

THE GLOW OF THE VOW OF THE TEACHER
SAMANTABHADRA “PUXIAN PUSA XING YUAN ZAN” (T.297)
*SAMANTABHADRĀCĀRYAPRAṆIDHĀNARĀJA

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The present article is an investigation into the textual format and the content of the “*Puxian Pusa Xing Yuan Zan*” (T.297), attributed to Amoghavajra. As the major part of this text is also part of the *Avataṃsakasūtra*, this investigation includes a comparison of this part of the “*Puxian Pusa Xing Yuan Zan*” in the different Chinese versions of the *Avataṃsakasūtra*. The textual format and content of the present “*Puxian Pusa Xing Yuan Zan*” are explained in the religious and political background of the Tang Dynasty.

Key words: Huayan Buddhism; **Gaṇḍavyūha* / *Avataṃsaka*; Tang Dynasty; politics.

Introduction

In the Chinese Buddhist tradition, the poem entitled *Samantabhadrācāryapraṇidhāna*, an anonymous eulogy on Samantabhadra,¹ is especially known within the **Gaṇḍavyūha* / *Avataṃsaka* tradition. The *Samantabhadrācāryapraṇidhāna* as part of the *Avataṃsakasūtra* has been translated by Thomas Cleary in 1993.² In the framework of

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¹ Watanabe (1912, p. 9) interprets the title *Samantabhadrācāryapraṇidhānarāja* as “die Strophen, welche das religiöse Leben Samantabhadra’s und (im besondern) seine frommen Wünsche zum Ausdruck bringen”.

² The different versions of the *Samantabhadrācāryapraṇidhāna* have been the subject of many scholarly researches. Already in 1912, K. Watanabe published the Sanskrit version of the poem, with a German translation. A new edition of the text was done by D. T. Suzuki and H. Idzumi in 1934–1936, and again by P. L. Vaidya in 1960. A study of the Sanskrit and Tibetan text, published from a Tibetan xylograph, has been done by S. Pathak in 1961. This Tibetan version seems to have been by the hand of a Nepalese by the name of dGe ldan. Tucci (1962, p. 396) remarks that “There is no indication when it was printed, but it was donated to the editor by a Mongolian Lama”. In the Nepalese manuscripts, the work is titled “*Ārya-Bhadracarī-(mahā)praṇidhāna-rāja*”. This is also the title used in the Tibetan commentaries. The Tibetan version itself is titled “*Ārya-Samantabhadracaryā-praṇidhāna-rāja*”. Equally in 1961, the Khotanese version of the text was studied by J. P. Asmussen, after the Khotanese text had already been edited from the manu-

the existing studies on the different versions of the *Samantabhadhrācāryapraṇidhāna*, this article makes a comparative study of the different Chinese versions of the text, with special emphasis on the version of the *Samantabhadhrācāryapraṇidhāna* as it is part of Amoghavajra's "*Puxian Pusa Xing Yuan Zan*" 普賢菩薩行願讚, contained in the Taishō Edition of the *Tripiṭaka*, Nr. 297. I will further attempt to provide a religious-historical explanation for the format of the present "*Puxian Pusa Xing Yuan Zan*".

Analysis

1. The colophon to the Chinese translation of the **Samantabhadhrācāryapraṇidhāna-rāja* "*Puxian Pusa Xing Yuan Zan*" ("The Glow of the Vow of the Teacher Samantabhadra") as it is included in the 10th volume of the Taishō Edition of the *Tripiṭaka* (T.297), attributes this translation to Amoghavajra,³ son of an Indian brahman and a Sogdian mother, born in North India in 705,⁴ and brought to China at the age of nine (see Weinstein 1987, p. 56). Having become an expert in the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (T.2061: 712a26–27, 721b1; see also Chou 1944–1945, pp. 321–322), he became a disciple of Vajrabodhi (671–741) at the age of fifteen.⁵

The exact date of this translation of the **Samantabhadracāryāpraṇidhānarāja* is unknown (Fontein 1966, p. 5; see also note # 10). However, we do know that in AD 756, on occasion of the An Lushan 安祿山 rebellion, Emperor Suzong 肅宗 asked Amoghavajra to pray for victory of the imperial army.⁶ It is on this occasion

scripts preserved in Paris, and had been reproduced in the Khotanese texts of H. W. Bailey and partly also by Sten Konow (see Tucci 1962, p. 396). In 1958, S. Devi made a comparative edition of the Chinese, Sanskrit, and Tibetan versions of the text. A comparison of the Khotanese and the Sanskrit version was done by T. Inoguchi in 1959. In *The Buddhist Tradition in India, China and Japan*, edited by William Theodore de Bary ([1969] 1972, pp. 172–178), a translation of "The Vow to Live the Life of Samanta-bhadra" was taken up. This translation is based on the above mentioned edition of the Sanskrit text by D. T. Suzuki and H. Idzumi.

³ According to his biography, included in "*Song Gaoseng Zhuan*" 宋高僧傳, T.2061: 712a24–714a20, he learnt the *Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna* in two evenings (T.2061: 712b3). Further important sources for biographical information on Amoghavajra are the "*Da Tang Gu Dade Zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi Bukong Sanzang Xingzhuang*" 大唐故大德贈司空大辨正廣智不空三藏行狀, T.2056: 292b1–294c13, and the stele-inscription composed by his disciple Feixi in 774, included in Yuanzhao's 圓照 "*Daizong Chao Zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi Sanzang Heshang Biaozhi Ji*" 代宗朝贈司空大辨正廣智三藏和尚上表制集, T.2120: 848b14–849c3.

⁴ T.2061: 712a25. In the "*Zhenyuan Xinding Shijiao Mulu*" 真元新定釋教目錄, T.2157: 881a11, Amoghavajra has mistakenly also been claimed to be a native of Ceylon. See Chou (1944–1945, p. 285, note # 1).

⁵ T.2061: 712a26. Biography of Vajrabodhi in T.2061: 711b6–712a22. On Vajrabodhi: see also Takakusu (1956, pp. 144–145), Ch'en (1973, pp. 334–335), Chandra (1980, p. 134).

⁶ It may be remembered here that Emperor Suzong (r. 756–762) succeeded in recapturing Luoyang 洛陽 and Chang'an 長安 from the An Lushan rebels with the help of Tibetans and Uygurs. See Birnbaum (1983, p. 37) and Gernet (1990, p. 227). Also in AD 742, Amoghavajra is reported to have been summoned to the capital, this time by Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 713–755), to pray for victory over an insurrection that had broken out in the Parthian domains of the Tang empire. Weinstein (1987, p. 170, note # 30) already noted that this account is of dubious origin.

that Amoghavajra is said to have taken up residence in the Daxingshan 大興善 Monastery,⁷ the monastery in which he translated the **Samantabhadrācāryapraṇidhānarāja*. As Amoghavajra died in AD 774, this translation of the **Samantabhadrācāryapraṇidhānarāja* (T.297), must have been done between AD 756 and 774.

