

The *Liuzu fabao tanjing* 六祖法寶壇經 and the Evolution of the *Platform Sūtra*

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The *Platform Sūtra* 六祖壇經 is a signature scripture of Chinese Chan 禪 (Jpn.: Zen), and perhaps the most famous and beloved of all Chinese Buddhist texts.¹ The *Platform Sūtra* purports to contain the teachings of Huineng (慧能, 638-713), and in it, Huineng himself tells the dramatic story of how he, starting out as a poor illiterate seller of firewood, eventually became the illustrious Sixth Patriarch of Chan. The *Platform Sūtra* also contains sermons by Huineng, his conferral of “formless precepts” (*wuxiang jie* 無相戒) on his audience, accounts of his encounters with disciples, and his lengthy deathbed instructions.

The earliest *Platform Sūtra*, as we now know it, was probably compiled around the year 780, during the early formative period of the Chan tradition. Research on early Chan and the *Platform Sūtra* suggests that the work has little or no connection to Huineng and that it originally served to promote Huineng’s disciple Shenhui (神會, 684-758),² or that it perhaps was the product of the Niutou (牛頭, Oxhead) school that later come to be considered a side-branch of Chan.³

What makes the *Platform Sūtra* especially interesting, however, is the fact that a number of different versions of it are extant—versions that differ significantly in both content and length and span a period of at least 500 years. In addition, several more now lost editions are known from prefaces and book catalogues. Other Chinese Buddhist texts may possibly have had similar changing life-histories, but the fact that several different versions of the *Platform Sūtra* are still extant makes it unique among Chinese Buddhist texts. Thus, the *Platform Sūtra* can serve as a kind of laboratory where a number of crucial changes and developments in Chan can be observed diachronically over a period of at least 500 years.⁴

However, to be able to use the different versions of the *Platform Sūtra*

to study the evolution of Chan we need to determine how the editions are textually related to each other, and I previously have published two articles exploring the genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra*.⁵ The chart in Appendix A attached to this essay presents an overview of my findings.

In the present essay, I will elaborate on some of my earlier findings, and focus on the specific issue of the origin of the text of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* 六祖法寶壇經, the latest and longest version of the *Platform Sūtra* (here represented by the Zongbao 宗寶 edition of 1291).

Before I go on to present my arguments, I will introduce the main editions of the *Platform Sūtra* that are discussed in this essay.

The *Platform Sūtras*

Since the Chinese Yuan 元 dynasty (1271–1368) and up until modern times, the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* 六祖法寶壇經 has been the standard edition of the *Platform Sūtra*. The *Liuzu fabao tanjing* is by far the longest and most detailed of the extant editions of the *Platform Sūtra*, and soon after it appeared all other editions of the text were lost or forgotten. The version of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* that became most used in China was compiled by the monk Zongbao 宗寶 (d.u.) in 1291. In a postscript to this edition, Zongbao states that he had in his possession three different editions of the *Platform Sūtra*, each of which had its own faults and merits. He then corrected mistakes, filled out lacunae and added material about the disciples' encounters with Huineng. Zongbao then relates how a certain official came by his room and saw his edition of the *Platform Sūtra*, upon which the official ordered printing blocks for it to be carved. The postscript is dated Summer, 1291, and signed “Shi Zongbao of Nanhai 南海釋宗寶跋.”⁶

Another version of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* also exists, edited by Mengshan Deyi 蒙山德異 (1231–?)⁷ who wrote a preface for it dated 1290. In his preface, Deyi complains that later generations had abbreviated the *Platform Sūtra* and thus had made it impossible to know the complete teachings of the Sixth Patriarch. But, Deyi says, when he was young he saw an old edition and, after seeking it everywhere for more than thirty years, he finally obtained a complete text which he then had published.⁸

This version of the *Platform Sūtra* became the standard in Korea, but was not circulated widely in China. There are some minor but interesting differences between Zongbao's and Deyi's versions of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*, and the question concerning the relationship between the two is an important one. The two prefaces seem quite contradictory; Zongbao describes doing considerable editing, as well as adding material about Huineng's disciples' encounters with him (one of the main additions to the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*), while Deyi's preface, that is dated a year earlier, simply describes how he found an old edition of the *Platform Sūtra* and published it. However, I will not address these issues in the present essay, and in the following I will only use Zongbao's edition.

The earliest known version of the *Platform Sūtra* was found in the manuscript cache at Dunhuang 敦煌 that was discovered in 1900, and was first published in 1930.⁹ It has the very long title "*The Sūtra of the Perfection of Wisdom of the Supreme Vehicle of the Sudden Teaching of the Southern Tradition: The Platform Sūtra Preached by the Great Master Huineng, the Sixth Patriarch, at the Dafan Monastery in Shaozhou*, in one scroll, including the bestowal of the formless precepts; recorded and compiled by the Disciple Fahai, Spreader of the Dharma" (南宗頓教最上大乘摩訶般若波羅蜜經六祖惠能大師於韶州大梵寺施法壇經一卷 兼受無相戒弘法弟子法海集記).

Its publication caused a stir, since the text of the Dunhuang *Platform Sūtra* was very different from the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*, that was the only version of the *Platform Sūtra* known at the time. The Dunhuang *Platform Sūtra* was much shorter than the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* and differed from it in many other ways. The Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sūtra* is generally considered to have been compiled around 780, although it is very possible that earlier versions of the text have existed.

Some years after the Dunhuang *Platform Sūtra* was discovered and published, several other editions of the *Platform Sūtra* were found in Japanese temple libraries, all in eleven chapters and two fascicles. The texts of these editions were shorter than the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* but longer than the Dunhuang *Platform Sūtra* and differed from both in many different ways; they also differed in smaller but still significant ways from

each other. I will not give a full account of these editions here, but in the following I describe the most important of them.

It seems clear that all the editions of the *Platform Sūtra* in eleven chapters and two fascicles derive from an edition prepared by the Chinese monk Huixin 惠昕 (d.u.) in 967. Huixin's original edition is lost, but his preface has been preserved in several of the eleven-chapter, two-fascicle editions found in Japan. In the preface, Huixin explains that the old text of the *Platform Sūtra* was vexatious (*guben wenfan* 古本文繁 –which I take to mean “corrupt and difficult to read”) and that students who first picked it up with delight soon came to dislike it. He then took an “old edition,” or perhaps several editions, of the *Platform Sūtra* (which must have been similar, but not identical to the edition currently known from Dunhuang), and revised the text in certain ways as well as divided it into eleven chapters and two fascicles.¹⁰

The main extant editions based on Huixin's text that will be used in the following are:¹¹

a. The Kōshōji edition. This was discovered at the Kōshōji 興聖寺 temple in Kyoto. The text bears the simple title *Liuzu tanjing* and no compiler is given. It is a printed text that appears to be a reprinting of a Japanese *Gozan* 五山 edition from the Kamakura period (1185–1333), and probably dates to the end of the Muromachi 室町 period (beginning of 16th century).¹² Because of what seems to be a book case reference carved on the plates of Kōshōji edition it is thought to ultimately be based on a Song canon edition, but none of the Song canon catalogues that are known today list a *Platform Sūtra*.¹³

