 2122.j89.942b24–25, “Subsection 9: Encouraging Invitation” (*quanqing* 勸請) of “Section 7: Three Sets [of Bodhisattva Precepts]” (*sanju* 三聚) of “Chapter 87: Receiving Precepts” (*shoujie* 受戒). (2) Compare Kumārajīva’s *Great Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom*, *T* no. 1509.j1.63b26–27, one of several *gāthās* offered in unpacking the “thus” (*rushi* 如是, *evam*) in “Thus have I heard, at one time” (*rushi wowen yishi*... 如是我聞一時, *evam mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye*) that begins the *prajñāpāramitā* scripture that *DZDL* comments on. Other Sui-Tang-Song commentaries that have quoted this verse in Taishō (Guanding, Daochuo, Kuaiji, Zongmi) cite *DZDL* or Nāgārjuna or “a scripture,” but not, to my knowledge, “an *āgama*.” (3) Translation, Lamotte 2001, 70, the verse that begins “The listener of pure and clear attention.” (4) See also *T* no. 2123.j2.10a23–25 under “Accounts 3: Hearing the Dharma” (*tingfa*).

³² (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.462a02–05. (2) Cited work is also known as the *Mahīśāsikavinaya*. The text more closely resembles a passage from *Vinaya Mother Scripture* (*pinimu jing* 毘尼母經 or *pinimulun* 毘尼母論 or *pinimu* 毘尼母 = **Haimavata-vinayamātrkā*), an anonymously translated scripture that seems to have first appeared in the early fifth century. Compare *T* no. 1463.j6.a832a29–b07. (4) Similarly abbreviated quotes are found in two vinaya commentaries by Daoxuan and another by Daoshi: compare Daoxuan’s *XSC*, *T* no. 1804.j3.128b10–13, “Chapter 24: Leading the Lay, Transforming the Land” (*daosu huafang* 道俗化方); Daoxuan’s *Sifen biqiuni chao* *X* no. 724.j3.775b02–05, in “Chapter 30: Miscellaneous Essentials” (*zayao* 雜要); Daoshi’s *Pini taoyao* *X* no. 743.j3.398a01–03, in “Chapter 35: Precepts Difficult to Perform” (*nanxing xunjie* 難行訓戒)—note that in each of these works a citation for the *Five-Part Regulations* precedes the quote of interest. This additional line following the citation also appears to be copied over from the *Vinaya Mother Scripture*, *T* no. 1463.j6.a832a14–17, just above the quote of interest. (In *XSC* the two “quotes” are divided by a small-character “and so on...” *yunyun* 云云). See also *T* no. 2123.j2.9a15–18, under “Accounts 2: Preaching the Dharma” (*shuofa*) following Item 24.

³³ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.462a06–09. (2) Highly abbreviated. Compare *T* no. 374.j17.467c13–24 and *T* no. 375.j16.710b14–26, from the third division of “Chapter 8 [or 20]: Pure Actions” (*fanxing* 梵行). (3) See translation at Yamamoto 2007, 238. (4) Similarly abbreviated quotes found in same three vinaya commentaries mentioned in previous note, similar loci: *T* no. 1804.j3.138c14–18; *X* no. 724.j3.775b10–13; *X* no. 743.j3.398a09–11. Full passage is quoted in *Grove*’s “Chapter 22: Preservation,” Item 11. See also *T* no. 2123.j2.9a19–22, following previous item.

³⁴ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.462a10–12. (2) Also known as the *Sarvāstivādavīnaya*. Translated by Punyatāra and Kumārajīva by 409. Compare *T* no. 1435.j50.365b11–13, from the second half of the “Fives” division of the Eighth Recitation (of the titular ten), in its numerically ascending “Increasing-by-One Dharmas” (*zengyi fa* 增一法) divisions. (4) See also *T* no. 1804.j3.146b21–23, same chapter as above. See also *T* no. 2123.j2.9a23–25, following previous item.

³⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.462a12–16. (2) The comment, building off the previous quotation, underscores the importance of the sincere intentions of the one who asks for preaching. (4) Lines from a14–16 are quoted in Daocheng’s *Essential Overview*, *T* no. 2127.j3.294c23–27, chapter on “Preaching and Hearing” (*shuoting*), and cited as being from *Ten-Recitations Regulations* though the exact text has not been located there. On how Daocheng seems to rely on *FYZL* for compiling scriptural quotations on healing in *Essential Overview*, cf. Salguero 2015, 44–5. See *T* no. 2123.j2.9a25–29, following previous item.

31. *Scripture on Upāsaka Precepts (Youposai jie jing 優婆塞戒經, T no. 1488).*³⁷

32. *Dharma-Phrases Parable Scripture (Faju [pi]yujing 法句[譬]喻經, T no. 211).*³⁸

33. *Great Dharma Torch Dhāraṇī Scripture (Da faju tuoluoni jing 大法炬陀羅尼經, T no. 1340).*³⁹

Section Six: Gradual and Sudden (jiandun 漸頓)⁴⁰

³⁶ (1) *T no. 2122.j24.462a17–a26.* (2) The first work was collected by Saṃghadeva in the fifth century and translated by Guṇavṛddhi in 492. Compare *T no. 209.j3.551c03–13*, largely according to the second half of “Story 58: Parable on Two Sons Dividing the Fortune” (*erzi fencai yu* 二子分財喻). With the second citation Daoshi seems to be indicating that there exists a parallel story in the *abhidharma* literature. A more likely possibility is that a copyist (perhaps even Daoshi) mistook an element of the quotation (which analogizes four different kinds of “discrimination” (*fenbie* 分別) treatises to a “stupid old [wise]man’s” (*laoren* 老人, *yuren* 愚人) advice to “divide” (*fenbie*) a father’s inheritance among two sons equally by literally cutting all his clothing, pottery, and coins in half) as an element of the citation. For a treatment of the four kinds of treatises in Chinese *abhidharma* literature, as Daoshi seems to allude to, see *T no. 1546.j9.62a12–28* passim. (3) The parable has been translated in Chavannes 1911, 2.199, no. 294, “Les deux fils qui se partagèrent un héritage,” but does not include a translation of the parable’s explanation, which is what Daoshi copied. See Harbsmeier 2011 for a recent study of the narrative innovations of *Scripture of a Hundred Parables*.

³⁷ (1) *T no. 2122.j24.462a27–b25.* (2) *Upāsakaśīlasūtra*, tr. Dharmakṣema in the early fifth century. Compare *T no. 1488.j2.1043b18–c17*, from “Chapter 10: Self-Benefit and Benefitting Others” (*zili lita* 自利利他). (3) See recent English translation Rulu 2012a, 155; cf. Shih 1994, 51–53. (4) Part of this quotation can be found at *T no. 2123.j2.9b01–11*, following Item 29, and is followed by passages beginning with Item 37 below to fill the rest of “Accounts 2: Preaching the Dharma”; another part can be found at *T no. 2123.j2.10a26–b05*, following Item 25, to continue the section on “Hearing the Dharma,” and is followed by passages beginning with Item 63 below.

³⁸ (1) *T no. 2122.j24.462b26–462c01.* (2) The “Pseudo-Dharmapada,” *Fajujing T no. 210* was translated by Vighna, Zhu Jiangyan, and Zhi Qian in the Kingdom of Wu in the early third century; Faju and Fali updated it a century later at the beginning of the fourth century, composing its prose portions, and this *Dharma-Phrase Parable Scripture (Faju piyu jing 法句譬喻經 T no. 211)* is what Daoshi has cited. Compare *T no. 211.589b08–12*, from “Chapter 16: An Account of Thousands” (*shuqian* 述千). (3) Translated by Willemen 1999, 95–102 and by Beal 1878, 86–7. (4) Compare also to *JLYX, T no. 2121.j17.91a07–b22*, “Account 9: Cūḷapanthaka recites one gāthā, is able to understand its meaning, and receives the bowl with superpowers” (*Zhulipante song yijie nengjie qi yi you yi shenli shoubo* 朱利槃特誦一偈能解其義又以神力授鉢), which extracts more of the story from what is today the second fascicle of *T no. 211*, though cites the “*Dharma-Phrase Scripture, Fascicle 1*,” where the cited verse is from. A more closely matching citation and quotation of this fuller passage can be found in *Grove of Pearls, T no. 2122.j53.686a16–b12*, Section 2 on “Panthaka” (*Bantuo* 般陀) of “Chapter 59: Stupidity” (*yugang* 愚戇). A third citation labelled “Enjoining Recitation” (*jiesong* 誡誦) in *Grove of Pearls* at *T no. 2122.j48.652b17–c02*, under “Section 3: Miscellaneous Enjoinments” (*zajie* 雜誡), “Chapter 48: Enjoining Morality” (*jiexu* 誡勸), appears to quote an expanded version of the verse, citing the “Greater Dharma-Phrase Scripture” (*da faju jing*). It is cited alongside with ten other labeled excerpts from this no longer extant, otherwise unremarked upon, scripture. The “Greater Dharma-Phrase Scripture” does not seem to refer to *T no. 211*, the lengthier of the two extant scriptures. Matching this third loci is also *T no. 2123.j7.67a14–28*, which in *Collected Essentials* is immediately followed by a verse matching *T no. 2123.67a27–b17* to *T no. 2122.652c04–c17* [“Enjoining Practice” *jiexing* 誡行]).

³⁹ (1) *T no. 2122.j24.462c02–c14.* (2) Translated by Jñānagupta in the late sixth century. Compare *T no. 278.j13.718b13–c14*, with tighter copying from b13–b23, from its “Chapter 30: Offerings to Dharma Masters” (*gongyang fashi* 供養法師).

⁴⁰ *Jiandun*, a key dichotomy in Chinese Buddhist scholasticism, titles two excerpted parables teaching Mahāyāna skillful means. Unlike contemporaneous *panjiao* schemes, “sudden and gradual” here does not bifurcate particular teachings of the Buddha or Buddhist scriptures; rather, it highlights two passages that could be used to teach notions of skillful means, whether of the *Lotus* (the first excerpt underscores the necessity of the Buddha’s referring to the

34. *Scripture of a Hundred Parables* (*Baiyu jing*, *T* no. 209).⁴¹

35. *Flower Adornment Scripture* ([*Da fangguang Fo*] *huayan jing* [大方廣佛]華嚴經, *T* no. 278).⁴²

Section Seven: Gifting the Dharma (*fashi* 法施)⁴³

36. *Vibhāṣa Treatise on the Ten Abodes* (*Shizhu piposha lun*, *T* no. 1521).⁴⁴

37. *Scripture on True Dharma Mindfulness* (*Zhengfa nian[chu] jing* 正法念[處]經, *T* no. 721).⁴⁵

38. *Kāśyapa Scripture* ([*Da baoji jing mohe*] *jiaye [hui] {jing}* 迦葉經/[大寶積經摩訶迦葉會], *T* no. 310.23).⁴⁶

one vehicle as three vehicles, just as villagers are content to carry water to the king over five yojana when the king decrees the new distance to the village to be three yojana) or *Flower Adornment* variety (the second excerpt, from the *Flower Adornment*, declares that the Thus-Come Nature is grasped by the higher beings before it is grasped by everyone, just as the rising sun shines on the mountain tops before shining on the entire earth). The two paragraphs represented under this section correspond to the two excerpts.

⁴¹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.462c16–29. (2) Attributed to Saṃghasena, fifth c. compilation, tr. by Guṇavarḍdhi in 492. Compare *T* no. 209.j2.548a18–b03, “Story 34: Parable of Sending Beautiful Water” (*songmeishuiyu* 送美水喻). (3) French translation, Chavannes 1911, 2.180, no. 270, “Le transport de la bonne eau.” (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.j2.11c12–25, under “Accounts 4: Gradual and Sudden.” Cited and quoted as well by Fazang and Chengguan in mid-Tang commentaries on the *Adornment*, cited in *Grove of Pearls* just below, see Fazang’s commentary *Huayanjing shenxuan ji* 華嚴經深玄記, *T* no. 1733.j1.114a29–b14 and Chengguan’s auto-subcommentary *Huayanjing suishu yanyi chao* 華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, *T* no. 1736.j8.60b18–28.

⁴² (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.463a01–15. (2) *Buddhāvataṃsakamahāvaiṇyāsūtra*, translated by Buddhabhadra around 420. Compare *T* no. 278.j34.616b14–28, from “Chapter 32: The Arising of the Thus-Come Nature of the Jewel King” (*baowang rulai xingqi* 寶王如來興起). (3) For analogue, see Cleary’s 1993, 984 translation based on Śikṣānanda’s 699 translation of the thirty-seventh chapter at *T* no. 279.j50.266b03–18. (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.j2.11c26–12a11, following previous item and followed by Item 61 below to finish the Accounts.

⁴³ This section features ten paragraphs that approximate the nine scriptural excerpts. The first three paragraphs encompass the first three items (36–38) respectively; the next two represent Item 39; and the last five begin with citations of the next five scriptures (Items 40, 42, 44, 46, and 47). Items 38 and 39 contain verses; Items 40, 42, and 43 are trailed with what appears to be unmarked commentary.

⁴⁴ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.463a17–23. (2) Compare *T* no. 1495.j7.53c13–19, from “Chapter 13: Discriminating Dharma Gifts” (*fenbie fashi* 分別法施), as in previous quotation from this source. (3) [Inagaki]

⁴⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.463a24–b09. (2) *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra*. Compare *T* no. 721.j24.137a28–b01, b14–15, j31.178a25–b13, in the sections on “Four God-Kings” and “Thirty-Three Gods” section of “Chapter 6: Viewing the Heavens” (*guantian* 觀天). (3) Conspecti of these sections by Lin Li-Kouang 1949: 29–53. (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.j2.9b12–26, following the passage resembling a portion of Item 31.

⁴⁶ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.463b10–b20. (2) *Mahākāśyapa Scripture*, tr. *Upasūnya, mid-sixth century. In the early eighth century Bodhiruci II would incorporate this scripture into his *Great Heap of Jewels Scriptures* (*Dabaojijing* 大寶積經, *Ratnakūṭasūtra*) as the 23rd of 49 assemblies and as the 88–89th of 120 fascicles. Compare *T* no. 310.j88.505a07–12, a17–20, in “Assembly 23: Mahākāśyapa” (Mohejiaye 摩訶迦葉). (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.j2.9b27–c08, following previous item.

39. *Vibhāṣa Treatise on the Ten Abodes* (*Shizhu piposha lun*, *T* no. 1521).⁴⁷
40. *Scripture of Golden Light* ([*Hebu*] *jinguangming jing* [合部]金光明經, *T* no. 664).⁴⁸
41. [Comment].⁴⁹
42. *Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom* ([*Da*] *zhidulun* [大]智度論, *T* no. 1509).⁵⁰
43. [Comment].⁵¹
44. *Truth Accomplishment Treatise* (*Chengshi lun* 成實論, *T* no. 1646).⁵²
45. [Comment].⁵³
46. *Scripture on the Heroic Kings of All Dharmas* (*Zhufa yongwang jing* 諸法勇王經, *T* no. 822).⁵⁴
47. *Vibhāṣa Treatise on the Ten Abodes* (*Shizhu piposha lun*, *T* no. 1521).⁵⁵

Section Eight: Repaying Kindnesses (*baoen* 報恩)⁵⁶

⁴⁷ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.463b21–c08. (2) Compare *T* no. 1521.j7.54b09–c07, much abbreviated, from “Chapter 14: Aspects of Taking Refuge” (*guimingxiang* 歸命相), same fascicle as previous quotations. (3) Translation of verses, see Inagaki 1998, 53–4. (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.j2.9c09–25, following previous item.

⁴⁸ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.463c09–14. (2) Presently known as the *Combined Edition Scripture of Golden Light*, *Suvarṇaprabhāśōttamasūtra*. Daoshi seems to quote from the synoptic version completed in 597 from a base version translated by Dharmakṣema in the early fifth century (*T* no. 663) and amended and emended by Paramārtha and Jñānagupta. Compare *T* no. 664.j2.370a23–28, from “Chapter 5: Extinguishing Karmic Obstacles” (*yezhang mie* 業障滅). Daoxuan seems to have referred to this edition of the *Golden Light* as “Newly Combined” (*xinhe* 新和; *T* no. 2149.j5.278a25). (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.j2.9c26–10a02, following previous item.

⁴⁹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.463c14–16. (2) This and the following comments in this section praise the superiority of giving dharma over giving wealth, and distinguish between gradations of giving the Dharma. They also emphasize punishments for hoarding and not sharing dharma when the moment is opportune. (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.j2.10a02–04, following previous item.

⁵⁰ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.463c17–18. (2) Compare *T* no. 1509.j67.542c21–22, last line of the fascicle in “Chapter 45: Practicing Delight in Faith” (*huanxinxing* 環信行). (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.j2.10a05–06, following previous item.