As a “*Puxian Pusa Xing Yuan Zan*” is mentioned in Zhisheng’s catalogue “*Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu*” 開元釋教錄, dated AD 730 (T.2154: 700c8), it appears that Amoghavajra’s translation of the **Samantabhadrācāryapraṇidhānarāja* (T.297) was not the first translation of this text. This is corroborated by the fact that the 7th century “*Chengjiu Miaofa Lianhua Jing Wangyujia Guanzhi Yi Gui*” 成就妙法蓮花經王瑜伽觀智儀軌 already refers to the sūtra (T.1000: 601b6). Of the three catalogues compiled by Japanese monks that mention a “*Puxian Pusa Xing Yuan Zan*”, only one attributes the work to Amoghavajra.⁸ Given the importance of Amoghavajra for Tang Buddhism, it would be most surprising that, if Amoghavajra indeed were the translator of all the texts titled “*Puxian Pusa Xing Yuan Zan*” included in these catalogues, this would not be mentioned as such.⁹

2. The answer to the question why Amoghavajra is not mentioned as translator of all the works that are titled “*Puxian Pusa Xing Yuan Zan*” included in the catalogues, may be found in the structure of the present **Samantabhadrācāryapraṇidhānarāja* (T.297). The work, actually, is composed of four parts: (1) the so-called ‘*Samantabhadrācāryapraṇidhāna*’, (2) a part of the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalakasūtra* (T.1167), (3) a *dhāraṇī*, and (4) a praise of the *dhāraṇī*.¹⁰

2.1 The first and main part of the text (880a1–881b16), the ‘*Samantabhadrācāryapraṇidhāna*’, is a series of sixty-one stanzas, with verses counting seven syllables

⁷ Forte (1983, p. 683b) notices that the right to call a monastery ‘grand’ (*da* 大) was preserved for the emperor, and that it, hereby, was further so that the denomination ‘grand’ was reserved for those monasteries that were founded on behalf of the deceased relatives of the emperor. The Daxingshan Monastery was one of the two main temples of Tantric Buddhism in 8th century China, the other one being the Qinglong 青龍 Monastery. See also Ch’en (1973, p. 336). The Daxingshan Monastery had been founded by emperor Wen 文帝 of the Sui Dynasty in AD 582. See Weinstein (1987, p. 57).

⁸ I.e., the Tendai monk Ennin’s (794–864) “*Nittō Shingu Shōgyō Mokuroku*” 入唐新求聖教目錄 (T.2167: 1080b11). The other two catalogues that mention a “*Puxian Pusa Xing Yuan Zan*” are the Shingon monk Engyō’s (799–852) “*Reiganji Oshō Shōrai Hōmondō Gutō Mokuroku*” 靈巖寺和尚請來法門道具等目錄 (T.2164: 1072b15), and the Shingon monk Eun’s (798–869) “*Eun Risshisho Mokuroku*” 惠運律師書目錄 (T.2168B: 1090c17). See also note # 10.

⁹ It can further be mentioned that it is claimed that, in the 8th century, the work was part of the education of novices (T.2061: 713b13–17). In Korean, the “*Kyunyō Chōn*”, a biography of the famous Huayan monk Kyunyō (917–973) contains – in the seventh chapter – the eleven poems by Kyunyō that are written after the pattern of the *Bhadracaripraṇidhāna*. See Lee (1961, p. 410). Also many commentaries on the work have been written. See Watanabe (1912, pp. 23–24) and Etō (1929, pp. 4–8).

¹⁰ Iyanaga (1985, pp. 640–641): “beaucoup de ‘traductions’ de Vajrabodhi, et l’immense majorité de celles d’Amoghavajra aient été composées en Chine [...] En général, ce sont les ‘traductions’ datant de la deuxième moitié des T’ang (à partir de celles d’Amoghavajra) qui sont les plus douteuses”. See also Reis-Habito (1993, pp. 144–145, note # 47).

each. As to content, these sixty-one stanzas can be grouped as follows: (1) eulogy to *buddhas* and *tathāgatas* (stanzas 1–7); (2) reflection on one's corporeal, vocal and mental actions, and the consequent wish to be released from suffering (stanzas 8–10); (3) the wish to be undefiled for ever after, and the vow to help others in the universe, using the qualities that will be obtained by taking the vow (stanzas 11–40); (4) eulogy on Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī, and Amitābha (stanzas 41–49); (5) description of the changes to be obtained when taking the vow of the practice of good (stanzas 50–53); (6) the actual taking refuge with Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī, and Amitābha (stanzas 54–61). The above six sections thus constitute two parts: 1–3: a general section on taking refuge with *buddhas* and *tathāgatas*; 4–6: a specific section on Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī, and Amitābha in particular.¹¹

2.1.1 This *prañidhāna* is also part of Prajña's forty volume translation of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* “*Dafangguang Fo Huayan Jing*” 大方廣佛華嚴經 (T.293: 847a2–848b9).¹² Prajña, a native of Kāpiśī¹³ who was born in AD 733 (variant 734) and who studied in Oḍra (Orissa), came to China by sea in 781.¹⁴ He made his translation of the **Gaṇḍavyūha* based on an Orissa original. This original was offered to Emperor Dezong 德宗 (r. 780–805) personally by an envoy sent to China by the king of the southern Indian kingdom of Oḍra in AD 796.¹⁵ 796 is the year in which Prajña started his translation work on the text in Chang'an 長安, center of Esoteric Bud-

¹¹ Klimkeit (2000, p. 243) remarks: “Bald nachdem der Buddhismus in China eingeführt worden war, interessierte man sich für die Gestalt des Maitreya, so schon in der Östlichen Chindynastie (317–420). [...] Erst im 7. Jh. konzentriert sich das Interesse eher auf Amitābha und Avalokiteśvara”. The cult of Mañjuśrī is further claimed to be older than the one of Avalokiteśvara, and worship of Mañjuśrī is claimed to be attested as early as the first centuries C.E. (Klimkeit 2000, p. 265). Chou (1944–1945, p. 299, note # 69) remarks that the particular devotion to Mañjuśrī is one of the characteristic features of Esoteric Buddhism as promulgated by Amoghavajra. It is to be remembered here, that Amoghavajra presented a memorial asking Emperor Daizong to build a pavilion for Mañjuśrī in the (Da)Xingshan Monastery. See T.2061: 713b10 and T.2120: 834a5.

¹² Winternitz (1968, p. 377) remarks: “Als Schluß des *Gaṇḍavyūha*, aber auch als selbständiger Text findet sich eine mahāyānistische Strophensammlung Bhadracarīprañidhānagāthāḥ, welche das Bekenntnis zu den fünf Pflichten, die zehn frommen Wünsche eines Bodhisattva und den Ausdruck der Amitābha-Hoffnung enthält.” See also Watanabe (1912, p. 9) and Fontein (1966, pp. 3–4).

¹³ See Bagchi (1927–1938, p. 582, note # 2). Kāpiśī was situated in the north of present-day Kabul. Prajña has mistakenly been claimed to be from Kaśmīra. See also Forte (1996, pp. 442–443, note # 31).

¹⁴ Chandra (1980, p. 137): “The biography of Prājña is a clear indication that South India was a renowned centre of Tantric philosophy, art and ritual. Prājña studied the Chinese language and embarked for China from a South Indian port.”

¹⁵ T.293: 848b25–c13, T.2157: 894a10–896b14. On this event: see Lévi (1905, p. 253), Jan (1958–1959, pp. 1–2), Chandra (1980, p. 137), and Forte (1996, p. 447). On the time and the location of the compilation of the work: see Nakamura (1987, pp. 194–195). According to B. Nanjio, it was in AD 795 that the king of Oḍra presented the original to emperor Dezong. See on this: Nanjio (1975, p. 34b), Jan (1958–1959, pp. 2, 10; note # 4). The letter written by the king of Oḍra that accompanied the manuscript is taken up in appendix to Prajña's translation of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (T.293: 848b25–c13). For a translation of the letter: see Jan (1958–1959, pp. 5–6).

dhism in 8th century China. The translation was finished in AD 798.¹⁶ Prajña died in Luoyang 洛陽, but the exact date of his death is unknown. However, it definitely has to be after April 4, 811, as this is the date his translation of the “*Dacheng Bensheng Xindi Guan Jing*” 大乘本生心地觀經 was completed (= T.159; see Forte 1996, p. 444). Prajña was awarded the ‘Purple Robe’¹⁷ and honored with the title ‘Master of the *Tripitaka*’. This recognised him as a major translator at the imperial court (T.2157: 893c7; see also Weinstein 1987, p. 98).