Attached to Kōshōji edition is a handwritten copy of Huixin's preface, but it also contains a second preface penned in the same hand. This preface is signed by the scholar Chao Zijian 晁子健 (d.u.)¹⁴ and dated 1153, and in it Chao tells the story of how he found a copy of the *Platform Sūtra* written in the hand of his ancestor Wen Yuan 文元. At the end of the copy Wen Yuan had written: “I am now eighty-one years old and have read [the *Platform Sūtra*] sixteen times.” Chao states he later had this manuscript published.¹⁵ Hu Shih has shown that Wen Yuan was the famous scholar Chao Jiong 晁迥

(951-1034) and that he turned eighty-one in 1031.¹⁶ Since the preface cites a passage from the *Platform Sūtra* that is only found in the Kōshōji edition, we can be fairly certain that it essentially was the text published by Chao Zijian.

b. The Daijōji edition. Another important version of the *Platform Sūtra* that ultimately must derive from that of Huixin is represented by the Daijōji 大乘寺 edition which was discovered at the Sōtō Zen 曹洞禪 temple Daijōji in Kaga in the 1930s.¹⁷ It is a manuscript copy, and has the title *Shaozhou Caoxi*¹⁸ *shan Liuzu shi tanjing* 韶州曹溪山六祖師壇經. No compiler is given. The layout of its eleven chapters corresponds closely to that of the Kōshōji edition, but the chapter titles are somewhat different.¹⁹ The Daijōji text has one preface attached, by a Bhikṣu Cunzhong 存中 (d.u.) from Futang 福唐 (in present day Fujian province). The preface is dated 1116, and has little information, however Cunzhong states that the edition is a second printing. At the end of the Daijōji manuscript there is a note saying “Copied by Dōgen 道元書.” Dōgen (1200-1253) was the founder of the Japanese Sōtō 曹洞 sect of Zen who travelled in China 1223-1227/1228, but it seems more likely that the real copyist was his disciple Tettsu Gikai 徹通義介 (1219-1309), the founder of the Daijōji as a Sōtō temple, who may have made the copy during his stay in China from 1259 to 1263.²⁰

c. The Shinpukuji edition. The Shinpukuji 眞福寺 edition, named after the Shingon temple in the library of which it was found, is the most recently discovered two-fascicle edition of the *Platform Sūtra*. It is a manuscript copy that was first described and made available in 1979 by Ishii Shūdō.²¹ The *Shinpukuji* has the same title as the Kōshōji edition, *Liuzu tanjing*, but its chapter headings are almost identical to those of the Daijōji edition. Like the Kōshōji edition, the Shinpukuji includes Huixin’s 967 preface, and like the other two-fascicle editions no compiler is given. The text also has a short postscript by Zhou Xigu 周希古 (d.u.), dated 1012. In this postscript, the title of the *Platform Sūtra* is given as *Caoxi Liuzu dashi tanjing* 曹溪六祖大師壇經, and the names of three otherwise unknown people involved in the publication are mentioned. Not much is known about Zhou Xigu, but it appears that he was from Fujian, and that he got his *jinshi* 進士 degree

in 988.²² According to Ishii Shūdō, the manuscript is probably from the Nambokuchō period 南北朝 (1336-1392) or the late Kamakura period.²³

Now, having introduced the relevant editions of the *Platform Sūtra*, I will below elaborate on the following three claims that I have made earlier about provenance of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*:

1. The text of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* was primarily based on the text of the Kōshōji edition.

2. The other major source for the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* was the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (compiled in 1004).

3. The edition of the *Platform Sūtra* prepared by the monk Qisong 契嵩 (1007-1072) in 1056 was almost certainly not the source for the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* and probably has no relationship to it.

1. The main ancestor to the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* is the text of the Kōshōji edition.

I will here focus on the texts of Kōshōji, Shinpukuji, and Daijōji editions of the *Platform Sūtra* and compare them to the text of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* to determine which one of them is the closest to it. As we have seen, the Kōshōji, Shinpukuji, and Daijōji editions are closely related to each other and clearly all derive from the monk Huixin's edition of the *Platform Sūtra* from 967. But of these three main editions of Huixin's text, the Kōshōji edition most often have significant differences from the others. There is little doubt that the Kōshōji edition represents a version of the *Platform Sūtra* edited by Chao Jiong in 1031, as described in the 1153 preface by Chao Zijian (who may of course have added some of his own edits).

Elsewhere I have concluded that the Kōshōji edition was the main source for the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*, and that about 90% of the text of the Kōshōji edition is contained almost verbatim in it, even though the material has been considerably rearranged.²⁴ However, here I will revisit my earlier work with a few specific textual examples that illuminate the relationship between the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* and the Kōshōji, Shinpukuji, and Daijōji versions of the *Platform Sūtra*. The examples are chosen more or less at random; as my sources I am using reproductions of the original Kōshōji,

Shinpukuji, and Daijōji editions, and the Zongbao version of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* as found in the Taishō canon.²⁵

By comparing each of the texts of the Kōshōji, Shinpukuji, and Daijōji editions with the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* and with each other, we can determine which of the three texts are the closest to the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*. I therefore first present a passage from the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*, then the corresponding passage from the Kōshōji edition with all differences to the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* marked, followed by the corresponding passage in the Shinpukuji edition with all differences between it and the Kōshōji marked, and finally the corresponding passage in the Daijōji edition with all differences between it and the Kōshōji marked. I will supply a translation into English of the passages from the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* (using John McRae's translation),²⁶ but in the interest of space I will not translate the corresponding passages from the other editions of the *Platform Sūtra*.

The first example below is a passage from the beginning of the *Platform Sūtra*, where Huineng goes on to tell his own story. As is most often the case, here the Kōshōji, Daijōji, and Shinpukuji editions of the *Platform Sūtra* follow each other relatively closely. Nevertheless, the comparison makes it clear that the Kōshōji edition is closer to the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* than are the two other texts, with a few exceptions. I have marked up the texts to highlight the similarities and differences; a “mark-up key” to the meaning of the highlights is supplied after each quote.

