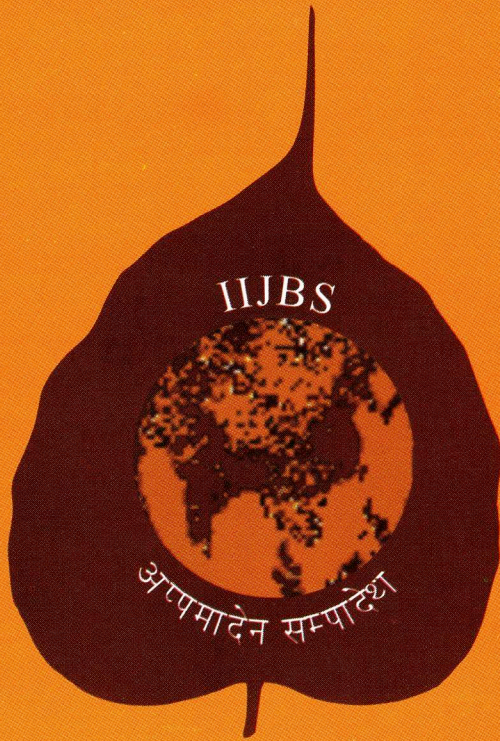


ISSN 0972-4893

बौद्ध अध्ययन की भारतीय अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय पत्रिका

The Indian International Journal of
Buddhist Studies



**Number - 15
2014**

**BHIKKHU JAGDISH KASHYAP INSTITUTE OF
BUDDHIST AND ASIAN STUDIES, ADITYA-SHYAM TRUST
76, NANDNAGAR, KARAUNDI, VARANASI-221005, INDIA**

© BJK Institute of Buddhist and Asian Studies, Aditya Shyam Trust,
76, Nandnagar, Karaundi, Varanasi – 221005

All rights, including the right to translate or to reproduce this periodical or parts thereof, except for brief quotations, are reserved.

The publication of this number of the Journal is financially supported by the Indian Council of Historical Research. Neither the ICHR nor the BJK Institute, the Editors, the publishers and printers/distributors are responsible for the views of the authors/contributors.

IJBS is published annually. It is a referable Journal.

Manuscripts or any other material, offered for publication, should be sent to Dr. Lalji 'Shravak', the Executive Editor, IJBS, 76, Nandnagar, Karaundi, Varanasi – 221005, India.

Price / Subscription

Single Copy

For South Asia Rs. 1000/-
For Other Countries \$ 40.00

Life Subscribers

For South Asia Rs. 10,000/-
For Other Countries \$ 300.00

Published by: The Secretary, BJK Institute of Buddhist and Asian Studies,
Aditya Shyam Trust, 76, Nandnagar, Karaundi, Varanasi-221005, India.

E-mails : laljis@gmail.com
editorijbs@gmail.com

Website : www.ijbs.org

Printed by: Surabhi Printers, Maldahiya, Varanasi.
Tel. Nos.: +91-542-2202871, +91-9919944000.

बौद्ध अध्ययन की भारतीय अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय पत्रिका

THE INDIAN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF BUDDHIST STUDIES

**Number 15
2014**

[Founder Editor-in-Chief, Professor Emeritus A.K. Narain,
Formerly Founder Editor-in-Chief, *JIAS* (1976-1986) and *IJBS* (1989-98)]

EDITORS

Roger Jackson
Lalji 'Shravak' (Executive Editor)

ADVISORS

Bhikkhu Pasadika
Charles Willemen
Huang Xinchuan
N.H. Samtani
Nobuyoshi Yamabe
Richard Gombrich

बौद्ध अध्ययन की भारतीय अकादमिक प्रवृत्ति

THE INDIAN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF BUDDHIST STUDIES

Copyright © 2014, including the right to translate or to reproduce in any form, by permission of the publisher, for the purpose of the journal.

The publication of this journal is supported by the Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR) and the Ministry of Culture, Government of India. The Editors, the publishers and the contributors are responsible for the content of the articles.

ICJBS is published in a biennial volume. The Founder-Editor-in-Chief, Professor Emeritus A.K. Narain, formerly Founder-Editor-in-Chief, IAS (1976-1986) and IAS (1989-98), was succeeded by Dr. Lalji Shrivastava, Executive Editor, IAS, in 2005. The Editor-in-Chief, Dr. Lalji Shrivastava, is currently based at the IAS, New Delhi.

EDITORS
 Editor: Dr. Lalji Shrivastava, Executive Editor, IAS, New Delhi.
 Editor: Dr. Roger Jackson, IAS, New Delhi.

ADVISORS
 Dr. Bhabhu Bhattacharya, IAS, New Delhi.
 Dr. Charles Willemen, IAS, New Delhi.

E-mail: bhabhu@ias.ac.in
Website: www.ias.ac.in
Printed by: Surabhi Publications, New Delhi.

+



Late Prof. Awadh Kishor Narain
 (May 28, 1925 - July 10, 2013)

बौद्ध अध्ययन की भारतीय अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय पत्रिका

THE INDIAN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF BUDDHIST STUDIES

अङ्क - १५

2014

Number 15

सूची / Contents

Editors' Preface

i-iv

I शोधलेख / Articles

1. Anālayo, Bhikkhu 1-43
The Buddha's Passing Away in the Dīrgha-āgama
2. James Duerlinger 45-77
Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla on the Sāṃkhyas'
Theory of a Self
3. David Fiordalis, 79-108
On Buddhism, Divination and the Worldly Arts:
Textual Evidence from the Theravāda Tradition
4. Shohei Ichimura, 109-134
Translating Dōgen's Zen: A Preparatory Study
5. Tomoko Makidono 135-198
Vestiges of Religious Interaction Embedded
in the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*: The Origins and the
Development of the Cult of the Bodhisattva
Avalokiteśvara
6. Julia Stenzel, 199-228
The Mahāmudrā of Sakya Paṇḍita
7. Tsui Chunghui, 229-248
Re-examining the *Diamond Sūtra*
Manuscript S.P.2 and Sacred Book Culture
in the Tang Dynasty

II. ग्रन्थ व अनुवाद Texts and Translation

- Jin Tao 249-292
The Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna

III. समीक्षा व सूचनाएं / Book Reviews and Notices

- Bhikkhu Pāsādika 293-297
Michael Colman, *Bewusstsein, konzentrierte Meditation und ganzheitsorientiertes Menschenbild – Beiträge zu einem Ver-stehen des Bewusstseins im Buddhismus und im integrativen Denken der Neuzeit*, Bochum, 2013. 561 pp. ISBN 978-3-9815759-0-3

Editors' Preface

This special issue of the *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies* is dedicated to the memory of *IJBS*' founding editor, Prof. A.K. Narain, who passed away in Varanasi on July 10, 2013 at the age of 88. He is survived by his wife Usha, two sons, and three daughters.