⁵¹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.463c18–19. (2) See previous notes. (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.j2.10a06–07, following previous item.

⁵² (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.463c20–21. (2) *Satyasiddhiśāstra* or *Tattvasiddhiśāstra*, composed by Harivarman, and translated by Kumārajīva in the early fifth century. Compare *T* no. 1646.j2.249b07–08, from “Chapter 15: Praising the Treatise” (*zanlun* 贊論). (3) Cf. Sastri 1978, 2.36.

⁵³ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.463c21–29. (2) See notes above.

⁵⁴ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.464a01–04. (2) This one fascicle scripture, classified as “Great Vehicle” by catalogers, was attributed to Dharmamitra, mid-5th c. Compare *T* no. 822.j1.850b04–06; b10–11. (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.j2.10a08–11, following Item 43.

⁵⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.464a05–13. (2) Compare *T* no. 1521.j9.65c28–66a06, “Chapter 19: Four Methods” (*sifa* 四法), near the top of the fascicle. (3) For translation of the verses commented on, see Inagaki 1988, 63. (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.j2.10a12–20, following previous item and finishing “Accounts 2: Preaching the Dharma.”

48. *Scripture on Mastering Respect (Shan gongjing jing 善恭敬經, T no. 1495).*⁵⁷
49. *Scripture of Brahmā's Net (Fanwang jing 梵網經, T no. 1484).*⁵⁸
50. *Scripture on Upāsaka Precepts (Youposai jiejing, T no. 1488).*⁵⁹
51. *Great Universally Extensive Dhāraṇī Scriptures (Da fangdeng tuoluoni jing 大方等陀羅尼經, T no. 1339).*⁶⁰
52. *Scripture on True Dharma Mindfulness (Zhengfa nian[chu] jing, T no. 721).*⁶¹
53. *Scripture on Victorious Thought (Shengsiwei [fantian suowen] jing 勝思維梵天所問經, T no. 587).*⁶²
54. *Flower Hand Scripture ([Foshuo] huashou jing 佛說華手經, T no. 657).*⁶³
55. *Vibhāṣa Treatise on the Ten Abodes (Shizhu piposha lun, T no. 1521).*⁶⁴

⁵⁶ This section features ten paragraphs approximating the ten mostly short excerpts it cites. Item 54 also includes verses.

⁵⁷ (1) *T no. 2122.j24.464a15–23.* (2) This one-fascicle scripture was translated by Jñānagupta, end of the 6th c. Compare *T no. 1495.j1.1101b01–20*, abbreviated. (4) Compare *T no. 2123.j2.14b08–16*, inaugurating the eponymous Accounts 7, titled “Repaying Kindnesses.”

⁵⁸ (1) *T no. 2122.j24.464a24–b01.* (2) **Brahmajālasūtra* was supposedly translated by Kumārajīva in 406, the tenth chapter extracted from a larger work of sixty-one (see preface by “Sengzhao” *T no. 997a17–b05*), but is likely apocryphal. Compare excerpt to *T no. 1484.j2.1005b22–28*, the sixth of the “forty-eight minor precepts.” (3) See Rulu 2012a, 101; or Muller and Tanaka 2017, 50. (4) Compare *T no. 2123.j2.14b17–23*, following previous item.

⁵⁹ (1) *T no. 2122.j24.464b02–b03.* (2) Compare *T no. 1488.j3.1049c17–19*, from “Chapter 14: Taking Precepts” (*shoujie 受戒*), the eighth of twenty-eight minor upāsaka precepts. (3) Rulu 2012a, 174; or Shih 1994, 82. (4) Compare *T no. 2123.j2.14b24–25*, following previous item.

⁶⁰ (1) *T no. 2122.j24.464b04–b09.* (2) **Pratyutpannabuddhasammukhāvasthitasamādhisūtra* was translated by Fazhong in the early fifth century. Compare *T no. 1339.j2.650c27–651a03*, from “Division 2: Prophecy” (*shouji 受記*). (4) Compare *T no. 2123.j2.14b26–c02*, following previous item.

⁶¹ (1) *T no. 2122.j24.464b10–15.* (2) Compare *T no. 721.j61.359b09–14*, from “Section 40: Yama Heaven” (*yanmotian 焰摩天*) of “Chapter 6: Viewing Heavens” (*guantian 觀天*). (3) See Lin Li-Kouang 1949, 54–62 for conspectus of this section. (4) Compare *T no. 2123.j2.14c02–08*, following previous item.

⁶² (1) *T no. 2122.j24.464b16–17.* (2) *Scripture on the Inquiries of the Brahma God Victorious Thought*, **Brahmaviśeṣacintipariprecha*, translated by Bodhiruci in 518. Compare *T no. 587.j4.80a07–09*. (4) Compare *T no. 2123.j2.14c08–09*, following previous item.

⁶³ (1) *T no. 2122.j24.464b18–24.* (2) *Buddha's Scripture on the Lotus-Hand*, **Kuśalamūlasaṃgraha*, trans. by Kumārajīva, early fifth c. Compare *T no. 657.207a18–21* for verse, from “Chapter 34: Gates of Dharma” (*famen 法門*). The prose introduction to verse in *FYZL* is formatted as verse here. (4) Compare *T no. 2123.j2.14c10–16*, following previous item.

⁶⁴ (1) *T no. 2122.j24.464b25–28.* (2) Compare *T no. 1521.j15.101c01–04*, from “Chapter 30: Discriminating for Listeners and Pratekyabuddhas” (*fenbie shengwen pizhi fo 分別聲聞辟支佛*). (3) For translation of verses, see Inagaki 1998, 98–9. (4) Compare *T no. 2123.j2.14c17–20*, following previous item.

56. *Jewel Cloud Scripture* (*Baoyun jing* 寶雲經, *T* no. 658).⁶⁵

57. *Scripture on Mastering Respect* (*Shan gongjing jing*, *T* no. 1495).⁶⁶

Section Nine: Benefits (*liyi* 利益)⁶⁷

58. *Scripture on True Dharma Mindfulness* (*Zhengfa nian[chu] jing*, *T* no. 721).⁶⁸

59. *Great Bodhisattva Treasury Scripture* (*[Da baoji jing] da pusa zang {jing}[hui]* 大菩薩藏經/[大寶積經大菩薩藏會], *T* no. 310.12).⁶⁹

60. *Samghāta Scripture* (*Sengqiezhā jing* 僧伽吒經, *T* no. 423).⁷⁰

61. *Nirvana Scripture* (*[Daban] niepan jing*, *T* no. 375).⁷¹

62. *Dharma-Phrases Parable Scriptures* (*Faju [pi]yu jing*, *T* no. 211).⁷²

63. *Scripture on King Aśoka* (*Ayuwang {zhuan}[jing]* 阿育王經/[阿育王傳], *T* no. 2042).⁷³

⁶⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.464b29–c02. (2) *Ratnameghasūtra*, translated by Mandrasena in the early sixth century. Compare *T* no. 658.j5.234b08–17, abbreviated. (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.j2.14c21–23, following previous item.

⁶⁶ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.464c03–465a12. (2) Compare *T* no. 1495.j1.1101a27–1102b01, abbreviated. This extract, reducing the original by around two-thirds, comes from directly before Daoshi's earlier extract at the beginning of "Repaying Kindnesses." (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.j2.14c24–15b04, following previous item.

⁶⁷ This section features eight paragraphs that approximate the eight excerpts quoted. Items 58 and 59 share the first paragraph; Item 62 encompasses the fourth and fifth paragraph as well as the verse that divides them; Items 60, 61, 63, 64, and 65 enjoy their own separate paragraphs.

⁶⁸ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.465a14–21. (2) Compare *T* no. 721.j61.359a27–b09, from "Section 40: Yama Heaven" of "Chapter 6: Viewing Heavens," slightly earlier to previous excerpt above.

⁶⁹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.465a22–b01. (2) Xuanzang translated the *Great Bodhisattva Treasury Scripture* in twenty fascicles, and Bodhiruci II would incorporate it into his translation of the *Great Heap of Jewels Scriptures* or *Ratnakūṭasūtra* as the twelfth assembly (fascicles 35–54). Compare *T* no. 310.j41.238a12–20, from "Chapter 5: Limitless" (*wuliang* 無量). (3) For a summary of the term and title "Bodhisattva Treasury" (*pusazang* 菩薩藏; *bodhisattvapiṭaka*) see Pederson 1976, 23–35. See citation above for further bibliographic information on this scripture.

⁷⁰ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.465b02–13. (2) *Samghātasūtra* or "Scripture of the Assembly," translated by *Upasūnya in 538. Compare *T* no. 423.j1.960b11–22. (3) An English translation of an analogous passage from the Tibetan containing the two analogies of sesame-seed storage and the wearing down of a mountain by muslin may be found at Finnegan 2006, 4.

⁷¹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.465b13–20. (2) Compare *T* no. 374.j25.510b19–22; 512b04–08 and *T* no. 375.j23.754b16–18; 756b05–b10, from the fifth fascicle of "Chapter 10 [or 22]: Bodhisattva Highly Virtuous King Illumination Universally Shining." (3) For English translation, see Yamamoto 2007, 337 (on "four proximate causes of nirvana") and 341 (on "three types of person"). (4) Compare *T* no. 2123.j2.12a12–a19, the final excerpt in "Section 4: Hearing the Dharma."

⁷² (1) *T* no. 2122.j24.465b21–466a07. (2) *Dharmapada* translated by Dharmatrāta, Faju and Fali in the late third or early fourth century. Compare *T* no. 211.j2.586b25–587a19, second half of "Chapter 13: Dimness" (*yu'an* 愚暗). (3) Willemsen 1999, 77–82; summary of parable at Beal 1878, 77–9, "XIII. The Fool." (4) See also *T* no. 2121.j34, "Account 6: King Prasenjit's Daughter Diamond is Burned in Fire" (*posini wangnü jingang wei huo suofen* 波斯匿王女金剛為火所焚), which cites "Dimness" in fascicle 2 of the *Dharmapada*.

64. *Combined Jewel-Treasury Scriptures (Za baozang jing 雜寶藏經, T no. 203).*⁷⁴

65. *The Old Combined Parable Scriptures (Jiu za piyu jing 舊雜譬喻經, T no. 206).*⁷⁵

66. Verse.⁷⁶

Accounts of Stimulus-Response (9 proof-tales indexed here)⁷⁷

67. “SONG, Śramaṇa Zhu Daosheng.”⁷⁸ From *Traditions of Eminent Monks (Gaoseng zhuan 高僧傳,*

T no. 2059).

68. “SONG, Layman Fei Chongxian.”⁷⁹ From *Signs from the Unseen Realm (Mingxiang ji 冥祥記).*

69. “WEI, Śramaṇa Ratna[matī] of Tianzhu [India].”⁸⁰

⁷³ (1) *T no. 2122.j24.466a08–25.* (2) **Aśokarājāvadāna*, translated by the Parthian An Faqin in 306, presently in seven fascicles. The text presently known as the *Scripture on King Aśoka (Ayuwangjing)*, *T no. 2043*, in ten fascicles, was translated in Jiankang by *Saṃghavarman in 512. The referents for *King Aśoka Scripture*—“*Greater*” or “*Lesser*,” from a single fascicle to ten fascicles, appear to keep shifting in the early medieval period according to surviving catalogs, which note discrepancies in title and length among versions of this scripture. Compare *T no. 2042.j7.128c10–27*, from the Karmic Tale of Present Recompense of King Aśoka (*Ayu wang xianbao yinyuan 阿育王現報因緣*). (3) Cf. Przyluski 1923. (4) Compare *T no. 2123.j2.10b06–b23*, following partial excerpt from Item 31 in “Section 3: Hearing the Dharma.”

⁷⁴ (1) *T no. 2122.j24.466a26–b17.* (2) *Samyuktapiṭakasūtra*, translated by Tan Yao and Kiṅkara in 472. Compare *T no. 203.j8.488b29–c24*, “Story 100: Five Hundred White Hawks Hear the Dharma and are Reborn in Heaven” (*wubai baiying tingfa shengtian 五百白鷹升天*). (3) French summary at Chavannes 1911, 3.101, no. 410, “Les cinq cents oies sauvages”; or Willemsen 1994, 203–204 for English translation. (4) *T no. 2123.j2.10b24–c15*, following previous excerpt.

⁷⁵ (1) *T no. 2122.j24.466b18–22.* (2) Translation attributed to Kang Senghui in the 3rd c. *T no. 206.j1.512b16–20*, from Story 8. (3) French translation at Chavannes 1910, 1.363–4, no. 97, “Le chien qui devient arhat.” (4) *T no. 2123.j2.c16–20*, following previous excerpt and followed by four excerpts from *A Grove of Pearls* “Chapter 7: Paying Respect to the Dharma, Section 2: Hearing the Dharma.”

⁷⁶ (1) *T no. 2122.j24.466b23–29.* (2) Compare to the opening lines of the “Ode to the Amitabha Buddha Image” (*Amituo foxiang zan 阿彌陀佛像讚*) attributed to Zhi Dun (支遁, 314–366) preserved in the *GHMJ*, *T no. 2103.j15.196c16–197a06*.

⁷⁷ (1) *T no. 2122.j24.466c01–05.* (2) All but one of these tales appear to be excerpted from the *Eminent Monks* series.

⁷⁸ (1) *T no. 2122.j24.466c06–467a28.* (2) Compare imputed source in *GSZ*, *T no. 2059.j7.1.366b23–367a28*, where Daosheng is classified as an “exegete.” (3) See Funayama 2009, 3.29–41.

⁷⁹ (1) *T no. 2122.j24.467a29–b14.* (2 and 3) Compare imputed source in *Signs from the Unseen Realm*, see translation and study Company 2012b, 239–40, Item 113. Company uses the *FYZL* text here as the base and squares others against it.

⁸⁰ (1) *T no. 2122.j24.467b15–b26.* (2) Compare imputed source in *XGSZ*, *T no. 2060.j1.4.428a22–25* and *429a18–27*. The beginning lines of this excerpt originally referred to Bodhiruci I (fl. early 6th c.); the story about Ratnamati (Baoyi in *XGSZ*, miscopied as Shiyi in *FYZL* here) and his explication of the *Flower Adornment* is appended to Bodhiruci’s long biography—one of eleven figures Daoxuan discusses in addition to Bodhiruci. Bodhiruci and Ratnamati are classified under “translators.”

70. “QI, Śramaṇa Shi Sengfan.”⁸¹

71. “SUI, Śramaṇa Shi Tanyan.”⁸²

72. “SUI, Śramaṇa Shi [Jingying] Huiyuan.”⁸³

73. “SUI, Śramaṇa Shi Fayan.”⁸⁴

74. “TANG, Śramaṇa Shi Daozong.”⁸⁵

75. “TANG, Śramaṇa Shi Daosun.”⁸⁶ The last seven proof-tales are from *Tang Traditions of Eminent*

Monks ({Tang} [xu] gaoseng zhuan 唐高僧傳/續高僧傳, T no. 2060).

⁸¹ (1) T no. 2122.j24.467b27–c08. (2) Compare imputed source in XGSZ, T no. 2060.j8.1.483b20–484a10, where Sengfan is classified as an “exegete.”

⁸² (1) T no. 2122.j24.467c09–c24. (2) Compare imputed source in XGSZ, T no. 2060.j8.13.488a03–489b16, where Tanyan is classified as an “exegete.” (3) See also Shinohara’s discussion of this tale in Daoxuan’s *Records of Miraculous Scriptures* in 1991b, 101–102.

⁸³ (1) T no. 2122.j24.467c25–468a09. (2) Compare imputed source in XGSZ, T no. 2060.j8.14.489c26–491b07, where [Jingying] Huiyuan is classified as an “exegete.”

⁸⁴ (1) T no. 2122.j24.468a10–b08. (2) Compare imputed source in XGSZ, T no. 2060.j10.9.505b01–c13, where Fayan is classified as an “exegete.”

⁸⁵ (1) T no. 2122.j24.468b09–13. (2) Compare imputed source in XGSZ, T no. 2060.j11.8.512a03–a20, where Daozong is listed as an “exegete.”

⁸⁶ (1) T no. 2122.j24.467b14–c06. (2) Compare imputed source in XGSZ, T no. 2060.j14.3.532c28–533b29, where Daosun is listed as an “exegete.”