A. *Liuzu fabao tanjing*:

「惠能嚴父，本貫范陽，左降流于嶺南，作新州百姓。此身不幸，父又早亡。老母孤遺，移來南海，艱辛貧乏，於市賣柴。時，有一客買柴，使令送至客店；客收去，惠能得錢，却出門外，見一客誦經。惠能一聞經語，心即開悟，遂問：『客誦何經？』客曰：『《金剛經》。』復問：『從何所來，持此經典？』客云：『我從蘄州黃梅縣東禪寺來。其寺是五祖忍大師在彼主化，門人一千有餘；我到彼中禮拜，聽受此經。大師常勸僧俗，但持《金剛經》，即自見性，直了成佛。』惠能聞說，宿昔有緣，乃蒙一客，取銀十兩與惠能，令充老母衣糧，教便往黃梅參禮五祖。惠能安置母畢，即便辭違。不經三十餘日，便至黃梅，禮拜五祖」《六祖大師法寶壇經》卷1(CBETA, T48, no. 2008, p. 348, a1-13)

“My father was a native of Fanyang (Zhuo Xian, Hebei), but he was banished to Lingnan and became a commoner in Xinzhou (Xinxing Xian, Guangdong). I have been unfortunate: my father died early, and my aged mother and I, her only child, moved here to Nanhai. Miserably poor, I sold firewood in the marketplace. At one time, a customer bought some firewood and had me deliver it to his shop, where he took it and paid me. On my way out of the gate I saw someone reciting a sutra, and as soon as I heard the words of the sutra my mind opened forth in enlightenment. I then asked the person what sutra he was reciting, and he said, ‘The *Diamond Sutra*.’ I also asked, ‘Where did you get this sutra?’ He said, ‘I have come from Dongchansi (“Eastern Meditation Monastery”) in Huangmei Xian in Qizhou (Qizhun, Hubei). The Fifth Patriarch, Great Master Hongren, resides at and is in charge of instruction at that monastery. He has over a thousand followers. I went there, did obeisance to him, and received this sutra there. Great Master [Hongren] always exhorts both monks and laymen to simply maintain the *Diamond Sutra*, so that one can see the [self]-nature by oneself and achieve buddhahood directly and completely.’ “My hearing this was through a karmic connection from the past. Someone then gave me ten *liang* of silver to pay for my aged mother’s food and clothing and told me to go to Huangmei to do obeisance to the Fifth Patriarch. I then left my mother for the last time and departed. In less than thirty-odd days I arrived at Huangmei, where I did obeisance to the Fifth Patriarch.” (McRae, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, pp. 17-18).

B. Kōshōji edition:

「惠能嚴父，本貫范陽，左降流于嶺南，作新州百姓。此身不幸，父又早亡。老母孤遺，移來南海，艱辛貧乏，於市賣柴。時，有一客買柴，使令送至宜店；客收去，惠能得錢，却出門外，見有一客讀金剛經。惠能一聞經語，心便開悟，遂問客言：『客誦何經？』客曰：『《金剛經》。』復問：『從何所來，持此經典？』客云：『我從蕪州黃梅縣東馮母山來。其山是第五祖弘忍大師在彼主化，門人一千有餘；我到彼中禮拜，聽受此經。大師常勸僧俗，但持《金剛經》，即自見性，直了成佛。』惠能聞說，宿業有緣，乃蒙一客，取銀十兩與惠能，令充老母衣糧，教便往黃梅禮拜五祖。惠能安置母畢，便即辭

親。不經三二十餘日，便至黃梅，禮拜五祖」(Kōshōji edition in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō shohon*, p. 50c, line 3 – 50d, line 6.)

[Mark-up key:

1. characters in the Kōshōji edition that are different from *Liuzu fabao tanjing* are bold and underlined;
2. characters present in the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*, but missing from the Kōshōji edition, are marked with bold, underline, and strike-out.]

C. Shinpukuji edition:

「某甲嚴父，本貫范陽，左降流于嶺南，作蕪州百姓。此身不幸，父少早亡。老母孤遺，移來南海，艱辛貧乏，於市賣柴。時，有一客買某甲柴，便令送至宜店；客收柴去，某甲得錢，却出門外，見有一客讀金剛經。某甲一聞經語，心便開悟，遂問客言：『客誦何經？』客曰：『《金剛經》。』復問：『從何所來，持此經典？』客云：『我從蕪州黃梅縣東遷母山來。其山是第五祖弘忍大師在彼土化，門人一千有餘；我到彼中禮拜，聽受此經。大師常勸僧俗，但持《金剛經》，即自見性，直了成佛。』某甲聞說，宿業有緣，乃蒙一客，取銀十兩與某甲，令充老母衣糧，教某甲便往黃梅禮拜五祖。某甲安置母畢，便即辭親。不經三十餘日，便至黃梅，禮拜五祖」(Copy of Shinpukuji manuscript, unnumbered pages (corresponds to Ishii, “Ekinbon ‘Rokuso dankyō’ no kenkyū,” section 6, line 5-15.))

[Mark-up key:

1. characters in the Shinpukuji edition that differ from the Kōshōji edition and the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* are in bold and italicized;
2. characters present in the Kōshōji edition but missing from the Shinpukuji edition are marked with bold, italics, and strike-out;
3. characters that differ from the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*, but are identical in the Kōshōji edition, are in bold, underlined, and marked with strike-through if missing;
4. characters that correspond with the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* against the Kōshōji edition have been encircled.]

D. Daijōji edition:

「某甲嚴父，本貫范陽，左降流于嶺南，作新州百姓。此身不幸，父少早亡。

老母孤遺，移來南海，艱辛貧乏，於市賣柴。時，有一客買柴，便令送至宜店；客收柴去，某甲得錢，却出門外，見有一客讀金剛經。某甲一聞經語，心便開悟，遂問客言：『客誦何經？』客曰：『《金剛經》。』復問：『從何所來，持此經典？』客云：『我從蕪州黃梅縣東馮茂山來。其山是第五祖弘忍大師禮拜五祖和尚，見在彼山主化，門人一千有餘眾；我到彼山中禮拜，聽和尚說法受此經。大師常勸道俗，但持《金剛經》，即得見性，直了成佛。』某甲聞說，宿昔有緣，乃蒙一客，取銀十兩與某甲，將充老母衣糧，令某甲使往黃梅禮拜五祖。某甲安置母訖，使即辭觀，不經三十餘日，便到黃梅，禮拜五祖。(Daijōji edition in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō shohon*, p. 90a, line 6 – 90b, line 2.)

[Mark-up key:

1. characters in the Daijōji edition that differ from the Kōshōji edition and the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* are in bold and italicized;
2. characters present in the Kōshōji edition, but missing from the Daijōji edition, are marked with bold, italics, and strike-out;
3. characters that differ from the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*, but are identical to the Kōshōji edition, are in bold, underlined, and marked with strike-through if missing;
4. characters that correspond with the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* against the Kōshōji edition have been encircled.]

We see in this example that the text of the Kōshōji edition is clearly closer to the text of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* than are the texts of the Shinpukuji and Daijōji editions. When the Shinpukuji and Daijōji editions differ from the Kōshōji edition the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* is almost always like the Kōshōji edition. This strongly suggests that editor of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* must have used a text very similar to the Kōshōji edition as the basis for his edition.

However, although the Daijōji edition here is most unlike the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* among the three text, there are nevertheless two instances in which it is actually closer to the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* than the Kōshōji edition is: the readings “宿昔” and “餘” marked with a circle (the “餘” is also found in the Shinpukuji edition).

“宿昔” is a term for “past karma” that is much more commonly rendered as

“宿業”, which is the term used in this place in both the Kōshōji and Shinpukuji editions, and also in the Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sūtra*.²⁷ So if the editor of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* is following the text of the Kōshōji edition, where does the “宿昔” reading come from? This raises the possibility that the editor of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* had access to a version of a *Platform Sūtra* similar to the Daijōji edition, which he sometimes used instead of the version of the Kōshōji edition that he normally used.