Awadh Kishore Narain was born in Gaya on May 28, 1925. An honors graduate in Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology (AIHC & Archaeology) from Benares Hindu University (B.H.U.), he received his Ph.D. from the School of Oriental and African Studies in London in 1954. He taught at B.H.U. throughout the 1950s and 1960s, holding there a number of important positions, including Manindra Chandra Nandi Professor of AIHC & Archaeology, Head of the Department of AIHC & Archaeology, Principal of the College of Indology, First Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and Director of Archaeological Excavations and Explorations Programme of the University. In 1971, he shifted to the University of Wisconsin-Madison (U.S.A.). He taught there for nearly two decades, in the History department and the university's world-famous South Asian Studies and Buddhist Studies programs. After his retirement from Wisconsin in 1990, he returned to Varanasi, where he founded the Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap Institute of Buddhist and Asian Studies and continued his research, writing, and editorial work. In addition to his long tenures at B.H.U. and Wisconsin, Prof. Narain held visiting professorships at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, U.K.; Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota; Visvabharati, Shantiniketan, West Bengal; the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton; Columbia University; and New York University.

Prof. Narain's scholarly work contributed to a variety of fields, including history, archaeology, art history, epigraphy and paleography, numismatics, Buddhist studies, and religious studies. He established his scholarly reputation with his groundbreaking

book, *The Indo-Greeks*, published by Oxford University Press in 1957. *The Indo-Greeks* went through several editions, and was most recently reissued, with supplementary essays, in 2003. Prof. Narain also focused his research on Central Asian peoples who followed the Indo-Greeks, including the Indo-Scythians, Tokharians, Indo-Parthians, and Yue Zhi/Kushans. As part of his research on the Kushans, he organized an international conference in London on the problem of the date of Kanishka. He also published important works on Indo-Greek and Indian coins, archaeological excavations at Rajghat, and numerous other topics related to ancient Indian and Central Asian history. At the time of his death, he was working on a multi-volume project entitled *From Kurush (Cyrus) to Kanishka*, several volumes of which will be published soon.

Prof. Narain was the nephew of one of the great figures of the Buddhist revival in India, Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap (1908–76). Before his death, Bhikkhu Kashyap asked Prof. Narain to start an international organization for scholars of Buddhism. Honoring his uncle's wish, Prof. Narain in 1976 hosted the founding meeting of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, in Madison. At the meeting, he was elected the IABS's first General Secretary. He also served as the first editor of the *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, a post he held for seven years. He oversaw five important edited volumes on Buddhist history, all published in India: *Studies in Pali and Buddhism* (1979), *Studies in the History of Buddhism* (1980), *Studies in Buddhist Art of South Asia* (1984), *Dr. Ambedkar and Social Change* (1993), and, most notably perhaps, *The Date of the Historical Sākyamuni Buddha*, a collection of world-class papers on one of the most controversial topics in Buddhist studies. Despite the inclination of many scholars to propose circa 400 BCE for the Buddha's parinirvāṇa, Prof. Narain felt that the archaeological evidence favored the "traditional" earlier date of circa 483 BCE. After his return to Varanasi in 1990, Prof. Narain founded the Indian Congress of Asian and Pacific Studies (ICAPS), serving as its first president. He also established and edited the *Journal of Indian Buddhist Studies*, which in 1999 became the *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, editorship of which he relinquished in 2002. Beyond those mentioned, Prof. Narain held positions and received honors too numerous to list in full. Other organizations in which he held leadership positions include the Indian Archaeological

Society, the Indian Congress of Asian and Pacific Studies (ICAPS), and the Indian Society for Central Asian Studies (all three of which he helped found), the Indian Numismatic Society, the Indian Society of Prehistoric and Quaternary Studies, the Indian History Congress, the Indian Society of Greek and Roman Studies, and the Indian History and Culture Society. Other honors he received included grants from the Guggenheim Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the American Philosophical Association; the Chakravikrama Gold Medal from the Numismatic Society of India; and the Campbell Gold Medal for Life Time Achievements in Ancient History, Numismatics and Archaeology, from the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

As must be evident from even this brief accounting, Prof. Narain worked tirelessly to advance Indian historical studies and Buddhist studies, both in India and around the world. Apart from his talents as a scholar, he possessed the creative vision to imagine new and important scholarly enterprises others had not considered, and a gift for organization and administration that allowed him to see his vision through to fruition. He cheerfully delegated responsibility, often to younger and less experienced scholars, thereby encouraging their growth as members of the profession. As the editor of this and other publications, while maintaining high standards, he consistently encouraged contributions from the full range of scholarly voices: from up-and-coming scholars to established figures in the field; from European and American scholars to contributors from various Asian countries, including Japan, China, Southeast Asia, and, of course, India. Far from least importantly, Prof. Narain was a warm and generous human being, who is greatly missed, not only by his large and loving family but by friends and colleagues on every continent.

We hope that this special issue of *IJBS* reflects at least some of the spectrum of Buddhological voices Prof. Narain encouraged. Its contributors range from advanced graduate students, through scholars in mid-career, to professors nearing retirement. They include researchers from Japan, China, Germany, the U.S.A., and India, who discuss, in one way or another, nearly every major Buddhist tradition, from Theravāda, to Indian and Central Asian Buddhism, to Chinese, Japanese, and Tibetan

Mahāyāna. Their scholarly approaches run the gamut from textual to archaeological, from historical to philosophical, from finely focused to broadly synthetic. If, therefore, this issue of *IJBS* reflects something of the breadth of the world of Buddhist studies today, we will be pleased, and trust that Prof. Narain would be pleased, as well. In the words of Theravāda tradition, we express the hope: May he attain nibbāna swiftly!

Roger Jackson and Lalji 'Shravak'

The Buddha's Last Meditation in the *Dirgha-āgama*

Anālayo*

Introduction

The present article studies the last moments of the Buddha's life in the way these are reported in the *Dirgha-āgama* parallel to the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*. I begin by translating the relevant section from the *Dirgha-āgama* version preserved in Chinese,¹ followed by a comparative study with a particular emphasis on the description of the Buddha's attainment of the immaterial spheres, and of their significance in general.