2.1.2 Prajña’s translation of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* is included in the “*Zhenyuan Xinding Shijiao Mulu*”, where it is stated that this is a “new translation, consisting of forty volumes, newly entered in the catalogue of Zhenyuan”.¹⁸ This refers to the fact that the work had already been translated as “*Huayan Jing*” 華嚴經 by Buddhahadra (359–429) together with other monks.¹⁹ This translation was based on a Khotanese manuscript, brought to China by the monk Zhi Faling 支法領.²⁰ This version, which was done in 418–420, consists of sixty volumes (T.278).²¹ The title of the translated

¹⁶ Jan (1958–1959, p. 6) remarks that, at that time, there was no one who understood the Sanskrit language thoroughly, while Prajña had no sufficient knowledge of the Chinese language. He thus translated the manuscript into the *Hu*-language (Tocharian ?), and then this *Hu*-language was translated into Chinese. This Chinese translation was given by Prajña to the Japanese monk Kūkai (774–835), when the latter met Prajña in 805 in Chang’an. See Forte (1996, pp. 443–444).

¹⁷ Chou (1944–1945, p. 292, note # 42) remarks: “In 689 A.D. Empress Wu first bestowed purple colored kaṣāya robes on nine monks. [...] This color was chosen probably because it was the official color of the ceremonial robes of the higher officers”. Reign of Empress Wu 武后: AD 684–705. See also note # 62.

¹⁸ T.2157: 894a4–896b14, 919b4–5. The text is further said to be contained in four wrappers (T.2157: 919b5). In the “*Xu Zhenyuan Shijiao Mulu*” 續真圖釋教錄, the text is said to count 612 pages (T.2158: 1052a10–11).

¹⁹ On Buddhahadra: see Tsukamoto (1985, pp. 452, 874, 879–886).

²⁰ To the end of this Chinese version of the *Avatamsaka* in sixty volumes (T.278: 788b3–9), the following notice is attached: “The text in a length of 36,000 *śloka*s was brought back by Zhi Faling from Khotan. The Indian Chan monk Buddhahadra was requested to translate [the text] at the Daochang 道場 Monastery built in Yixi 義熙 14 (= AD 418) by Xie Shi 謝石, the *sikong* 司空 of Yangzhou 揚州, the lay sponsors being Meng Yi 孟顗, the *neishi* 內史 of Wu 吳 Commandery, and Chu Shudu 褚叔度, general of the right guard (*you wei jiangjun* 右衛將軍); then finally published in Yuanxi 元熙2 (= AD 420)”. See also “*Dafangguang Fo Huayan Jing Ganying Zhuan*” 大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳, T.2074: 173c3–16. See further also Lévi (1905, p. 253), Lamotte (1960, pp. 68–70), and Tsukamoto (1985, pp. 398, 439, 460). On the importance of Zhi Faling for the introduction of the *Dharmaguptakavinaya* in China: see A. Heirman, *TP* (2002), “Can we Trace the Early Dharmaguptakas”.

²¹ Buddhahadra’s sixty volumes translation is mentioned in the following catalogues: “*Chu Sanzang Ji Ji*” 出三藏記集, where the text is said to consist of fifty volumes (T.2145: 11c9–10); “*Da Tang Neidian Lu*” 大唐內典錄, where the text is said to consist of sixty volumes (variant: fifty volumes) and to count 1,087 pages (T.2149: 285a29–b1, 303a7–8, 313b7–8); “*Gu Jin Yi Jing Tu Ji*” 古今譯經圖記, where the text is said to consist of sixty volumes (T.2151: 357a14–15); and “*Da Zhoukan Ding Zhong Jing Mulu*” 大周刊定衆經目錄, where the text is said to consist of sixty volumes (variant fifty) and to count 1,087 pages (T.2153: 380b6–8). According to the variant reading of the Yuan and Ming of T.2153: 460b25, these sixty volumes are contained in six wrappers. This catalogue also mentions a new translation in eighty volumes and counting 1,087 pages. This reference to a new version in eighty volumes is not mentioned in the v.l.

text was *Buddhāvataṃsakamahāvaiṣṭyasūtra*, however, “**Gaṇḍavyūha*” seems to have been its original name. The work is likely to be dated back to the early Kuṣāṇa Dynasty (first century AD).²² As is the case with Prajña’s translation, also Buddhābhaddra’s sixty volume version of the **Gaṇḍavyūha* has a poetry part, however, this section is not parallel to the *Samantabhadrācāryaprañidhānarāja*. A part of Buddhābhaddra’s translation has later been redone by Divākara (613–688), a native of Central India²³, in AD 680 (T.295).²⁴ The question thus is whether the *prañidhāna* included in Prajña’s version is taken over from Amoghavajra’s **Samantabhadrācāryaprañidhānarāja*, or from another text.

2.1.3 Of the Khotanese *Buddhāvataṃsakamahāvaiṣṭyasūtra* further, there is a translation by Śikṣānanda, done in 695–699 and consisting of eighty volumes (T.279).²⁵ In 695, Śikṣānanda had been invited to come to China by Empress Wu (r. 684–705). With this aim, she had sent a special emissary to Khotan (see Weinstein 1973, p. 299). Śikṣānanda brought his own copy of the *Avataṃsaka* to Luoyang (see Guisso 1978,

3Ed., T.2153: 460b25. On this eighty volume version: see below. The “*Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu*”, further, states that the work has sixty volumes (T.2154: 505b20, 589b21) (variant fifty (T.2154: 681c27, 703a2)), but that the original version only had fifty that were – by later people – divided to sixty (T.2154: 505b20). These volumes are said to be contained in six wrappers (T.2154: 589b20, 681c27, 703a2). The total number of pages is said to be 1,079 (T.2154: 682a1, 703a2). In this catalogue, we further find a copy of the colophon to the actual translation (T.2154: 505b21). The “*Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu Lue Chu*” 開元釋教錄略出 states that the work has fifty volumes and amounts to 1,100 pages contained in five wrappers (T.2155: 725c25–26). The “*Zhenyuan Xinding Shijiao Mulu*”, finally, gives the same information as the “*Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu*” (T.2157: 802b11–12, 919a9–10, 1026a22–23).

²² Warder (1991, p. 424) suggests Āndhra as place of origin.

²³ See “*Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu*”, T.2154: 564a12. On the life and exact dates of Divākara: see Forte (1974, pp. 135–145). Between AD 683 and 685, Divākara worked in the Taiyuan Monastery in Chang’an. See Forte (1983, p. 694b; 1996, p. 441). See also note # 44.

²⁴ Forte (1974, p. 149) dates this translation in the first year Chuigong (9 February 685–29 January 686). Takakusu (1956, p. 111) mentions that Divākara brought a version in forty volumes of the *Avataṃsaka* to China in 680. Divākara enjoyed the patronage of Empress Wu, who permitted him to reside in imperially sponsored tempels where he was provided with a large staff of assistants. See Weinstein (1973, p. 299).