We may note, however, that the Kōshōji edition that we now know is a printed text from the late Muromachi period 室町時代 in Japan (late 16th c). It is quite possible that this edition introduced some changes to the text of the *Platform Sūtra* as edited by Chao Jiong, and that it is slightly different from the text of the Kōshōji-like edition that was used by the editor of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*. It is possible that the editors of the Japanese Kōshōji edition changed “宿昔” from Chao Jiong’s text to the more commonly used “宿業.”

This may also be the case with the four characters “三十餘日, thirty-odd days” that are found in the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* and in the texts of both the Shinpukuji and Daijōji editions, but not in the Kōshōji edition where we have the rather garbled “三二十日, thirty to twenty days.” Here it seems possible that the editors of the Japanese Kōshōji edition by mistake changed “三十餘日” from Chao Jiong’s text to “三二十日.”

In any case, it is still clear in this example that the Kōshōji edition overall is much closer to the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* than are either the Shinpukuji and Daijōji editions, and that for this passage the editor of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* must have used a text very much like the Kōshōji edition as his main source.

Let us turn to a second example, taken from Huineng’s sermon on Prajñāpāramitā (I am leaving out a passage in the middle that is identical in all four versions of the *Platform Sūtra* we are examining).

A. *Liuzu fabao tanjing*:

「善知識！小根之人，聞此頓教，猶如草木根性小者，若被大雨，悉皆自倒，不能增長。小根之人，亦復如是。元有般若之智，與大智人，更無差

別，因何聞法不自開悟？。。。若開悟頓教，不能外修，但於自心常起正見，煩惱塵勞常不能染，即是見性。《六祖大師法寶壇經》卷 1(CBETA, T48, no. 2008, p. 350, c21-p. 351, a1)

“Good friends, those of small capacities who hear this sudden teaching are like plants whose capacities are small. Beset by a great rain, they all collapse and are unable to grow. People of small capacities are also like this. They possess the wisdom of *prajñā* fundamentally, no differently from those of great wisdom. So why do they hear the Dharma without being able to become enlightened? ... If one is to be enlightened to the sudden teaching, one cannot cultivate externally (i.e., superficially): one should just constantly activate correct views in one’s own mind, and the enervating defilements of the afflictions will be rendered permanently unable to defile one. This is to see the nature.” (McRae, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, pp. 31-32).

B. Kōshōji edition:

「善知識！小根之人，聞此頓教，猶如草木根性**自小**，若被大雨，悉皆自倒，不能增長。小根之人，亦復如是。元有般若之智，與大智人，更無差別，因何聞法不自開悟？。。。若開悟頓教，不**執**外修，但於自心常起正見，煩惱塵勞常不能染，即是見性。(Kōshōji edition in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō shohon*, p. 57f, line 1–7.)

[Mark-up key:

1. characters in the Kōshōji edition that are different from *Liuzu fabao tanjing* are in bold and underlined;
2. characters present in the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*, but missing from the Kōshōji edition, are marked with bold, underline, and strike-out.]

C. Shinpukuji edition:

「善知識！小根之人，聞此頓教，**由**如草木根性**自小**，若被大雨，**皆**悉自倒，不能增長。小根之人，亦復如是**還**有般若之智，與大智**之**人，更無差別，因何聞法**亦有悟不悟**？。。。如聞頓教，不**執**外修，但於自心常起正見，**邪見**煩惱塵勞常不能**滋**，即是見性。(Copy of Shinpukuji manuscript, unnumbered pages (corresponds to Ishii, “Ekinbon ‘Rokuso dankyō’ no

kenkyū,” section 38, line 1-9.))

[Mark-up key:

1. characters in the Shinpukuji edition that differ from the Kōshōji edition and the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* are in bold and italicized;
2. characters that differ from the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*, but are identical in the Kōshōji edition, are in bold, underlined, and marked with strike-through if missing.]

D. Daijōji edition:

「善知識！小根之人，聞此頓教，**由**如草木根性**自**小**耆**，若被大雨，**皆**悉自倒，不能增長。小根之人，亦**獲如是**。~~元~~有般若之智，與大智之人更無差別，因何聞法**亦有悟不悟**？。。。**聞其頓法**，不**執**外修，但於自心常起正見，**邪見**煩惱塵勞常不能**溢**，即是見性。(Daijōji edition in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō shohon*, p. 102a, line 2-11.)

[Mark-up key:

1. characters in the Daijōji edition that differ from the Kōshōji edition are bold and italicized;
2. characters present in the Kōshōji edition but missing from the Daijōji edition are marked with bold, italics, and strike-out;
3. characters that differ from the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* but are identical to the Kōshōji edition are in bold, underlined, and marked with strike-through if missing.]

Here too, we see a clear pattern of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* being much closer to the Kōshōji text than to the either the Shinpukuji and Daijōji editions, with only a few deviations between the Kōshōji edition and the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*. In this example there are no exceptions to the rule.

Finally, I will present a third example of a passage found in the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* as well as in the Kōshōji, Shinpukuji, and Daijōji editions, from a later part of the *Platform Sūtra* that introduces the Four Great Vows (四弘誓願):

A. *Liuzu fabao tanjing*:

「善知識！既懺悔已，與善知識發四弘誓願，各須用心正聽。自心眾生無邊

誓願度，自心煩惱無邊誓願斷，自性法門無盡誓願學，自性無上佛道誓願成。」
(CBETA, T48, no. 2008, p. 354a9-13)

“Good friends, now that we have done the repentances, I will express for you the four great vows. You should all listen closely: the sentient beings of our own minds are limitless, and we vow to save them all. The afflictions of our own minds are limitless, and we vow to eradicate them all. The teachings of our own minds are inexhaustible, and we vow to learn them all. The enlightenment of buddhahood of our own minds is unsurpassable, and we vow to achieve it.” (McRae, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, p. 48.)

B. Kōshōji edition:

「善知識！既懺悔已，與善知識發四弘誓願，各次用心正聽。自心邪迷無邊誓願度，自心煩惱無邊誓願斷，自性法門無盡誓願學，自性無上佛道誓願成。」
(Kōshōji edition in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō shohon*, p. 55a, line 5 – p. 55b, line 1.)

[Mark-up key:

1. characters in the Kōshōji edition that are different from *Liuzu fabao tanjing* edition are in bold and underlined.]

C. Shinpukuji edition:

「**師言**今既懺悔已，一時**遂某甲道**與善知識發四弘誓願，各次用心正聽。自心邪迷**眾****生**無邊誓願度，自心煩惱無邊誓願斷，自性法門無盡誓願學，無上**自性**佛道誓願成。」 (Copy of Shinpukuji manuscript, unnumbered pages (corresponds to Ishii, “Ekinbon ‘Rokuso dankyō’ no kenkyū,” p. 131, section 27, line 1-3.))

[Mark-up key:

1. characters in the Shinpukuji edition that differ from the Kōshōji edition and the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* are in bold and italicized;
2. characters present in the Kōshōji edition, but missing from the Shinpukuji edition, are marked with bold, italics, and strike-out;
3. characters that differ from the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*, but are identical in the Kōshōji edition, are in bold, underlined, and marked with strike-through

if missing;

4. characters that correspond with the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* against the Kōshōji edition have been encircled.]

