
The Old Buddhist Pagoda at Xīě Hé in
‘Vinaya Master Dàoxuān’s Records of Epiphanies’

An Annotated Translation of Part of the 《道宣律师感通录》

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The Yúnnán Papers

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1 Introduction

‘*Vinaya Master Dào xuān’s Records of Epiphanies*’ 《道宣律師感通錄》,⁽¹⁾ written by the Táng dynasty monk Dào xuān 道宣 in 664 CE, is the earliest text to mention an ‘old pagoda’ 古塔 where Buddhist-style rituals were performed in the lake Ērhǎi 洱海 region.

Dào xuān 道宣, *596–†667, a contemporary of Xuán zàng 玄奘, *602–†664,⁽²⁾ became mainly known for his works on monastic regulations, biographies of influential monks, and catalogues of Buddhist scriptures,⁽³⁾ but he also collected tales about ‘imaginary cultic objects’ revealed to him through deities, that ‘uniformly develop into elaborate comments on stūpas in which these cultic objects used by the succeeding Buddhas are preserved’.⁽⁴⁾

James Robson places the work in a series of pre-Táng sources describing China as ‘place already replete with sacred sites just waiting to be revealed to the faithful who could discern the signs identifying their location’,⁽⁵⁾ of which

the Daoxuan lüshi gantong lu is the most provocative, since it frames the discussion of the Buddha’s presence at specific sites in China in terms of their deep cosmic histories. [...] Many of the sites in that collection, therefore, claim to have relics that were deposited in China back at the time of the former buddha Kāsyapa. This move to the cosmic level is important since it resonates well with the fundamental doctrinal shifts represented in Mahāyāna texts, where stories about the Buddha are displaced from their moorings at sites in India and relocated in the new cosmic vision of ‘no-place’, making it possible to establish connections with the Buddha at any time in any place (and not just in the homeland of India). (Robson (2010), p. 1362)

Koichi Shinohara describes the 《道宣律師感通錄》 a ‘miracle story collection’ presented as ‘a purported series of dialogues between the author and various divine visitors. These typically take a question-and-answer form, the monk probing for explanations for a variety of strange phenomena, the god answering with a celestial assurance.’⁽⁶⁾

The 《道宣律師感通錄》⁽⁷⁾ contains a passage about a stone image⁽⁸⁾ of Duō bǎo Buddha 多宝佛 – ‘Many Treasure Buddha’ – worshipped in Chéng dū 成都, that during the Jìn dynasty 晋朝, i.e. 266–420 CE, had been brought from Xī ěr Hé 西洱河. The tale narrates that the image had been

⁽¹⁾ On my choice of *epiphany* see page 15.

⁽²⁾ They knew each other personally and Dào xuān participated for a while in the project to translate the scriptures Xuán zàng had brought from India, they also met later in life again, see Zou (2018), pp. 144–150.

⁽³⁾ Buswell (2013), p. 202, Buswell and Lopez (2014), p. 215. Wu (2023), p. 201 says he ‘may be considered the most prolific writer and copier in the entire history of Chinese Buddhism.’

⁽⁴⁾ Shinohara (2000).

⁽⁵⁾ Robson (2010), p. 1361.

⁽⁶⁾ Soper (1959), p. 34.

⁽⁷⁾ Ang Zou also notes that the work is almost identical to that of another work by Dào xuān, called 《重刻律相感通傳序》. She compares the two texts in an appendix to her dissertation, see Zou (2018), appendix 9. The here relevant passages are lines 105–134.

⁽⁸⁾ The term *xiàng* 像 could also be understood as a statue, i.e. a man-made idol. That the image was made by a man is also said in the text. But I think that it is also possible that – if there is any truth to the text at all – it could be a natural stone in the shape of a buddha. I use the term *image* here in the sense of a religious idol.

coveted by a man from Shǔ 蜀 who tried to bring it back to Yìzhōu 益州, but his boat was capsized by an offended local spirit drowning him with the image in the lake. The tale continues that the foundations of Duōbǎo's temple and an old pagoda remained and that a temple with scriptures and images stood deserted on an island. At the pagoda, with a bell, twice-yearly Buddhist-style offerings were made. A third part, perhaps the most fanciful, reveals how the image was recovered from the lake and how it got its name.

Alexander C. Soper called the tale 'an odd story indeed, with very little in it to inspire belief. Tao-hsüan himself seems to have regarded the Ch'eng-tu image with less confidence than the others in his miraculous group.'⁽⁹⁾ However, while apocryphal,⁽¹⁰⁾ the tale has too many factually accurate elements to dismiss it out of hand. Soper himself points out a possible reference to that stone image in Chéngdū in a later text:

a pilgrim passing through Ch'eng-tu around 440 is said to have 'worshipped the stone image,' and a image so sketchily identified must have been famous for some unusual reason. (Soper (1959), p. 34)

Soper (1959), p. 44 presents slightly more background, as the the story was recorded in the 519 CE 'Biographies of Eminent Monks' 《名僧传》 by the monk Bǎochàng 宝唱 in his biography of the monk Sēng Biǎo 僧表:

As he was passing through Hsin-p'ing-hsien in Shu [i.e. Ch'eng-tu], priest Tao-wang sought to detain the bowl and image for worship. They are now [housed] at Lunghua-ssu there. Seng-piao entered that monastery, worshipped the stone image [of Prabhūtaratna?], stayed two years, and then died; so goes the story. (Soper (1959), p. 44)

While the original 《名僧传》 has been lost, parts survive in a 1235 CE copy by a Japanese monk.⁽¹¹⁾ This text can now be found in the 'Collection of Buddhist Scriptures' 《卍续藏》:

僧表本姓高。凉洲人也。

...

经蜀欣平县。沙门道汪求停钵像供养。今在彼龙华寺。僧表入矣。礼敬石像。住二载。卒于寺 (云云) ⑥

Sēng Biǎo, his original family name was Gāo, from Liáng Zhōu.

...

When he passed through Shǔ's Xīnpíng county, the ascetic Dào Wāng asked to keep the bowl and image for worship. Today they are at Lónghuá temple. Sēng Biǎo entered into the monastery and worshipped the stone image. He stayed for two years and died in the temple, so they say.

Xiě Hé 西洱河 was then the name in use for Ērhǎi 洱海, the large highland lake a long journey south of Chéngdū along the old southern trade route to Shēndú 身毒, i.e. India, the birthplace of Buddhism. Since the fall of the Western Hàn 西汉 there had been little Chinese contact with the region, however – as the 636 CE 'History of the Zhōu' 《周书》 records⁽¹²⁾ – at least horses from Yúnnán

[4: ⑥] CBETA 2023.Q3, X77, no. 1523, p. 358b13-23 // R134, p. 25a18-10 // Z 2B:7, p. 13a18-10)[6]

⁽⁹⁾ Soper (1959), p. 34.

⁽¹⁰⁾ While the *details* of the story appear apocryphal, this does not imply that such a venerated image never existed. As Hung Wu analyses, the images of Fānhé 番合 found in various caves at Dūnhuáng 敦煌 appear based on a natural cliff formation resembling the body of a Buddha, see Wu (2023), pp. 169–237.

⁽¹¹⁾ Soper (1959), p. xiii.

⁽¹²⁾ 《周书·卷五·帝纪·第五·武帝上》。



Illustration 1:
The Relic Treasure Pagoda and the Buddha Assembly on the 《梵像卷》

Image composited from images 81–78 in Lǐ Línchàn 李霖灿 (1982)

were still brought to the court:

保定元年 [...] 九月甲辰，南宁州遣使
献滇马及蜀铠。👁️

On the *jiǎchén* day in the 9th month of the 1st year of Bǎodìng, Nánning prefecture sent an envoy bringing horses from Diān and armour from Shǔ.

At the beginning of the Táng dynasty renewed attempts at military conquest of the southern tribal regions were being made, of which a 648 CE report called ‘Records of the Local Customs of Ērhǎi’ 《西洱河风土记》⁽¹³⁾ remains textual proof.

From the 7th century on, the Ērhǎi region began to develop into a regional political centre culminating in the formation of Nánzhào 南诏 through the unification of six statelets in the 8th century. At one point – exactly when and how is heavily contested – Buddhism became Nánzhào’s state religion.⁽¹⁴⁾ This found its expression in the construction of several pagodas around Ērhǎi such as the

[2: 👁️] Source text: <https://ctext.org/library.pl?file=68234&page=166&>

r1: On the *jiǎchén* day in the 9th month of the 1st year of Bǎodìng] 25th September 561.