²⁵ In the “*Xu Gu Jin Yi Jing Tu Ji*”, T.2152: 369b26–27, Śikṣānanda’s translation is mentioned as counting eighty volumes. The “*Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu*” states that Śikṣānanda’s eighty volumes translation (T.2154: 668c16–17, 682a2, 703a4) is the second version of the text (T.2154: 565c15–16, 589c9, 682a2, 703a4), and is contained in eight wrappers (T.2154: 589c7, 682a2), with a total of 1,329 pages (T.2154: 682a2–3) (variant 1,327 pages, T.2154: 703a4). Śikṣānanda’s translation is further mentioned in the “*Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu Lue Chu*”, T.2155: 725c28–726a1, where the eighty volume text is now said to count 1,372 pages. The “*Zhenyuan Xinding Shijiao Mulu*”, finally, mentions that the eighty volume translation (T.2157: 1008c17) is the second translation (T.2157: 866a16–17, 919a20–21, 1026a24), is contained in eight wrappers (T.2157: 919a19), and amounts to 1,327 pages (T.2157: 1026a24–25). On Śikṣānanda: see T.2061: 718c19–719a17; Jen (1993, vol. 2, pp. 183–185). Both Buddhābhaddra’s and Śikṣānanda’s translation of the *Avataṃsaka*, have been translated into Japanese by Sokuō Etō. The first of these two works, *Daihōkōbutsukegongyō*, in Kokuyaku Daizōkyō, Tokyo, Kokumin Bunko Kankōkai, 1917, Vols. 1–3. The second version, *Daihōkōbutsukegongyō*, in Kokuyaku Issaikyō, Tokyo, Daitō Shuppansha, 1929, vols. 1–4. See also Bagchi (1927–1938, p. 344) and Nakamura (1987, p. 194).

p. 48). The translation work was begun in the imperial palace in Luoyang, and completed in 699 at the Fo Shouji 佛授記 Monastery (see Weinstein 1987, p. 45). Empress Wu is said to have personally attended the lectures Śikṣānanda gave on the text, and she also wrote a preface to the text.²⁶ This translation thus has, chronologically, to be dated in between Buddhābhaddra's text (T.278) and Amoghavajra's text (T.297). As also Śikṣānanda's translation does not contain a *prañidhāna* poetry part, it is not unlikely that Prajña took over his *prañidhāna* from Amoghavajra.

2.1.4 There is still one other text that has to be taken into account. In AD 420, i.e. simultaneous with the translation of the Khotanese *Buddhāvataṃsakamahāvaiṇya-sūtra*, Buddhābhaddra translated a text called *Mañjuśrīprañidhānasūtra* “*Wenshushili Fayuan Jing*” 文殊師利發願經 (T.296) in the Bodhimaṇḍa Monastery.²⁷ As with the *Buddhāvataṃsakamahāvaiṇya-sūtra*, also this translation was made from a Khotanese manuscript. Jan Fontein (1966, p. 5) remarks that the text on which Buddhābhaddra's “*Wenshushili Fayuan Jing*” was based, had been brought to China “together with” the manuscript of the *Avataṃsakasūtra*, and that the fact that Buddhābhaddra did not add his translation of the *Bhadracarī* to that of the *Avataṃsakasūtra* (i.e. T.278) suggests that the poem was regarded at that time as a separate work. This explains why also Śikṣānanda's translation of the *Avataṃsaka* does not contain the *Samantabhadrācāryaprañidhāna*. The “*Wenshushili Fayuan Jing*” is described in the “*Chu Sanzang Ji Ji*”, where it is related that, in the fourth century AD, this *Mañjuśrīprañidhānasūtra* was recited in all Buddhist countries.²⁸ It was, apparently, not until the forty volume *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* was translated by Prajña in 796–798 that the *prañidhāna* was incorporated in the *sūtra*. As the *prañidhāna* is also preserved as an independent work in the Tibetan and Mongolian tradition (see 2.1.5), it appears that the text later on became detached again from the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*.²⁹ It is remarkable that the text of the “*Wenshushili Fayuan Jing*”, text that uses the form of five-word stanzas of four lines (known as ‘*jueju*’), totalling forty-four stanzas, deals with the same items as the *Samantabhadrācāryaprañidhāna*, but with Mañjuśrī, not Samantabhadra, as key figure.³⁰ Also the general outline and structure of the “*Wenshushili Fayuan Jing*” are, further, parallel to those in the *Samantabhadrācāryaprañidhirāja*.³¹

²⁶ See T.2073: 155a10–19. See also Inoguchi (1959, p. 91). In fact, there are two imperial prefaces to Śikṣānanda's translation: one by Chengzu, the third sovereign of the Ming, dated 1412, and one by Empress Wu Zetian. See Bosch (1922, p. 269). Wu Zetian's preface (T.279: 1a6–b19) is also included in the “*Quan Tang Wen*” 97: 5b. See Guisso (1978, p. 229, note # 188). Empress Wu further also wrote an imperial preface in honor of the contributions of the canon to Divākara: See T.2154: 564a12–17.

²⁷ T.2145: 67c6, T.2154: 505c6, and T.2157: 802b25 render Bodhimaṇḍa as ‘Douchang’, 斗場 while T.2145: 11c21 reads ‘Daochang’ 道場.

²⁸ T.2145: 67c5–8: “When reverencing the Buddha, the fourfold community of foreign countries often recites this scripture to express the wish to engage in the Buddhist path”.

²⁹ See Lee (1961, p. 410) and Fontein (1966, p. 5). See also note # 2.

³⁰ Chou (1944–1945, pp. 286–287, note # 11) remarks that since early times there seems to have been a confusion between Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī. See also Takamine (1963, pp. 14, 16–17, 19–21). See also note # 52.

³¹ See also Lee (1961, pp. 410–411, note # 15).

2.1.5 Apart from Chinese, this *praṇidhāna* section of the **Samantabhadrācārya-praṇidhāna* is also preserved in Sanskrit³², in Nepalese and Japanese manuscripts, as well as in Tibetan. These versions have been superbly analysed by Kaikioku Watanabe (1912). Of the Sanskrit version, there is a northern and a southern variant.³³ The northern variant, to which also the Nepalese manuscripts as well as the Tibetan text belong, dates back to the 10th century. This northern version originally was the end of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. There are two Tibetan translations: one as independent work, and one as *Bhadracarī* as part of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. This again indicates that the *Bhadracarī* originally was an independent work. Also a Mongolian translation exists (see Watanabe 1912, pp. 19–22). To the southern variant belong the Japanese manuscripts. This version goes back to a text brought to China by Amoghavajra, situated in the flourishing period of Tantrism in southern India and Ceylon in the 6th–8th centuries. Kūkai (774–835) brought the text to Japan in 806.³⁴ Later, two versions were brought to Japan from China by Engyō (799–852), a pupil of Kūkai, and one version by Yeun (801–872). A comparison of the two Sanskrit versions (see Watanabe 1912, p. 14) shows that the two generally agree. The only difference is the order of stanzas 5a–6b and 13a–17b (Table I):

Table I

northern version	southern version
1–4	1–4
5	5a 6b
6	6a 5b
7–12	7–12
13	13b–14a
14	14b–15a
15	15b–16a
16	16b–17a
17	17b 13a
18–62	18–62

³² The language of the Indian version is Buddhist Sanskrit, and the grammatical peculiarities indicate that the text was composed in the early period of Mahāyāna. See Pathak (1961, pp. vii–viii). Lamotte (1967, p. 636) mentions the *Avatamsaka* among the works “dont les vers seulement sont en sanskrit mixte, la prose étant en sanskrit généralement correct”.

³³ For an overview of existing manuscripts of both versions of the text: see Watanabe (1912, pp. 15–18). The colophon of the Paris manuscript (62(14)) (Filliozat 1941, p. 34) has the title “*Ārya Bhadracarī-mahāpraṇidhāna-rāja*”. The Cambridge manuscript (Add. 899(2)) has the title “*Bhadracarī-mahāpraṇidhāna-rāja*”, and further Add. 1471: “*Bhadracarī-praṇidhāna*”; Add. 1680 (1): “*Bhadracarī-praṇidhāna-rāja*”. See Devi (1958, p. 10).