Appendix R: Synopsis 4 for “Chapter 22: Preservation”

Chapter 22: Preservation (this chapter has ten sections)¹

Section One: Explaining the Meaning

1. Essay (quotes two parallel gāthā from [*Four-Part*] *Regulations*, [*Sifen*]lü [四分]律, *T* no. 1428).²

Section Two: Governing Regulations (zhifa 治罰)³

2. Essay.⁴

3. *Great Collection Scriptures* ([*Da fangdeng*] *dajijing* [大方等]大集經, *T* no. 397).⁵

4. *Sarvastivāda Treatise* (*Sapoduo* [pini piposha] {lun} 薩婆多[昆尼毘婆沙]論, *T* no. 1440).⁶

¹ The chapter of *A Grove of Pearls from the Garden of Dharma* catalogued here represents *T* no. 2122.j30.505c16–513c22, or Zhou and Su 2003, 2.917–44. It encompasses the entirety of fascicle 30. Fascicle 30 is 37 Koreana pages in length respectively, slightly longer than the mean length of a *Grove of Pearls* fascicle (33.4). This chapter is unique in its multiple citations from the *Nirvana*.

² (1) *T* no. 2122.j30.505c24–a22. (2) While quoted gāthā are transcribed as prose, the first promises perdurance of the Dharma for not proscribing what is non-proscribed and proscribing what is to be proscribed; the second promises speedy extinction of dharma for proscribing what is non-proscribed and breaking what is proscribed (*T* no. 2122.j30.505c28–9, 506a02–03.). These lines, in reverse order, summarize *T* no. 1428.j57.990c02–06, from “Section 6: Increased by One Vinaya” (*pini zengyi* 昆尼增一) of the titular fourth part; but these extracts more closely resemble lines from Daoxuan’s introductory remarks to “Chapter 7: Great Principles of the Sangha Net” (*sengwang dagang* 僧網大綱) of *XSC*, *T* no. 1804.j1.18a28–29 and 24–25 respectively. (4) Vinaya digests by Daoshi and Daoxuan (*X* nos. 724, 743) also borrow these lines as abbreviated here.

³ This section appears as one long, uninterrupted block of text that resolves into a verse concluding the *Nirvana* excerpts (Item 6), and two additional verses for Items 7 and 8.

⁴ (1) *T* no. 2122.j30.506a24–29. (2) The parallel-prose introduction to this section suggests that while the “Buddha-dharma is entrusted to the kings of states and adds to their protection, the Dharma of kings usurps [the Buddha-dharma] and daily weakens [it]” 佛法付囑國王，令加護持；但王法侵移，日就衰羸。The quotes contained in this section encourage kings to support and not contravene the Dharma; monasteries must govern themselves and punish their own monastics. (3) This discussion may be situated in the history of state-sangha relations.

⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.j30.506a29–b08. (2) *The Great Universally Expansive Scriptures of the Great Collection*, *Mahāvaiṣṭyamaḥāsamnipātasūtra*. Daoshi extracts liberally from three separate loci across two separate “divisions/scriptures” (*fen* 分) over the *Great Collection*. Compare *T* no. 397.j31.216a17–21, j24.172c21–173a03, and j24.c16–20; the first excerpt is from “Chapter 1: Defending the Dharma” (*hufa* 護法) of “Division 13: Sun Secret” (*rimi* 日密, *sūryagarbha*) of the scripture, while the next two excerpts are from “Chapter 9: Defending the Dharma” (*hufa*) of “Division 10: Eyes of Emptiness” (*xukong mu* 虛空目) of the scripture, both divisions originally translated by Dharmakṣema in the early fifth century. *Great Collection* in 58 or 60 fascicles was assembled during the Sui by Sengjiu in 586, Dharmakṣema having translated around half of the fascicles centuries before. Fascicles 22–24 of the Koreana edition comprise Dharmakṣema’s “Eyes of Emptiness.” (4) Yet Daoshi’s extracts more closely resemble two highly abbreviated passages from Daoxuan’s *XSC*, *T* no. 1804.j1.20c23–27 and 18b05–12, from “Chapter 7: Great Principles of the Monastic Net,” citing the *Great Collection Scriptures*.

5. *Śrīmālā Scripture* (*Shengman* [shizihou yisheng da fangbian fangguang] jing 勝鬘[師子吼一乘大方便方廣]經, *T* no. 353).⁷

6. *Nirvana Scripture* ([*Daban*] niepan jing [大般]涅槃經, *T* no. 375).⁸

7. *Gāthā from Moon Lantern* (*Yuedeng* [sanmei jing] 月燈[三昧經], *T* no. 639).⁹

8. *Scripture on the Ten Wheels* ([*Da fangguang*] shilun jing [大方廣]十輪經, *T* no. 410).¹⁰

Section Three: Caution (*sishen* 思慎)¹¹

9. Essay citing *Great Adornment Treatise* (*Da*[sheng] zhuangyan [jing]lun 大[乘]莊嚴[經]論, *T* no. 1604).¹²

⁶ (1) *T* no. 2122.j30.506b09. (2) *Sarvāstivādavinayavibhāṣa*, anonymously translated in the late fourth or early fifth century. Compare to *T* no. 1440.j3.518a12–13 or 16, from the second half of the “Causes and Conditions of the Precept on Stealing” (*daojie yinyuan* 盜劫因緣), where we find “king’s instructions” (*jiao* 教) instead of “king’s institutes” (*zhi* 治). Through extraction, the line reads as a general precept and not as one among several conditions in a legal text. (4) Daoshi’s extract more closely resembles a short extract from “Chapter 7: Great Principles of the Monastic Net” in Daoxuan’s *XSC*, *T* no. 1804.j1.21c01.

⁷ (1) *T* no. 2122.j30.506b09–13. (2) *One Vehicle Great Skillful Means Universally Expansive Scripture on Śrīmālā of the Lion’s Roar* or *Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanādasūtra*, translated by Guṇabhadra in 436. Compare excerpt with *T* no. 353.217.c11–15, the second half of the ninth ordination vow of “Chapter 2: The Ten Ordination Vows” (*shishou zhang* 十受章). (3) English translation by Paul 2004, 13–14.

⁸ (1) *T* no. 2122.j30.506b13–507a17, with breaks in quotation at 506c07, 506c12, 506c23, 507a1, 507a11, and 507a15, rendering seven excerpts under a single citation. (2) The full title could be translated *Great Parinirvāṇa Scripture*, or the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*. Compare *T* no. 374.j3.380b17–381a14, 381a29–b04, 383c05–17, 383b–384a, 384b01–b11, j7.405a17–21, j29.537c24–25; or *T* no. 375.j3.620a25–c25, 621a10–14, 623b24–c08, 623b–624a, 624a22–b03, j7.645c26–646b02, j27.783a04–05. The first two excerpts are from “Chapter 1.3 [or 4]: Long Life” (*changshou* 長壽); the third, fourth, and fifth excerpts are from “Chapter 2 [or 5]: Adamantine Body” (*jingangshen* 金剛身) and the fourth excerpt is highly summarized; the sixth extracts is from “Chapter 4: Thus-Come Nature” (*rulaixing* 如來性) or “Chapter 9: Wrong and Right” (*xiezheng* 邪正); the seventh and final verse-passage copies from the third fascicle of “Chapter 11 [or 23]: Bodhisattva Lion’s Roar” (*shizihouputsa* 獅子吼菩薩). (3) For translations, Yamamoto 36–37; 38; 44; 43–5; 45–6; 93; 404.

⁹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j30.507a18–20. (2) *Moon Lantern Samādhi Scripture* AKA *King of Samādhi Scripture*, *Samādhirājasūtra*, translated by Narendrayaśas in 557. Compare *T* no. 639.j2.558a28–29.

¹⁰ (1) *T* no. 2122.j30.507a21–b06. (2) *Great Universally Expansive Scripture on the Ten Wheels*, *Daśacakraṣṭigarbhasūtra*, translator unknown, Han period. Compare *T* no. 410.j4.701c14–21, 702a01–05, from the end of “Chapter 6: Aspects of Present Knowledge of Kṣatriya and Caṇḍāla” (*shali zhanuoluo xianzhixiang pin* 殺利旃陀羅/現智相品).

¹¹ This section, like the last, appears as one uninterrupted block of text in Taishō. It similarly features multiple, consecutive passages pulled from across the *Nirvana*. “Caution” is also the category-heading for Chapter 44 of *A Grove of Pearls*.

¹² (1) *T* no. 2122.j30.507b08–15, with cited quotation at b10–12. This opening parallel-prose essay begins with the “dharma-as-medicine” metaphor, but suggests that monastics must heal themselves before they can cure others. The passages therein encourage monastics to consider whether they are corrupt and fame-seeking. (2) *Adorning the Great Vehicle*, *Mahāyānasūtralaṃkāraśāstra*, attr. Maitreya, Asaṅga for the verses and Vasubandhu for the commentary, translated by Prabhākraramitra (630–633). Compare quotations to *T* no. 1604.j6.619a28–9, from

10. *Nirvana Scripture* ([*Daban*] *niepan jing*), *T* no. 375. [with unattributed quotations from *Buddha Treasury Scripture* 佛藏經, *T* no. 653].¹³

Section Four: Preaching and Hearing (*shuoting* 說聽)¹⁴

11. *Nirvana Scripture* ([*Daban*] *niepan jing*, *T* no. 375).¹⁵

12. *Nirvana Scripture* ([*Daban*] *niepan jing*, *T* no. 375).¹⁶

13. *Dharma Flower Scripture* ([*Miao*] *fa* [*lian*] *hua jing* [妙]法[蓮]華經, *T* no. 262).¹⁷

Vasubandhu's commentary on "Chapter 13: Spreading the Dharma" (*hongfa* 弘法). (3) Translation from Tibetan, Jampal 2004, 154 for Asanga's verse that Vasubandhu comments upon.

¹³ (1) Over the course of one Taishō page under a single cited scripture, I located ten separate excerpts here, all from the *Nirvana* except for the eighth and ninth excerpt, from the *Buddha Treasury Scripture* (*Fozang jing* 佛藏經), attributed to Kumārajīva. *T* no. 2122.j30.507b15–508b18, with breaks in quotation at 507b21, 507b23, 507b26, 507c02, 507c05, 507c25 (not indicated), 508a5, 508a9, 508a13. These breaks are indicated by quotation marks like "it also says" (*youyun* 又云) or "also the scripture says" (*youjingyun* 又云) or "a scripture says" (*jingyun* 經云)—a reader would likely assume that all the quotes are from the *Nirvana*. Of the *Nirvana* citations, three fascicles are cited twice and two fascicles are cited once; two loci on the first two fascicles of *Buddha Treasury Scripture* on the theme of corrupt monastics are represented, perhaps accidentally mixed in with the *Nirvana* quotes on corrupt monastics of the latter age. (2 and 3) Compare: 1. *T* no. 374.j7.402c25–26 or *T* no. 375.j7.643b25–c02, from "Chapter 4.4: Thus-Come Nature" (*rulaixing*) or "Chapter 9: Wrong and Right" (*xiezheng*). Translation by Yamamoto 2007, 89; 2. *T* no. 374.j3.384b17–19 or *T* no. 375.j3.624b09–11, from "Chapter 2 or 5: Adamantine Body" (*jingangshen*) Trans. Yamamoto 2007, 46; 3. *T* no. 374.j3.384b22–24 or *T* no. 375.j3.624b14–17, from "Chapter 2 [or 5] Adamantine Body." Trans. Yamamoto 2007, 46; 4. *T* no. 374.j36.575b02–08 or *T* no. 375.j32.822b09–b14, from Section 4 or 2 of "Chapter 12: Bodhisattva Kāśyapa" (*jiaye pusa* 迦葉菩薩). Trans. Yamamoto 2007, 503; 5. *T* no. 374.j9.41814–17 or *T* no. 375.j9.659a20–22, from "Chapter 4: Thus-Come Nature (f)" or "Chapter 16: Bodhisattvas" (*pusa* 菩薩). Trans. Yamamoto 2007, 126; 6. *T* no. 374.j4.386b14–c05 or *T* no. 375.j4.626b10–626c03, from "Chapter 4: Thus Come Nature (a)" or "Chapter 7: Four Aspects (a)." Trans. Yamamoto 2007, 53; 7. *T* no. 374.j7.403c01–09 or *T* no. 375.j7.644.b02–b11, from "Chapter 4: Thus-Come Nature (d)" or "Chapter 9: Wrong and Right." Trans. Yamamoto 2007, 90; 8. *T* no. 653.j1.788b15–19, from "Chapter 4: Being Mindful of the Sangha" (*nianseng* 念僧); 9. *T* no. 653.j2.792c22–793a07, from "Chapter 5: Pure Precepts" (*jingjie* 淨戒), highly abbreviated; 10. *T* no. 374.j9.421c08–422a14 or *T* no. 375.j9.662c27–663b05, from "Chapter 4: Thus-Come Nature (f)" or "Chapter 16: Bodhisattvas." Trans. Yamamoto 2007, 133–4. For a reading of this final passage and its implications, see Eubanks 2011, 33–4.

¹⁴ This section appears as six paragraphs, each introduced by citing Items 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, and 18 respectively. The first, second, and final paragraphs are not surprisingly the longest of the six. "Preaching and Attending" is the category-heading for Chapter 16 in *A Grove of Pearls*: they share quotations of Item 11 in common.

¹⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.j30.508b19–c02. (2) Compare *T* no. 374.j17.467c13–24 or *T* no. 375.j16.710b14–26, from "Chapter 8 [or 20]: Pure Actions (c)." (3) Trans. Yamamoto 2007, 238. (4) See Appendix Q, Item 27 from *Grove's* "Chapter 16: Preaching and Attending" for an abbreviated version of this quotation, under "Section 4: Discriminating Audiences" (*jianzhong*).

¹⁶ (1) *T* no. 2122.j30.508c02–16. (2) Compare *T* no. 374.j26.521c13–27 or *T* no. 375.j24.766a16–b01, from "Chapter 10 [or 22]: Bodhisattva Highly Virtuous King (f)." (3) Trans. Yamamoto 2007, 362, near the end of the chapter. (4) For another, more highly condensed, copying of an overlapping passage in *Grove of Pearls*, see a passage from "Section 2: Citing Examples" (*yinzheng*) from "Chapter 14: Modesty" (*cankui*), *T* no. 2122.j23.456b24–29, which cites from a range that begins and ends a few lines earlier than this one (*T* no. 374.j26.521c09–24 or *T* no. 375.j24.766a11–a27).

14. *Buddha Treasury Scripture (Fozang jing, T no. 653)*.¹⁸

15. *Great Collection's Moon Treasury Scripture ([Da fangdeng] daji [jing] yuechang jing 大集月藏經, T no. 397)*.¹⁹

16. *Mahāyāna Great Jewel Adornment Scripture ({Moheyan dabaoyan jing 摩訶衍大寶嚴經} [Da baoji jing, Puming pusa hui 大寶積經普明菩薩會, T no. 310.43])*.²⁰

17. *Universally Expansive Scripture on the Ten Wheels ([Da] fangguang shilun jing), T no. 410)*.²¹

18. *Buddha Treasury Scripture (Fozang jing, T no. 653)*.²²

¹⁷ (1) T no. 2122.j30.508c17–27, abbreviated in places. (2) *Scripture on the Lotus Flower of the Fine Dharma, Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*, translated by Kumārajīva in 406. Compare T no. 262.j5.37a21–b10, from “Chapter 14: Comfortable Conduct” (*anlexing 安樂行*). (3) English translation Hurvitz 2009, 191–2.

¹⁸ (1) T no. 2122.j30.508c27–509b12, with seven identifiable excerpts, and quotation breaks at 509a03, a11, a15, a18, a26, and 509b11. The quotation breaks are indicated by “it also says” (*youyun 又云*), except before the third and fourth excerpts, where it merely says, “also” (*you 又*). (2) For the first five excerpts, compare T no. 643.j2.793b13–18, 793b20–c03, 793c20–23, 794a01–04, 794c05–13, all from “Chapter 6: Pure Dharmas” (*jingfa*). For the last two excerpts, compare T no. 643.j3.800a02–04, c16–22, 801c14–19 for the sixth excerpt and 801c20–1 for the final excerpt. The final two excerpts are taken from “Chapter 8: Pure Views” (*jingjian 淨見*). (4) Compare T no. 2122.j23.461a22–b19 (Appendix Q, Item 20), which partially overlaps copy from the same part of the scripture.

¹⁹ (1) T no. 2122.j30.509b13–19. (2) *The Moon Treasury Scripture of the Great Universally Expansive Scriptures of the Great Collection. Mahāvaiṣṭhāmahāsaṃnipātasūtra-candragarbhasūtra*. Compare with T no. 397.j46.301a14–20, from “Chapter 1: Divine Spell of the Moon Pillar” (*yuezhuan shenzhou 月幢神咒*) of “Division 15: Moon Treasury” (*yuechang 月藏, candragarba*) of the scripture, originally translated by Narendrayaśas in the middle sixth c. during the Northern Qi. *Great Collection* in sixty fascicles was assembled during the Sui by Sengjiu in 586; fascicles 46–56 of the Korean edition comprise Narendrayaśas’s “Moon Treasury.”