⁽¹³⁾ For my translation of that text see <https://yunnanexplorer.com/translations/xierhefengtujì>.

⁽¹⁴⁾ The earliest unambiguously dated relic is the 698 CE ‘Wáng Rénqiú Stele’ 《王仁求碑》, a funerary stele depicting two Buddhas, found in central Yúnnán. As depictions of Buddha should not be used for tombs, this appears to indicate that Buddhist concepts were not clearly understood by the stele’s sculptor, see Howard (2006b), pp. 205–206. The Buddhas are too badly weathered to be identifiable, however it is interesting to note that Duōbǎo Fó frequently appears seated together with Śākyamuni. More recently, new research argues that the Buddhist images excavated at Lóngyú Shān 龙于山 south of Dàlì 大理 were created during the northern and southern dynasties period, well before the Táng dynasty 唐朝, see Zhāng Nǎiwēn 张乃温 (2022).

Qiānxún pagoda 千寻塔, now the central of the Three Pagodas 三塔 at the important Chóngshèng temple 崇圣寺.⁽¹⁵⁾ The Qiānxún pagoda is a Chinese-style pagoda, similar to the 707 CE small goose pagoda 小雁塔 in Cháng'ān 长安.

But it is not impossible that a pagoda in an entirely different style preceeded it. Clay votive stupas in Indian style of a half-dome on top of a *xūmí*, i.e. Mount Meru, base dated to the 9th century were excavated at the foot of Qiānxún pagoda 千寻塔 in the 1970s.⁽¹⁶⁾ Furthermore, the 12th century scroll of Buddhist images called 'Long Roll of Buddhist Images' 《梵像卷》 shows worship at a pagoda called Shèlì Bǎo Tǎ 舍利宝塔⁽¹⁷⁾ in its 81st frame, while the adjacent image depicts in the lower part the construction of a hollow brick pagoda by an expanse of water, see illustration 1. The expanse of water below the Buddha assembly carries a number of icons that suggest it represents lake Ērhǎi 洱海, most notably the conch, snail and fish, which also appear in image 101 on the scroll, and are known to signify lake Ērhǎi from their use on the 'Illustrated History of Nánzhào' 《南诏图传》. Helen B. Chapin and Alexander C. Soper describe the various icons:

The whole group is on an enormous rock which rises up out of water and against which the spray rises. In the centre, is a pile of jewels in a hole in the rock. [...] In the foreground is a stream over which, from a bit of shore at the right front, a phoenix is flying, carrying a group of tiny human passengers on his back toward the central rock. From the waters rise (right to left): a Nāga's head; a snake in a conch shell(?); the head of a sea monster, underside toward the spectator(?); a large fish apparently swimming toward the left; a pig or dog; a tortoise; and two winged steeds. (Chapin and Soper (1970), pp. 297–299)

The assembly of Buddhas⁽¹⁸⁾ towering over the scene could represent Cāngshān 苍山 on the western side of the lake: the number of deities about matches the number of peaks in the mountain range, with rays emanating from the halo above the central Buddha being the evening sunrays that frequently appear when the sun sets behind the range in the west – west of course the direction of India. In front of the Buddha assembly are various worshippers, this could represent the Dàlǐ plain between the mountain range and the lake. To take this even further: the Three Pagodas 三塔 on the foot of the mountains could be seen as giant versions of the trinities of devotional items in front of the assembly, making the entire setting a giant natural Buddhist altar.⁽¹⁹⁾

⁽¹⁵⁾ In total four pagodas from the period were in 1985 still extant in the region, the three others were: Luōquán Tǎ 罗荃塔, Fótu Tǎ 佛图塔, and Jiùzhōu Dōngtǎ 旧州东塔, see Lǐ Cháozhēn 李朝真 and Zhāng Xílù 张锡禄 (1985), p. 15. But the mentioned Luōquán pagoda on the eastern side of lake Ērhǎi had collapsed (?) in 1966 and in 2001 was replaced by a modern pagoda.

⁽¹⁶⁾ particularly relic W2:36, see illustration 4, Qiū Xuānchōng 邱宣充 (1981), p. 260 and Lutz (1991), pp. 85–86.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Its name translates as relic treasure pagoda, i.e. a pagoda containing a relic of Śākyamuni 释迦牟尼, below the pagoda, on the platform, the division of his relics into eight parts is depicted, see Snodgrass (1985), p. 353 and Lutz (1991), p. 77.

⁽¹⁸⁾ The cartouche on the left hand side reads 南无三会弥勒尊佛会 'Hail to the Assembly of Venerable Maitreya Buddhas of the Three Assemblies', the one on the right 奉为法界有情等 'Offered to all sentient beings of the realm of the *dharma*', see also Lǐ Línàn 李霖灿 (1982), p. 41 and Chapin and Soper (1970), pp. 297–299.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Two, much later copies of the scroll exist: one in 1767 CE completed copy by Dīng Guānpéng 丁观鹏 commissioned by Qiánlóng 乾隆 and a second by Lǐ Míng 黎明 completed in 1792 CE. The latter is partly included in Ledderose (1985), pp. 215–218.

As for local knowledge, Dàoxuān himself had travelled to Sìchuān,⁽²⁰⁾ where an local Buddhist iconographic style with influences from other areas than China's north had developed.⁽²¹⁾ And Dàoxuān was certainly aware of the road from Shǔ to Shēndú 蜀身毒国道, as he noted in his 650 CE *'Buddhist Geographical Gazetteer'* 《釋迦方志》:

宋元嘉中，冀州沙門惠睿游蜀之西界，至南天竺。👁

During the Yuánjiā reign of the Liú Sòng, the Jìzhōu ascetic Huìruì reached the borders of Shǔ and then reached southern Tiānzhú.

So it does not seem impossible that while in Chéngdū Dàoxuān had been collecting stories from those who had been travelling along road from Shǔ to Shēndú 蜀身毒国道 – be it military men, traders or itinerant monks.⁽²²⁾ Routes and distances referred to in the text tally with descriptions in the late Táng dynasty *'Gazetteer of Yúnnán'* 《云南志》, suggesting that he had spoken to people who had actually travelled along those routes.

But Alexander C. Soper – seemingly not familiar enough with the historic geography of the region to recognize the factual parts⁽²³⁾ – dismisses the tale out of hand:

The part that deals with the stone image of Prabhūtaratna⁽²⁴⁾ is wholly fanciful. Tao-hsüan labored extensively to prove that China had been converted to Buddhism, and filled with Buddhist monuments, long before any records of the fact in orthodox histories. (Chapin and Soper (1970), p. 300)

But regardless of the tale's veracity, the 《道宣律師感通錄》 and copies of it into later documents have been seen as an important text documenting the arrival of Buddhism in the Ěrhǎi region, a still – and with reason – hotly contested topic.

However, an erroneous correction of a single character in a copy of the text caused the eminent Yúnnán historian Fāng Guóyú 方國瑜 to commit a rare mistake when researching the arrival of

/2: 👁] Source text: http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/T51n2088_002

r1: Yuánjiā reign of the Liú Sòng] this refers here to the Yuánjiā 元嘉 reign of Liú Sòng emperor Wén, i.e. 424–453 CE.
r2: Tiānzhú] i.e. Shēndú 身毒, India.

⁽²⁰⁾ His autobiographical notes do not mention a journey to Sìchuān, however his personal notes on Yìzhōu suggest that he travelled there, see Zou (2018), pp. 123–130.

⁽²¹⁾ Many early Buddhist images have been found in Chéngdū 成都 at the Wànfó temple 萬佛寺 relic site, the earliest perhaps dated to the Yuánjiā 元嘉 reign of Liú Sòng emperor Wén 劉宋文帝, i.e. 424–453 CE, see Wong (1998). Angela Falco Howard describes the Sìchuān style of Buddhist sculpture during northern and southern dynasties 南北朝, i.e. 386–589 CE, see Howard (2006a), pp. 264–289.

⁽²²⁾ Howard (2006b), p. 265 notes that at least twenty monks travelled via Sìchuān to India in 300–550 CE. A Táng dynasty text that mentions this is *'Biographies of Eminent Monks During the Great Táng Who Searched for the Dharma in the Western Regions'* 《大唐西域求法高僧傳》. See also *'New Compilation of the "Yúnnán General Gazetteer"'* 《新纂云南通志》, 102nd juàn which mentions monks travelling.