Translation

The Buddha said to the monks: "If you have doubts about the Buddha, the Dharma, the Community, or doubts about the path, you should swiftly ask [for clarification]. This is proper and the time for it, do not regret it later. As long as I am still present, I shall explain it to you." Then the monks were silent and without a word.

The Buddha said again: "If you have doubts about the Buddha, the Dharma, the Community, or doubts about the path, you should swiftly ask [for clarification]. This is proper and the time for it, do not regret it later. As long as I am still present, I shall explain it to you." Then the monks were still silent.

* - Numata Centre for Buddhist Studies, University of Hamburg, Germany; Dharma Drum Buddhist College, Taiwan.

¹ The translated part of DĀ 2 is found at TI 26b1 to 26c14, which has already been translated into German by Weller (1940: 181–184).

Re-examining the *Diamond Sūtra* Manuscript S.P.2 and Sacred Book Culture in the Tang Dynasty

TSUI Chunghui 崔中慧*

1. Introduction

In the centuries during which Buddhist texts were translated into Chinese, six known versions of the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (henceforth “*Diamond Sūtra*”) appeared. The earliest and most widely circulated version was that translated by Kumārajīva in the 3rd year of Hong Shi (弘始), late Qin dynasty (後秦) (401 C.E.), in Xiao-yao Garden (逍遙園) at Ch'ang-an (長安). Kumārajīva's translation style was distinctive, possessing a flowing smoothness that reflects his emphasis on conveying the meaning of the text rather than giving a precise literal rendering. As a result, his beautifully translated texts are more easily accepted and better understood by the general public. His translated version of the *Diamond Sūtra* gained popularity in the sixth century and was widely circulated in the Tang dynasty, becoming one of the major texts of the Chan school. For these reasons, there naturally was an escalating demand for copies of the sacred text.

In the early twentieth century, many religious and secular

* Centre of Buddhist Studies, The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong.

I would like to express my deep grateful for Professor Roger Jackson, Lalji 'Shravak', and anonymous reviewer, whose great efforts in carefully checking, editing this paper and giving me many comments and suggestions for improving this paper to be more readable. (A previous draft version of this paper was presented at The Second International Conference on the Chinese Buddhist Canon “The Chinese Buddhist Canon in the Age of Printing: An East Asian Perspective”, 18-20 Mar. 2013, the University of the West, CA, USA.).— TSUI Chunghui

manuscripts were discovered in the Dunhuang “Library Cave.” There are 58,300 (TSUI, 2010:16) pieces of Dunhuang manuscripts, written in various languages.¹ Of the 36,000 items written in Chinese, 32,000 (almost 90%) are Buddhist manuscripts (FANG, 2003: 35.8). There are three main formats of manuscripts from Dunhuang: written copies, rubbings, and block-printed manuscripts. Among the printed-manuscript Buddhist *sūtras*, quite a few are of the *Diamond Sūtra* and the *Saddharmapūṇḍarīka Sūtra*, which are the two most popular and widespread *sūtras* in China.

Among the Buddhist manuscripts excavated from Dunhuang, there are over two thousands items related to the *Diamond Sūtra*, variously dated from the sixth to the eleventh century (SHI, 2003: 2.111-139). Of those two-thousand-plus *Diamond Sūtra*-related items, there are seventy-six that bear exact date inscriptions [Table]. These manuscripts are of three main types: written manuscripts (*xieben* 寫本), printings (*yinben* 印本), and rubbings (*taben* 拓本). In this paper, I will discuss the different formats of the *Diamond Sūtra* that were prevalent during the Tang dynasty. Throughout the discussion, I will examine the artistic depictions that adorned the text, enhancing its popularity as a sacred Buddhist text.

[Table] *Diamond Sūtra* Items by Century

Century	6 th C	7 th C	8 th C	9 th C	10 th C	11 th C	Total
	South & North Dynasty	Sui/ Tang	Tang	Tang	Later Tang/ Five Dynasties	Song	
<i>Diamond Sūtra</i>	1 ²	20	20	14	21		76 ³
<i>Other related documents of Diamond Sūtra</i>			6	4	6	1	17

1 The Dunhuang manuscripts are in different languages, which indicates the cosmopolitan nature of the peoples and culture of Central Asia. The scripts and languages include: Brāhmī, Kharoṣṭī, Persian, Tibetan, Turki, Uighur and Tokharian. The manuscripts were written on different materials, such as palm leaves, leather, silk, and paper.

2 IKEDA 1990. p.119. This manuscript was excavated from Shanshan county 鄯善 and dated 535 CE.

3 The data is mainly based on SHI, 2003:112; see also IKEDA, 1990.

2. The Art of the Woodblock Printed *Diamond Sūtra*

2.1. The art of illustrations

The Tang Dynasty was largely a period of progress and stability, and is generally regarded as a high point in Chinese civilisation, a golden age of cosmopolitan culture. There are some important factors that directly or indirectly resulted in the popularity of the *Diamond Sūtra* during the Tang. First, it has much to do with the development of Buddhist schools in the Tang dynasty, especially the flourishing of the Chan school. The second reason is the patronage of Buddhism by emperor Xuanzong, especially after his annotation of the *Diamond Sūtra* in 741 CE. The other factor is the flourishing in the Tang dynasty of literature and art, and with that, artists and craftsmen of various skills. There were also many notable innovations during the Tang, including the development of woodblock printing. The creation of woodblock printing technology is an important milestone in the publishing history of China. It fuelled the dissemination of art, religion, culture, and knowledge in the world.

The earliest woodblock printed illustration in the *Diamond Sūtra*, discovered in the Dunhuang Library Cave, was dated the year 868, in the Xian-tong reign of the Tang Dynasty (618–907).⁴ (Figur 1)



Figure 1. Printed illustration in the *Diamond Sūtra*
British Library Stein Collection Item no.S.P.2,(h x w) 27.6 x 499.5 cm

4 Whitfield and Sims-Williams, 2004: 300.

FANG Guangchang 方廣鋤 has studied the wood block printed manuscript of the *Diamond Sūtra* and concluded that it was based on the earliest version, as translated by Kumārajīva. The manuscript is well preserved. There are a total of seven strips of paper printed from carved wooden blocks and pasted together to form a scroll, which has an illustrated frontispiece and colophon.⁵ The scroll S.P.2, which is an important fruit of the evolution in the production of Buddhist texts from manual scribes to block printing, is adorned with elaborate illustrations. It displays a maturity of design and layout and speaks of a considerable ancestry for woodblock printing. As this is the earliest dated Buddhist manuscript using woodblock printing technique, the calligraphic style and artwork in the illustration are worthy of detailed examination.