D. Daijōji edition:

「師言今既懺悔已，一時遂某甲道 與善知識發四弘誓願，各(須)用心正聽。自心邪迷(眾)(生)無邊誓願度，自心煩惱無邊誓願斷，自性法門無盡誓願學，無上自性佛道誓願成。(Daijōji edition in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō shohon*, p. 96b, line 1–97a, line 3.)

[Mark-up key:

1. characters in the Daijōji edition that differ from the Kōshōji edition and the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* are in bold and italicized;
2. characters present in the Kōshōji edition, but missing from the Daijōji edition, are marked with bold, italics, and strike-out;
3. characters that differ from the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*, but are identical to the Kōshōji edition, are in bold, underlined, and marked with strike-through if missing;
4. characters that correspond with the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* against the Kōshōji edition have been encircled.]

Again, we see that the Kōshōji edition is very close to the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*, much closer overall than the Shinpukuji and Daijōji editions. However, also here we have some instances where the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* appears to follow the text of the Daijōji or Shinpukuji editions rather than that of the Kōshōji edition.

An interesting example of this is the first vow, that is normally found in the form it is in the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* “眾生無邊誓願度, sentient beings are innumerable and I vow to save them.”²⁸ However, Huixin’s edition must have had the innovation, or perhaps mistake, “邪迷眾生誓願度, I vow to save false and deluded sentient beings” since we find this in both the Shinpukuji and Daijōji editions. The Kōshōji text simply has “邪迷無邊誓願度” “the false and deluded are innumerable and I vow to save them.” It is not surprising that the editor of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* chose to restore this vow to its more common form, and he does not need to have relied on the

Shinpukuji or Daijōji edition to do so.

However, it is perhaps harder to explain why the sentence “各須用心正聽” “you should all listen closely” should be the same in the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* and the Daijōji edition, while it in the Kōshōji edition is “各次用心正聽, each of you listen closely.” It is possible the editor of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* by coincidence chose to replace the “次” with a “須,” and it is also possible that the editors of the Japanese Kōshōji edition, perhaps by mistake changed “須” from Chao Jiong’s text to “次.” It is also possible that the editor of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* here and elsewhere made use of a text of the *Platform Sūtra* similar to the Daijōji edition. After all, as we have seen, Zongbao in his postface talks of having access to three different editions of the *Platform Sūtra*.

In any case, the examples I have presented above are typical of the relationships between the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* and the Kōshōji, Shinpukuji, and Daijōji editions: the text of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* is overall very close Kōshōji edition, and much more rarely seems to follow the Shinpukuji or Daijōji editions. The inescapable conclusion has to be that the editor of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* mainly based his edition on the Kōshōji text; that is, the edition of the *Platform Sūtra* likely prepared by Chao Jiong in 1031, and published by Chao Zijian in 1153.²⁹

This is in itself an important point, but it is also important for my third argument presented further below.

2. The other major source for the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* was the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄.

Although almost the entire text of the Kōshōji edition is included in the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*, there is quite a lot of additional material in the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* that is not found in the Kōshōji edition or in any other earlier version of the *Platform Sūtra*. This is especially true for the descriptions of Huineng’s encounters with disciples, found in chapters 7 and 8 of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*. These encounters are either much shorter in the Kōshōji edition and the other early versions of the *Platform Sūtra*, or not found there at all. Much of this extra material in the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* can be

demonstrated to have come from the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, the famous Chan history that was compiled in 1004 and published in 1009.³⁰

Here I will give two examples. First, there is Huineng's encounter with Fahai 法海 (d.u.), Huineng's famous but obscure disciple who is credited as the recorder of the *Platform Sūtra*. Fahai is mentioned several times in the earlier versions of the *Platform Sūtra*, but this encounter is included only in the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*.

A. *Liuzu fabao tanjing*:

「僧法海，韶州曲江人也。初參祖師問曰：「即心即佛，願垂指諭。」師曰：「前念不生即心，後念不滅即佛；成一切相即心，離一切相即佛。吾若具說，窮劫不盡。聽吾偈曰：

「即心名慧，即佛乃定，定慧等持，
意中清淨。悟此法門，由汝習性，
用本無生，雙修是正。」

法海言下大悟，以偈讚曰：

「即心元是佛，不悟而自屈，
我知定慧因，雙修離諸物。」 (CBETA, T48, no. 2008, p. 355, a27-b7)

“The monk Fahai was from Qujiang in Shaozhou. When he first went to study under the patriarch he asked, “The mind is buddha. Please favor me with your instructions.” The master said, “For the preceding thought not to be generated is mind, and for the succeeding thought not to be extinguished is buddha. That which creates all the characteristics is mind, and that which transcends all the characteristics is buddha. If I were to explain it completely, I could not finish in an eon! Listen to my verse, which goes:

With regard to the mind, it's called wisdom.
With regard to the Buddha, it's called meditation.
When meditation and wisdom are maintained equally,
All is pure within the consciousness.

If you are enlightened to this teaching
It is through your cultivation of the nature

Its function is fundamentally birthless;

The dual cultivation is correct.

Fahai experienced a great enlightenment upon hearing these words. He gave praise in verse, saying:

The mind is fundamentally buddha.

To be unenlightened to this is to subjugate oneself.

I understand the causes of meditation and wisdom.

By the dual cultivation one transcends all things.”

(McRae, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, pp. 54-55.)

[Mark-up key:

1. differences with the *Jingde chuandeng lu* are underlined and in bold.]

B. *Jingde chuandeng lu*:

「韶州法海禪師者曲江人也。初見六祖問曰：「即心即佛，願垂指喻。」祖曰：「前念不生即心，後念不滅即佛。成一切相即心。離一切相即佛。吾若具說，窮劫不盡。聽吾偈曰：

即心名慧 即佛乃定 定慧等持

意中清淨 悟此法門 由汝習性

用本無生 雙修是正

法海信受。以偈贊曰。

即心元是佛 不悟而自屈

我知定慧因 雙修離諸物

(壇經云。門人法海者即禪師是也)。」 (CBETA, T51, no. 2076, p. 237, a25-b6)

[Mark-up key:

1. differences with the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* are underlined and in bold.]

As we can see, the differences between the two accounts are quite minor, and I have not found the episode in these words anywhere else. This indicates strongly that the editor of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* must have used the *Chuandeng lu* as his source for this passage.

However, the differences between the two accounts are telling. The *Liuzu fabao tanjing* seems to amplify the impact Huineng has on Fahai by noting Huineng's words caused Fahai to experience a great enlightenment

(“言下大悟”), rather than the more mundane expression in the *Chuangdeng lu* that Fahai put his faith in Huineng (“信受”).

Furthermore, the *Chuangdeng lu* ends with a note saying, “This Chan master is the person who is called the ‘disciple Fahai’ in the *Platform Sūtra*.” This suggests that the author of the *Chuangdeng lu* did not have his information about Fahai from the version of the *Platform Sūtra* that he knew.