⁽²³⁾ e.g. he (mis-)identifies the Lángzhōu 郎州 mentioned in the text as a place in Húnán 湖南: the name is very common, but here it more likely refers to a place on one of the roads to Ěrhǎi, see page 16.

⁽²⁴⁾ Prabhūtaratna is the Sanskrit name of Duōbǎo Fó.

Buddhism in China's south-west for his 1978 article 《大理崇圣寺塔考说》.⁽²⁵⁾ That lapse – perhaps because of Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜's standing, perhaps because of an assumption that Buddhism could not possibly have been present so early in the region – has had a long-lasting impact on the academic debate.

How this mistake came about can best be understood through the transmission history of the 《道宣律师感通录》.

Some four years after the completion of the 《道宣律师感通录》, in 668 CE, the monk Dàoshì 道世, †683, a contemporary and collaborator of Dào Xuān, had included some passages of the 《道宣律师感通录》 in his main work 'A Forest of Pearls from the Dharma Garden' 《法苑珠林》.⁽²⁶⁾ This work ostensibly gave some context for the provenance of the passage of interest here: in the year 667 CE⁽²⁷⁾ a succession of deities visited Dào Xuān giving him 'divine instruction'.⁽²⁸⁾ Koichi Shinohara translates the relevant passages of the 《法苑珠林》 as follows:⁽²⁹⁾

法苑珠林 5
大唐乾封二年仲春之月。西明寺道宣律师于时逐静。在京师城南清宫故净业寺修道。律师积德高远抱素日久。忽有一天来至律师所。致敬申礼具叙暄凉。

In the second month of the second year of the Qianfeng period (667 C.E.), Vinaya Master Daoxuan of Ximing Temple, seeking quietude, had withdrawn to the Qinggong shrine, formerly Jinye Temple, located south of the capital, and was cultivating the Way there. The Vinaya master had accumulated immense virtue and had long embraced simplicity. Suddenly a deity came to the Vinaya master and, paying respect to him, enquired about his well-being.

法苑珠林 10
...
因问律中诸隐文义无不决滞。然此东华三宝素有山海水石往往多现。但谓其灵而敬之。顾访失由莫知投诣。遂因此缘随而咨请。且沉冥之相以理括之。未曾持观不可以语也。👁 👁

...
Having heard this, Daoxuan asked about hidden meanings in the Vinaya literature, and the deity answered fluently. In the eastern land of China the Buddhist teaching of the Three Jewels frequently caused miraculous objects to appear in mountains, oceans, waters, and among rocks. While these objects are worshiped, no one knows their true origins. For this reason, Daoxuan asked about them. The explanation [he received] was very mysterious, so it is here summarized in intelligible terms. Without an extensive over-

l13: 👁] Source text: https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T53n2122_p0393b17

l13: 👁] Source text: <https://dia.dila.edu.tw/uv3/index.html?id=Tv53p0394#?c=o&m=o&s=o&cv=41o&xywh=-1276%2C0%2C4696%2C2999>

⁽²⁵⁾ Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 (1978).

⁽²⁶⁾ Koichi Shinohara surmises, based on the similarities of their works, that Dào Xuān and Dàoshì 'must have collaborated very closely in preparing their respective miracle story collections' (Shinohara (1991), p. 79). As Dàoshì notes, he copied from Dào Xuān's text. The existence of two early copies of the text in works by different authors that were transmitted independently is also important as it makes it very unlikely that the text was actually written much later, but at one point misattributed to an earlier author. There seems to be no doubt that the 《道宣律师感通录》 and the 《法苑珠林》 are 7th century works by their respective authors.

⁽²⁷⁾ That would have been the year of Dào Xuān death and three years after the 《道宣律师感通录》 was completed, so something is amiss here.

⁽²⁸⁾ see also Shinohara (2000).

⁽²⁹⁾ Shinohara (2000) also contains this passage and contextualizes the content of Dào Xuān's work.

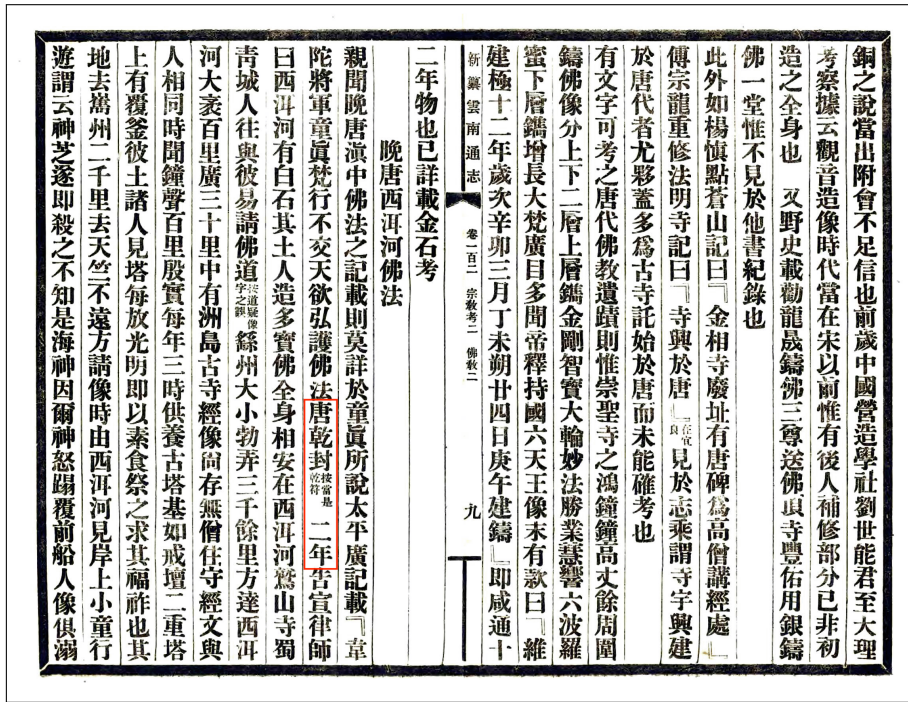


Illustration 2:
The Erroneous Annotation in the 《新纂云南通志》 from 1949

Source: 《新纂云南通志》 102nd juàn

view the matter could not have been put into words. (Translation: Shinohara (2020), pp. 66–68)

Then again, before 978 CE, the text was copied from Dàoshì's work⁽³⁰⁾ into the 'Extensive Records of Tàipíng' 《太平广记》, a text with a much wider circulation that over the centuries served as historic source for countless other works.

When, in the 20th century, Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 researched the arrival of Buddhism at Ěrhǎi, he could not locate a copy of 'Extensive Records of Tàipíng' 《太平广记》 and probably relied instead on the 'New Compilation of the "Yúnnán General Gazetteer"' 《新纂云南通志》, a newly edited copy of the 《云南通志》 published in 1949 which added an erroneous note that the reign period should read Qiánfú 乾符 and not Qiánfēng 乾封,⁽³¹⁾ see illustration 2. Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜 then, without attribution or annotation and apparently unaware of the original author or the provenance of the text, copied this mistake and instead of 大唐乾封二年 (the 2nd year of the Qiánfēng reign of Táng emperor Gāozōng, i.e. 667 CE), wrote 唐乾符二年 (the 2nd year of the Qiánfú reign of Táng emperor Xīzōng, i.e. 875 CE) – a difference of more than two hundred years:

崇圣寺塔最早之纪录《太平广记》载，
'唐乾符二年'...(Fāng Guóyú 方国瑜
(1978), p. 54)

The earliest record of the Chóngshèng Sì pagoda is in the 'Extensive
Records of Tàipíng', which records 'In the 2nd year of Táng Qiánfú'
...

This mistake was then copied into a number of other history works,⁽³²⁾ before the error was spotted by Fù Guāngyǔ 傅光宇.⁽³³⁾

More recent research, aware of the original text, has taken it as proof that Buddhism was already established in the region during the period of the second Nánzhào ruler Luóshèng 逻盛, who ruled 674–712,⁽³⁴⁾ while others, such as Liáng Xiǎoqiáng 梁晓强 (2009) superficially accept the early presence of Buddhism only to dismiss it as isolated. But this is not the space to discuss this.