SHA Wutian has suggested that the illustration of the *Diamond Sūtra jingbian* was created during the high Tang period by Wu Daozi (吳道子) (ca. 685–758) at the Pure Land Garden in Xing Tang monastery in Chang'an (長安興唐寺淨土院) (SHA 2006: 556). Wu was a native of Yangzhai, Henan (河南陽翟).⁶ He was a talented artist, who made a name as an accomplished painter when only in his early twenties. The fame of Wu Daozi soon reached the emperor Xuanzong (685–756), who invited him to work and teach in the imperial palace,⁷ where he became a painter of the court. Chang'an, capital of the Tang Dynasty, was the cultural center of the time, the home of many famous men of letters and artists. Wu had much opportunity to work and interact with them, which further improved his painting skills. Wu's painting style was highly appreciated in the courts of the high Tang era, and he came to be recognized as one of China's greatest artists, revered for his linear brush drawing (吳帶當風) and mural painting. According to records in *On Famous Paintings of the Tang Period* (唐朝名畫錄), Wu Daozi achieved the highest status among Tang artists, as "the best of the divine category, *shenpin* 神品上." Wu's paintings of

5 Each sheet of paper measures 26.67 mm in height and 75 mm in width; total length of 491.5cm; width: 30.5 cm.

6 Modern Yu county in Henan province 河南禹縣.

7 ZHU 1985. In this book, Zhu divided artists into four categories, namely "divine" (*shen* 神), "extraordinary" (*miao* 妙), "professional" (*neng* 能), and "mediocre" (*yi* 逸). Wu Daozi was ranked as best in "the divine category" 神品上. http://ourartnet.com/Siku/Zibu/Art/Arts_033.asp

Buddhist or Daoist themes convey the ethereal purity of divine beings; they are beautiful to behold, inspirational, and resonant with their viewers. He created more than three hundred paintings in temples and over one hundred paintings on scrolls. His style left a deep impact on figure painting in the Tang and Song dynasties.

A record of the late Song (1120 CE), *Notes on Painting from the Xuanhe Reign* (宣和畫譜),⁸ states that there were ninety-two instances of Wu Daozi's artwork on Buddhist or Daoist themes in the imperial collection of the Song dynasty. Unfortunately, none of Wu's original artworks in the Tang dynasty or Song court collection remain today, although one famous Tang dynasty figure-painting scroll, the *Eighty-seven Celestials* (八十七神仙圖卷) (Figure 2, 2a), is said to be in Wu Daozi's painting style. Li Song (李淞) has discovered that this work was created in the Song by other artists (LI 2007), but there is no doubt that the painting was done in the Wu Daozi style.



Figure 2. Eighty-seven Celestials
(八十七神仙圖卷)⁹



Figure 2a. Frontispiece illustration
of *Diamond Sūtra*, S.P.2

8 The *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜 *Notes on Painting from the Xuanhe Reign* is a treatise on painting written during the Xuanhe reign (1119–1125) of Emperor Huizong of the Song dynasty (宋徽宗 960-1279).

9 Picture from : <http://www.yvv.cn/ktv/mv/115939.html> (Mar. 2, 2013 accessed)

If we turn our focus back to the S.P.2 woodblock print of the *Diamond Sūtra*, we find that two artistic components were engraved on the woodblock print of the *Diamond Sūtra* before printing: the model calligraphies and paintings by leading artists. It seems useful to inquire whether it is the work of painters or calligraphers from the same era, for instance, the painting of Wu Daozi or the calligraphy of Liu Gongquan.

When we undertake an analysis of artistic style by comparing the brush lines of the painting of the Eighty-seven Celestials with the illustration in the *Diamond Sūtra*, it is obvious that the *Diamond Sūtra* was in the brush-line drawing style (*baimiao* 白描) of the Wu Daozi painting tradition.¹⁰

Furthermore, there are two records related to Wu Daozi associated with the *Diamond Sūtra*. In *On Famous Paintings of the Tang Period* (唐朝名畫錄), it is recorded that Wu Daozi often carried and recited the *Diamond Sūtra* and painted many religious murals on the wall in the *Diamond Sūtra* hall in Xing Tang monastery (興唐寺), where the *Diamond Sūtra* was annotated by emperor Xuanzong.¹¹ Under his cultural policy (RONG, 2007), emperor Xuanzong selected and annotated one representative classic from each of three religions, Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism. They are, respectively, *The Classic of Filial Piety* (孝經), *Dao De Jing* (道德經) and the *Diamond Sūtra* (金剛經).¹²

In addition, according to the record in *Famous Paintings Through History*, by Chang Yenyüan (ca. 815–ca. 877) (TANIGUCHI, 1981: 45), Wu Daozi had several disciples, who learned and acquired the technique of painting from him.¹³ One was Yang Tingguang (楊庭光), who was famous for both figure painting and Buddhist painting. He painted many Buddhist murals in the temples of Chang'an, including Cien Si (慈恩寺), Zisheng Si (資聖寺), Baocha Si (寶剎寺), Puti Si (菩提寺), An-Guo Si (安國寺),

10 JIN 2004 <http://www.china-review.com/smyta2.asp?id=24771> (Feb. 25, 2013)

11 Emperor Xuanzong annotated the *Diamond Sūtra* in 742 CE.

12 Yuanzhao's (圓照) *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (貞元新定釋教目錄. *Catalogue of Buddhist Teachings Newly Established in the Zhenyuan Era*, T. 2157 (CBETA, T55, no. 2157, p. 878, c11-13)

13 Ibid.

Huadu Si (化度寺), and Dongdu Si (東都); and, in Luoyang (今河南洛陽), Zhaocheng Si (昭成寺) and Shengci Si (聖慈寺). This provides evidence that the artistic style of Wu Daozi was passed down to his students and was widespread in the Chang'an and Luoyang areas.

HE Shizhe (賀世哲) has declared that the mural paintings related to the *Diamond Sūtra* in Dunhuang were created thirty to forty years after those of Chang'an and were much influenced by the Wu Daozi style.¹⁴ There was close contact between Chang'an (長安) and Dunhuang during the period following emperor Xuanzong's annotation of the *Diamond Sūtra*. The eminent Buddhist monk Daojian (道建) was invited to the Great Cloud Temple (大雲寺) at Dunhuang to preach three sūtras: the *Diamond Sūtra*, as annotated by emperor Xuanzong, the *Lotus Sūtra*, and the *Brahmajāla Sūtra* (*Fanwangjing* 梵網經) (RONG 2007: 20). This further indicates the importance of the *Diamond Sūtra* in the high Tang period.