³⁴ It is to be remembered here, that Kūkai, who met Prajña in Chang’an in 805, also took Prajña’s translation of the *Avatamsaka*, based on the Orissa version of the text, to Japan.

K. Watanabe (1912, p. 15) suggests that the northern version to all probability is the original one. As outlined, apart from these two Sanskrit versions of the *Sa-mantabhadrācāryaprañidhāna*, there further has been a version circulating in Orissa, and one circulating in Khotan. The transmitted Khotanese version, which, according to T. Inoguchi (1959, p. 93) has to be dated later than the 8th century is, according to J. P. Asmussen (1961, p. 6) “a rather free rendering of the BSkrt. (= Buddhist Sanskrit) original, in some cases more a paraphrase than a translation” (see also Inoguchi 1959, p. 92). A comparison of the stanzas of these versions has revealed the following (see Watanabe 1912, p. 22) (Table II):

Table II

northern version	southern version	Orissa version	Khotanese version
1–4	1–4	1–4	1–4
5	5a 6b	5a 6b	–
6	6a 5b	6a 5b	6
7	7	7	5
8–12	8–12	8–12	7–11
13	13b–14a	13b–14a	12
–	–	14b	–
14	14b–15a	15	13
15	15b–16a	16	14
16a	16b	17a	15a
16γ	17α	–	–
16δ	17β	17b	–
17a	17b		
17b	13a	13a	–
18–19a	18–19a	18–19a	–
19b–43	19b–43	19b–43	15b–39
44	44	44	44
45	45	45	–
46–54	46–54	52–60	–
55–58	55–58	46–49	40–43
59–60	59–60	50–51	–
61–62	61f–62	61–62	–

2.2 A comparison of the present *Samantabhadrācāryaprañidhāna*, contained in T.297, with Buddhahadra’s translation of the “*Mañjuśrīprañidhānasūtra*” (T.296),

and the version as it is included in the 40th fascicle of the *Avatamsakasūtra* (T.293) reveals the following (Table III):

Table III

T.296	T.297	T.293
1	1	1
2	2	2
3	3	3
4	4	4
6	5	5 ³⁵
—	6	6 ^{*35}
5	7	7
7	8	8
8	9	9
9	10	10
10	11	11
11	12	12
	13e	13e
	13f	13f
12	13a	13a
	13b	13b ³⁶
	13c	
	13d	
		14
13	14	15

³⁵ Stanzas 5 and 6 of T.297 and T.293 thus parallel stanzas ‘5a 6b’ and ‘6a 5b’ of both the southern version and the Orissa version outlined in Table II.

³⁶ A comparison of T.296, T.297 and T.293 shows that stanza 12 of T.296 corresponds to the last four verses of stanza 13 of T.297. In T.297, two verses (e and f) have been added. T.293 takes over these added verses, but reduces the total number of verses in stanza 13 to four by dropping 13c and 13d of T.297 (corresponding to 12c and 12d of T.296). In addition, T.293 adds a new stanza 14 that has no parallel in T.296 or T.297. This implies that the subsequent numbering of stanzas of T.293 is one unit more than of T.297. This situation is not completely parallel to what was shown in Table II. Compared to the northern version, also stanzas 13–17 of the southern version and the Orissa version are irregular. However, compared to the northern version, stanza 13a is in both versions placed after stanza 17. This implies that stanza 13 of the southern version and the Orissa version is formed by stanzas 13b and 14a of the northern version, thus forming a regular stanza of four verses. This sustains K. Watanabe’s claim that the northern version is, to all probability, the original one. The southern version continues in the same pattern, forming stanzas ‘14b–15a’ and ‘15b–16a’. As is the case for T.293, where a new 14th stanza is introduced, as the Orissa version introduces a stanza 14b, as in T.293, to continue with a full stanza 15 and 16, corresponding to stanza 14 and 15 resp. of the northern version.

Table III (continued)

14	15	16
15	16a	17a
	16b	17b
	16c	17c
	16d	17d ³⁷
	16e	
	16f	
–	17	18
–	18	19
16	19	20
17	20	21
18	21	22
19	22	23
20	23	24
21	24	25
22	25	26
23	26	27
24	27	28
25	28	29
26	29	30
27	30	31
28	31	32
29	32	33
30	33	34
31	34	35
32	35	36
33	36	37

³⁷ A comparison of T.296, T.297 and T.293 shows that stanza 15 of T.296 corresponds to the first four verses of stanza 16 of T.297. As was the case with stanza 13 of T.297, also this stanza 16 counts six verses (i.e. adding e and f). Stanza 17 of T.293 (corresponding to stanza 16 of T.297: see previous note) again reduces the number of verses in this stanza to four. In contradistinction to stanza 13, this is not done by dropping two verses of T.297, but by dropping only stanza 16c of T.297, and contracting 16d, 16e and 16f of T.297 to two stanzas (17c and 17d). This situation is not completely parallel to what was shown in Table II. Stanza 16a of the northern version is taken up in the southern version (see also the previous note), however, other parts of stanza 16 of this northern version do not figure in any of the other Indian versions. The same is true for parts of stanza 17 of the southern version. As is the case with T.297 and T.293, also the Orissa version reduces the total number of verses of stanza 17 of the southern version. Because the total number of stanzas of the Orissa version is smaller than of the southern version, this implies that – contrary to the case in T.297 and T.293 – for the rest of the *pranidhāna*, we obtain an equal total number of stanzas.

Table III (continued)

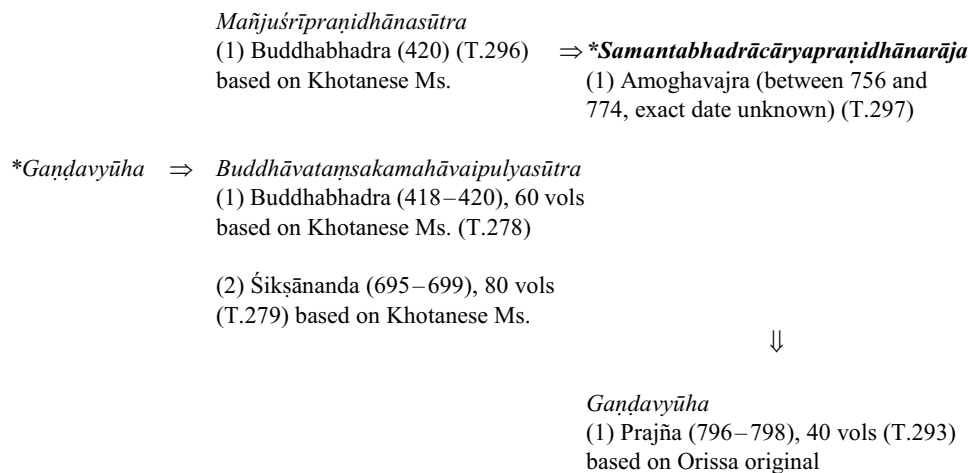
34	37	38
35	38	39
36	39	40
37	40	41
38	41	42
39	42	43
—	43	44
—	44	45
—	45	52 ³⁸
—	46	53
—	47	54
—	48	55
—	49	56
—	50	57
—	51	58
—	52	59
—	53	60
40	54	46
41	55	47
42	56	48
—	57	49
43	58	50
—	59	51
—	60	61
44	61	62