At the centre of the tale in the 《道宣律师感通录》 is Duōbǎo Buddha 多宝佛, a Buddha of the past, i.e. before the historic Buddha Shìjiāmóuní 释迦牟尼. He is central to the 11th chapter of the Lotus Sutra 《妙法莲花经》, a then already popular sutra, and associated with the miraculous appearance of treasure towers where the Lotus Sutra is recited.

The pertinent passages of the Lotus Sutra regarding the Duōbǎo Buddha read – in the translation by Burton Watson – as follows:

经见宝塔品

尔时佛前有七宝塔，高五百由旬，纵广二百五十由旬，从地涌出，住在空中，种种宝物而庄校之。五千栏楯，龕室千万，无数幢幡以为严饰，垂宝瓔珞宝铃万亿而悬其上。四面皆出多摩罗跋耨檀之香，充遍世界。

妙法莲花经 5

...

尔时佛告大乐说菩萨：「此宝塔中、有如来全身，乃往过去、东方无量千万亿阿僧祇世界，国名宝净，彼中有佛，号曰多宝。其佛行菩萨道时，作大誓愿：『若我成佛、灭度之后，于十方国土、有说法华经处，我之塔庙，为听是经故、涌现其前，为作证

妙法莲花经 15

The Emergence of the Treasure Tower

At that time in the Buddha's presence there was a tower adorned with the seven treasures, five hundred yojanas in height and two hundred and fifty yojanas in width and depth, that rose up out of the earth and stood suspended in the air. Various kinds of precious objects adorned it. It had five thousand railings, a thousand, ten thousand rooms, and numberless streamers and banners decorated it. Festoons of jewels hung down and ten thousand million jeweled bells were suspended from it. All four sides emitted a fragrance of tamalapatra and sandalwood that pervaded the whole world.

...

At that time the Buddha said: 'Bodhisattva Great Joy of Preaching, in the treasure tower is the complete body of a Thus Come One. Long ago, an immeasurable thousand, ten thousand, million asamkhyas of worlds to the east, in a land called Treasure Purity, there was a Buddha named Many Treasures. When this Buddha was originally carrying out the bodhisattva way, he made a great vow, saying, "If, after I have become a Buddha and entered extinc-

[2: 乾符] sic

[r2: In the 2nd year of Táng Qiánfú] 875 CE, sic.

⁽³⁰⁾ It was not copied directly from Dàoxuān's work as it contains the annotations present in the 《法苑珠林》.

⁽³¹⁾ Fù Guāngyǔ 傅光宇 (1988), p. 80.

⁽³²⁾ Including Lǐ Cháozhēn 李朝真 and Zhāng Xílù 张锡禄 (1985).

⁽³³⁾ Fù Guāngyǔ 傅光宇 (1988).

⁽³⁴⁾ Ān Qí 安琪 (2012), but again, this cannot be true as the text predates Luóshèng's rule.

明，赞言、善哉。』』

「彼佛成道已，临灭度时，于天人大众中、告诸比丘，我灭度后，欲供养我全身者，应起一大塔。其佛以神通愿力，十方世界，在在处处、若有说法华经者，彼之宝塔、皆涌出其前，全身在于塔中，赞言：『善哉善哉。』』

tion, in the lands in the ten directions there is any place where the Lotus Sutra is preached, then my funerary tower, in order that I may listen to the sutra, will come forth and appear in that spot to testify to the sutra and praise its excellence.”

妙法蓮花经 20

‘When that Buddha had finished carrying out the Buddha way and was on the point of passing into extinction, in the midst of the great assembly of heavenly and human beings he said to the monks, “After I have passed into extinction, if there are those who wish to offer alms to my complete body, then they should erect a great tower.” That Buddha, through his transcendental powers and the power of his vow, insures that, throughout the worlds in the ten directions, no matter in what place, if there are those who preach the Lotus Sutra, this treasure tower will in all cases come forth and appear in their presence, and his complete body will be in the tower, speaking words of praise and saying, Excellent, excellent!’ (Translation: Watson (1993), pp. 170–171)

妙法蓮花经 25

妙法蓮花经 30

At Lóngyútú Shān 龙于图山, the archeological site in the northwest of present-day Wēishān 巍山 associated with early Nánzhào, many Buddhist relics dating to that period have been excavated, including the fragment of a stele showing two seated Buddhas, thought to be Śākyamuni 释迦牟尼 and Duōbǎo Buddha 多宝佛, further attesting to the presence of Duōbǎo Buddha worship pre-Sòng in the region.⁽³⁵⁾

2 About this Translation

I became aware of this text through a mention in Ān Qí 安琪 (2012).

The text was included in the Tripitaka Koreana 《高丽大藏经》 and survives as woodblocks from the year 1246 CE⁽³⁶⁾ – for the part that is translated here see illustration 3.

The text is also contained in the 20th century ‘*Taishō Tripitaka*’ 《大正新修大藏经》 edition⁽³⁷⁾ and is available online.⁽³⁸⁾

The punctuation marks were added in the ‘*Taishō Tripitaka*’, but as they break the text into segments that make little sense in isolation, I have decided to ignore them for my translation.

The story of Duōbǎo Buddha is mentioned and translated, even if not word for word, in Soper (1959), pp. 34–35 and Chapin and Soper (1970), p. 300. Furthermore, as its text is also contained in Dàoshì 道世’s work 《法苑珠林》, its translation by Koichi Shinohara⁽³⁹⁾ has been of assistance.

⁽³⁵⁾ see Dǒng Ài 董艾 (2019), p. 35.

⁽³⁶⁾ Lancaster (1979), I have used the online version of the text at http://www.acmuller.net/descriptive_catalogue/front.html, which gives the exact year the woodblocks were carved.

⁽³⁷⁾ as part T52-2107.

⁽³⁸⁾ e.g. at <https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T2107>.

⁽³⁹⁾ Shinohara (2020), p. 69.

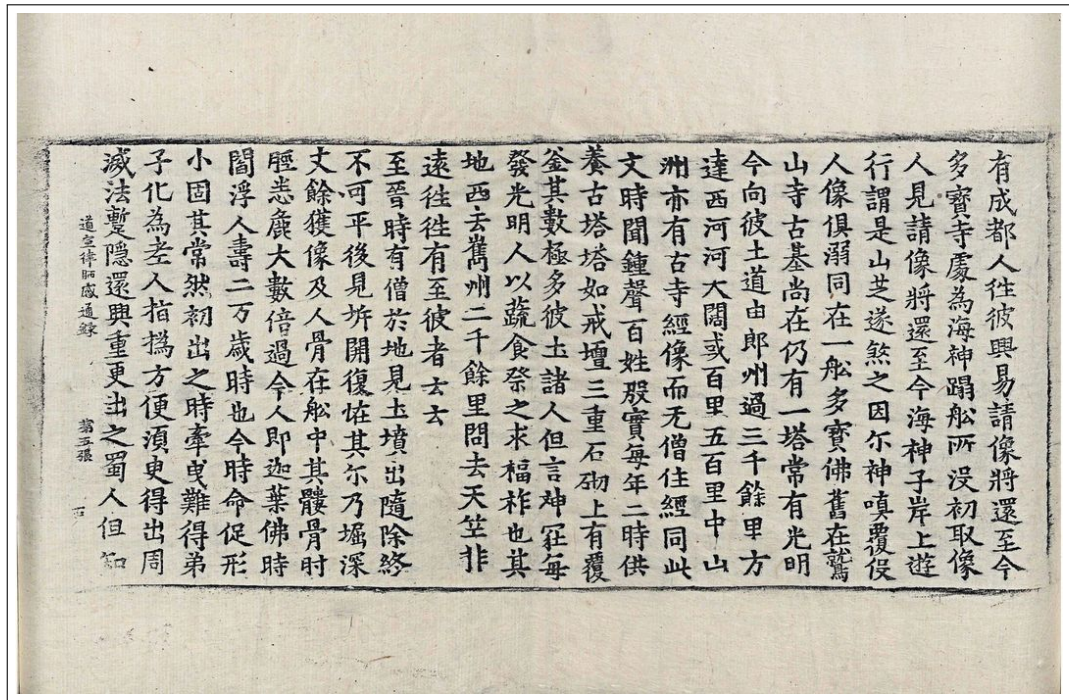
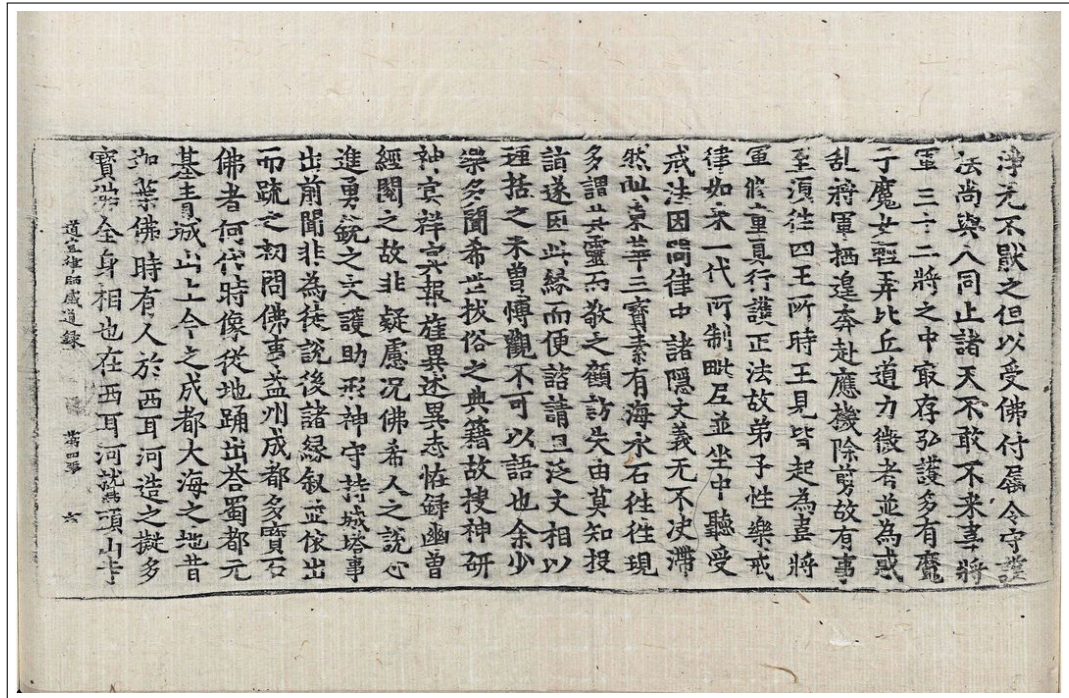