We now examine the details of the woodblock printed image, the frontispiece of the *Diamond Sūtra*. It is called the frontispiece because it appears at the front of the scroll. The image measures 28 cm wide and 23 cm tall. It depicts a scene of the Buddha preaching to his entourage, with him positioned diagonally, facing west. Although Julia Murray views this scene (Figure 3) as rather generic and lacking any specific connection to the *Diamond Sūtra* (Murray 1994: 136), I would respectfully submit that the frontispiece illustration is in fact a pictorial presentation of the scene from the opening paragraph of the *Diamond Sūtra* and that it encapsulates the gist of the sūtra. The *Diamond Sūtra* is a dialogue between the Buddha and Subhūti, the central theme of which is the cultivation of wisdom and the practice of non-abiding, non-attachment, and awareness of impermanence—all for the sake of liberation.

The clear connection to the sūtra can be seen, first, from two inscriptions on the left-hand side of the frontispiece. On the upper left side is “祇樹給孤獨園” (Jetavana Anāthapiṇḍada-ārāma); the inscription on the lower left side is “長老須菩提” (Subhūti). (Figure 4, 4a,5)

14 HE 2006:161. 37: “吳道子在興唐寺畫金剛經變當在西元 738 年之後，比敦煌壁畫中最早的金剛經變約早三、四十年。”



Figure 3. The frontispiece illustration of the *Diamond Sūtra*



Figure 3a. Subhūti is the focal point of the whole illustration because all the other figures are looking at Subhūti.



Figure 4. Enlargement of Figure 3.

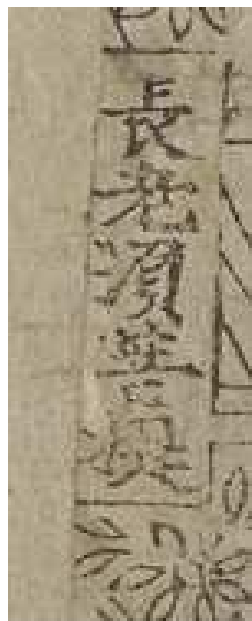


Figure 4a. the inscription on the lower left side is “長老須菩提” (Subhūti).

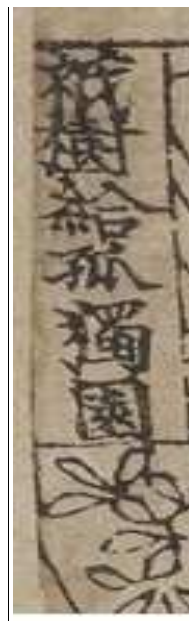


Figure 5. On the upper left side is “祇樹給孤獨園” Jetavana Anāthapiṇḍada-ārāma)

Secondly, the frontispiece's explicit connection to the *Diamond Sūtra* is shown by the fact that it depicts the Buddha preaching the dharma to his disciple Subhūti in Jetavana Anāthapiṇḍada-ārāma. Subhūti was among the Buddha's most distinguished disciples, depicted here as an old and wrinkled monk. The Buddha is surrounded by nine disciples, two bodhisattvas, and two guardian kings (Figure 6,7). Each figure is vividly depicted with various postures; the awe-inspiring gestures of the two guardian kings are particularly eye-catching. However, when we examine the illustration as a whole, we find that the viewer's attention is naturally drawn to focus on Subhūti (Figure 3a). Subhūti is kneeling down in front of the Buddha with his right knee on the ground. He is the focal point of the whole illustration because all the other figures are looking at him.



Figure 6.
Guardian king on the left



Figure 7.
Guardian king on the right

It is therefore likely that the illustration is *Diamond Sūtra* transformation tableaux (*jingbian* 金剛經變),” and encapsulates the text from the opening paragraph of the *Diamond Sūtra* that

describes the Buddha's preaching scene:

"Thus have I heard. One time the Buddha was staying at the Anāthapiṇḍada retreat in the Jeta Grove near Śrāvastī, with a great congregation of 1,250 monks (*bhikṣu*). Atmeantime, the World Honored One put on his robes and took his alms bowl into the great city of Śrāvastī to beg for alms. In the midst of that city, he begged successively and then returned to his personal dwelling to eat his meal. Having put away his robes and bowl, he washed his feet, prepared his seat, and sat."¹⁵

如是我聞。一時，佛在舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園，與大比丘眾千二百五十人俱。爾時，世尊食時，著衣持鉢，入舍衛大城乞食。於其城中，次第乞已，還至本處。飯食訖，收衣鉢，洗足已，敷座而坐。

"At that time, the Venerable Subhūti was amidst the great congregation. He then rose from his seat, adjusted his robes, and knelt his right knee to the ground. With his palms joined together respectfully, he addressed the Buddha, saying, "Extraordinary, World Honored One, is the Tathāgata's skillful mindfulness of the Bodhisattvas and his skillful entrustment to the Bodhisattvas. World Honored One, in what should good sons and good daughters engendering the supremely unexcelled *bodhicitta* dwell? How should they subdue their minds?"¹⁶

時，長老須菩提在大眾中即從座起，偏袒右肩，右膝著地，合掌恭敬而白佛言：「稀有！世尊！如來善護念諸菩薩，善付囑諸菩薩。世尊！善男子、善女人，發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心，應云何住？云何降伏其心？」

As mentioned before, the creation of the *Diamond Sūtra* mural painting was influenced by the popularity of the Chan school of Buddhism (SHI 1985,3 :19–27). The earliest record of the *Diamond Sūtra* mural painting was that in Xing Tang monastery at Chang'an by Wu Daozi. It was likely produced earlier than those at Dunhuang. Noting the popularity of the work by Wu Daozi it certainly is possible that the painting in Dunhuang were modeled

15 Patton, Charles translated from Kumārajīva's Chinese version into English (T 235.8.748c-752c). (<http://www.budhi.net/English/DiamondT0235-c.pdf>, Mar.7, 2014 access)

16 Patton (T235.8.748c–752c). (<http://www.budhi.net/English/DiamondT0235-c.pdf>, Mar.7, 2014 access)

on those from Chang'an.

To conclude the above discussion, we may safely assume that the illustration of the front is piece of the *Diamond Sūtra* is sutra “transformation tableaux” (*jingbian* 金剛經經變) and does echo the scene described therein. On a broader level, it sums up in one illustration what the *sūtra* is about: a dialogue between Buddha and Subhūti in which the teacher imparts words of wisdom for practice.