The second example I will give concerns Huineng’s encounter with Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思 (660?-740), who is not mentioned in any earlier version of the *Platform Sūtra*. The entry on this encounter in the *Chuangdeng lu* is much longer than the one in the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*, but the latter clearly draws on the former and mostly corresponds with it word-for-word.

A. *Liuzu fabao tanjing*:

「行思禪師，生吉州安城劉氏。聞曹溪法席盛化，徑來參禮，遂問曰：「當何所務，即不落階級？」師曰：「汝曾作什麼來？」曰：「聖諦亦不為。」師曰：「落何階級？」曰：「聖諦尚不為，何階級之有？」師深器之，令思首眾。一日，師謂曰：「汝當分化一方，無令斷絕。」思既得法，遂回吉州青原山。」《六祖大師法寶壇經》卷 1 (CBETA, T48, no. 2008, p. 357, b12-18)

[Mark-up key:

1. differences with the *Jingde chuandeng lu* are underlined and in bold.]

“Chan Master Xingsi was born into the Liu family of Ancheng (Jian Xian, Jiangxi) in Jizhou. Hearing that the teaching [of sentient beings] was flourishing from the Dharma seat at Caoqi, he came to consult and do obeisance [to Huineng]. He asked, “What task should one undertake so as not to [backslide and] fall down the stages?”

The master said, “What have you done in the past?”

[Xingsi] said, “I have not performed even the sagely truth.”

The master said, “What stages would you fall down?”

[Xingsi] said, “Without having performed the sagely truth, what stages can there be?”

The master was profoundly impressed by Xingsi, and made him the chief among his followers. One day the master said to [Xingsi], “You should go

off and teach somewhere, so that [the Dharma] is not cut off.” Xingsi thus attained the Dharma, then returned to Mount Qingyuan in Jizhou, where he disseminated the Dharma and taught [sentient beings].” (McRae, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, p. 66.)

B. *Jingde chuandeng lu*:

...「後聞曹谿法席，乃往參禮。問曰：「當何所務，即不落階級？」祖曰：「汝曾作什麼？」師曰：「聖諦亦不為。」祖曰：「落何階級？」。曰：「聖諦尚不為，何階級之有？」祖深器之。.... 一日，祖謂師曰：....「汝當分化一方，無令斷絕。」師既得法。住吉州青原山靜居寺。(CBETA, T51, no. 2076, p. 240, a17-c6)

[Mark-up key:

1. differences with the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* are underlined and in bold.]

Again, we see that the two texts are very close to each other. There is no other text that the editor of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* could have drawn on that contains this episode in similar wording. There is no doubt that we are seeing borrowings from the *Chuandeng lu* by the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* and not the other way around. This is attested to by the fact that whenever the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* uses material from the Kōshōji edition in the encounters, it deviates from the *Chuandeng lu* even if other parts of the biography are identical to what is found in the *Chuandeng lu*. For example, the long description of Huineng’s encounter with Fada 法達 (d.u.) in the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* (p. 355b) appears to be put together from the accounts found in the Kōshōji edition and the *Chuandeng lu*. The first part of this episode (p. 355b, line 8–22) is almost identical to the beginning of Fada’s biography in the *Chuandeng lu* (p. 237c, line 21 – p. 238a, line 6). The next ten lines in the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* (p. 355b, line 23 – p. 355c, line 3) are a mixture of sentences from the Kōshōji edition (p. 61e, line 5 – p. 61f, line 6) and the *Chuandeng lu* (p. 238a, line 7–12). The next five lines (p. 355c, line 3–8) in the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* are found in almost the same form in the Kōshōji edition (p. 62a, line 1–5). The following seven lines (p. 355c, line 8–16) are found in the *Chuandeng lu* (p. 238a, line 13–19). The passage after that in the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* (p. 355c, line 15–21) is from the Kōshōji edition

(p. 62a, line 5 – p. 62b, line 2). The rest of the episode (p. 355c, line 21 – p. 356a, line 25) is clearly based on the *Chuandeng lu* (p. 238a, line 19 – p. 238b, line 20) and coincides to a large degree in wording. Similar cases where the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* appears to use material from both the Kōshōji edition and *Chuandeng lu* are found in Huineng's encounters with Zhicheng 志誠 (d.u.) and Shenhui 神會 (684-758).³¹

It should be added that the editor of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* likely also used sources other than the *Chuandeng lu* for his edition. There are several passages in the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* that have no parallels in the *Chuandeng lu*, and, for example, the *Liandeng huiyao* 聯燈會要 (preface dated 1183)³² appears to be quoted in several places.

In conclusion, however, there is little doubt that after the text of the Kōshōji edition, the most important source for *Liuzu fabao tanjing* was the *Chuandeng lu*.

3. Qisong's edition of 1056 was almost certainly not the basis for the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*.

It is usually assumed that the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* was based on an edition of the *Platform Sūtra* prepared by the famous scholar-monk Qisong 契嵩 (1007-1072). Qisong's edition is now lost, but it is known from a preface to it by the official Lang Jian 郎簡 (d.u.),³³ which is included in the *Tanjin wenji* 鐔津文集 compiled by Qisong himself.³⁴ The preface is dated 1056 and has the title “*Liuzu fabao ji xu*” 六祖法寶記序, suggesting that the title of Qisong's edition was *Liuzu fabao ji* 六祖法寶記. The preface states that Qisong acquired an “old Caoxi 曹溪 edition” of the *Platform Sūtra*, edited it, divided it into three fascicles, and had it published.

However, if Qisong's edition was the direct ancestor to the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* then, as we have seen, Qisong must have used a text like the Kōshōji edition as his basis. But the text of the Kōshōji edition was probably not published until 1153, the year Chao Zijian's preface is dated.

Of course, it is possible that the text was in circulation in manuscript form earlier, or even that Chao Jiong himself published it after 1031; but Chao Zijian mentions that the text he published was hand-written and

clearly indicates that he considered it unique, and there is no sign of it having been published or circulated earlier. Citations attributed to Huineng or the *Platform Sūtra* in Chinese literature before the thirteenth century that I have located never correspond to the Kōshōji version of the text, but generally follow either the Dunhuang or the Huixin versions. It therefore seems unlikely that Chao Jiong's edition of the *Platform Sūtra* was published or widely circulated before 1153. Qisong's edition therefore must have been based on other versions of the *Platform Sūtra* and so Qisong's text must have been different from the text of the Kōshōji edition and cannot have been the ancestor to *Liuzu fabao tanjing*.

Something else suggests that Qisong's edition cannot have been the basis for the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*. Qisong's *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* 傳法正宗記 from 1061³⁵ has several records of Huineng's encounters with disciples that have parallels in the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* (that, as we have seen, are based on the *Chuandeng lu*). However, in the *Chuanfa zhengzong ji*, all of these episodes are quite different in wording from the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* and the *Chuandeng lu*.³⁶ It seems unlikely that Qisong before 1056, when he prepared his edition of the *Platform Sūtra*, would have been content to copy from the Kōshōji edition and the *Chuandeng lu*,³⁷ while in the years before 1061 when he compiled the *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* he rewrote everything and did not use any material from either text.