²⁰ (1) T no. 2122.j20.509b20–24. (2) The title cited refers to an earlier translation of the same work anonymously produced in the Jin Dynasty, transmitted as T no. 351, the *Mahāyāna Jewel Adornment Scripture*, also known as the *Kāśyapaparivarta*. As for the quoted translation, it is now known as the “Universal Light Bodhisattva Assembly” of the *Great Heap of Jewels Scriptures (Dabaojing, Ratnakūṭasūtra)*. In the early eighth century Bodhiruci II would incorporate this scripture into his *Great Jewel Collection Scriptures* as the 43rd of 49 assemblies and as the 112th of 120 fascicles. Previously, this anonymous scripture, which purportedly appeared first in the Qin catalog of the early fifth century, was also known as the *Great Heap of Jewels Scripture (Da baoji jing, singular)* or the *Scripture on the Buddha Bequeathing the Sun Maṇi Jewel (Fo yi rimoni bao jing)* in a single fascicle. For attributions, see CSZJJ, T no. 2145.j4.29b25 (anonymous), DTNDL, T no. 2149.j1.223c16–17 (attributed to Lokakṣema), and KYL, T no. 2154.j1.478c07–08 (attributes to Lokakṣema and equates to “Universal Light Bodhisattva Assembly”). For passage, compare T no. 310.j112.636c06–10. (3) The quoted work has been translated as the twentieth selection, “The Sūtra of Assembled Treasures” in Chang 1983, 387–414; and by Bhikkhu Pāsādika 1977–1979 as the *Kāśyapaparivarta*. See translation of passage by Chang 1983, 403–4.

²¹ (1) T no. 2122.j30.509b25–c11, abbreviated. (2) *Great Universally Expansive Scripture on the Ten Wheels, Daśacakrakṣitigarbha-sūtra*, translator unknown, 6th century. Compare to T no. 410.j6.707c26–708a23, from “Chapter 8: Aspects of Kṣatriyas Supporting the Wheel” (*shali yizhi lun xiang 殺利依止輪相*). (3) See Zhiru 2007, 225–8 for accounts of this anonymous scripture in scriptural catalogs.

²² (1) T no. 2122.j30.509c12–510a08, abbreviated, with seven identifiable excerpts, and quotation breaks at 509c19, c25, c27, c28, 510a05, 510a07, many indicated by “it says as well that...” (*naizhiyun 乃至云*). (2) Compare to T no.

19. *Nirvana Scripture* ([*Daban*] *niepan jing*, *T* no. 375).²³

20. *Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom* ([*Da*] *zhidu lun*, [大]智度論, *T* no. 1509).²⁴

21. Comment.²⁵

Section Five: Bodhisattvas²⁶ (*pusa* 菩薩)

22. *Kāśyapa Scripture* ([*Da baoji jing mohe*] *jiaye {jing}* [*hui*], 迦葉經/[大寶積經摩訶迦葉會] *T* no. 310.23).²⁷

23. *Great Collection Scriptures* ([*Da fangdeng*] *dajijing*), *T* no. 397).²⁸

24. *Great Collection Scriptures* ([*Da fangdeng*] *dajijing*), *T* no. 397).²⁹

25. Interlineal Comment³⁰.

Section Six: Arhats³¹ (*luohan* 羅漢)

653.j2.795a05–14, a28–b05, b07–08, b13, b15–21, b22–23, and b28–29, all from “Chapter 7: Ancient Times” (*wanggu* 往古).

²³ (1) *T* no. 2122.j20.510a08–09, abbreviated. (2) Compare with three lines at *T* no. 374.j33.560b14, 561c11, or 562a03 and *T* no. 375.j31.806c09–10, 808a–11, or 808b03–05, from “Chapter 12 [or 24]: Bodhisattva Kāśyapa (a).” (3) For a translation of the passages on Bhikṣu Sunakṣatra’s (*Shanxing* 善星) recitation of the twelvefold scriptures, see Yamamoto 2007, 469–74.

²⁴ (1) *T* no. 2122.j20.510a9–10. (2) Compare *T* no. 1509.j14.164c07–08, from “Section 24: Meaning of Kṣānti-pāramitā” (*chanti boluomi yi* 羼提波羅蜜義) of Chapter 1, beginning a long account of Devadatta. an example of someone to exercise patience against. (3) For an English translation of this line, see Lamotte 2001, 2.677.

²⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.j20.510a10–15. The passage begins with the characters “it is commented” (*shuyue* 述曰). (2) The comment emphasizes that even as Sunakṣatra (Item 19) and Devadatta (Item 20) became very learned in Buddhist techniques, they did not overcome their egotism and have gone to Avici Hell forever.

²⁶ This section appears as seven paragraphs total, with the first two representing Items 22 and 23 respectively and the final five representing Item 24. Item 25 can be found appended to the seventh paragraph.

²⁷ (1) *T* no. 2122.j30.510a17–c07, a little abbreviated. (2) *Mahākāśyapa Scripture*, tr. *Upaśūnya, mid-sixth century. In the early eighth century Bodhiruci II would incorporate this scripture into his *Great Jewel Collection Scriptures* (*Dabaojijing*, *Ratnakūṭasūtra*) as the 23rd of 49 assemblies and as the 88–89th of 120 fascicles. Compare *T* no. 310.j88.503a11–c13, from the first of two fascicles.

²⁸ (1) *T* no. 2122.j30.510c08–511a14. (2) Compare *T* no. 397.j56.381b01–c08, from the end of the final “Chapter 20: Total Extinction of Dharma” (*famiejin* 法滅盡) of “Division 15: Moon Treasury” (*yuezang* 月藏, *candra-garbha*) of the scripture, originally translated by Narendrayaśas in the middle sixth c. during the Northern Qi. *Great Collection* in sixty fascicles was assembled during the Sui by Sengjiu in 586; fascicles 46–56 of the Korean edition comprise Narendrayaśas’s “Moon Treasury.”

²⁹ (1) *T* no. 2122.j30.511a15–c03, slightly abbreviated. (2) Compare *T* no. 397.j23.167b15–168a14, from “Chapter 5: Pure Eyes” (*jingmu*) of “Section 10: Eyes of Emptiness” (*xukong mu*), attributed to Dharmakṣema in the early fifth century. Fascicles 22–4 of the Korean edition comprise Dharmakṣema’s “Eyes of Emptiness.”

³⁰ (1) *T* no. 2122.j30.511c03–05. (2) This passage, which begins with the characters “it is commented” (*shuyue*), discusses the bodhisattvas in the passage above in terms of the twelve Chinese earthly-branch animals.

26. *Scripture of the Dharma-Treasury Transmission* (*Fu fazang zhuan* 付法藏傳, *T* no. 2058).³²

27. [Comment]³³

28. *Treatise on Entering the Great Vehicle* (*Ru dasheng lun* 入大乘論, *T* no. 1634).³⁴

29. *A Newly-Translated Record of the Preservation of the Dharma, Narrated by the Great Arhat Nandimitra* (*{Xinfan} da aluohan Nantimiduoluo suoshuo fazhu ji*) 新翻大阿羅漢難提蜜多羅所說法住記, *T* no. 2030).³⁵

Section Seven: Monks and Nuns (*sengni* 僧尼)³⁶

30. *Vinaya Mother Scripture* (*Pinimu jing* 毘尼母經, *T* no. 1463).³⁷

³¹ This section appears as three paragraphs. Item 28 can be found at the end of the second paragraph, and the third paragraph is commensurate with Item 29.

³² (1) *T* no. 2122.j30.511c07–17. (2) Compare *T* no. 2058.j5.313c27–28 or j6.320c01–c2 where one can find the first eight characters of the excerpt “the Buddha transmitted the True Dharma to Great Kāśyapa.” The following lines describe the Dharma transmission from Kāśyapa to Ānanda through twenty-five patriarchs up through Simha, summarizing the *Scripture of the Dharma-Treasury Transmission*. There are also additional lines about Kāśyapa transmitting a robe to Maitreya in a future age, three Arhats presently living two-thousand li south of Khotan (Item 27), and Piṅḍola’s continuous transmission (Item 28). (3) It is likely that Daoshi cribbed this entry along with the following two from Daoxuan’s preface to his section on “Supernatural Monks” (*shenseng* 神僧) from Daoxuan’s *GTL*, *T* no. 2106.j3.430c23–431a07. For a thorough comparison of hagiographic entries in Daoxuan’s collection to parallel entries in *Grove of Pearls*, see Shinohara 1990. For sources on Kāśyapa transmitting the robe, Shinohara 2000; Shih 2002, 106–112.

³³ (1) *T* no. 2122.j30.511c17–19. (2) See note above on content and parallel location in Daoxuan’s *GTL*. (3) For possible sources on the three Arhats of Juqu Kingdom (aka “Zhuojujia” [Chakuka? Yarkiang]), see Huili’s *Life of Xuanzang* (*Da Tang Dacien si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳), *T* no. 2053.j5.251a01–05, with translation by Beal 1911, 202; or Xuanzang’s *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (*Da Tang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記) *T* no. 2087.j12.943a05–10, with translation by Beal 1884, 2.308. An earlier (and more detailed) source would have been Jinagupta’s account of the kingdom of “Zhejujia” [Karghalik?] related by Fei Zhangfang in his biography of the Sui monk Sengjiu at *T* no. 2034.j12.103a24–29; for a translation of these lines, abbreviated and repurposed for Jinagupta’s hagiography in Daoxuan’s *XGSZ*, see Chavannes 1905a, 354. Based on Fei’s line that the kingdom mentioned is “over 2000 li south of Khotan,” one possible string of quotations is Fei’s *LDSBJ* → Daoxuan’s *XGSZ* → Daoxuan’s *GTL* → Daoshi’s *FYZL*.

³⁴ (1) *T* no. 2122.j30.511c19–21. (2) **Mahāyānāvātara* by Sāramati, translated by Daotai in the Northern Liang, early fifth c. Compare *T* no. 1634.j1.39b08–11, from “Chapter 1: Meanings” (*yipin* 義品). (4) Besides in *Collected Records of Miracles*, Daoxuan also cited this work for similar quotations in his *Genealogy of the Śākya Clan*, *T* no. 2041.98b27–c02, under the final twentieth item (“Aspects of the Final Limits of Śākya’s Bequeathed Dharma” *shijia yifa zhongxian xiang* 釋迦遺法終限相) of “Division 5: Progeny, Holy and Ordinary” (*shengfan houyin* 聖凡後胤); *XGSZ*, *T* no. 2060.j25.648c07–11, amidst Yuantong’s biography (No. 14 of fascicle 25, dedicated to the sixth category of “Wonder Workers” [*gantong* 感通]); and in the *Geography of the Śākyas*, *T* no. 2088.j2.973a18–20, from “Chapter 6: Universal and Partial” (*tongju* 通局).

³⁵ (1) *T* no. 2122.j30.511c22–512c10, abbreviated. (2) *Nandimitrāvādāna*, translated by Xuanzang in 654. Compare with *T* no. 2030.j1.12c11–13c20. (3) English translation, see Shih 2002, 205–20.

³⁶ This section appears as a single paragraph of text in Taishō.

Section Eight: Householders (*zhangzhe* 長者)³⁸

31. *Scripture on Upāsaka Precepts (Youposai jiejing 優婆塞戒經, T no. 1488).*³⁹

Section Nine: God-Kings (*tianwang* 天王)⁴⁰

32. *Scripture on Śariputra’s Inquiries (Shelifu wenjing 舍利弗問經, T no. 1465).*⁴¹

33. *Combined Āgama Scriptures (Za ahan jing 雜阿含經, T no. 99).*⁴²

34. *Victorious Heavenly Kings Scripture (Sheng tianwang [banruo boluomi] jing 勝天王[般若波羅蜜]經, T no. 231).*⁴³

35. *Record of the Bowl ([Fo]bo ji [佛]鉢記, lost).*⁴⁴

Section Ten: Ghosts (*guishen* 鬼神)⁴⁵

36. *Great Collection Scriptures ([Da fangdeng] daji jing), T no. 397.*⁴⁶

37. *Great Collection Scriptures ([Da fangdeng] daji jing), T no. 397.*⁴⁷

³⁷ (1) *T no. 2122.j30.512c12–26.* (2) *Vinaya Mother Scripture (pinimu jing or pinimulun or pinimu = *Haimavatavinayamātrkā),* an anonymously translated scripture that seems to have first appeared in the early fifth century. Compare *T no. 1463.j6.832c15–29.*

³⁸ This section, comprising a single excerpt, is divided into two paragraphs.

³⁹ (1) *T no. 2122.j30.512c28–513a24.* (2) *Upāsakaśīlasūtra,* tr. Dharmakṣema in the early fifth century. Compare *T no. 1488.j1.1034a26–b24,* from the first section of “Chapter 1: Assembly” (*jihui* 集會). (3) English translation, see *Rulu 2012a, 124–5;* or *Shih Heng-ching 1994, 5–6.*

⁴⁰ This section appears as three separate paragraphs, with the middle paragraph containing both Items 33 and 34.

⁴¹ (1) *T no. 2122.j30.512a26–b04.* (2) *Śariputaraparṛcchāsūtra,* translated during the E. Jin by unknown translator. Compare with *T no. 1465.j1.902a22–b02.*

⁴² (1) *T no. 2122.j30.513b05–10,* followed by short interlineal note following that summarizes the contents of the rest of the scripture that are “included in the scriptural text but cannot be fully explained [here].” (2) *Samyuk-tāgamasūtra,* translated by Guṇabhadra in the mid-fifth century. Compare *T no. 99.j25.177a29–c11,* excluding 177c06–c11, from *Scripture 640.*

⁴³ (1) *T no. 2122.j30.513b10–15.* (2) *Prajñāpāramitā Scripture of the Victorious Heavenly Kings, Pravarade-varājaripṛcchā,* tr. *Upasūnya in 565. Compare *T no. 231.j4.710a06–11,* from “Chapter 7: Manifested Aspects” (*xianxiang* 現相).

⁴⁴ (1) *T no. 2122.j30513b16–20.* (2) The *Record of Buddha’s Bowl,* anonymously composed, had been flagged as “suspicious” as early as in Sengyou’s *CSZJJ, T no. 2145.j5.39a16* as well as in Daoxuan’s *DTNDL, T no. 2149.j10.334b12.*

⁴⁵ This section appears as two paragraphs, each corresponding to one of the two citations of the *Great Collection.*

⁴⁶ (1) *T no. 2122.j30.513b22–c05,* abbreviated. (2) *Mahāvaiṣṭyāmahāsaṃnipātasūtra.* Compare *T no. 397.j54.359c08–26,* from fascicle 2 of “Chapter 16: Patience” (*renru* 忍辱) of “Division 15: Moon Treasury” (*yuezang, candragarbhā*) of the scripture, originally translated by Narendrayāśas.

⁴⁷ (1) *T no. 2122.j30.513c06–14,* abbreviated. (2) *Mahāvaiṣṭyāmahāsaṃnipātasūtra.* Compare *T no. 397.j55.368b16–c02* with 368b17–26 summarized by Daoshi as “seventeen great generals each leading 5000

38. Verse.⁴⁸

troops.” From “Chapter 17: Spreading to Jambudvīpa” (*bu yanfuti* 佈閻浮提) of “Division 15: Moon Treasury” (*yuezang, candragarbha*) of the scripture, originally translated by Narendrayaśas.

⁴⁸ (1) *T* no. 2122.j30.513c16–21. (2) Compare to *T* no. 2103.j22.261a09–14, “Reply to Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices Liu Xuan 柳玄 (d.u.) [who wrote a verse to commemorate Xuanzang’s translation of scriptures]” by Shi Mingjun 釋明濬. “Mingjun of Hongfu Monastery” also appears in Xuanzang’s translation committee alongside Daoxuan in Huili’s biography of Xuanzang (*T* no. 2053.j6.253c, cf. translation by Li 1996, 180).

Appendix S: Preface to *Inner Books*, Catalog 3, "Catalog for Entry into Baskets" (Daoxuan)

Catalog of the Inner Books of the Great Tang, fascicle 8

Composed by the Śākya Clan at Ximing Monastery of the Capital [Chang'an]

Catalog 3: Catalog of Many Scriptures Throughout the Successive Dynasties, Presented for Entry into the Baskets¹

大唐內典錄卷第八

京師西明寺釋氏撰

歷代眾經見入藏錄第三

1) It is prefaced: From my first catalogs on down, the years of emperors are manifest. [But] they lead to items growing even more varied and dense as a thicket,² and it is certainly difficult to discriminate between them! Exactly for this reason, by following the period in which translators produced treatises, scriptures, commentary, and compilations,³ [the catalogs] are not constrained by logical sequence. Thus, to adhere to them in compiling [this] catalog, I would not obtain the thoroughfares.

序曰。

自 初錄已來，帝年顯矣。

至於條例

雜叢[叢雜SYM]交加，固難料簡。

良由 隨譯人代所出論經注解撰述，不局倫次。

所以 依之編錄，無得分衢。

¹ DTNDL, T no. 2145.j8.302b19–c21.