2.3 The textual history of the *prañidhāna* part of the **Samantabhadrācāryaprañidhānarāja* can be summarised as follows. Originally, the (*Mañjuśrī*)*prañidhāna* was an independent text, brought to China and translated by Buddhahadra as “*Wenshu-shili Fayuan Jing*” (T.296). This translation was done in AD 420 in Jianye 建業 (Nanjing) in the Bodhimaṇḍa Monastery. The translation is based on a Khotanese manuscript. Of the **Gaṇḍavyūha*, different versions were circulating. Buddhahadra as well as Śikṣānanda translated the version of the text as it was known in Khotan (T.278 and T.279 resp.), while the translation of Prajña (T.293) is based on an Orissa

³⁸ This means that stanza 45 of T.297 corresponds to stanza 52 of T.293. A further comparison of T.297 and T.293 shows that stanzas 45–59 of T.297 have their parallel in stanzas 46–60 of T.293, be it that these stanzas are not in the same order. Only the last two stanzas of T.297 and T.293 have the same order again. This situation is similar to what was shown in Table II. Also here, stanzas 46–54 of the southern version correspond to stanzas 52–60 of the Orissa version, and stanzas 55–58 of the southern version correspond to stanzas 59–60 of the Orissa version. Also here, the last two stanzas are parallel. For the numbering, see also notes # 36 and # 37.

manuscript. We know that Prajña's version was done between 796 and 798, and that Amoghavajra translated his "*Puxian Pusa Xing Yuan Zan*" (T.297), in the Daxingshan Monastery where he resided between AD 756 and 774. This implies that Prajña's "*Dafangguang Fo Huayan Jing*" is younger than Amoghavajra's work. A comparison of the extant Chinese versions of the *prañidhāna* further shows that we have to do with three versions of the same text. This means that Amoghavajra expanded the Khotanese *Mañjuśrīprañidhāna*, whereby he replaced Mañjuśrī by Samantabhadra. Prajña, when translating the **Gaṇḍavyūha* based on the version circulating in Orissa, again adapted the *prañidhāna* that had been expanded by Amoghavajra, keeping Samantabhadra as key figure. Also the extant Tibetan version that dates back to the 10th century (see 2.1.5), is dedicated to Samantabhadra.³⁹

This gives the following scheme:



2.4 The above described textual history can be explained within the general framework of Buddhism during the Tang Dynasty.⁴⁰ When, in AD 589, the divided Chinese territory was reunited under the Sui Dynasty (589–618), Buddhism had become a major philosophical and religious factor, especially in the North. The Sui and many of the Tang emperors were, at least until 845, devoted to Buddhism (see Wright 1973, pp. 241–242). Political reasons, however, did not restrain the successive rulers from keeping Buddhist practices under strict state control (see Wright–Twitchett 1973, pp. 18–19; Wright 1973, pp. 245–247, 251, 261–263; Weinstein 1973, pp. 265–267). After, in the Sui Dynasty, Tiantai Buddhism had gained importance, the second and third emperors of the Tang (Taizong 太宗 (r. 627–650) and Gaozong 高宗 (r. 650–684)) favoured Faxiang Buddhism, prominent person of which is Xuan-

³⁹ See note # 1.

⁴⁰ On the history of the **Gaṇḍavyūha/Avataṃsaka* and its commentaries in China: see Fazang's "*Huayan Jing Zhuan Ji*" 華嚴經傳記 (T.2073).

zang 玄奘 (600–664).⁴¹ Under these conditions, Tiantai declined rapidly.⁴² Empress Wu, who took over the Tang throne, associated herself with Huayan Buddhism⁴³, principle text of which is the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (see Takakusu 1956, p. 108; Guenther 1977, p. 3). From AD 670 on, Fazang was a member of the Taiyuan Monastery 太原, the main center of Buddhism in Chang'an,⁴⁴ and had thus entered the service of (the later Empress) Wu Zetian 武則天 (see Forte 2000, pp. 9–10, 51). Fazang had lived in close contact with the imperial court, and had become one of the leading ideologists of Tang China.⁴⁵ When Fazang, from AD 680 onward, frequently consulted Divākara⁴⁶ on questions concerning the Sanskrit text of the *Huayan*, it is probably this fact that made him conclude that a new translation was needed, whereupon Empress Wu invited Śikṣānanda to come to China. Under her sponsorship, the second translation of this huge text was begun in 695 (Weinstein 1973, p. 303). As mentioned, she personally participated in the editorial work, and she also wrote a preface to Śikṣānanda's translation. When the translation was finished in 699, Empress Wu invited Fazang to lecture on the text. That Fazang, as commentator, gives his personal interpretation of the *Avataṃsaka*, without concern for the original texts, is typical for Chinese commentators of this period. Even the translators of the origi-

⁴¹ Weinstein (1973, p. 291). On the instruction by Gaozong to have translations of Buddhist works made in the Taiyuan 太原 Monastery in Chang'an, Forte (1974, p. 141) remarks: "Ufficialmente è Kao-tsung a dare il via al lavoro di traduzione presso il monastero T'ai-yüan in quanto è lui l'imperatore. Ma egli aveva completamente abbandonato le redini del governo a Wu Chao a causa della sua malattia e doveva morire il 27 dicembre del 683".

⁴² See on this point Weinstein (1973, pp. 290–291).

⁴³ See Weinstein (1973, p. 302). It can be remarked here, that also Empress Wu's maternal grandfather, a member of the Sui imperial family, as well as her mother had been devoted to Buddhism. See Ch'en (1973, p. 220) and Weinstein (1987, p. 38). Weinstein (1973, p. 302) remarks: "To justify her seizure to the throne, Wu Chao identified herself with the Buddhist ideal of the universal monarch who proclaims the Dharma for the benefit of all beings throughout the world [...] Seeing herself as a universal monarch, she must have been attracted by the Hua-yen with its well-ordered universe presided over by Vairocana Buddha, whose every act was reflected throughout the countless worlds". The impact of Empress Wu on Buddhism is, e.g., visible in the alternative name for the Huayan school. The school is also called Xianshou 賢首, Xianshou being the honorific name Empress Wu conferred on the Chinese of Sogdian origin Fazang 法藏 (643–712), great systematiser of the Huayan school. See Weinstein (1973, p. 271; 1987, p. 46).

⁴⁴ The monastery, situated in the northwestern corner of Chang'an, started off as the home of Yang Gongren, president of the department of the imperial chancellor. In AD 670 or 671, the family of Empress Wu founded the Taiyuan Monastery in this location. This monastery was meant for the posthumous well-being of Empress Wu's mother. In AD 687 or 688, the name of the monastery was changed to Weiguo Monastery, and in AD 689 or 690, the name of the monastery was again changed, this time to Chongfu Monastery. It became a 'dynastic monastery'. See Forte (1974, p. 141; 1983, pp. 693b–695a; 1996, pp. 441, 456–460; 2000, pp. 59, 60–63).

⁴⁵ Forte (2000, p. 10). We may also recall the remark of P. Demiéville (1973, p. 397) here, in which he describes the *Avataṃsakasūtra* as follows: "[...] qui se caractérise par une sorte de panthéisme monadologique retrouvant l'un total dans l'infiniment petit et multipliant toutes choses à grand renfort de représentations photiques obsédantes. Une telle métaphysique était bien faite pour plaire au totalitarisme de l'usurpatrice, beaucoup mieux que le 'psychologisme analytique' de l'école de Hiuan-tsang, qui commence dès lors à passer à l'arrière-plan". See also Forte (1983, p. 694b).