2.2. The model calligraphy of the *Diamond Sūtra* (S.P.2)

Among the written manuscripts of the *Diamond Sūtra* excavated from Dunhuang, FANG Guangchang opined that there are eleven exemplars of the *Diamond Sūtra* made from the Tang imperial collection (FANG 1995, 1:75). This shows the importance and popularity of the *Diamond Sūtra* during that time. As we know, before printing technology was created, books were mainly done by hand, written by scribes who learned calligraphy by modeling the work of leading calligraphers. Except the aforementioned manuscript of *Diamond Sūtra* (S.P.2), other extant specimens of woodblock printed *Diamond Sūtras* from Dunhuang include the manuscripts numbered S.P.1, S.P.10, P.4515, and P.4516. Another early specimen, which could be dated earlier than the *Diamond Sūtra*, is the wood-block printed *Dhāraṇī Sūtra* found in a Korean temple believed to have been erected in 751 CE (TSIEN 1985:149-150).

A very rare and early ink rubbing of the *Diamond Sūtra* P.4503 (DONG You 1985) (Figure 8)—a rubbing of the engraved stone stele of the *Diamond Sūtra* with calligraphy written by Liu Gongquan (柳公權) (778–865) and dated the fourth year of the Chang Qing reign (長慶四年) (824)—is worthy of our attention. This rubbing *Diamond Sūtra* from Dunhuang shows a calligraphic style similar to that of S.P.2 (Figure 8a, 8b). Liu Gongquan was invited by emperor Tang Muzong (唐穆宗) (795–824) to be the official court calligrapher, holding the title of Hanlin Academician (翰林院侍書學士). He went on to serve seven emperors as court calligrapher, until his death at eighty-eight, in 865 CE.

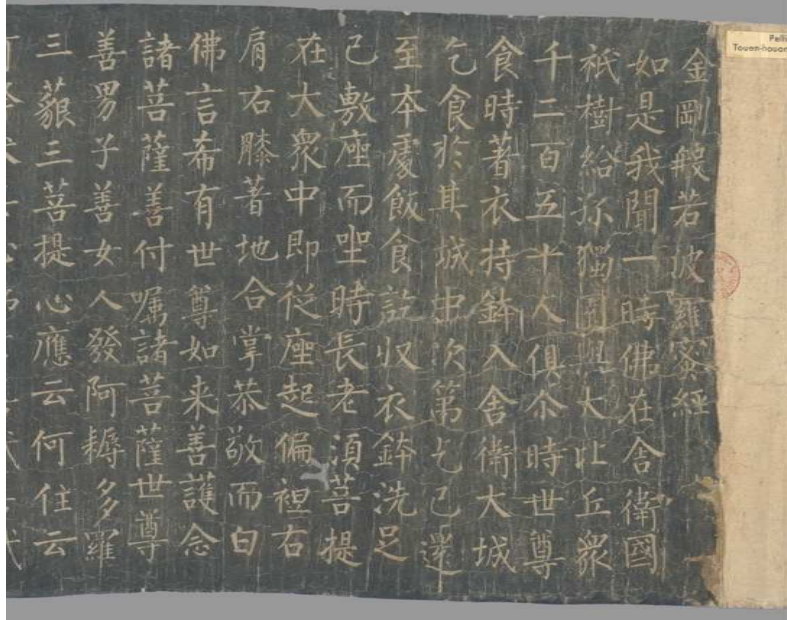


Figure 8. *Diamond Sūtra* P.4503, stone rubbing, 28,5 × 1166,6 cm
 (Picture from IDP: http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=-14689222448;recnum=61630;index=1)

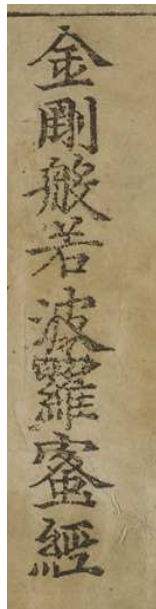


Figure 8a. Engraved and printed characters of *Diamond Sūtra* (S.P.2)



Figure 8b. Rubbing of Liu Gongquan calligraphy P.4503 *Diamond Sūtra*

Liu Gongquan was probably the most productive court calligrapher of Buddhist texts during the high Tang era. According to *Jin shilu*(金石錄)¹⁷ and other related literary sources, from 824 CE to 861 CE, Liu Gongquan produced considerable Buddhist calligraphy at the request of either the court¹⁸ or Buddhist temples or monks, being responsible for at least fourteen works.¹⁹ It is recorded that Liu Gongquan wrote the calligraphy of the *Diamond Sūtra* when he was forty-seven years old. One of his calligraphies of the *Diamond Sūtra* was engraved on the stone stele in Ximing monastery (西明寺) at Chang'an in 838 CE (LUO 2006:76). Ximing Si monastery was one of the major royal patron monasteries in the Tang dynasty, and also the national library for collection of Buddhist *sūtras*.

2.3. The Yuce Guan 玉冊官 – Court engravers

Also noteworthy is the appearance of the names of the engravers, Qiang Yan 強演 and Shao Jianhe 邵建和, at the end of the colophon that includes the name of Liu Gongquan as calligrapher.²⁰ Qiang Yan and Shao Jianhe were both descended from generations of craftsmen from Tianshui in Gansu province (CHENG 2008: 84–86). According to CHENG Zhangcan's research on the engravers of the Tang dynasty, the title Yuce guan (玉冊官) was assigned to a government official under the Imperial Secretariat (*zhongshusheng* 中書省). *Yuce* 玉冊 is an engraved jade book, an official government document that is mainly used for imperial ritual ceremony (CHENG 2008: 79). According to a comprehensive survey of engravers by CHENG Zhangcan (CHENG 2008: 81), members of the Qiang and Shao family—including Shao Jianhe (邵建和) and his brother Shao Jianchu (邵建初)—were famous as craftsmen, and became

17 ZHAO Mingcheng 趙明誠 (1081–1129) compiled the monograph *Jin Shi Lu* 金石錄 on inscriptions on ancient bronze vessels and stone tablets.