² “Items being varied and dense as a thicket” (*tiaoli zacong*) repeats Sengyou’s language in naming his anthology the *Collection from the Garden of Dharma* (*Fayuan ji*). See my translation, Appendix E.

³ Here I parse “treatises” (*lun*), “scriptures” (*jing* = *sūtra*), “commentary” (*zhujie* = “annotations and analysis”), and “compilations” (*zhuanshu* = “compositions and explanations”).

2) Now then I follow vehicles Great and Lesser, depend on translations Once or Multiple; and the Scriptures, Regulations, Treatises, and Traditions by category are taken for divisions. I still rely on old precedents, not daring to differ greatly from them: I use them to initiate the ones who have not heard,⁴ [but you must] know I do not share their old intentions. [For] relying on this separate "entered into the canon" [canon register], the shelves also uphold it:⁵ wrappers and spools with tallied inscriptions⁶ indicate their named contents. What is needed is handily retrieved, and disorder is cut off.⁷

今則 隨乘大小，據譯單重；
 經律論傳，條然取別。
 猶依舊例，未敢大[天SYM]分；
 用啟未聞，知非故意。
 依別入藏，架閣相持：
 帙軸籤牒，標顯名目。
 須便抽檢，絕於紛亂。

3) Now, as for ordinary intellects⁸ and the deluded, these wonderful works will open up their wisdom: "in teaching there is no discrimination of classes"⁹ is a common saying and plati-

⁴ "The ones who have not heard" (*weiwen*) might refer to unlearned people or unread scriptures, depending on whether it is read as a direct or indirect object of "using them to initiate."

⁵ "Also support it" (*xiangchi*) seems to suggest that the catalog of scriptures upholds the shelving schema as the literal shelves support the literal scriptures in a library.

⁶ Huilin glosses these characters as such in *Yiqiejing yinyi*, T no. 2128.j80.824c03–06.

⁷ "Disorder" (*fenluan*) in other contexts may refer to a multiplicity of political orders in historical works or, in Buddhist translations, the inner turmoil characteristic of householder (as opposed to monastic) life. Here, "disorder is cut off" (*jue yu fenluan*) echoes the general preface of the *DTNDL*, which promises that "in meaning I have cut off trouble and chaos" (*yi jue fanluan*). See this chapter, note 37.

⁸ "Ordinary intellects" (*fanshi*) are objects of scorn and pity in prefaces by Sengyou, Fei Zhangfang, Daoshi and Daoxuan, commonly paired with or equated to the "deluded" (*hunmi*).

⁹ *Analects* 15.39 has Confucius uttering these four characters.

tude. But nowadays, those with sharp talents and holy analysis¹⁰ are out of the ordinary. [Instead, people are] laggard in their failed studies,¹¹ rash in their skimmings.¹² The scriptures available in the Entered Canon are over three-thousand fascicles; not having comprehensively gone through them, wherefrom would illuminated wisdom come? Vainly forfeiting one's One Life,¹³ blustering with Six Senses, one does not discriminate crooked from straight, and mixes up the true and the deceptive. Flowing forth by following customs,¹⁴ there is no way to return to the source. Pitiful! And why should this be so? Realize the essential path of the Three Baskets; penetrate the main lynchpin¹⁵ of the Three Studies.¹⁶ Within [this canon], there is no defeat for the first remembrances; beyond it, there is employment for later thoughts.

若夫 凡識昏迷，妙藉[籍SYM]開智。
 有教無類，俗諺常談。
 而 頃代俊[後YM]銳神解不凡。
 弊於墮學，忽於披覽。
 入藏見經，三千餘卷；

¹⁰ “Holy analysis” (*shenjie*) was a popular descriptor of brilliant monks, especially translators, since before the Liang (see anonymous colophon for a commentary on Dharmakṣema’s translation of the *Nirvana*, *T* no. 2145.j8.17.60a15 [English translation, Dharmakṣema’s “divine understanding,” Chen 2004, 219]); “sharp talented” (*junrui*) is how Daoxuan recounts praise for the early Tang exegete Puguang (*XGSZ*, *T* no. 2060.j11.512a28).

¹¹ As for “failed studies” *duoxue*, in his essay on the “Translators,” Huijiao ventriloquates other Buddhists claiming that “to read broadly grows doubts” (*guangdu duohuo*): “this is only the excuse of the failed student (*duoxue zhi ci*), what is not called the lesson of comprehensive path” 而頃世學徒唯慕鑽求一典。謂言廣讀多惑。斯蓋墮學之辭。匪曰通方之訓 (*GSZ*, *T* no. 2059.j3.346a15–17).

¹² “Skimmings” (*pilan*) = “open and survey,” a kind of reading that seems to be specified, for instance, in Fei Zhangfang’s preface to *LDSBJ*, *T* no. 2034.j1.49c08) or Huijiao’s postface to *GSZ*, *T* no. 2049.j14.419a19. For depictions of medieval reading (especially *lan*) by monastics as visual, cognitive, or silent, see Chen 2009, 64.

¹³ A monk of N. Zhou named Daoan laments on “vainly forfeiting one’s One Life” (*tusang yishi*) in a preface to some of his lyrics, all collected by Daoxuan in *XGSZ*, *T* no. 2060.j23.629c19.

¹⁴ Depending on how *su* is read, “following customs” (*suisu*) could mean “following what is done locally” or “following the laypeople.” When the former is meant, it can be prescribed in evangelical texts; when the latter is meant, it is often proscribed in disciplinary texts.

¹⁵ Among other uses, in Catalog 1 of *DTNDL*, Daoxuan describes the early Tang apologetic works of Falin and Yancong as “main lynchpins” (*zongxia*), *T* no. 2149.j5.281c08 and 283b20.

¹⁶ Regulations, concentration, wisdom.

未曾通歷，明智何從？
 徒喪一生，虛張六識，
 邪正莫辯[辨YM]，真妄混然。
 隨俗而流，無由反本，
 惜或何由？
 曉三藏之要[由SYM]途；
 洞[據SYM]三學之宗轄。
 內無負於初念；
 外有御[議S,識YM]於後心。

4) Now then, “everything is non-functioning”¹⁷ [can] then be called “Five Dusts are the root of the path”,¹⁸ and clinging to this non-abandonment is [taken to be] as if it were the true holiness. The metaphor of the clothes stealer had become manifest in the *Ten Wheels*,¹⁹ the criticism of birds and mice was again obvious in the *Buddha Treasury*.²⁰ [But] the toils of the cor-

¹⁷ “Everything is non-functioning” (*yiqie buxing*) teaches that all phenomena originally have no distinctions. See translated titles for the *All Dharmas are Non-Functioning Scripture*, *Sarvadharmā-apravṛtti-sūtra*: “All dharmas are without functioning” (*zhufa wuxing*), *T* no. 650 by Kumārajīva; “All dharmas are originally non-existent” (*zhufabenwu*), *T* no. 651 by Jinagupta. Kumārajīva also translates the title of the scripture as “Everything is Non-Functioning,” and a short passage from it, in his *Great Perfection of Wisdom Treatise*, *DZDL*, *T* no. 1509.j26.248a22–3.

¹⁸ “Five Dusts are the root of the path” (*wuchen wei daoben*) is taking the teaching of emptiness in the wrong direction. The conventionally denigrated “five dusts” are the objects of the five senses: color, sound, odor, taste, and feel. This difficult line leads off a confusing passage in which it seems Daoxuan criticizes a perceived collapse in current monastic standards, a perennial theme of his in other works.

¹⁹ “Clothes-stealer” (*qiefu*) refers to an anecdote condemning false monks the Buddha relates in the *Scripture on the Ten Wheels* *T* no. 410.j4.697c10–698b06 from “Chapter 6: Aspects of Present Knowledge on *ksatriya* and *caṇḍala*.” A king, long ago, commands a *caṇḍala* to retrieve the tusks of a famed six-tusked elephant. He dresses up like a *śramaṇa*, the elephant is successfully deceived and shot with poisoned arrow. The elephant surrenders his tusks voluntarily with a bodhisattva vow—the Buddha reveals he was the elephant and that his disciples should be wary though forgiving of *caṇḍala* abusers. The earliest extant use of the term “clothes-stealer” is in a memorial by Dao-sheng to Emperor Wu of the Southern Qi, requesting that the emperor inspect the conduct of monks (*HMJ*, *T* no. 2102.j12.86a04 and a08; cf. tr. Ziegler 2017, 232.)

²⁰ The “analogy of the bird-rat” (*niaoshu zhi yu*) is cited earliest in Taishō in the anonymous preface to the *Four-Part Regulations*, *Sifenlü* *T* no. 1428.j1.567b16, which cites the *Buddha Treasury Scripture*, referencing the lines at *T* no. 653.j1.788c14–18, wherein the Buddha explains to Śāriputra how the “bhikṣu who has broken the precepts” (*pojie biqiu*) is like a bat (*bianfu*): neither monk nor layman, he feigns rathood to catch birds and flies in the air like a bird to prey on rats. Moreover, he stinks. Daoshi quotes this allegory in “Chapter 88: Breaking the Precepts” (*pojie*) at *T* no. 2122.j90.948b28–c04. This quotation, mis-cited, is employed by Falin to mock Daoists in

poreal form²¹ cannot but be clothed; the labors of the mouth and intestines cannot but be fed.²² [So] the way of liberation is then cut off; the plot of the delusion-net spirals deep. A cup of water, the Sainted One long ago restricted it; a patch of robe-cloth, the classical texts bring it under control.²³ Already feet are amputated²⁴ in the shadow and light realms; also there is retributive suffering in the future. Spirits who have not transcended, to where can they flee?

今則 一切[+而SYM]不行乃謂五塵為道本。
耽附不捨如正聖焉。
竊服之喻已顯於『十輪』；
鳥鼠之譏[識S]復彰於『佛藏』。
形骸之累不能不服；
口腹之勞不能不食。

Bianzhenglun. See Jülch 2014, 2.317 for translation and notes on *T* no. 2110.j6.531b21–26, where “criticism of the birds and rats” (*niaoshu zhi ji*) is directed at the Daoist-bats who break celibacy but keep its privileges. As Jülch notes, Falin mis-cites the passage as being from *Scripture on True Dharma Mindfulness* *T* no. 721.

²¹ “This is my mother, not someone else’s mother. The toils of [my] corporeal form just are my body.” are lines attributed to Northern Qi monk Daoji in Daoxuan’s *XGSZ*, *T* no. 2060.j30.2.701b12–13. He is responding to persons who wished to help him care for the old sweeping woman he took with him on his lecture circuit. See Chapter Two, Part 2.4, note 114.

²² I take these lines to mean that Daoxuan acknowledges that monasticism must continue despite monastics’ abuse of the institution.

²³ These lines echo with two passages from Daoxuan’s commentaries on the regulations: see *XSC*, *T* no. 1804.j3.128c04–10 and *Rites for Measuring and Handling Light and Heavy Property*, *T* no. 1895.j2.850b02–13. The former passage is found in “Chapter 20: Promoting Cures in Response to Gifts” (*duishi xingzhi*), cites and paraphrases lines from the *World-Preserver Scripture*, *Chishi jing* *T* no. 482.j2.651a13–17, including the line “I do not allow you to accept from people [even] a cup of water.” In the *World-Preserver Scripture*, the Buddha is prohibiting monks who cling to the “five aggregates” (*wuyin*) in the eponymous second chapter, and Daoxuan glosses this clinging as “illusion of self” (*wodao*) and “heterodoxy” (*waidao*). Daoxuan cites this quote as a “method for contemplation” (*zuoguan fangfa*) so that monastics may receive gifts while endeavoring to “cultivate morality, concentration, and wisdom and extinguish afflictions” (127c07–08); he claims that the *Buddha Treasury Scripture* says the same thing (see *T* no. 653.j3.802a12–25 for the possible reference—in “Chapter 9: Understanding Precepts” [*liaojie*], the Buddha teaches Śāriputra to accept the patchwork garment (*nayī*) without craving): one must “renounce the illusion of self, do not respond by giving birth to clinging to patchwork garment cloth and coarse food.” According to Chen 2007, 135–6, in Daoxuan’s other commentary on monastic possessions a parallel passage is paraphrased and is cited from “*World-Preserver and Buddha-Treasury Scriptures*” in the context of discussing monastic regulations for keeping livestock. Here, the point of the quoted passage is that monks must receive even a cup of water and a patch of robe-cloth without selfishness or craving, how much the more for livestock.

²⁴ “Foot amputation” (*xuezu*) is a common punishment in the Buddhist imaginaire, in hell and this world alike.

解脫之方既絕；
惑網之計轉深。
一杯之水聖久制之；
一納之衣經文斷服。
既削足於幽顯；
又報苦於將來。
神未超生於何逃跡。

5) I have heard of the secular gentleman Xiao Mai who read over 30,000 scrolls,²⁵ [as well as Liu] Huifei, who for [the sake of] remaining monks of the End-Dharma period, hand-copied over 2000 rolls.²⁶ Could it be that those kind of people could be so excellent? And these kind of people could be so awful? Diluted customs²⁷ of a period are not sufficient to involve [any more] words,²⁸ “the high hill is looked up to,”²⁹ it is hoped they can remonstrate us. The good

²⁵ Xiao Mai (Li 勵 has misprinted Mai 勸), cognomen Wen Yue 文約, of the Liang Period was the eldest and favorite son of Xiao Jing, Emperor Wu's cousin. He was the Marquis of Wuping, Grand Protector of Huainan, and ended as Governor of Guangzhou. He was Xiao Tong's librarian in 521, and his questions to his relative Xiao Tong on his lecture of 517 on the Two Truths are recorded in *GHMJ*, T no. 2103.j21.249a25–b09. In the table of contents to Xiao Tong's symposium on the Two Truths, Daoxuan notes that Xiao Mai, then the heir for the Wuping Marquisate, was “greatly erudite as to have read over 30,000 scrolls” 大博學讀書三萬餘卷 247a08, a figure also cited by Li Yanshou in his *History of Southern Dynasties* (659) in describing Xiao's love for reading texts from memory: “he collected writings up to 30,000 scrolls, and in reading them did not tire” 聚書至三萬卷，披翫不倦, *Nanshi*, 51.1263. See Wang 2012, 198n92 for a summary of biographical information on Xiao Mai from *History of the Southern Dynasties*.

²⁶ Liu Huifei of Pengcheng, who died in Datong 3 (537), enjoyed hand-copying these scrolls in residence as “Sir Freed from Defilement” (*ligou xiansheng*) in Donglin Monastery at Mt. Lu, according to a corroborating account in Liu's biography in *Nanshi* 76.1902–3. He could recite over a hundred scrolls' worth of material, and mutually admired fellow recluse, Zhang Xiaoxiu, author of the now lost *Traditions of Mt. Lu Monks*, according to *GSZ*, T no. 2059.j14.418c09.

²⁷ “Diluted customs” (glossed as such by Huilin, see T no. 2128.j11.370c18) had been “reformed” (*gai*) since the rise of the Tang, according to Daoxuan's preface to his *Geography*, T no. 2088.j1.948a06–07.

²⁸ Other affairs that Daoxuan swears do “not involve [any more] words” *busheyen* include the names and authors of other catalogs (in his general preface to *DTNDL*, T no. 2149.j1.219c06–07) and comparing the simple elegance of archaic Chinese to the florid phrases of the Jin through Tang in his essay on “Translators” in *XGSZ*, T no. 2060.j4.459b25–6.

²⁹ From the love song titled “Che Xia” sung to a virtuous bride, from *Book of Odes*; see Legge 1876, 1.264. Quoted by Confucius in the *Book of Rites* 32 in admiration of heroes, and ever since; see Legge 1885, 2.335.

friends³⁰ who integrate all Brahmic practices³¹, at what time would we be not without them? The standard cups³² that accord with the stream, history can attest to them.

昔聞 蕭[簫SY]勵俗士，讀書三萬餘卷；
慧斐末法遺僧，手寫二千餘軸。
彼何人斯若此之勝；
此何人斯若此之劣。
季代澆俗，未足涉言；
高山仰止，庶可規諫？
全梵行之善友，何時不無？
從如流之准酌[的YM]，歷代參有。

6) Certainly we should continually be masters of our minds³³ and take control over the circumstances,³⁴ if we must gather our own tracks,³⁵ how could we allow others [not to]? Review

³⁰ “Good friends” or “reliable counselors” (*shanyou*) often translates *kalyānamitra*.