⁴⁶ On the contacts between Fazang and Divākara: see Forte (1974, p. 138).

nal texts were omitted.⁴⁷ Fazang remained an imperial protégé also after the death of Empress Wu (see Weinstein 1987, p. 47). When Empress Wu died in 705, her son restored the Tang Dynasty as Emperor Zhongzong 中宗. Also he supported Huayan Buddhism, besides Esoteric Buddhism that started to flourish in 8th century China. The following saying of Amoghavajra addressed to the emperor is illustrative for the imperial patronage Amoghavajra enjoyed: “Your Majesty has received the mandate of the Buddha to serve as King of the Dharma; it is Your Majesty who satisfies the aspirations of the people and holds the secret seal of Samantabhadra” (T.2120: 840b26. See also Weinstein 1987, p. 82). In the light of the general content of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, the journey of a seeker of truth named Sudhana, who is “sent on a journey by Mañjuśrī, the personification of wisdom. Initially directed by Mañjuśrī, Sudhana calls on a number of spiritual guides, each of whom sends him on to another for further enlightenment. Eventually, Sudhana comes to the abode of Maitreya, the imminent Buddha, and finally integrates with the total being of Samantabhadra, the representation of Universal Good, the activity of enlightenment”,⁴⁸ this saying can help us in finding an answer to the reason why Amoghavajra changed Mañjuśrī to Samantabhadra as key figure of the *Prañidhāna*.⁴⁹ According to R. Birnbaum (1983, p. 30), “[...] it seems clear that a major goal of the public teachings and activities of the last decades of Amoghavajra’s life was the vigorous propagation of the cult of Mañjuśrī [...] Amoghavajra sought to establish Mañjuśrī as the national deity of T’ang China”.⁵⁰ If, indeed, Mañjuśrī had to become the national deity of Tang China, and the Chinese emperor was thought of as having “received the mandate of the Buddha to serve as King of the Dharma”, and we further take into account that since early times Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra had been closely connected – even confused⁵¹ – the identification of the emperor with Samantabhadra becomes meaningful.⁵² This

⁴⁷ In this way, e.g., also Buddhahadra, is left out in Fashun’s (557–640) genealogy of the Huayan school. This was also the case with, e.g., Zhiyi and the Tiantai school, and Xuanzang and the Faxiang school. See in this respect Weinstein (1973, pp. 272–273).

⁴⁸ Cleary (1993, p. 45). See also Winternitz (1920, p. 242), Bosch (1922, p. 272), Fontein (1966, pp. 1 and 21), Warder (1991, pp. 424–429), and Potter (1999, pp. 96–97). The *Gaṇḍavyūha* thus represents two Buddhist notions: the belief in psychic powers obtained through practice, and the notion that all entities are mere illusions. See Gomez (1977, p. 225). See also Vaidya (1960, p. vii).

⁴⁹ This although the cult of Mañjuśrī reached its apogee in China under the Tang Dynasty. See Lamotte (1960, p. 61). Birnbaum (1983, p. 9) remarks: “By the mid and late-Tang, the cult of Mañjuśrī had a distinctly fourfold character. The Bodhisattva was perceived as a mountain deity, a national (and personal) protector, a prince of penetrating wisdom, and a cosmic lord”.

⁵⁰ See also note # 17.

⁵¹ See note # 41.

⁵² Also the following passage from the “*Huayan Jing Zhuan Ji*”, in which Paramārtha’s elaboration on the different versions of the *Avatamsaka* is recalled, is interesting: “Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra received the complete education in the *Avatamsaka*”. (T.2073: 153b5–6). Also in the preface Empress Wu wrote to Śikṣānanda’s translation of the *Avatamsaka*, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra are connected: “[...] because of the conduct of the vow of Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī” (T.297: 1a28). Moreover, as remarked by Birnbaum (1983: 36), Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī, as a pair, represent the key conceptual pairing in *yogatantra* of wisdom and its active expression in spiritual work, and further represent two principles historically associated with Amoghavajra: penetrating wisdom and a vigorously active approach to life.

would make Amoghavajra's version of the *prañidhāna* an eulogy to the emperor, rather than on Samantabhadra.

2.5 This attitude may also explain why the *prañidhāna* is (not in the version of the Song, Yuan, and Ming), compiled together with a part of the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalakasūtra* “*Ba Dapusa Manchalu Jing*” 八大菩薩曼荼羅經 (T.1167: 675c26–676a16)⁵³ and a *dhārāṇī* to form the “*Puxian Pusa Xing Yuan Zan*” (T.297). Also the Chinese version of this *Aṣṭamaṇḍalakasūtra* was done by Amoghavajra. As the work is first mentioned in Zhisheng's “*Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu*”, the translation must have been done prior to AD 730.⁵⁴ In the light of what was suggested before, it becomes very probable that Amoghavajra is only the compiler of the present “*Puxian Pusa Xing Yuan Zan*”, major part of which is the *prañidhāna*. This assumption perfectly explains why not all catalogues mention Amoghavajra as translator of the text, and why a “*Puxian Pusa Xing Yuan Zan*” is already included in the catalogues that predate Amoghavajra.

In this *Aṣṭamaṇḍalakasūtra* section of the **Samantabhadrācāryaprañidhāna-rāja* (881b17–c8), eight *bodhisattvas*, guardians of Vairocana, the central Buddha of the “*Huayan Jing*”, are eulogised in a total of ten stanzas, having verses of five syllables each.⁵⁵

- 1: Avalokiteśvara: stanzas 1–2;
- 2: Maitreya: stanza 3;
- 3: Ākāśagarbha: stanza 4;
- 4. Samantabhadra: stanza 5;
- 5: Vajrapāṇi: stanza 6;
- 6: Mañjuśrī: stanza 7;
- 7: Acalanātha: stanza 8;
- 8: Kṣitigarbha: stanzas 9–10.

⁵³ On this text: see Jen (1993, vol. 3, p. 90).

⁵⁴ The “*Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu*”, T.2154: 700a14, states that the text consists of three pages. The same information is found in Yuanzhao's 圓照 “*Da Tang Zhenyuan Xu Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu*” 大唐真元續開元釋教錄, T.2156: 749b2, 767b9. In the “*Zhenyuan Xinding Shijiao Mulu*”, T.2157: 772b21, 879c9, 928a12–14, 1011a25–26, 1030a21–22, we read that the text was “offered by Amoghavajra with great wisdom, *śramaṇa* of the *tripitaka*, in the Daxingshan Monastery”. The text is further stated to be first taken up in Zhenyuan's catalogue, and to have been translated by Amoghavajra. The same information is found in the Tendai monk Annen's (841–?) “*Sho Ajari Shingon Mikkyō Burui Sōroku*” 諸阿闍梨真言密教部類總錄, T.2176: 1125c7. The text is also mentioned in Heng'an's 恒按 “*Xu Zhenyuan Shijiao Lu*” 續真圓釋教錄, T.2158: 1050b13 (Heng'an worked in Nanjing from 945 to 946), in Kūkai's “*Goshōrai Mokuroku*” 御請來目錄, T.2161: 1061b8, in Ennin's “*Nittō Shingu Shōgyō Mokuroku*”, T.2167: 1079c24, in Eun's (798–869) “*Eun Zenji Shōrai Kyōbō Mokuroku*” 惠運禪師請來教法目錄, T.2168A: 1087c14, and in Enchin's (814–891) “*Seiryūji Guhō Mokuroku*” 青龍寺求法目錄 (T.2171: 1096a25), “*Nihon Biku Enchin Nittō Guhō Mokuroku*” 日本比丘圓珍入唐求法目錄 (T.2172: 1097c20), and “*Chishō Daishi Shōrai Mokuroku*” 智証大師請來目錄 (T.2173: 1103b12).

⁵⁵ There are various lists of ‘eight great *bodhisattvas*’. The series of the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka* is the same as in the “*Damiao Jingang Jing*” 大妙金剛經, T.965. See Nishimura (1983, p. 1812).