Illustration 3:

Part of the 《道宣律師感通錄》 in the Tripitaka Koreana from 1246

Source: https://ed2g.com/index.php?title=Category:高麗藏_K.1070_道宣律師感通錄_卷第一

The title of the text has been translated as ‘*The Recordings of the Sympathetic Resonance of Vinaya Master Daoxuan*’,⁽⁴⁰⁾ as ‘*Record of Master Daoxuan’s Miraculous Communication*’,⁽⁴¹⁾ and as ‘*The Record of Miraculous Instruction Given to Vinaya Master Daoxuan*’.⁽⁴²⁾

There are a number of rare expressions used in this text:

感通 Three of Dào Xuān’s texts use this expression, apart from this text also the 《重刻律相感通傳序》 and the 《集神州三宝感通录》.⁽⁴³⁾ The term has been translated in various forms, including ‘sympathetic resonance’⁽⁴⁴⁾, ‘miraculous communication’⁽⁴⁵⁾ or ‘miraculous instruction’,⁽⁴⁶⁾ but I think the best translation is ‘epiphany’ – of course not with its narrower Christian connotation, but in the sense of a sudden and striking realization brought about by revelation of a deity.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Shinohara (2000) calls the process ‘divine instruction’.

律师 the term denotes a master of the *vinaya* sect 律宗 which focusses on monastic discipline⁽⁴⁸⁾ in accordance I have translated this term here as *vinaya master*.⁽⁴⁹⁾

3 Annotated Translation

The text begins with the date and the author, allowing a clear attribution.⁽⁵⁰⁾

道宣律师感通录
麟德元年终南山释道宣撰

‘*Vinaya Master Dào Xuān’s Records of Epiphanies*’
Compiled by the **Mount Zhōngnán monk Dào Xuān in the 1st year of Lǐndé.**

Contained in the middle of the work is a passage about a stone image of Many Treasure Buddha 多宝佛 that is said to have been made at Xiě Hé 西洱河, i.e. in the present-day lake Ěrhǎi 洱海 region.

益州成都多宝石佛者。

The stone Many Treasure Buddha at **Yìzhōu’s Chéngdū**

r 2: Mount Zhōngnán] mountain where Dào Xuān 道宣 lived in solitude from 645 after his mother died, returning in 657, it is part of his name, see Zou (2018), pp. 59, 108, 181.

r 2: monk] the term Shì 释 signifies a Buddhist monk, it can also be seen as part of his monastic name.

r 2–3: in the 1st year of Lǐndé] 664 CE. Lǐndé 麟德 was a reign period of Táng emperor Gāozōng, 664–665.

r 4: Yìzhōu] In the 7th century China’s administrative name for the region of present-day Sìchuān.

r 4: Chéngdū] Chéngdū 成都 became the capital of state of Shǔ 蜀国 in the 4th century BCE, the name has been in use since.

(40) Zou (2018), p. 291.

(41) Shinohara (2020), p. 69.

(42) Shinohara (2000).

(43) Zou (2018), p. 62.

(44) Zou (2018), p. 291 and also Wu (2023), p. 169

(45) Shinohara (2020), p. 69.

(46) Shinohara (2020).

(47) Wáng Dàwèi 王大伟 (2018) uses this term in the English version of paper’s abstract.

(48) called *vinaya* after the Sanskrit expression

(49) see also Wu (2023).

(50) This attribution is present in the copy from 1246, so while of course it could have been added erroneously, neither authorship nor dating of the text is contested.

感通录 5	何代时像从地踊出。答蜀都元基青城山上。今之成都大海之地。	When did this image emerge from the earth? The answer: The capital of Shǔ was originally on top of mount Qīngchéng. Today's Chéngdū was a large expanse of sea.
	昔迦叶佛时有人于西耳河造之。拟多宝佛全身相也。在西耳河鸞头山寺。	During the time of Buddha Kasyapa , a man made it at Xīěrhé. It is a likeness of the full body of the Many Treasure Buddha. It is at Xīěrhé's Jiùshān temple .
	有成都人往彼兴易请像将还。	A man from Chéngdū went there for the prosperous trade and desired to take the image home.
	至今多宝寺处为海神蹋船所没。	When he arrived at the temple of the Many Treasure Buddha the sea spirit overturned his boat and drowned him.
感通录 15	初取像人见请像将还。	Earlier the man coveting the image had seen the image and desired to take it home.
	至今海神子岸上游行。谓是山芝遂杀之。	He reached where the sea spirit's child was playing on the embankment. He took it for a mountain mushroom and killed it.
	因尔神嗔覆役人像俱溺同在一船。	So the spirit was annoyed, there was a battle. The image and the man were submerged with the boat.

The second part then gives geographical detail on the Xīěrhé region.

多宝佛旧在鸞山寺。古基尚在。仍有一塔。常有光明。	In the past the Many Treasure Buddha was at Jiùshān temple. Its old foundations are still there and one pagoda remains, it frequently radiates light.
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r5: 从地踊出] This phrase appears in many sutras, including the Lotus Sutra 《妙法蓮花经》, where it is a chapter title.

r8: 西耳河] a variant writing of Xīěrhé 西洱河.

r17: 芝] The 《四库全书》 edition of the 'Extensive Records of Tàipíng' 《太平广记》 has *guǐ* 鬼 here, see <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=en&file=3124&page=56&remap=gb>.

r5: When did] The 《道宣律师感通录》 does not reveal who asks this, but that it is Dào xuān asking a deity is added in the 《法苑珠林》, see Shinohara (2020), p. 69.

r5: emerge from the earth?] translation by Watson (1993), p. 212.

r5: The answer] Again, the 《法苑珠林》 makes it clear that it is a deity speaking, Shinohara (2020), pp. 69–70.

r6: Shǔ] Early empire in present-day Sichuān, conquered by the state of Qín 秦国 in 315 BCE, the name has been in use since.

r6: mount Qīngchéng] Qīngchéng Shān 青城山 is a sacred mountain in Sichuān, it is considered a birthplace of Dàoism 道教.