³¹ “Brahmic practices” or “pure actions” (*fanxing*), besides referring to the precepts of celibate monks, more specifically, and the practices of Buddhism, more generally, is also the title of oft-cited chapters from the *Nirvana* and *Flower Adornment Scriptures*. Here, Daoxuan may be referring to the line from the “Highly-Virtuous King” chapter of the *Nirvana*, “I say... that one who completes all pure actions can be called a good friend.” 我言不爾具足梵行乃名善知識。 See *T* no. 374.j26.520a26–27 or *T* no. 375.j24.764b20–22. Adapted from translation by Yamamoto 2007, 359, and cited by Daoshi as his first quotation in “Good Friends” (*shanyou*) in the eponymous Chapter 53 of *Grove of Pearls*, *T* no. 2122.j51.668a24–25.

³² “Standard cups” or “uniform measures” (準酌 *zhunyue*) are invoked by Daoxuan in his vinaya commentaries, but not as a metaphor for exemplary readers or copyists.

³³ “Continually be masters of our minds” (*changwei xinshi*) might refer to the famous quote from the *Nirvana*: “I pray that I shall become the master of the mind but not make the mind the master” 願作心師不師於心 *T* no. 374.j28.534a05 or *T* no.375.j26.778c29–a01; cf. tr. Yamamoto 394, from the second scroll of the chapter “Bodhi-sattva Lion-Roar.” This line is also cited in an essay “Flattering the Mind” 捧心論 by Ruhist Ping Gun in Daoxuan’s biography of Regulation Master Huiguang in *XGSZ*, *T* no. 2060.j21.608b18–19 and by Daoshi in his *shuyi* for “Chapter 28: Concentrating Thought” *shenian* in *FYZL*, *T* no. 2122.j34.548c11–12.

³⁴ “Mind” and “circumstances” or “external phenomena” (*qingjing*) are opposites, the latter also invoked as a modality in which the diversity of scriptures may exist in Daoxuan’s preface to Catalog 2’s “Great Vehicle,” *T* no. 2149.j6.284c17.

³⁵ “Tracks” or “ruts” (*zhe*) rather than traces that sages shouldn’t leave (*Laozi*) or places where fish die (*Zhuangzi*), are positive models in Daoxuan’s usage: according to the first lines of his general preface to *DTNDL*, he writes that “true dharma... is the ferry path of leaving the common, the track (*guizhe*) for entering the true,” *T* no.2149.j1.219a07–08.

the Holy Scriptures of the Three Directions,³⁶ seek the Dharma Regulations of the Three Thousand;³⁷ experience the long journeys of Three Uncountable Periods,³⁸ make enlightenment sites for the Three Buddhas.³⁹ This way is not lost, how could we abandon⁴⁰ it? Track it to cite and explain⁴¹; surveyors⁴² may attend therein. Presently arranged are the old, already translated scriptures: all of them are thus separately displayed.⁴³ There are additional [scriptures] translated later at Yuhua [monastery by Xuanzang in his last decade],⁴⁴ and I have not yet seen the new editions: as they continue to emerge, I will continue to add them [but until then] personally rely on the other catalogs.

固當 常為心師，御制情境，
 自須斂轍，何得任人？
 閱三方之聖經，尋三千之法律，
 歷三祇之遠行，造三佛之覺場。
 斯道不亡，如何背捨？

³⁶ “Three Directions” may refer to the three shelving units: left, right and center.

³⁷ Monastics follow “Three Thousand” regulations, as in the titular *Great Three-Thousand Regulations for Bhikṣus* *Da biqu sanqian weiyi*, T no. 1470, attributed to An Shigao (2nd c.).

³⁸ Referring to the really long time it takes to attain Buddhahood as “Three Uncountable Periods” with the abbreviated term *sanqi* for *sanasengqijie* (“three asaṃkhyeya kalpa”) appears to begin with Sui-Tang exegetes.

³⁹ What I have translated as “the Three Buddhas” *sanfo* might be an abbreviation for *samyaksambodhi* (*sanniao sanfotuo* or *sanyesanfotuo*). I preserved the parallelism of the “threes” in translation, but I cannot think of which (if any) three Buddhas in particular Daoxuan might be referring to here. The first two “threes” juxtapose scriptures and regulations; the second two might juxtapose two transliterated terms (*qi* and *fo*) as well as the past with present, time against space: three kalpas of bodhisattva-work would result in complete enlightenment.

⁴⁰ According to Sengyou, “abandonment” *beishe* is an “old translation” for “liberation” (*jietuo*).

⁴¹ “Tracks” (*zhe*) discussed above, note 35. “Cite and explain” or “draw an analogy” (*yinyu*) is often what the Buddha describes himself as doing in his sermons; in an expanded sense, because the Dharma is subtle and always needing to be “analogized” for unlearned audiences, *yinyu* is sermonizing.

⁴² “Surveyors” (*lanzhe*) are reading for information, perhaps with an eye toward reading to edify oneself or others and to generate merit.

⁴³ “Separately displayed” (*biexian*) perhaps short for “distinguish and show” (*fenbie xianshi*), what scriptures command be done with dharmas.

⁴⁴ Xuanzang began translating around a dozen works at Yuhua Monastery beginning in the late 650s, including the massive six-hundred fascicle *Mahāprajñāpāramitā*, T no. 220.

輒此引喻，覽者詳焉。

今約 已譯舊經，具如別顯。

餘有玉華後翻，未覲新本：

續出續[+依S]附，自依[-S]餘錄[經SYM]。

Appendix T: Preface to *Inner Books*, Catalog 4, "Catalog for Reading" (Daoxuan)

Catalog of the Inner Books of the Great Tang, fascicle 9

Composed by the Śākya Clan at Ximing Monastery of the Capital [Chang'an]

Catalog 4: Catalog of Many Scriptures Throughout the Successive Dynasties, Summarized for Reading¹

大唐內典錄卷第九[+上M]

京師西明寺釋氏撰

歷代眾經舉要轉讀錄第四

1) It is prefaced: See now that the Great Sage took advantage of opportunities² to spread expositions of the famed Teaching; to depart from affliction was the root, not in the winding and proliferate. Thus, eight characters in half a verse³ can announce “the opening of the way of the

¹ *DTNDL*, T no. 2149.j9.312c20–313a28.

² “Took advantage of opportunities” (*chengji*)—in the commentaries of medieval Chinese Mahāyāna exegetes like Fayun, Zhiyi, or Jizang this word (perhaps better rendered as *shengji* in MSM) can often be translated as “capacity for vehicles” to discriminate between persons whose capacities are suited for certain vehicles of teaching rather than others. Here, Daoxuan uses a word with a meaning that is also shared in the Great and Lesser Vehicle prefaces of Catalog 2 (Great Vehicle: “The ‘transformation Buddhas’ appear, taking advantage of opportunities,” T no. 2149.j6.284c22 and Lesser Vehicle: “These paths covered the lay persons, and were truly proliferate in opening and enticing them, but this was not the Buddha’s original intention to take advantage of opportunities to plot these strategems” j7.296b02). *HYDCD* 9.673 lists its first secular uses as “exploiting an opportunity” (利用機會 *liyong jihui*) in the Southern Dynasties period; Chinese Buddhists of the period also use this meaning in their historical works (*GSZ*, T no. 2059.j7.31.374b18–9, “Biography of Daoyou,” for Daoyou “taking the opportunity” to humiliate his opponents at the Liu Song court in expounding on “sudden enlightenment”; or *LDSBJ*, T no. 2034.j8.75a01, “Preface to the Catalogs of the Two Qin Dynasties,” in describing the barbarian Fu clan’s establishment of the Former Qin Dynasty at Chang’an). Other pieces of preface-ese from the early medieval Buddhist authors describe *chengji* as an action that sages perform to spread their teachings effectively—see the first lines of “apologetic monk” Falin’s eighth of “Nine Exhortations” in defending the transcultural universality of the Buddhist path, *GHMJ*, T no. 2103.j13.184c03 or *BZL*, T no. 2110.j6.534a18, “Sages and Worthies seize the opportunities and take advantage of things [or, to attract things]” (乘機引物 *chengji yinwu*), see German translation by Jülch 2014, 2.357. Perhaps the earliest use in an extant Buddhist scripture is in the *Great Skillful Means Scripture on the Buddha’s Repayment of Kindness* (*Da fangbian Fo baoen jing*), T no. 156.j1.128a11, an unattributed translation traditionally dated to the 2nd century CE.

³ “Half a verse” (*bansong*) would be eight characters when *gāthās* (*ji*) were written in four-character (rather than five- or seven- character lines).

emptiness dharmas”;⁴ a single four-foot gāthā⁵ can impart “all of the wishing jewels.”⁶ Reading broadly and reciting a lot⁷ does not exempt someone from the source of life; [yet affirming that the Buddha] “never preached the Dharma,⁸” then one has heard [the Dharma] to completion. Therefore, the Dharma Circulating Bhiksus⁹ are patterned [as such] in the canon of the *Great*

⁴ “Opening the way of the emptiness dharmas” (*kaikong fadao*) is a line from the *Nirvana Scripture*. In this story, Indra changes form into a rakṣasa demon who is willing to relinquish his body for the remaining half of a gāthā. When a tree god asks the demon what benefit the gāthā offers, he answers that it is “the opening the way of the emptiness dharmas that the Buddhas of past, future, and present have preached” (*guoqu weilai xianzai zhuFo suoshuo kaikong fadao*), *T* no. 374.j14.451a10–11 or *T* no. 375.j13.693a10–11; cf. tr. Yamamoto 2007, 199.

⁵ “A single four-foot gāthā” (*yi siju ji, catus-pādikām... gāthām*) is often described in Buddhist scriptures as the minimal unit of dharma for producing karmic effects. A full gāthā of four lines would contain sixteen, twenty, or twenty-eight characters in Chinese. Cf. *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*, of the two loci where Kumārajīva wrote *yi siju ji*, the “Medicine King” chapter has “*catuspādikāmapi gāthām*” while the “Dhāraṇī” chapter has “*ekāmapi catuspādīgāthām*,” Kern and Nanjio 1912, 22.415, and 21.395 respectively.

⁶ If half a gāthā will net Indra “half of the wishing jewels” (*ban ruyizhu*, *T* no. 374.j14.450b15 or *T* no. 375.j13.692b14) to Sui-Tang exegetes like Jizang, the full sixteen-character gāthā would deliver to him “all the wishing jewels” (see his commentary on the *Middle Treatise*, *Zhongguan lun shu* (*T* no. 1824.j1.6b28–c01, j2.29c22–28, and j3.48c12–15, which dub the verse Indra sacrifices his body for with the name, “All the Wishing Jewels Gāthā”). Daoxuan employs the reference twice more in his hagiographies of meditation masters Tanqian of the Sui (*T* no. 2060.j18.572a27) and Huixian of the early Tang (*T* no. 2060.j20.600b06) to encapsulate to their attitudes to Asaṅga’s *Summary Treatise of the Great Vehicle* (*She dasheng lun*) or the *Flower Adornment* and *Nirvana*, respectively. See Daoxuan’s notes on the twenty-three works of Prince Wenxuan of the S. Liang, Xiao Ziliang, all of which are labelled “Epitome on *x*” (*chao x*): “as for half a gāthā or a complete verse, the metaphor of the treasured jade is manifest; as for [these] four characters or eight words, they may be leisurely relied upon as a method to silence inversions” 半偈全頌寶璧之喻顯然；四字八言靜倒之方攸託 (*T* no. 2149.j10.8.335b02–04), in the eighth catalog on “Doubtful and Spurious” (*yivei*) scriptures. Though Daoxuan lists Xiao Ziliang’s epitomes as “doubtful scriptures,” following precedents of Sengyou and Zhangfang, and though the works themselves have long been lost, Daoxuan seems to be arguing for their utility in keeping current minimal pieces of scripture. For Sengyou’s catalog of Xiao Ziliang’s epitomes, see Chapter Three, note 71 and Chapter Four, notes 69 and 70.

⁷ “Reading broadly and reciting a lot” (*guangdu duosong*) also in Daoxuan’s long essay on vinaya masters at *XGSZ*, *T* no. 2060.j22.622a18. Daoxuan is describing the third of four kinds of “delusions” monks fall prey to with regard to the vinaya: this type of monk may have read a great deal, but does not put the monastic code into rigorous practice and thus detracts from the Sangha’s goal of spreading the Dharma effectively, 622a17–b05.

⁸ Daoxuan quotes the *Nirvana* to invoke its equations between scriptural learning that is broad and complete, and learning that is quality and brief, even to the point of the formulaic or nonconceptual. “Never having preached the Dharma” (*changbushuofa*) is a line from the *Nirvana Scripture* describing the equivalency of simply “upholding [the words or idea that] the Thus-Come One is Eternal and His Nature Does Not Change” (*shouchi rulai changzhu xing wu bianyi*), to “upholding a single four-foot gāthā” (*shouchi yi siju ji*) of the *Nirvana Scripture*, to “copying, reciting, understanding, and explaining the twelvefold scriptures” (*shierbu jing shuxie dusong fenbie jieshuo*) *T* no. 374.j26.520a29–b11 or *T* no. 375.j24.764b28–c06. The line quoted goes: “If one [merely] knows that the Thus-Come One never preached the Dharma—this is also called the Bodhisattva’s complete rich hearing (*juzu duowen = bahuśruta*),” *T* no. 374.j26.520a08 or *T* no. 375.j24.764c03; cf. tr. Yamamoto 2007, 359.

⁹ “Dharma Circulating Bhiksus,” the Buddha explains to his disciple Kauṇḍinya, are not merely the bhiksus who read the twelvefold scriptures for “recitation” (*dusong*) “expansive preaching” (*guangshuo*), “reflection” (*siwei*), or “contemplation” (*guan*), but rather follow his teaching on the “eyes of emptiness” to quiet the mind. He explains both the definition and the method in “Chapter 1: Voice-Hearers” (*shengwen*) in “Division 10: Eyes of Emptiness” (*xukongmu*) of the *Great Collection Scriptures*, originally translated by Dharmakṣema in the early fifth century and later compiled into its current form in 586 by Sengjiu, *T* no. 397.j22.157b18–c06. Daoxuan makes the same reference in his essay on Reciters (*dusong*) in *XGSZ*, *T* no. 2060.j28.691a02–03, paired with a second quote, “do not

Collection. Abandon the raft to understand the situation,¹⁰ this is prepared as the ultimate vehicle of *Prajñā*.¹¹ This path is manifest,¹² its origin is not lost.

序曰：

觀夫 大聖乘機，敷說聲教；
離惱為本，不在曲繁。
故 半頌八字，號稱開空法道；
一四句偈，喻以全如意珠。
廣讀多誦，未免於生源；
常不說法，乃聞於具足。
是以 法行比丘，形于『大集』之典。
捨棧[筏SYM]明況，備之『般若』至乘。
斯道顯然，由來不沒。

value reading a lot” (*bugui duodu*) from Kumārajīva’s translation of Nāgārjuna’s [*Vibhāṣa Treatise on the*] *Ten Abodes*, *T* no. 1521.j11.78a07–08, from the twenty-second chapter. Here, however, Daoxuan is ventriloquating his contemporaries who use these citations from the *Great Collection* and *Ten Abodes* to justify not reading scriptures broadly.

¹⁰ For a discussion of the raft analogy in Pāli canon (especially in the *Alagaddūpama Sutta* [Water Snake Simile], or *Majjhima Nikāya* [Middle Length Discourses] 22) and its implications for theologies of skillful means, see Pye 1978, 131–2. Daoxuan elsewhere cites the analogy of raft abandonment in the *Rites for Taking Refuge and Veneration from the Śākya School*, *Shimen guijing yi*, *T* no. 1896.j1.860c05 in his commentary on the second of the Four Reliances (relying on the meaning and not the language), copied without attribution into *Grove of Pearls*’s “Chapter 99: Miscellaneous Essentials” (*zayao*), *T* no. 2122.j99.1013b20.

¹¹ Placed parallel to the words *Great Collection* (*Daji*), the word *Prajñā* (*Banruo*) here may be understood as much as a textual corpus as it is a genre of scripture or a specific teaching. Interestingly, the second, third, and fourth “Great Vehicle” scriptures listed below in the first division of Catalog 4 (*Nirvana*; *Mahāprajñā*; *Great Collection*) have all been referenced in the last few lines of the preface above. In a preface that describes the “summarization” (*juyao*) of the scriptural tradition to an unduplicated canon, these lines instantiate the performance of “reducing” scriptural quantity by first selectively quoting the essence of whole scriptural corpora and additionally quoting lines and ideas from those scriptures that affirm that their teachings can be grasped in short.