There are several references to a *Liuzu fabao ji* 六祖法寶記 in Chinese literature. The earliest is in the *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目 from 1041,³⁸ which of course cannot be a reference to Qisong's 1056 edition. Here, and everywhere else that this title is mentioned, it is said to be in one fascicle, whereas Lang states that Qisong's edition was in three fascicles. It seems likely that "old Caoxi edition" Qisong used was a copy of the one-fascicle edition of the *Platform Sūtra* with this title, but unfortunately we know nothing about what the text may have been like. I have found no references to Qisong's edition of the *Platform Sūtra* in historical sources and no quotation that appears to be from it. In conclusion, it would seem Qisong's edition of the *Platform Sūtra* failed to gain any widespread popularity, and that no trace of it has been preserved.

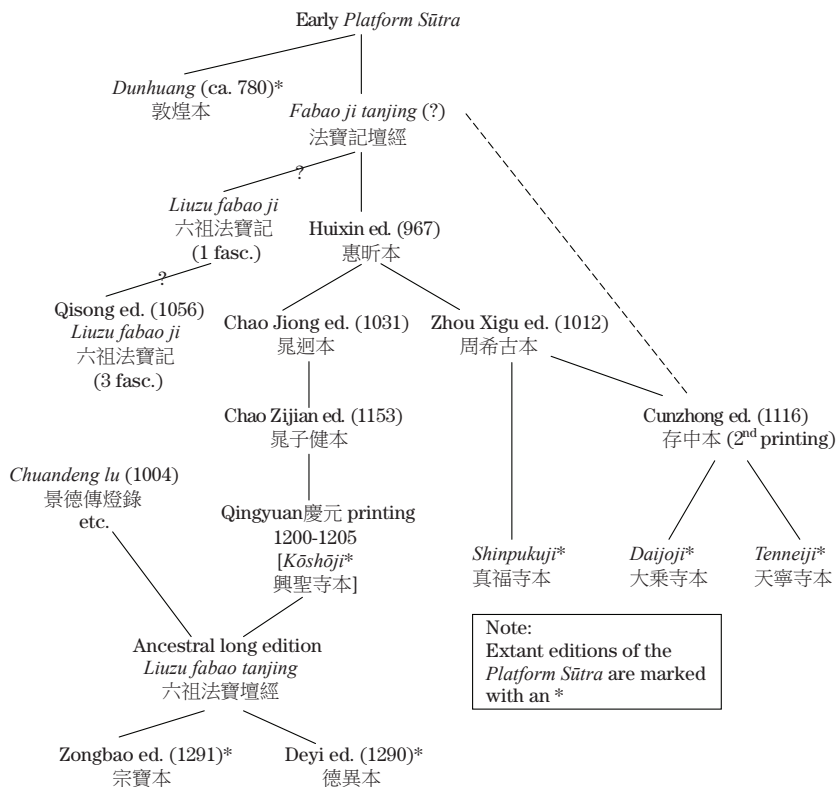
Conclusion

In this essay I have discussed some important aspects of the evolution of the *Platform Sūtra*, arguing that Chao Jiong's version of Huixin's edition of the text (now known through the Kōshōji edition) together with the *Chuangdeng lu* were the main sources for the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*, and that Qisong's edition of the *Platform Sūtra* from 1056 has no connection to the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*.

Interestingly, although Chao Jiong's edition of the *Platform Sūtra* was published in 1153 it does not seem it was circulated widely. Surviving quotations of the *Platform Sūtra* from the Song and later almost never seem to be to this edition. But Chao Jiong's edition indirectly became enormously influential as the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* came to dominate in the Yuan dynasty and all the way up to modern times.

It is also interesting to note that one of the main additions the editor of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* made to the text of Chao Jiong's edition was the inclusion of so-called "encounter dialogue" (*jiyuan wenda* 機緣問答),³⁹ that almost all came from the *Chuangdeng lu*. As Chan developed in the Song dynasty, it seems encounter dialogue came to be understood as its most distinctive feature. But no real encounter dialogue is found in any version of the *Platform Sūtra* prior to the *Liuzu fabao tanjing*. It is not surprising that from the early Song, the *Platform Sūtra* began to be considered inadequate and that it was felt something was missing from the text. This sentiment was expressed already in the 1056 preface to Qisong's edition, and we also find it in the *Zuting shiyuan* 祖庭事苑 from 1108 which, although it notes that the *Platform Sūtra* was circulating widely, laments the fact that no "complete version" of the *Platform Sūtra* and other older Chan texts could be found.⁴⁰ So, it was only with the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* that a version of the *Platform Sūtra* that seemed truly satisfying came into circulation. Therefore, the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* quickly rendered all other versions of the *Platform Sūtra* obsolete and soon came to be considered the sole orthodox *Platform Sūtra*. It is only in recent times have we begun to become aware of its long and complex history.

APPENDIX A



From: Morten Schlütter, “Textual Criticism and the Turbulent Life of the Platform Sūtra,” in Richard VanNess Simmons and Newell Ann Van Auken, eds., *Studies in Chinese and Sino-Tibetan Linguistics: Dialect, Phonology, Transcription and Text*, Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, 2014, p. 420.

NOTES

¹ Much of my research on the *Platform Sūtra* began under the direction of the late Professor Stanley Weinstein, and I would like to express the deep gratitude I owe him.

- ² See, e.g., John Jorgensen, “The Figure of Huineng,” in *Readings of the Platform Sūtra*, ed. by Morten Schlütter and Stephen F. Teiser, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012, pp. 25-52.
- ³ Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山, *Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū* 初期禪宗史書の研究, Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967, pp. 148-212, and John R. McRae, “The Ox-head School of Chinese Ch’an Buddhism: From Early Ch’an to the Golden Age,” in Robert M. Gimello and Peter N. Gregory, eds., *Studies in Ch’an and Hua-yen*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983, pp. 169-252.
- ⁴ I am currently engaged in a book-length study that seeks to elucidate the historical development of Chinese Chan through an examination of the different versions of the *Platform Sūtra*. My working title is *The Evolution of the Platform Sūtra and the Changing Notions of What Chan Should Be*.
- ⁵ Morten Schlütter, “A Study in the Genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra*,” *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 2 (1989): 53-114, and “Textual Criticism and the Turbulent Life of the *Platform Sūtra*,” in Richard VanNess Simmons and Newell Ann Van Auken, eds., *Studies in Chinese and Sino-Tibetan Linguistics: Dialect, Phonology, Transcription and Text*, Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, 2014, pp. 399-427.
- ⁶ CBETA, T48, no. 2008, pp. 364c09-365a3.
- ⁷ For biographical information see Ui Hakuju 宇井白壽, *Zenshū shi kenkyū* 禪宗史研究, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1941, vol. 2, pp. 12-13.
- ⁸ CBETA, T48, no. 2008, pp. 345c08-346a7.
- ⁹ Yabuki Keiki 矢吹慶輝, ed. *Meisha yoin; Tonkō shutsudo miden koitsu butten kaihō*, 鳴沙餘韻; 燉煌出土未傳古逸佛典開寶, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1930.
- ¹⁰ Kōshōji edition in Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山, ed., *Rokuso dankyō shohon shūsei* 六祖壇經諸本集成, Kyoto: Chūbun Shuppansha, 1976, p. 49a, line 1-11.
- ¹¹ See Ishii Shūdō 石井修道, “Ekinbon ‘Rokuso dankyō’ no kenkyū –teihon shisaku to Tonkōhon to no taishō 惠昕本「六祖壇經」の研究—定本の試作と敦煌本との対照,” *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu kenkyū ronshū*, 11 (November, 1980): 96-138, and “Ekinbon ‘Rokuso dankyō’ no kenkyū (zoku)–teihon shisaku to Tonkōbon to no taishō 惠昕本「六祖壇經」の研究(続)— 定本の試作と敦煌本との対照,” *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu kenkyū ronshū*, 12 (October, 1981):68-132.
- ¹² See Ui, *Zenshūshi kenkyū*, vol. 3, p. 60.
- ¹³ Komazawa Daigaku zenshū kenkyūkai 駒沢大學禪宗史研究会, ed., *Enō kenkyū* 慧能研究, Tokyo: Daishukan Shoten, 1978, p. 408. See also Ishii Shūdō 石井修道, “Shinpukuji bunko shozō no ‘Rokuso dankyō’ no shōkai–Ekinbon ‘Rokuso dankyō’ no shon to no kanren 真福時文庫所藏の「六祖壇經」の紹介—惠本「六祖壇經」の祖本との関連,” *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu kenkyū ronshū* 1979, 10:74-111, p. 78b.
- ¹⁴ See Chang Bide 昌彼得, et al., *Songren chuanji ziliao souyin* 宋人傳記資料索引, 6 vols, Taipei: Dingwen Shuju, 1975, vol. 3, p. 1947, for a list of references to him.
- ¹⁵ See the reproduction of the preface in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō shohon shūsei*, p.