r8: Buddha Kasyapa] Jiāyè 迦叶 is an ambiguous name, the 'The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism' notes: 'Daoxuan [...] in his *Sifen lǐ kaizong jì* says that Jiashe (Kāśyapa) was the personal name of the founder of the Kāśyapiya school and Shansui (Suvarśaka) his surname.; Buswell and Lopez (2014), p. 426.

r9: full body] i.e. all the distinguishing attributes of this Buddha, Soper (1959), p. 34.

r10: Jiùshān temple] Jiùshān 鸞山 means 'vulture peak', the retreat where Śākyamuni 释迦牟尼 gave many sermons, including the Lotus Sutra 《妙法蓮花经》. The term is the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit Gādhra-kūta गृध्रकूट. The term is also referred to in the much later 'Origins of the Bai Kingdom' 《白国因由》.

r18: mountain mushroom] The term *zhī* 芝 denotes a magic fungus. This makes little sense, so this was maybe a copying error and the term *guǐ* 鬼, i.e. 'spirit', as used in the 'Extensive Records of Tàipíng' 《太平广记》, appears likely.

r23: radiates light] This could be a reference to a natural phenomenon in Dàlǐ when the evening the sun sets behind Cāngshān 苍山, the rays of the setting sun appearing like a halo behind the mountains, it appears also be depicted in a scene of the 'Long Roll of Buddhist Images' 《梵像卷》, see illustration 1. This phenomenon is also mentioned in the much later Buddhist text 'Origins of the Bai Kingdom' 《白国因由》.

今向彼土道由郎州。过三千余里方达西河。
河大阔。或百里五百里。

Those who go to their land on the road from **Lángzhōu** reach Xīhé after more than three thousand *lǐ*.

感通录 25

The river is extremely wide, sometimes one hundred *lǐ* and sometimes five hundred *lǐ*.

中山洲亦有古寺经像。而无僧住。

In the middle is a mountain island with a temple, scriptures and images, but no monks live there.

经同此文。

The scriptures are written like ours.

感通录 30

时闻钟声。百姓殷实。每年二时供养古塔。

When the bell rings, **the people prosper** and twice a year they make sacrifices at the old pagoda.

Then comes a description of the old pagoda, that deserves some interpretation.

塔如戒坛三重。石砌上有覆釜其数极多。

The pagoda is like a three-level ordination altar, on top of the stone steps an overturned cauldron. There are many like this.

彼土诸人但言神冢。

The locals say it is the tomb of a spirit.

感通录 35

Alexander C. Soper translates this passage as:

These pagodas, of which there are very many, are formed like a three-tiered ordination platform, with an overturned bowl [-shaped dome] above the masonry. The people of the region call them the tombs of gods. (Chapin and Soper (1970), p. 300)

and Koichi Shinohara as:

The stupa is like an ordination platform, consisting of three stone platforms. At the top are numerous pot-shaped structures. People there simply call it the grave of a deity. (Shinohara (2020), p. 69)

Albert Lutz presents a totally different interpretation of the term *fūfū* 覆釜, which he translates as ‘umgekehrte Almosenschale’:⁽⁵¹⁾ he thinks that it referred to the lower part of the bronze spire on top of the pagoda as it could still be found on top of Qiānxún Tǎ 千寻塔 in the 20th century.⁽⁵²⁾

Liáng Xiǎoqiáng 梁晓强 (2009) points out that depiction of the pagoda in the 81st frame of the ‘*Long Roll of Buddhist Images*’ 《梵像卷》, see illustration 1, matches one of the oldest still extant pagodas, the 611 CE erected Shéntōng temple Simén pagoda 神通寺四门塔. But Soper dismisses this:

r 24: Lángzhōu] Lángzhōu 郎州 is a too common name to be identified with certainty, but at the time of Dào xuān it was the name of a locality in eastern Yúnnán with was mentioned in the ‘*Gazetteer of Yúnnán*’ 《云南志》, perhaps present-day Qūjìng 曲靖. This would make sense as passing through eastern Yúnnán was one of the two roads from Shǔ to Ěrhǎi. See also the entry in the ‘China Historical GIS’ at http://maps.cga.harvard.edu/tgaz/placename/hvd_80238.

r 26: The river] lake Ěrhǎi 洱海 is a lake formed by a river flowing on the eastern side of the Cāngshān 苍山, in ancient times it was mostly seen as a river, hence its name Xīě Hé 西洱河.

r 28: In the middle is a mountain island] The area of lake Ěrhǎi extended once much further north, that region is now the Dèngchuān 邓川 plain, perhaps shifting the perceived middle of the lake.

r 31: the people prosper] Chapin and Soper (1970), p. 300 takes this as ‘very numerous population’.

(51) i.e. inverted alms bowl, Lutz (1991), p. 46.

(52) However, the spire still extant was at least renovated, if not added, in the 12th century. Lutz argues that the top of the Qiānxún Tǎ 千寻塔 stylistically represents the earlier Indian stupa style, Lutz (1991), pp. 46–47.

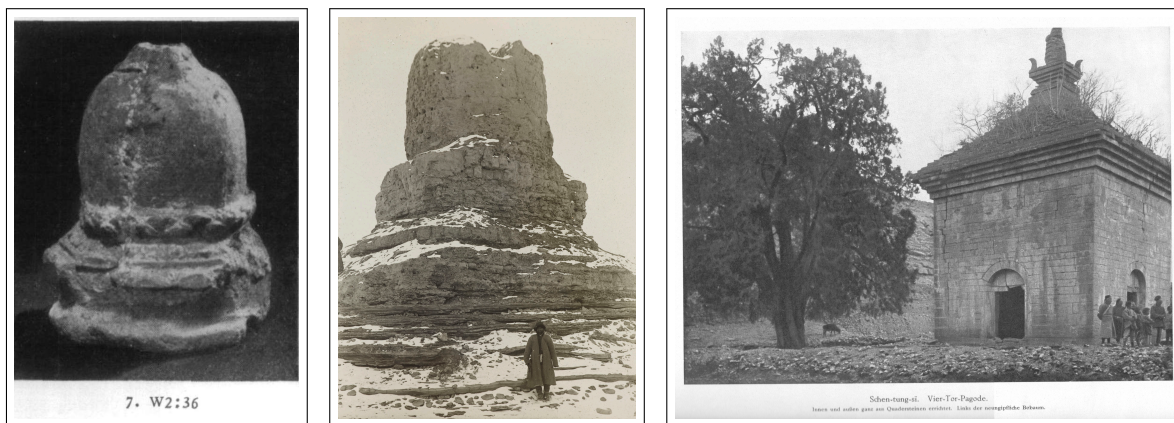


Illustration 4:

Votive Stupa excavated at Qiānxún pagoda, the Stupa at Endere in 1931 and the Shéntōng temple Sìmén pagoda around 1918

Left: Qiū Xuānchōng 邱宣充 (1981), centre: Image International Dunhuang Project http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_loader.a4d?pm=Photo+392%2F34%28189%29, right: Melchers (1921), p. 50 (According to the book's introduction the photo was taken in 1916–1919 CE by Bernd Melchers, but the exact year is not given.)

The structure represented in frame 81, though not at all like Tao-hsüan's description, resembles nothing else in the pagoda repertoires of the Far East, or of Southeast Asia. It seems almost to have been designed with this total nonconformity in mind, so as to separate it from all recognizable lines of historial evolution. (Chapin and Soper (1970), p. 301)

But actually, the textual description in the 《道宣律師感通錄》 fits an early type mud-brick tomb-mount such as the stupa at Endere 安迪尔, see illustration 4. Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt describes such 'archetypical examples of mud-brick Buddhist structures in southern Xinjiang':

Elevated on multilayer, squarish platforms, often the four sides of the podiums are approached by stairs that lead to the base of the cylindrical structure. Originally the bases were enclosed by pillar-supported arcades whose surfaces were decorated with relief sculpture. The square outer enclosure, cylindrical drum (the part of a structure that supports a dome), and domed ceiling are all features that define the transition from early Indian stupas to those that will be built in China's core provinces. [...] Endere also had a circular stupa elevated on a trilevel, squarish base with a cylindrical dome of which more than 8 meters survive today. (Steinhardt (2014))

The term *shénzhǒng* 神冢, 'tomb of a spirit', could also mean a tomb of Duōbǎo Buddha 多宝佛 as in the Lotus Sutra 《妙法蓮花經》 Duōbǎo Buddha says: 'any place where the Lotus Sutra is preached, then my funerary tower, in order that I may listen to the sutra, will come forth and appear in that spot to testify to the sutra', see page 12.