¹² “This path is manifest” (*sidao xianran*) is also how Daoxuan wraps up the first lines to his preface to the Liu Song catalog (No. 10 of 18) in the dynastic Catalog 1, which begins by pairing “faith” (*xin*) and “wisdom” (*zhi*) as saving (or ferrying) virtues (*T* no. 2149.j4.256c21–25). These opening lines are appropriated by Daoshi as his first lines to his *shuyi* for “Chapter 11: Refuge of Belief” (*guixin*), *T* no. 2122.j21.438c23–25. Daoxuan also employs “its path is manifest” (*qidao xianran*) in his preface to “Chapter 2: Dispelling Doubts” (*bianhuo*) of *GHMJ*, *T* no. 2103.j5.117c20 and his letter on monastic exemption from bowing to kings, *T* no. 2103.j25.286a16–17 or *T* no. 2108.j3.457a29–b02—also attributed to Daoxuan’s colleague Weixiu, see *SGSZ*, *T* no. 2061.j17.812b16–21.

2) I met with Ximing Monastery Regulation Master Zhenyi.¹³ Broad seeing,¹⁴ he understood capacities; he fully observed times and customs.¹⁵ He wished to promote the Dharma Baskets [by] circulating and preserving them annually.¹⁶ However, the expansive texts of multiple translations often gave birth to fatigue. He told me hereby to rely on and expound it.¹⁷ This being so, in the present day when we read for recitation, we are often trapped by the expansive texts.¹⁸ Our understandings dull, our emotions fleeting, we survey the breadth while filled with suspicion.¹⁹ This is [to be considered] together with the vigor or indolence of people²⁰—can they possibly take fascicles and sections to heart? How is this known? Because those whose minds are

¹³ Zhenyi is mentioned in two other works by Daoxuan—twice in his *Illustrated Scripture on Establishing the Ordination Platform in the Passes*, *Guanzhong chuangli jietan tujing* T no. 1892, first as second in a list of thirty-nine monastic masters who attended a ceremony for the establishment of an ordination platform at Daoxuan’s new site outside Chang’an (816b25–817a12), and second as Daoxuan’s interlocutor in an addendum (“Ordination Platform Rites for the Capital Circuit of the Central Plains of the Great Tang” *Da Tang zhongyuan guanfu jietan yi*) dated 667 located at the end of the work (818c21–819a10), and an additional time with a brief “supplemental biography” as one of four exemplary students of Regulation Master Huijin’s in Daoxuan’s *XGSZ*. According to the latter source, which described him as still alive and active at the capital, “[Zhen]yi’s sermonizing explications had merit but his transformative actions were often blocked” (*Yi daoshuo yougong huaxing duozu*), T no. 2060.j22.1.615c01–02. On the former work, Chen 2007, 93–131 and 189–198; and McRae 2005.

¹⁴ Like someone of “rich hearing” (*duowen* or *bahuśruta*), someone of “broad seeing” (*bojian*) is well educated.

¹⁵ As the “Great Sage took advantage of opportunities” (*chengji*) in the first line of this preface, so does Zhenyi “understand capacities” (*zhiji*). The character *ji*—a “mechanism” or “pivot,” and which modern Chinese uses for “machine”—can mean both objective “opportunity” or “occasion” and subjective “capacity” or “disposition.” Skillful means in the deployment of dharma refers to applying knowledge of context through knowledge of that context (audience, time, custom). “Full observation” (*tongjian*) of the sages would become the titular “comprehensive mirror” in the famous eleventh-century work of imperial historiography, the *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid Governance* (*Zizhi tongjian*). Here, the skill-in-means is in acquiescing to the practice of fully reciting the Buddhist scriptural tradition rather than embracing the knowledge of its superfluity.

¹⁶ “Circulating and preserving” (*zhuanchi*)—might this refer to something like the ritual recitation of a whole Buddhist canon?

¹⁷ That is, Zhenyi’s intention.

¹⁸ “Read for recitation” is *zhuandu*, the title of the catalog, perhaps synonymous with “circulating and preserving” (*zhuanchi*). “Expansive texts” (*guangwen*) is Zhenyi’s term above. See note 29 in Chapter Seven on *zhuandu*.

¹⁹ “Survey the breadth” (*guanbo*) echoes Zhenyi’s “broad seeing” (*bojian*) above. “Broad sight” is the result of years of experience and reading; “surveying breadth” sets the gaze to the material text, a mass of ink, paper, and syllables looks more like an obstruction than an asset.

²⁰ Difference in persons’ “vigor or indolence” (*jinduo*) is a matter of concern for Daoxuan in his *Shimen guijing yi* (*Śākya Rites for Taking Refuge and Paying Veneration*), T no. 1896.j1.854c18; j1.859b02–03, j2.865c11–12.

thin and light²¹ look out on the size of the fascicle and their brows frown; those whose intentions are concentrated see the quantity of the wrappers and their intentions are emboldened. Take this to discourse! Investigate the thoroughfares of [disparate] desires!

會西明寺真懿律師。
博見識機通鑒時俗。
欲興法藏歲別轉持。
然以 重譯廣文多生倦怠。
告余[予M]此致，因而演之。
然則 頃代轉讀，多陷廣文；
識鈍情浮，彌嫌觀博。
此並在人勤惰；
豈以卷部致懷。
何以知耶？
故 心薄淡者，望卷大而眉顰[大卷而顰眉SYM]；
意專精者，見帙多而意勇。
據斯以論，考性欲之康衢也。

3) Originally now the Five Turbidities cross-circulate, the Four Delusions manifestly move;²² the Saints and Sages having hidden their tracks,²³ this is called “adverse fate.”²⁴ You

²¹ Daolang also invoked the “thin and light” (*bodan*) dispositions of their contemporaries in the latter age (“the end of the simulated dharma” *xiangjiao zhi mo*) in his preface to the translation of the *Nirvana Scripture* (CSZJJ, T no. 2145.j8.16.60a07–08).

²² In *Grove of Pearls*, Daoshi quotes at least five lists of the “Five Turbidities” from as many separate scriptures (including a *Five Turbidities Scripture*) in the eponymous second section of “Chapter 98: Extinction of Dharma” (*famie*), T no. 2122.j98.1005a24-c27. Perhaps they are not so much characteristic of an “End Dharma” (*mofa*) period so much as they are characteristic of the present, evil period in which scriptures found themselves being read by Chinese Buddhists. One of the five turbidities often listed is a “turbidity of afflictions,” a category under which Daoxuan and Zhenyi might add the difficulty and the length of scriptures in relation to the stupidity and laziness of their readers. The “Five Turbidities” become a popular figure in Tang Buddhist Chinese preface-ese, found in the *shuyi* of many *Grove of Pearls* category-chapters, though the word graces the first lines of a composition titled “Shi Baolin’s Declaration on the Defeat of Māra” (*Shi Baolin poMo lubu wen*) in the penultimate item included in Sen-

cannot reduce [the way of the Saints and Sages] to one estimation! Surely one must attract it by several paths.²⁵ Thus know that the Heaven Distinguished and Heroic Spirits²⁶ are unlimited in linguistic means to edification.²⁷ To preserve learning midflow,²⁸ one must leverage the well-explained teachings as a bridge to salvation.²⁹ Now, there are two teachings, the expanded

gyou's early sixth-c. *HMJ*, *T* no. 2102.j14.93c07. For more in this demon-quelling genre, see *GHMJ*, *T* no. 2103.j29. The "Four Delusions" are far more prevalent in the treatise (*śāstra*) and commentarial literature, especially Yogacāra, than in the *sūtra*, to the point that the word *sihuo* does not appear *A Grove of Pearls*. According to Xuanzang's *Cheng weishi lun* (Treatise on Consciousness Only), *T* no. 1585.j4.22a27–b03, these four are "self-ignorance," "self-view," "self-pride," and "self-love." See Ōuchi's 2013a modern Japanese translation of Daoxuan's general preface to the *GHMJ* for this gloss (64, translating *T* no. 2103.j1.97a26–27).

²³ Someone who has "hidden their tracks" (*huiji*) is pursuing ascetic reclusion. This word - which first appears in Southern Dynasties, perhaps related to Shen Yue's "veiling [ones] inner principle" (*huidao*; Berkowitz 2000, 179)—becomes prevalent in the *GSZ* traditions, especially Daoxuan's contribution (10 appearances).

²⁴ Wang Chong, in *Balanced Discourses*, describes "adverse fate" as the third of three kinds: fate comes "naturally" (*zhengming*) if luck springs directly from one's constitution, "concomittantly" (*suiming*) if it arises from deed, "adversely" (*caoming*) if one "contrary to his expectations, reap[s] bad fruits from all his good deeds: he will rush into misfortune and misery, which will strike him from afar" 遭命者、行善得惡，非所冀望，逢遭於外而得凶。 Adapting tr. Forke 1907, 138–139.

²⁵ "Several paths" is an allusion from "Appended Phrases" of *The Changes*, a commentarial line on "anxiety" by Confucius: "They all come to the same issue, though by different paths; there is one result, though there might be a hundred anxious schemes..." 子曰：天下何思何慮？天下同歸而殊塗，一致而百慮 *Xici* 2.5, adapting tr. Legge 1963, 389. Later authors in the Eastern Han onward from Confucian, Daoist, and Buddhist traditions could draw upon the allusion to unify various sagely approaches (see Xu Gan's extended allusion in "Dying Young and Longevity" *yaoshou* to the "Great Treatise," Makeham 1985, 222), or, more simply, to distinguish between various paths: living and dead, ordinary and sagely, Daoist and Buddhist (see Wang Chong's declaration of the epistemological gap between worlds of the living and the dead in *Balanced Discourses*, "Simplicity of Funerals" *baozang*, Forke 1962, 370). For use of the allusion in Daoxuan's general preface to *GHMJ*—where it is paired with what looks to be an allusion to Jizang's reading of the two truths in *Lotus*—see Ōuchi 2013a: 73n15, translating *T* no. 2103.j1.97b11–12.

²⁶ The "Heaven Distinguished and Heroic Spirits" (*tianting yingling*) were first invoked by Falin, discussing the sages in his reply to the Prince of Qin in his *Discourse on the Destruction of Heterodoxy*, *PXL*, *T* no. 2109.j01.477a24–5, excerpted by Yancong in his biography of Falin and Daoxuan for *GHMJ* (*T* no. 2051.j1.200b27 and *T* no. 2103.j11.161c18 respectively.) Daoxuan later invokes these words in praising Xuanzang in *XGSZ* (*T* no. 2060.j4.1.458c08); Daoxuan's passage would be picked up by Zhisheng for his catalog entry on Xuanzang's translations (*T* no. 2154.j8.561c18).

²⁷ "Linguistic means" (*yanfang*) may also be translated "words and places." "Edification" (*taoxyou*)—which combines characters for "to mold pottery" (*tao*) with "to entice or seduce" (*you*)—is used often in medieval Chinese Buddhist works, especially the works of Daoxuan, in skillful means talk: it refers to how the Buddha and his disciples reach multiple audiences in different places with different words. See, for instance, Daoxuan's biography of his preceptor, Zhishou—"whatever place [he lived] he edified, exhausting exactly his original vow" (*suifang taoyou*, *qiaqiong benyuan*), *T* no. 2060.j22.1.614c22. Huilin glosses the "entice" (*you*) in "edification" (*taoyou*) as "progress" (*jin*) by reading He Yan's annotations on *Analects* 9.11, in *Yiqiejing yinyi* *T* no. 2128.j80.824c09–10. The Buddha and Confucius are both respectably seductive teachers.

²⁸ "Midflow" (*zhongliu*) perhaps refers to the Buddhist metaphor of life-and-death as a body of water to cross.

²⁹ "Bridge to salvation" (*jinliang*), a rich metaphor for the Buddhists (and Daoxuan especially in his hagiographical work), may be glimpsed in an earlier context of Chinese Buddhist preface-ese in Sengrui's preface to the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Treatise*, *T* no. 1509.j1.57b03; see also Shih 1981, 745 for a gloss of *jinliang* as the patron Yao Xing's "exege[tical power]."

and the abbreviated:³⁰ these are the unarisen words of the most saintly; knowing the springs of things is divine:³¹ this is the apprehended lesson for the pervasively common.³²

原夫 五濁交運，四惑現行。
聖賢晦迹，是稱遭命。
不可約之以一揆；
固得引之以殊途。
故知 天挺英靈，不局言方陶誘；
中流存[在SYM]學，必假善說津梁。
夫以 廣略二教，無[元SYM]興極聖之言；
知幾其神，已明恆俗之訓。

³⁰ Medieval Chinese Buddhists knew that the Buddha and his disciples could “expanded and abbreviate” their teachings to attract the various audiences. As evidence, they could both point to passages in scriptures and also point to the lengths of scriptures themselves in prefaces and catalogs. For one example of the former strategy, *Nirvana Scripture*: “The Thus-Come World-Honored One, for the sake of beings, speaks of the abbreviated in relation to expanded manifestations and of the expanded in reference to the abbreviated. He speaks of the Ultimate Truth and makes it worldly truth, and speaks of worldly truth and makes it Ultimate truth. How does he explain the expanded in abbreviated form? ... How does he explain the abbreviated in expanded form? ... The sermons of the expanded and the abbreviated (*guanglüe shuofa*) belong to the world of the Buddha.” 如來世尊為衆生故廣中說略，略中說廣。第一義諦說為世諦；說世諦法為第一義諦。云何名為廣中說略... 云何名為略中說廣... 廣略說法是佛境界。 *T* no. 374.j33.564a18–b17 or *T* no. 375.j31.810c03–811a04, adapting Yamamoto 2007, 476–7. For an example of the second strategy, see Sengrui’s preface to Kumārajīva’s translation of the “Smaller Edition” of the *Prajñāpāramita Scripture*: “the rectified text for these scriptures is said to be of four kinds, each containing sayings of Buddha when he preached in different times and situations—sometimes expanded and sometimes abbreviated.” 斯經正文，凡有四種，是佛異時適化，廣略之說也， *T* no. 227.j1.537a12–13, translation adapted from Cheung 2006, 105; cited and quoted by Liang Wudi in his preface to his (lost) commentary on the *Nirvana*, *T* no. 2145.j8.3.54b22–23). In publicizing “expansion and abbreviation” (*guanglüe*), the Chinese invoked what could be seen as a pan-Buddhist “principle of the expansion and contraction (*vistara, samkṣepa*) of scripture” (Salomon 2011, 169; 181–4 on “Abridging the canon”).

³¹ “Knowing the springs of things is divine” (*zhiji qi shen*) is a line attributed to Confucius in the “Appended Phrases” in the *Book of Changes*. The “springs of things” (*ji* 幾), he explains, are the “slight beginnings of movement” (*dong zhi wei* 動之微), both “opportunities” (*ji* 機) to take advantage of and “capacities” (*ji* 機) of others to read and adapt to. For translation, see *Xici* 2.5, tr. Legge 1963, 392. Quoted again, to similar effect, in Daoxuan’s Catalog 9 for scriptural catalogs, on the importance of monastics using non-Buddhist classics for Buddhist purposes, *T* no. 2149.j10.336b06.

³² “Pervasively common” (*hengsu*) might be translated as “[base] customs”; here I counterpose them to “most saintly” (*jisheng*), and I leave the translation ambiguous as to whether these are merely oppositions in status (high vs. low) or also roles with regard to pedagogy (teacher vs. students).

4) Now, then, abandon indulgence and excess;³³ show or hide [titles] as duty requires:³⁴ elevate the greater editions so as to include smaller scriptures; extract the root but abandon the branches and leaves.³⁵ Although the text is abbreviated, the meaning is broad,³⁶ although the fascicles are fewer, the ideas are multiple. This allows the masters of recitation³⁷ to survey the spools and daily effectuate their merit; and allows the fortune-circulating [persons of] pure faith³⁸ to open the baskets and yearly increase their karmic effect.

今則 去其泰甚，隨務行藏：
 舉大部而攝小經；
 撮本根而捨枝葉。
 文雖約而義廣；
 卷雖少而意多。

³³ “Abandon indulgence and excess” (*qu qi taishen*) like Laozi counsels in *Laozi* 29: “The sage abandons excess (*qushen*), abandons extravagance (*qushe*), abandons indulgence (*qutai*) ” 是以聖人去甚，去奢，去泰。 Translation adapted from Legge 1891a, 72. See also Ban Gu’s *History of the Han*, “Biographies of the Upright Officials” (*shunli zhuan*), where official Huang Ba says that “For the way of governance (*zhidao*), it is abandoning indulgence and excess only!” *Hanshu* 89.3631.

³⁴ “As duty requires” (*suiwu*) appears several times in Daoxuan’s oeuvre, seeming to indicate sagely flexibility in procedure, depending on context. “Show or hide oneself” (*xingcang*) refers to *Analects* 7.11, Confucius describing himself knowing when and when not to act.