18 WANG Pu 王溥 comp. *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 *juan* 35, calligraphy. <http://shu.tang.net/index.asp?keyword=%C1%F8%B9%AB%99%E0&from=content&value=4&value=3&value=2&value=1&channel=data&method=query&category=data> (Mar.2,2013 accessed)

19 For a detailed table of Liu Gongquan's calligraphy, see CHEN 2000, 39:114-120.

20 The colophon of P. 4503 rubbing 《金剛般若波羅蜜經》：“長慶四年(824)四月六日翰林侍書學士朝議郎行右補闕上輕車都尉賜緋魚袋柳公權為右街僧錄準公書，強演邵建和刻”。

government engravers, holding the title Yuce guan (玉冊官) in the Tang court (REN 2007. 6 :45-60) (Figure 9). Shao Jianhe and Shao Jianhe had engraved Buddhist stone stele for an eminent Buddhist monk, *Dada Fashi Xuan Mi Ta Bei Ming* 《大達法師玄秘塔碑銘》, in 841 CE²¹ (Figure 10). The engraved calligraphy was modelled on that written by Liu Gongquan. While craftsmen are required to engrave calligraphy on the stone stele, it is easier for them to engrave on woodblock. Although further research is required on this, for the moment we may reasonably assume that the Liu Gongquan calligraphy and the Wu Daozi mural paintings from Chang'an were all imperial models that affected the development of the woodblock print manuscript of the *Diamond Sūtra* from Dunhuang.

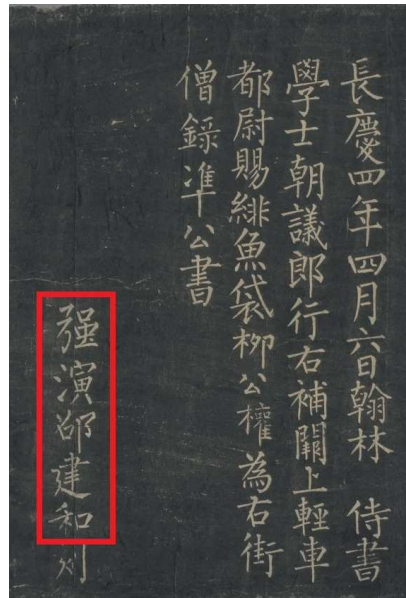


Figure 9. The name of two court engravers Qiang Yan 強演, Shao Jianhe 邵建和 on the rubbing *Diamond Sūtra* P.4503

(picture from IDP : http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=-67042843015;recnum=61630;index=1)



Figure 10. The colophon inscription on Xuan mi ta bei of Buddhist monk, Dada 《大達法師玄秘塔碑銘》: “Court engraver Yuce guan Shao Jianhe 邵建和 and brother Jianchu 建初 engraved.” (picture from :Liu, Gongquan, Tang Liu Gongquanshu Xuan mi ta bei, p.59)

21 LIU 2000: 59 “刻玉冊官邵建和并弟建初鑄”。

Conclusion

Based on the Dunhuang woodblock print manuscript *Diamond Sūtra* S.P.2, this paper has explored two significant findings. First, through an examination of the painting and calligraphic styles from the illustrated frontispiece of the *Diamond Sūtra* wood-block print created by a collaborative team from the Chang'an court, one can see Tang government established a court workshop with contemporary master artists, calligraphers, scribes, and craftsmen to produce the print. The imperial models of Liu Gongquan's calligraphy and Wu Daozi's painting from Chang'an affected the development of the *Diamond Sūtra* woodblock print manuscript found in Dunhuang. Second, it is noteworthy that the model calligraphy and painting were adopted by the court craftsmen *Yuce guan* Qiang Yan and Shao Jianhe to create the woodblock print. This is an important landmark in the history of Chinese printing technology.

It has been recognized by scholars that Buddhism was the main driving force in the development of printing technology in the Tang era (618–907 CE). With improved techniques in papermaking and block printing, the *Diamond Sūtra* became standardized, representing an imperial model or the early woodblock print in the Tang dynasty. It also established the foundation for a flourishing publishing culture from the Song dynasty onwards. The woodblock technique achieved its height in the Ming dynasty, which marked another milestone in the development of the printing and publication history in China. It was the harmonious artistic collaboration of calligraphers, painters, engravers, printers, and graphic designers that made this possible.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

- CBETA : *Taisho Edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon as found in the CBETA corpus of Buddhist texts* 《大正新脩大藏經》
CBETA 電子資料庫光碟版. Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association (CBETA)中華電子佛典協會 2011.
- LIU Gongquan 柳公權(778-865), *Tang Liu Gongquan shu Xuan mi ta bei* 唐柳公權書玄祕塔碑, Hangzhou :Xi ling yin she 杭州西泠印社, 2000.

- WANG Pu 王溥 comp. *Tang huiyao* 唐會要, Beijing 北京 : Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1957.
- (宋) *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜, Beijing 北京 : Renminmeishu chubanshe 人民美術出版社, 1964. <http://www.archive.org/details/06067726.cn>
- (宋) DONG You 董道, *Guangchuan shuba* 廣川書跋, Beijing 北京 : Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1985.
- (宋) ZHAO, Mingcheng 趙明誠, *Jinshilu* 金石錄, Beijing 北京 : Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1991
- (明) HU Yingling 胡應麟, *Jingji hui tong* 經籍會通, Beijing 北京 : Yanshan chubanshe 燕山出版社, 1999.
- (明) HU Yingling 胡應麟, *Shao shi shan fang bi cong* 少室山房筆叢, Beijing 北京 : Zhonghua shuju, 1964.

Secondary Sources:

- Barrett T. H. 2001. "Woodblock Dyeing and Printing Technology in China, c. 700 A.D." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 64: 240–247.
- CAO Zhi (曹之)1994. *Zhongguo yin shua shu de qi yuan* 中國印刷術的起源, Wuchang 武昌 : Wuhan daxue chubanshe 武漢大學出版社.
- CHEN Longhai (陳龍海)2000. Liu Gongquan shu bei xiniankao 柳公權書碑系年考, *Journal of Central China Normal University. Philosophy and social sciences*. 華中師範大學學報 (人文社會科學版), 2 : 114-120.
- CHANG Bide (昌彼得)1976. *Zhongguo tushu shilue* 中國圖書史略, Taipei 臺北 : Wen shi zhe chubanshe 文史哲出版社.
- CHANG Bide (昌彼得)1977. *Banben muluxue luncong* 版本目錄學論叢, Taipei 臺北市 : Xuehai chubanshe 學海出版社.
- CHENG Zhangcan (程章燦) 2008. *Shi ke ke gong yanjiu* 石刻刻工研究, Shanghai 上海:Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, pp.84–86.
- FANG Guangchang (方廣錫), 1995. Dunhuang wenxian zhong de Jin gang jing ji qi zhushu 敦煌文獻中的《金剛經》及其注疏, *Studies in world's religions* 世界宗教研究 1:75.