每发光明人以蔬食祭之求福祚也。 | Whenever the light appears, the people sacrifice vegetarian food

r36: sacrifice vegetarian food] so this is a Buddhist-style sacrifice that eschews killing animals.

其地西去崑州二千余里。
问去天竺非远。往往有至彼者云云。

to pray for good fortune and blessings.
From their lands is more than two thousand *lǐ* to *Xīzhōu*.
I enquire if it is not far to India. People go there frequently, they say.

感通录 40

After this then comes the story on how the submerged image was rediscovered and brought to Shǔ during the Jìn dynasty 晋朝, 266–420 CE.

至晋时有僧于地见土坟出。

At the time of the Jìn dynasty there was a monk who saw a tomb protruding from the land.

随除终不可平。后见拆开复怪其尔。

He removed [the soil] but could never level it. Later he saw it break open and he was astonished.

乃堀深丈余获像及人骨在船中。

Then he dug a hole more than ten *zhàng* deep and found the image and human bones inside a boat.

感通录 45

其髑骨肘胫悉龐大。数倍过今人。

The skull, **arms** and **legs** were all exceedingly large, several times larger than men today.

即迦叶佛时阎浮人寿二万岁时也。今时命促形小固其常然。

During the time of Buddha Kasyapa in Jambudvīpa a man's lifespan was twenty-thousand years. Today fate encourages small forms, so it is naturally like this.

感通录 50

初出之时牵曳难得。弟子化为老人。指撝方便须臾得出。

When it first emerged it was pulled and dragged, it was difficult to retrieve. The disciple turned into an old man who directed to obtain it easily in an instant.

周灭法暂隐还兴重更出之。

[When the Northern] Zhōu suppressed the *dharma*, it was temporarily hidden and but when [the *dharma*] was restored, it was brought out again.

感通录 55

蜀人但知其灵从地而出。亦不测其根原。

The people of Shǔ know that their spirits emerge from the land, but they do not know about their origin.

见其花趺有多宝字。因遂名为多宝佛。名多宝寺也。

They saw on its **lotus pedestal** the characters *duōbǎo*, so they named him Duōbǎo Buddha and also called it the Duōbǎo temple.

感通录 60

4 Later References

This story has been copied into a number of later works, first – as mentioned above – into the 668 CE ‘A Forest of Pearls from the Dharma Garden’ 《法苑珠林》 by Dào xuān’s contemporary Dào shì 道世,

r 38: Xīzhōu] likely refers to the Táng dynasty administrative region in southern Sichuān, i.e. a location on the western of the two historic roads from Chéngdū to Ěrhǎi, so it appears that this road is juxtaposed to the above-mentioned route via Lángzhōu further east. The distances reported for both roads are roughly correct and give credence to the veracity of the tale.

r 39: I enquire if it is not far to India. People go there frequently] This is a reference to road from Shǔ to Shēndú 蜀身毒国道, Tiānzhú 天竺 is another reference to India.

r 47: arms] literally ‘elbow’.

r 47: legs] literally ‘shins’.

r 55: [When the Northern] Zhōu suppressed the *dharma*] Reference to the suppression of Buddhism under the northern Zhōu dynasty 北周, Běizhōu 北周.

r 60: lotus pedestal] Shinohara (2020), p. 70: ‘halo and base’.

†683, where the text was provided with annotations.

That later text appears to have then been copied into the 93rd *juàn* of the ‘*Extensive Records of Tàipíng*’ 《太平广记》, a work completed in 978 CE. That work became widely copied and the story about Duōbǎo Buddha was copied into works like the Míng dynasty ‘*A Brief Outline of Diān*’ 《滇略》.

5 Glossary

- Āndiěr** 安迪尔: Endere, ruin site in Xīnjiāng 新疆 with an old stupa (🌐 37.96N 83.63E) – see page 18, 20
- Báiguó Yīnyóu** 《白国因由》: ‘*Origins of the Bai Kingdom*’, Qīng collection of Guānyīn legends related to Nánzhào – see page 16, 20
- Bǎochàng** 宝唱: Liángcháo 梁朝 monk, compiled the 《名僧传》 in 519 CE – see page 6
- Bǎodìng** 北周武皇帝保定: reign period of northern Zhōu dynasty emperor Wǔ, 560–565 – see page 7
- Běizhōu** 北周: northern Zhōu dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 557–581 – see page 19, 20
- Běizhōu Wǔ Huángdì** 北周武皇帝: northern Zhōu dynasty emperor Wǔ, northern Zhōu dynasty emperor Wǔ – see page 20
- Cāngshān** 苍山: Cāngshān, mountain range west of Ěrhǎi – see pages 8, 16, 17, 20
- Cháng’ān** 长安: historic city, present-day Xiān – see page 8
- Chéngdū** 成都: capital of Shǔ 蜀, during the Táng dynasty center of administration for Jiànnán 剑南 – see pages 5, 6, 9, 15, 16, 19
- Chóngshèng Sì** 崇圣寺: Chóngshèng temple, main temple north of Dàlǐ 大理, in front of it are the Three Pagodas 三塔 – see pages 8, 11, 20
- Dàlǐ** 大理: – see pages 7, 8, 16
- Dàtáng Xīyù Qiúfǎ Gāosēng Chuán** 《大唐西域求法高僧传》: ‘*Biographies of Eminent Monks During the Great Táng Who Searched for the Dharma in the Western Regions*’, 691 text by Yì Jìng 义净 – see page 9, 20
- Dàzhèng Xīnxiū Dàcángjīng** 《大正新修大藏经》: ‘*Taishō Tripitaka*’, reference edition of the Buddhist canon – see page 13, 20
- Dàojiào** 道教: Dàoism, one of the three religions of China – see page 16, 20
- Dàoshì** 道世: Táng dynasty monk, author of the 《法苑珠林》 – see pages 10, 11, 13, 19
- Dào Wāng** 道汪: monk – see page 6
- Dào xuān** 道宣: important Táng dynasty monk, 596–667 – see pages 5, 9, 10, 12, 15–17, 19
- Dào xuān Lùshī Gǎntōng Lù** 《道宣律师感通录》: ‘*Vinaya Master Dào xuān’s Records of Epiphanies*’, work by Táng dynasty monk Dào xuān 道宣 – see pages 5, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 18, 20
- Dèngchuān** 邓川: – see page 17
- Diān** 滇: one of the earliest polities known to China in present-day Yúnnán, later also a geographical term for the region – see page 7, see 滇国

- Diān Guó** 滇国: kingdom of Diān, historic polity in Yunnan, centered around Diānchí, flourishing at the time of the Hàn dynasty – see page 21
- Diān Lüè** 《滇略》: ‘*A Brief Outline of Diān*’, work by Xiè Zhàozhè 谢肇浙, completed in 1621 – see page 20, 21
- Dīng Guānpéng** 丁观鹏: Qīng dynasty painter – see page 8
- Dōng Hàn** 东汉: Eastern Hàn, Chinese dynasty, 25–220 – see page 21
- Dūnhuáng** 敦煌: one of the most important sites of early Buddhism – see page 6
- Duōbǎo Fó** 多宝佛: Duōbǎo Buddha, the Prabhūtaratna Buddha mentioned in the 《妙法莲花经》 – see pages 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18–21
- Ērhǎi** 洱海: lake Ērhǎi, highland lake in western Yúnnán with the center of Nánzhào on its western side. It was also called Xīěr 西洱, Xīěrhé 西洱河 – see pages 5–9, 11, 15, 17, 19, 21
- Fǎ** 法: *dharma*, the Buddhist teachings – see pages 8, 19, 21
- Fǎyuàn Zhūlín** 《法苑珠林》: ‘*A Forest of Pearls from the Dharma Garden*’, work by Dào shì 道世, the title’s translation has been taken from Shinohara (2020) – see pages 10, 12, 13, 16, 19, 21
- Fànxiàng Juàn** 《梵像卷》: ‘*Long Roll of Buddhist Images*’, a long scroll of Buddhist images painted between 1173 and 1176, see Chapin and Soper (1971) – see pages 8, 16, 17, 21
- Fānhé** 番合: image at Dūnhuáng 敦煌, see Wu (2023), pp. 169–237 – see page 6
- Fótú Tǎ** 佛图塔: Fótú pagoda, Táng dynasty pagoda on the western side of Ērhǎi – see page 8, 21
- Gāolì Dàcáng Jīng** 《高丽大藏经》: Tripitaka Koreana, – see page 13, 21
- Guānyīn** 观音: Avalokiteśvara, one of the bodhisattvas, in Chinese also written as Guānshìyīn 观世音, which is a literal translation of the Sanskrit अवलोकितेश्वर. Guānyīn plays a key role in Nánzhào mythology, particularly in the 《南诏图传》 and the 《白国因由》 – see page 21
- Guǎngxī** 广西: southern Chinese province –
- Hàn Cháo** 汉朝: Hàn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 202 BCE–220 – see page 21
- Hàn** 汉: Hàn, main ethnic group of China, also name of early dynasty – see page 21
- Hàn Wǔdì** 汉武帝: Hàn emperor Wǔ, Hàn dynasty emperor Wǔ, 140–87 BCE – see page 21
- Húnán** 湖南: – see page 9
- Huìrùi** 惠睿: an ascetic mentioned in the 《釋迦方志》 – see page 9
- Jí Shénzhōu Sānbǎo Gǎntōng Lù** 《集神州三宝感通录》: text by Dào xuān 道宣 – see page 15, 21
- Jìzhōu** 冀州: one of the nine old districts of China – see page 9
- Jiāyè** 迦叶: Kasyapa, – see pages 16, 19, 21
- Jìn Cháo** 晋朝: Jìn dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 266–420 – see pages 5, 19, 21
- Jùshān** 鹞山: vulture peak, Chinese transliteration of Gādhṛakūta गृध्रकूट, or ‘vulture peak’, a mountain where Buddha gave many of his teachings, including the 《妙法莲花经》 – see page 16, 21