³⁵ These two lines describe the pruning procedures of the catalog below—from Catalog 2, Catalog 4 removes “smaller scriptures” (*xiaojing*) if the “greater editions” (*dabu*) listed already include (*she*) them at the level of content (for instance, *Prajñāpāramita* corpus); additionally, Catalog 4 removes “smaller scriptures” if they form one of several in a much larger scriptural collection (for instance, with *āgamas* or the *Great Collection Scriptures*) or independently circulating scriptures (“branches and leaves” *zhiye*) taken to have been “extracted” from the source text (“root” *bengen*), like Kumārajīva’s four-fascicle *Scripture on the Ten Stages* (*Pusa shizhi jing*, T no. 286), made redundant by Buddhahadra’s sixty-fascicle *Flower Adornment Scripture*, T no. 278, which included it as the twenty-second chapter (“Ten Stages” *shidi*) in five fascicles.

³⁶ The praise of scriptures who adhere to the formula of “text abbreviated, meaning broad” (*wenyue yiguang*) can be found throughout scriptural prefaces in the early medieval period, with variations on the character used to indicate breadth (*bo*, *feng*). Here, the formula that is applied to the teaching or its translation is superimposed on Catalog 4. Li Yan’s preface to *A Grove of Pearls* would praise the anthology for being “rich in meaning, abbreviated in text” (*yifeng wenyue*), see Appendix H.

³⁷ “Masters of recitation” (*zhuandu zhi shi*) refer to the ritual agents of scriptural recitation.

³⁸ “Fortune-circulating [persons of] pure faith” (*xingfu qingxin*) may refer to the lay donors of scriptural recitation, “masters and women of pure faith” *qingxin shi* or *qingxin nü* being translations for “laymen” *upāsaka* and “lay-woman” *upāsikā*.

能使 轉讀之士，覽軸日見其功；
行福清信，開藏歲增其業。

5) Now then: [we recite] scroll by scroll as a constant fixture,³⁹ without the ridicule of those who withdraw charity; [we recite] chapter after chapter in delight, breaking with the deep censure of those who hate the Dharma. [Though] the work is unfinished,⁴⁰ we view the situation and stand.⁴¹ This chapter snaps these [anxieties provoking] chest-holding and long sighs.⁴² How is it like this? Have you not heard that: the ocean treasures of the dragon⁴³ can be scanned all summer without completion; the converged dharma of the surrounding iron mountains⁴⁴ cannot be exhausted with even a hundred-million elephants bearing them?⁴⁵ The grottos amidst the peaks of Juqu forever protect the twelve jeweled vehicles;⁴⁶ the obscure monasteries of the

³⁹ “Constant fixtures” (*changdu*) typically include “heaven” and other regular astral bodies.

⁴⁰ “The work unfinished” (*shi bu huo yi*) would become a popular phrase in later Chan dialogues, often translated as “I have no choice in the matter”; cf. App 1994, 94.

⁴¹ “Viewing the situation” (*guanji*) is much like “taking advantage of opportunity”: see Daoxuan’s account of scriptural loss in his preface to Catalog 5—“engaged in spread and protection [of Buddha’s scriptures], they view the situation and created them” (*guanji er zuo*), *T* no. 2149.j10.326a20.

⁴² “Chest-holding and long sighs” (*fuying changkai*) are typical displays of lament that Daoxuan and others deploy.

⁴³ On underwater dragon palaces and the scriptural riches stored therein in medieval Chinese Buddhist translation and preface, see Young 2015, 59–64. Wu 2013 traces legends of dragon palaces filled with scripture from translated scriptures to the works of Daoxuan and Daoshi. Both Young and Wu identify similar scriptural sources for the mytheme: the *DZDL* and Dharmarakṣa’s *Scripture on the Ocean Dragon Kings* (*Hailongwang jing*, *T* no. 598). Young additionally identifies the *Lotus*; Wu identifies many others besides—in the *Bodhisattva Incarnation Scripture* *T* no. 384 and the *Mahāmāyā Scripture*, *T* no. 383, to name a few. For dragon palaces as latter-day receptacles for relics like bowls, robes, and even scriptures in translated scriptural sources and the visionary accounts of Daoxuan, see Shinohara 2000 and 2003b.

⁴⁴ On councils and assembly of the Mahāyāna corpus in a venue outside the iron mountains, see Chapter Five, Part 1.4 and Chapter 6.2. Daoshi on *dasheng jieji*.

⁴⁵ The number of elephants is expanded to eighty-four hundred-million in a verse from Zhu Fonian’s *Incarnation Scripture* (*Chutai jing*, *T* no. 384.j4.1034b15–16) or his *Appearance of the Light Scripture* (*Chuyao jing*, *T* no. 212.j12.675a29–b01). In measuring the extent of the Buddha’s words, Huijiao also pairs elephants with dragons in his critical estimate of the “Exegetes” in *Traditions of Eminent Monks*, *T* no. 2059.j8.38302–05. The hundred-million elephants were also invoked by the early Tang monk Huize in his preface to the *Prajñā Lamp Treatise* (*Banruo deng lun*, *T* no. 1566.j1.51a08–09), attributed to Bhāviveka and translated by Prabhākaramitra in 630–2. More proximately, “a hundred-million perfumed elephants” are also invoked in Daoxuan’s general preface to his catalog (*T* no. 2149.j1.219a16); Daoshi would also pair dragons and elephants in his preface to *ZJYJ*, see Appendix I, paragraph 2.

⁴⁶ For Sui-Tang sources and trajectories for legends on the scripture-filled grottos of Juqu, see note 33 in my synopsis of *A Grove of Pearls*, “Chapter 22: Preservation” in Appendix R.

nāgas continually preserve the billion sacred models. What flowed east to Cīnaṣṭhāna, not one of ten-thousand arrived.⁴⁷ And, with the deep gloom of thick night, they were [too] heavy for the lazy; with the blocking depths of ignorance, they were [too] light for the wide-viewing.⁴⁸ This makes one say, how piteous!

此則 卷卷常度，無負施之譏訶；
品品情欣，絕厭法之深咎。
事不獲已，觀機而立。
此篇撫應[膺SYM]長慨摧折。
一何若此？

豈不聞

龍海藏錄，竟夏尋而不周；
鐵圍結法，億象負之莫盡。
沮渠巖窟，恆鎮十二寶乘；
那伽幽寺，常住億千聖範。
東流震旦，萬不一來。

而 厚夜沈冥，重於厭怠；
無明障深，輕於博觀。
自可悲哉！

⁴⁷ Zhiyi would presage this statement in his *Doctrine of the Four Teachings* (四教義 *Sijiao yi*): “Furthermore, the Buddha’s teaching is limitless such that the sands of the Ganges is no analogy. That which flowed east, not one of ten-thousand succeeded. 且佛教無窮ù沙非譬。東流之者萬不一達, *T* no. 1929.j1.723b21–22.

⁴⁸ “Heavy” (*zhong*) in distinction to “light” (*qing*) might also be translated “repeated” (*chong*)—extra scrolls take extra time to read and are a pain for the “lazy” (*yandai*)—even this tiring amount is but a myriad fraction of the integral total.

6) Even so—birth-and-death is urgent and cutting, fate and its retribution have the [ephemeral] flash of a dewdrop;⁴⁹ the mind faculty does not abide, risen words⁵⁰ take the interval of swift lightning. The tenets of the teaching heard in passing⁵¹ can be used to comport the body;⁵² the timely conditions obtained in brief⁵³ can conveniently be relied upon to direct one’s view.⁵⁴ What leisure has one to search widely through the Oceans of Learning,⁵⁵ to survey comprehensively the Dharma Gates? Thus, the Treatise says, “the wise ought to practice the way / so as to obtain the fruit of liberation. / Afterwards, they can use their vast learning / to make wonderful necklaces.”⁵⁶

⁴⁹ Daoxuan also invokes the ephemerality of the “dewdrop” (*xuanlu*) in his postface to his miracle-tale collection, dated the same year, Linde 1 (663–664), *GTL*, T no. 2106.j3.435a15.

⁵⁰ “Risen words” (*xingyan*) are what Daoxuan says fill his *GHMJ* collection in his general preface: “However, the wise are not deluded, and the deluded are not wise: thus, the wise men *raise words* to lift up the meaning and universalize the excellent points; the deluded get awakened by proliferate verbiage leading their spirits. 然智者不迷，迷者非智。故智士興言，舉旨而通標領；迷夫取悟，繁詞而啟神襟 T no. 2103.j1.97a22–24. For a Japanese translation of this passage (and a tracing of allusions to the *Analects*) via Sengyou’s “Essay on Spread and Illumination” (*hongming lun*), see Ōuchi 2013a: 61–4.

⁵¹ “Heard in passing” or “according to what is heard” (*suiwen*), in Daoxuan’s usage in preface and hagiography, often distinguishes those teachings that a conventional being has access to from those perfect, complete, difficult teachings one has not heard yet.

⁵² “To comport the body” (*xunshen*) in some editions reads “cultivate the body or character” (*xiushen*), a favorite topic for Warring States philosophers.

⁵³ Bodhisattvas rely on “time” and “causes and conditions” (*shiyuan*) to vary their teachings. “Timely conditions” may then be metonymic for “teachings taught at certain times and under certain karmic conditions.” One element that often defines the *sūtra* genre for Buddhists is that the timing, audience, and karmic conditions are portrayed at the staging of the recitation, if not also an important topic covered in the lessons offered in the sermon itself. Another way of rendering *lüede shiyuan* would be “[teachings] obtained in brief [under the contingencies of] time and condition.”

⁵⁴ According to Buddhist layman Xi Chao, one is supposed to “direct one’s view” (*lingguan*) to the “dark principle” (*xuanzong*) that is “Wisdom” (*zhi* or *daohui*, *prajñā*). See Xi Chao’s “Essentials of Religion” (*fengfa yao*) in Sengyou’s *HMJ*, T no. 2102.j13.88c21–22, translated by Zürcher 2007, 174.

⁵⁵ “Oceans of Learning” (*wenhai*) are also invoked by Daoxuan in his essay on “Chanters” (*dusong*), the eighth category in *XGSZ*. As in the preface for Catalog 4, Daoxuan laments the volume of scriptures not available in China. Other images presaged in this section of his essay on “Chanters” include the “extant scriptures from the dragon stores” (*longzang xianjing*) and the line “no leisure to search widely” (*wuxia guangxun*); see T no. 2060.j28.691a09–13.

⁵⁶ Daoxuan adapts the final *gāthā* from the concluding verse portion of the thirteenth account in Kumārajīva’s translation of Āsvaghoṣa-attributed *Great Adornment Scripture-Treatise*, *Da zhuangyan jing lun* or “*Sūtrālaṃkāra*” = Kumāralāta’s *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (not so much a “treatise” as a collection of parables, but referred to as such by medieval Chinese tradition), T no. 201.j3.272a16–17, changing the first three characters to specify the otherwise missing subject; cf. tr. by Huber 1908, 79. In this story, two brothers leave home and the elder gains arhatship while the younger learns to recite and preach the Three Baskets, becoming “vastly learned” (*duowen*, *bahuśruta*). The elder counsels his younger brother to pursue the path of liberation before pursuing learning, as death may strike at any moment, and a liberated individual can make better use of his learning. The younger brother falls ill, repents his pri-

且 生滅催切，命報泫露之光；
心相不留，興言飛電之頃。
隨聞教旨，即用循[修SYM]身；
略得時緣，便依領觀。
何暇 廣尋聞海，通覽法門。
故論云：
「智者應修道，剋獲解脫果，
然後以多聞，而作妙瓔珞。」

7) Thus then: the proclivities and natures of ordinary commoners⁵⁷ have their differences, and we lament to ourselves that we cannot sit quietly to think on subtleties.⁵⁸ Then we must open and read scriptures and treatises to burst open their ears and eyes, to analyze their natures and souls.⁵⁹ We can lead and raise their understandings of principle such that they can recognize the borders between crooked and rectified; we can influence the unlearned⁶⁰ so as to raise up the standing of the Buddha Lineage. This then: the occupant⁶¹ may calculate his days without be-

oritization of learning and fame over seeking liberation, but too late to avoid rebirth in hell. In sharing this quote, Daoxuan seems to have been inspired by the older brother's stress upon the existential urgency of the present moment.

⁵⁷ That Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and holy monks must approach “ordinary commoners” (*fanxiao*) with a “skillful means” approach is echoed in other prefatory work by Daoxuan—see his essay on “Chanters” (*dusong*) in *XGSZ*, *T* no. 2060.j28.691a16–17, and on “Holy Monks” (*shenseng*) in *GTL*, *T* no. 2106.j3.430b25–26).

⁵⁸ The older brother who speaks the *gāthā* quoted above counsels his younger brother to abandon the “three baskets” and take up *dhyāna* (*chan*).

⁵⁹ This and the next line find echoes in the preface to Catalog 7 of Daoxuan's catalog: “edification” (*taohua*) and “burst eyes” (*juemu*) are shared words used in admiring the spread and work of many scriptures, *T* no. 2149.j19.33b03–07.

⁶⁰ If read as a direct object, “unlearned” *weiwen* may refer to people who have not yet “heard” (*wen*) the Dharma; as an indirect object matching “understandings of principle” (*liyi*) it may also refer to scriptures or dharma that have not yet been heard.

⁶¹ Literally, one who “occupies a life” (*zhaisheng*). In his memorial to the emperor of 662, Daoxuan, “The occupation of the śramana is not attending attention to money or women, not being tied to glory and salary” 故沙門之宅生也，財色弗顧榮祿弗縻. *T* no. 2108.j4.457a27–28, *T* no. 2103.j25.286a14. For more on this document and Dao-

traying [the Buddha's] testament,⁶² this chapter having been planted, it remains all the same to return to, and that is all.

然則 凡小使性互有不同。

自慨[-既SYM]不能靜坐思微。

則須 披讀經論

開決耳目，分解性靈。

道[導SYM]揚理義，識邪正之方隅；

陶化未聞，揚[暢SYM]佛宗之位致。

此則 宅生推日，不負遣[遺SYM]寄。

茲篇成樹，同存有歸云爾。

xuan's argument, see Weinstein 1982, 32–3 and Ch'en 1964, 79–80. Alternately, one who lives in a “house” representing the world of life-and-death as in the parable of the burning house in the *Lotus*.

⁶² A popular term in Daoxuan's oeuvre, the teacher's “testament” (*yiji*) may also be translated “inheritance” or “teachings”—Daoxuan describes his late-life divine revelations as such. *Jetavana Scripture*, T no. 1899.j1.883a17 and *Record of Miraculous Connections to the Regulations*, T no. 1898.j1.877a20, or *FYZL*, T no. 2122.j14.396a12–13.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

<i>B</i>	<i>Dazangjing bubian.</i>
BD.	Numbered manuscripts from Dunhuang held in the National Library, Beijing.
<i>BZL</i>	<i>Bianzheng lun</i> , T no. 2110.
<i>CBETA</i>	Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association [<i>Tripitaka Collection</i>].
<i>CSZJJ</i>	<i>Chu sanzang jiji</i> , T no. 2145.
<i>DDB</i>	<i>Digital Dictionary of Buddhism</i> (Muller).
<i>DTNDL</i>	<i>Da Tang neidian lu</i> , T no. 2149.
<i>DZDL</i>	<i>Da zhidu lun</i> , T no. 1509.
<i>FYZL</i>	<i>Fayuan zhulin</i> , T no. 2122.
<i>GHMJ</i>	<i>Guang hongming ji</i> , T no. 2103.
<i>GSZ</i>	<i>Gaoseng zhuan</i> , T no. 2059.
<i>GTL</i>	<i>Ji shenzhou sanbao gantong lu</i> , T no. 2106.
<i>HMJ</i>	<i>Hongming ji</i> , T no. 2102.
<i>HYDCD</i>	<i>Hanyu dacidian.</i>
<i>JLYX</i>	<i>Jinglü yixiang</i> , T no. 2121.
<i>JXZ</i>	<i>Mingban Jiaxing dazingjing.</i>
<i>JZL</i>	<i>Jinzang lun.</i>
<i>K</i>	<i>Goryeo daejanggyeong.</i>
<i>KYL</i>	<i>Kaiyuan lu</i> , T no. 2154.
<i>LDSBJ</i>	<i>Lidai sanbao ji</i> , T no. 2034.
P.	Numbered manuscripts from dunhuang in Fond Pelliot chinois, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
<i>PXL</i>	<i>Poxie lun</i> , T no. 2109.
S.	Numbered manuscripts from Dunhuang in the Aurel Stein Collection, British Library, London.
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<i>SJP</i>	<i>Shijia pu</i> , T no. 2040.
<i>SWJZZ</i>	<i>Shuowen jiezi zhu.</i>
<i>T</i>	<i>Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō.</i>
<i>X</i>	Xuzangjing; see <i>Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō.</i>
<i>XGSZ</i>	<i>Xu gaoseng zhuan</i> , T no. 2060.
<i>XSC</i>	<i>Sifen lü shanfan buque xingshi chao</i> , T no. 1804.
<i>ZJYJ</i>	<i>Zhujing yaoji</i> , T no. 2123.

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