49b-c

- ¹⁶ See Hu Shi 胡適, *Tanjing kao di er* 壇經考第二, originally in *Hu Shih wencun* 胡適文存, VI, pp. 78; Reprinted in *Ko Teki zengaku an* 胡適禪學案, ed. by Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山, Kyoto: Chūbun shuppansha, 1975, pp. 304-305.
- ¹⁷ The manuscript is photographically reproduced in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō shohon shūsei*, pp. 89-113.
- ¹⁸ Also pronounced “Caoqi.”
- ¹⁹ See Ishii Shūdō 石井修道, “Shinpukuji bunko shozō no ‘Rokuso dankyō’ no shōkai-Ekinbon ‘Rokuso dankyō’ no shon to no kanren 眞福時文庫所藏の「六祖壇經」の紹介--恵本「六祖壇經」の祖本との関連,” *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu kenkyū ronshū* 1979, 10:74-111, pp. 91-111 for a list of the various chapter titles.
- ²⁰ See Ui, *Zenshūshi kenkyū*, vol. 3, p. 61. Dōgen was very critical of the *Platform Sūtra* as he knew it, denying that it contained the words of Huineng; see *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼藏91 (*Shizen Biku* 四禪比丘).
- ²¹ Ishii, “Shinpukuji bunko shozō no ‘Rokuso dankyō,’” pp. 91-112. No direct copy of the manuscript has been published, but I am grateful to Professor Ishii for having made a photocopy available to me.
- ²² Chang, *Songren chuanji ziliao souyin*, vol. 2, p. 1476. See also Ishii, “Shinpukuji bunko shozō no ‘Rokuso dankyō,’” pp. 78b-79a.
- ²³ Ishii, “Shinpukuji bunko shozō no ‘Rokuso dankyō,’” p. 75b.
- ²⁴ Schlütter, “A Study in the Genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra*.”
- ²⁵ For the Kōshōji and Daijōji editions I am using the reproductions in Yanagida Seizan, *Rokuso dankyō shohon shūsei*, pp. 49-65 and pp. 89-113; and for the Shinpukuji edition I am using an unpaginated copy of the manuscript generously made available to me by Professor Ishii Shūdō. The Zongbao version of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* is found in T48, no. 2008. Ishii Shūdō, “Ekinbon ‘Rokuso dankyō’ no kenkyū” very helpfully compares the Kōshōji, Daijōji, and Shinpukuji editions, as well as several other related editions of the *Platform Sūtra*, with each other and with the Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sūtra*.
- ²⁶ John R. McRae, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, Berkeley, Calif.: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2000 (e-book version).
- ²⁷ 《南宗頓教最上大乘摩訶般若波羅蜜經六祖惠能大師於韶州大梵寺施法壇經》卷1:「惠能聞說, 宿業有緣」(CBETA, T48, no. 2007, p. 337, a26).
- ²⁸ See, for example, 《受菩提心戒儀》(CBETA, T18, no. 915, p. 941b16).
- ²⁹ It should be noted that in some ways the Deyi version of the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* is slightly closer to the Kōshōji text than is the Zongbao version, but I will not address this issue here.
- ³⁰ CBETA, T51, no. 2076. The similarity between the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* and the *Jingde chuandeng lu* was already noted in Ui, *Zenshūshi kenkyū*, vol. 2, pp. 34-44, but has been paid little attention since.
- ³¹ See Schlütter, “A Study in the Genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra*,” pp. 85-89.
- ³² CBETA, X79, no. 1557 // Z 2B:9.

- ³³ For references to Lang Jian's biography, see Chang, *Songren chuanji ziliao souyin*, vol. 3, p. 1947.
- ³⁴ CBETA, T52, no. 2115, p. 703b-c.
- ³⁵ CBETA, T51, no. 2078, pp. 715-768.
- ³⁶ Compare, e.g., the entry on Xingsi in *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* with his entries in the *Liuzu fabao tanjing* and *Chuangdeng lu* quoted earlier: 《傳法正宗記》卷7: 「大鑒之二世。曰清源行思禪師。吉州安城人也。初於大鑒之眾最為首冠。大鑒嘗謂之曰。從上以衣與法偕傳。蓋取信於後世耳。今吾得人何患乎不信。我受衣來常恐不免於難。今復傳之慮起其諍。衣鉢宜留鎮山門。汝則以法分化一方無使其絕。思尋歸其鄉邑。居清源山之靜居寺。最為學者所歸。其法嗣一人。曰南嶽石頭希遷者。」 (CBETA, T51, no. 2078, p. 749, b14-21).
- ³⁷ The *Chuangdeng lu* was known to Qisong who mentions it in his *Zhengzong ji*. See CBETA, T51, no. 2078, p. 715c2.
- ³⁸ Compiled by Wang Yaochen 王堯臣 (1003-1058), et al, fasc. 10, p. 13a, *Wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshu guan, 1983-) vol. 674.
- ³⁹ A term coined by Yanagida Seizan that cannot be found in any pre-modern Chan source. See McRae, John R., "The Antecedents of Encounter Dialogue in Chinese Ch'an Buddhism," in *The Koan: Texts and Contexts in Zen Buddhism*, ed. by Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 47.
- ⁴⁰ CBETA, X64, no. 1261, p. 423, b3-8 // Z 2:18, p. 110, d17-p. 111, a4 // R113, p. 220, b17-p. 221, a4.1