2.6 Then follows the third part, a *dhāraṇī*, counting twenty-six syllables (881c11–13), and with a praise of chanting this *dhāraṇī* (881c14–17), the text is concluded. The latter part, which can be seen as a summary of the *prañidhāna*, the first part of the **Samantabhadrācāryaprañidhānarāja*, runs as follows:

“When daily chanting the praise of the vow of the conduct of the *bodhisattva* Samantabhadra, one chants these true words in one time. The vow of the conduct of good is all completed, and, with *samādhi*,⁵⁶ people swiftly acquire that the *samādhi* is present. Merit and wisdom as two kinds will be supplied. And the protection with the solid doctrine will quickly be accomplished.”

Conclusion

The **Samantabhadrācāryaprañidhānarāja* “*Puxian Pusa Xing Yuan Zan*” (T.297), “The Glow of the Vow of the Teacher Samantabhadra”, shows to be a fine illustration of the politico-religious situation in early Tang China. The text is an eulogy on Samantabhadra – very likely symbolic for the emperor – combined with esoteric elements, esoteric Buddhism enjoying official patronage. The eulogy is derived from the **Gaṇḍavyūha* tradition, major text of the Huayan school of Buddhism that then flourished. This politico-religious affinity is well illustrated also in the life of Amoghavajra, to whom the present Chinese version of the **Samantabhadrācāryaprañidhānarāja* is attributed. Amoghavajra worked in Luoyang starting from AD 723, where he enjoyed official patronage (see Weinstein 1987, pp. 78, 82–83). Before his death, which occurred in AD 741, his teacher Vajrabodhi asked him to go to India and Ceylon in search of sacred texts (T.2061: 712b10–11. See Bagchi 1927–1938, p. 568; Ch’en 1973, p. 335). Prior to boarding his ship for Ceylon in 741, Amoghavajra is reported to have presided over the first mass Esoteric ordinations in China.⁵⁷ Upon his return to China in AD 746, Amoghavajra is said to have been invited to the capital by Emperor Xuanzong. Here he erected an altar for esoteric rites, and Xuanzong, was consecrated (*abhiṣeka*) (T.2061: 712c12–13. See also Weinstein 1987, p. 57). After the death of Xuanzong, Amoghavajra remained in imperial service of Suzong (r. 756–762) and Daizong (r. 763–779), successors to Xuanzong. Also Emperor Suzong was consecrated as Universal Monarch (T.2061: 713a2–3. See also Weinstein 1987, pp. 57–58). In AD 756, on occasion of the An Lushan rebellion, Emperor Suzong asked Amoghavajra to pray for victory of the imperial army.⁵⁸ It is on this occasion that Amoghavajra is said to have taken up residence in the Daxingshan Monastery, where he translated the **Samantabhadrācāryaprañidhānarāja*. In the following years, Amoghavajra further strengthened the ties between the imperial court and the Esoteric Buddhist circle. In 765, Emperor Daizong even promoted Amogha-

⁵⁶ V. I. Song and Yuan have “[...] when developing *samādhi*”.

⁵⁷ On Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra and tantrism: see Chandra (1980, pp. 134–136).

⁵⁸ See note # 6.

vajra by an imperial edict to the rank of ‘Lord Specially Advanced’ (*tejin* 特進)⁵⁹ and the ‘Office of Probationary Director of the State Ceremonial’ (*Shihongluqing* 史鴻臚卿)⁶⁰. Not long before his death in AD 774, he was granted the title ‘Commander Unequalled in Honor’ (*Kaifu Yitong Sansi* 開府儀同三司)⁶¹, and ‘Duke of Su’ (*Suguo Gong* 肅國公)⁶². Emperor Daizong also wrote introductions to Amoghavajra’s translations of the **Ghanavyūhasūtra* “*Dacheng Miyan Jing*” 大乘密嚴經 (T.682) and of the “*Renwang Huguo Banruopolomiduo Jing*” 仁王護國般若羅蜜多經 (T.246).⁶³ As it is not impossible that the “*Renwang Huguo Banruopolomiduo Jing*”, a text which promises protection from political calamities, provided the ruler supports Buddhism, is, actually, a Chinese creation⁶⁴, this further evidences Amoghavajra’s close relationship to the imperial court.

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 T.278 [Buddha]avatamsakasūtra, “*Dafangguang Fo Huayan Jing*” 大方廣佛華嚴經, Buddhahadra.

⁵⁹ In Han, Tang and Liao times, *tejin* 特進 was a supplementary title, in early use apparently only as an honorific, but in Tang and Liao times probably involving added responsibilities. See Hucker (1985, p. 490).

⁶⁰ T.2061: 713a10–11. See also Chou (1944–1945, p. 296, note # 62).

⁶¹ T.2061: 713b21. First an honorific title for eminent generals, then from the Sui Dynasty on, a prestige title for both civil officials and military officers of rank. See Hucker (1985, p. 275). Chou (1944–1945, p. 294, note # 49) remarks that it is the first rank of the twenty-nine honorary titles, and that after Emperor Xuanzong succeeded the throne, only four persons held it in fifteen years.

⁶² T.2061: 713b21–22. This refers to Gansu, visited by Amoghavajra in his early years. Hence, that part of the country came to be regarded as his native place. According to Weinstein (1987, p. 83), this happened four days before his death. See also Chou (1944–1945, p. 300, note # 82). The complete colophon to Amoghavajra’s translation (T.297: 880a58) reads: “Official translation, presented by the *tripitaka śramaṇa* Amoghavajra, ‘Commander Unequalled in Honor’, ‘Lord Specially Advanced’, ‘Officer of Probationary Director of the State Ceremonial’, ‘Duke of Su’ with a place granted of three thousand households, posthumously bestowed the [titles of] ‘Purple [Robe]’, ‘Minister of Works’, and great example, truly called ‘He of great wide wisdom’, in the Daxingshan Monastery.” On ‘Officer of Probationary Director of the State Ceremonial’, see T.2061: 713a11. On the practice of bestowing the ‘Purple Robe’, see note # 17. On his title of ‘Minister of Works’, see T.2061: 713c6, and further also Hucker (1985, p. 450). ‘He of great wide wisdom’ is a title of Amoghavajra. See Soothill and Hodous (1937, p. 88).

⁶³ See T.2061: 713a8–9. The prefaces by Daizong are preserved in *Quan Tang Wen* 全唐文 49: 22a–24b. Amoghavajra’s letter of thanks to the emperor is included in “*Daizong Chao Zeng Sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi Sanzang Heshang Biaozi Ji*”, T.2120: 832b7–833a26. See Weinstein (1987, p. 176, note # 9). See also Chou (1944–1945, p. 296, note # 61). On Amoghavajra: see further also Jen (1993, vol. 2, p. 212), Takakusu (1956, pp. 142–153), and Ch’en (1973, pp. 335–336).

⁶⁴ See Weinstein (1987, pp. 78 and 176, notes # 5 and 6).

- T.279 [Buddha]avatamsakasūtra, “*Dafangguang Fo Huayan Jing*” 大方廣佛華嚴經, Śikṣā-nanda.
- T.293 *Gaṇḍavyūha “*Dafangguang Fo Huayan Jing*” 大方廣佛華嚴經, Prajña.
- T.295 *Gaṇḍavyūha “*Dafangguang Fo Huayan Jing Ru Fajie Pin*” 大方廣佛華嚴經入法界品, Divākara.
- T.296 *Bhadracarīprañidhāna “*Wenshushili Fayuan Jing*” 文殊師利發願經, Buddhā-bhadra.
- T.297 *Samantabhadrācāryaprañidhānarāja “*Puxian Pusa Xing Yuan Zan*” 普賢菩薩行愿讚, Amoghavajra.
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