- FANG Guangchang (方廣鎬) 2003. 論《敦煌遺書總目錄》之編纂 (Essay on the “Compilation of Catalogue of Dunhuang Manuscripts”) 佛教圖書館館訊 (*Information Management for Buddhist Libraries*), 35:6–15.
- HE Shizhe (賀世哲) 2006. Dunhuang bihua zhong de Jingangjing bian yanjiu 敦煌壁畫中的金剛經變研究, *Dunhuang Research* 敦煌研究 161:37.
- IKEDA On, 1990. *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku*, 中國古代寫本識語集錄 (*Collected Colophons of Ancient Chinese Manuscripts*), Tōkyō : Ōkura Shuppan.
- JIN Weinuo (金唯諾) 2004. Tangdai gong ting huihua ji qi yingxiang 唐代宮廷繪畫及其影響, *Chinese Painting & Calligraphy* 中國書畫 <http://www.china-review.com/smyta2.asp?id=24771>
- Huang Shih-shan, Susan 2011. “Early Buddhist Illustrated Prints in Hangzhou”, in *Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print: China, 900-1400*, ed. Lucille Chia et al. Leiden; Boston: Brill), 135–165.
- LI Song (李淞), 2007. Lun Bashiqi shenxian juan yu Chaoyuan xianzhang tu zhi yuanwei 論《八十七神仙卷》與《朝元仙仗圖》之原位, *Art exploration* 藝術探索 3: 5-28.
- LUO Xiaohong (羅小紅), 2006. Tang dai Chang'an Ximing sikao 唐代長安西明寺考, *Archaeology and cultural relics* 考古與文物, 2 : 76-80.
- MAO Kun (茅坤) 1996. *Shiji chao* 史記鈔, Jinan 濟南: Qi luchu shushe 齊魯書社. http://www.cgan.net/book/books/print/g-history/big5_12/07_5.htm
- MOCHIZUKI Shinkō 望月信亨 (もちづきしんこう), 1977. *Mochizuki Bukkyo daijiten* 望月仏教大辭典. Sekai Seiten Kanko Kyokai 東京, 世界聖典刊協會.
- Murray, Julia K. 1995. “Buddhism and Early Narrative Illustration in China” *Archives of Asian Art* 48: 17–31.
- Murray, Julia K. 1994. “The Evolution of Buddhist Narrative Illustration in China after 850” in *Latter days of the law: images of Chinese Buddhism, 850-1850*, ed. by Marsha Weidner et al. (Kansas: University of Kansas), 125-150.

- Patton, Charles (trans.), *The Diamond Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra* translated from Kumārajīva's Chinese version into English (T235.8.748c-752c). (<http://www.budhi.net/English/DiamondT0235-e.pdf>, Mar.7, 2014 access).
- REN Jiang (任江) 2007. Luelun Tang Song Yuce guan zhidu—yi beizhi ziliao wei zhongxin 略論唐宋玉冊官制度---以碑誌資料為中心, *Sichuan cultural relics* 四川文物 6:45–60.
- RONG Xinjiang (榮新江) 2007. Sheng tang Chang'an yu Dunhuang ——cong e cang Kaiyuan ershijiu nian shoujiedie tan qi, 盛唐長安與敦煌 ——從俄藏《開元廿九年(741)授戒牒》談起, *Journal of Zhejiang University. Social sciences edition* 浙江大學學報 (人文社會科學版) 3:20.
- SHA Wutian (沙武田) 2006. *Dunhuang huagao yanjiu* 敦煌畫稿研究, Beijing Shi :北京市 : Min zu chubanshe 民族出版社.
- SHI Weixiang (史葦湘) 1985. Lun Dunhuang fojiao yishu de shisuxing—jianlun jingangjing bian zai mogaoku de chuxian yu xiaoshi 論敦煌佛教藝術的世俗性—兼論《金剛經變》在莫高窟的出現與消失, *Dunhuang Research* 敦煌研究 3:19–27.
- SHI Yongyou (釋永有) 2003. Dunhuang Jing gang jing jiqi xiangguan wenxian zhi tiji tantao 敦煌金剛經及其相關文獻之題記探討, *Shi jie zongjiao xuekan* 世界宗教學刊 2:111–139.
- SHI Yongyou, 2010. *The Diamond Sutra in Chinese culture*. Los Angeles: Buddha's Light Pub.
- TANIGUCHI Tetsuo (ed.) 1981. *Kōhon Rekidai meigaki : tsuketari sakuin meiga ryōseiroku* 校本歷代名畫記 : 附索引名畫獵精錄, Tōkyō: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan.
- TSIEN Tsuen-Hsuei 1985. *Paper and Printing*. In Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*: vol. 5, part 1. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- TSUI Chung-hui 2010. "A Study of Early Buddhist Scriptural Calligraphy- Based on Buddhist Manuscripts Found from Dunhuang & Turfan", PhD diss., The University of Hong Kong.
- Whitfield, Susan and Ursula Sims-Williams 2004. *The Silk Road: trade, travel, war and faith*. London: British Library.

- Wood, Frances 2010. *The Diamond Sutra: the story of the world's earliest dated printed book*. London: British Library.
- WU Zhefu (吳哲夫)1990. *Yi gu tong jin—shu de lishi* 以古通今—書的歷史, Taipei 臺北市: Ministry of Culture 行政院文化建設委員會.
- ZHU Jingxuan (朱景玄)1985. *On famous paintings of the Tang period* 唐朝名畫錄, (景印文淵閣四庫全書. 子部藝術類) V. 812, Taipei 臺北: Taiwan Commercial Press 臺灣商務印書館.
- ZHU Yi (朱翌)1980. *Yi jue liao zaji* 猗覺寮雜紀, Kyōto shi: Chūbun Shuppansha.
- ZHANG Daoyi (張道一)2010. *Zhongguo mu ban hua tongjian* 中國木版畫通鑑, Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe 江蘇美術出版社.
- ZHANG Xiaofeng (張曉鋒)2008. *Research Studies on Chinese Ancient Colored Overprint* 中國古代彩色套版印刷術的相關問題研究. Hangzhou, China: National Academy of Fine Arts.
- Website :**
- Charles Muller :Digital Dictionary of Buddhism: <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>
- International Dunhuang Project : http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=-78776481213;recnum=18824;index=1 (Accessed Feb.5, 2013)
- China culture :http://www.chinaculture.org/gb/en_artqa/2003-09/24/content_39639.htm (Accessed Mar.5,2013)
- Fo guang da zang jing bian xiu wei yuan hui (ed).佛光大藏經編修委員會: *Foguang Buddhist Dictionary* 佛光大辭典. 佛光文化出版社 1983 <http://etext.fgs.org.tw/etext6/search-1.htm>