- Jiùshān Sì** 鹞山寺: Jiùshān temple, Buddhist temple name, literally meaning ‘vulture mountain’, referring to the sacred vulture peak in India – see page 16, 22
- Jiùzhōu Dōngtǎ** 旧州东塔: Táng dynasty pagoda north of Ěrhǎi – see page 8
- Lángzhōu** 郎州: probably a reference to present-day Qūjìng 曲靖, see <http://maps.cga.harvard.edu/tgaz/placename/hvd.80238> – see pages 9, 17, 19, 22
- Lí Míng** 黎明: Qīng dynasty painter – see page 8
- Liángcháo** 梁朝: Liáng dynasty, – see page 22
- Liáng Zhōu** 凉州: Chinese district – see page 6
- Líndé** 麟德: reign period of Táng emperor Gāozōng, 664–665 – see page 15
- Liú Sòng Wén Dì** 刘宋文帝: Liú Sòng emperor Wén, Liú Sòng 刘宋 emperor Wén, 424–453 – see page 9, 22
- Liú Sòng** 刘宋: Liú Sòng, Chinese dynasty, 420–479 – see page 9, 22
- Lóngguá Sì** 龙华寺: Lóngguá temple, temple – see page 6, 22
- Lóngyú Shān** 龙于山: mount Lóngyú, early Nánzhào period location mentioned in the 《南诏图传》, its relics have been excavated the hills north-west of Wēishān 巍山. On the 《南诏图传》 the name appears written as <山尤> 岢山, but 岢山 appears (in old style characters) in the 《南诏野史》. In the 《明一统志》第八十六卷, it is written as Lóngyǔtú Shān 龍宇圖山. Lóngyúshān 龙于山 is the modern accepted simplified form, see Hé Jīnlóng 何金龙 (2015), but is also used, see Dǒng Ài 董艾 (2019). The meaning of the name is unclear, Hé Jīnlóng 何金龙 (2015) argues that it was a deliberate invention of characters to evade taboos and that the term signifies Lóngyú 龙輿, i.e. ‘dragon’s carriage’. For a catalogue of archaeological finds there, see Dǒng Ài 董艾 (2019), for a recent dating of some of the finds, see Zhāng Nǎiwēn 张乃温 (2022) – see page 13
- Lù** 律: *vinaya*, corpus of monastic regulations, see Buswell (2013), p. 974 – see page 22
- Lǜzōng** 律宗: *vinaya* sect, Buddhist sect – see page 15, 22
- Luōquán Tǎ** 罗荃塔: Luōquán pagoda, Táng dynasty pagoda on the eastern side of Ěrhǎi – see page 8, 22
- Luóshèng** 逻盛: second ruler of Nánzhào, ruled 674–712, also called Luóshèngyán 逻盛炎 – see page 12

- Luóshèngyán** 逻盛炎: second generation of rulers of Nánzhào, son of 细奴逻, also written as – see page see 逻盛
- Miàofǎ Liánhuā Jīng** 《妙法莲花经》: Lotus Sutra, ‘one of the most important and influential of all the sutras or sacred scriptures of Mahayana Buddhism’, Watson (1993), p. ix, translated first into Chinese in the 3rd century – see pages 12, 16, 18, 23
- Míng Cháo** 明朝: Míng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 1368–1644 – see page 20, 23
- Míngsēngchuán** 《名僧传》: ‘*Biographies of Eminent Monks*’, lost work on eminent monks by Bǎochàng 宝唱, compiled in 519 CE. Parts of the work survive in a 1235 CE excerpt by a Japanese monk – see page 6, 23
- Míngyītǒngzhì** 《明一统志》: ‘*Ming Unified Gazetteer*’, Míng Cháo 明朝 geographic work, published 1461 – see page 23
- Nánběi Cháo** 南北朝: northern and southern dynasties, period of short-lived dynasties, 386–589 – see pages 7, 9, 23
- Nánning** 南宁: city in present-day Guǎngxī 广西 – see page 7
- Nánzhào** 南诏: southern zhào, regional power with its center on Ērhǎi during the 8th and 9th centuries – see pages 7, 12, 13, 23
- Nánzhào Túzhuān** 《南诏图传》: ‘*Illustrated History of Nánzhào*’, important picture scroll dating back to 898, telling the story of the arrival of Buddhism and the divine appointment of the rulers of Nánzhào – see page 8, 23
- Nánzhào Yěshǐ** 《南诏野史》: ‘*Unofficial History of Nánzhào*’, import Míng Cháo 明朝 dynasty recreation of the history of Nánzhào – see page 23
- Qiānxún Tǎ** 千寻塔: Qiānxún pagoda, the central of the three pagodas in Dàlǐ 大理 – see pages 8, 17, 18, 23
- Qiánfēng** 乾封: reign period of Táng emperor Gāozōng, 666–668 – see page 11
- Qiánfú** 乾符: reign period of Táng Xīzōng 唐僖宗, 874–879 – see page 11, 12
- Qiánlóng** 乾隆: Qīng dynasty emperor Qiánlóng, Qīng dynasty emperor, 1735–1796 – see page 8, 23
- Qín Cháo** 秦朝: Qín dynasty, – see page 23
- Qín Guó** 秦国: state of Qín, early Chinese kingdom, united China for the first time as the Qín Cháo 秦朝 – see page 16, 23
- Qīng dynasty** 清朝: Qīng dynasty, last dynasty of imperial China, 1644–1912 BCE – see page 23, 24
- Qīngchéng Shān** 青城山: mount Qīngchéng, sacred Daoist mountain in Sìchuān – see page 16, 23
- Qūjìng** 曲靖: – see page 17
- Sān Guó** 三国: Three Kingdoms, period after the Dōng Hàn 东汉, with three powers dominating China, 220–280 – see page 23
- Sāntǎ** 三塔: Three Pagodas, temple complex north of Dàlǐ 大理 called Chóngshèng Sì 崇圣寺 – see page 8, 23, see 崇圣寺
- Sēng Biǎo** 僧表: monk mentioned in the 《卍续藏》 – see page 6
- Shāmén** 沙门: ascetic, a wandering monk, from Sanskrit śramaṇa – see pages 6, 9, 23
- Shāndōng** 山东: coastal region in eastern China, now a province –

- Shèlì Bǎo Tǎ** 舍利宝塔: relic treasure pagoda, pagoda depicted in 《梵像卷》 – see page 8, 24
- Shēndú** 身毒: ancient reference to India – see page 6, 9
- Shéntōng Sì Sìmén Tǎ** 神通寺四门塔: Shéntōng temple Sìmén pagoda, one of the oldest extant pagodas in China, constructed in 611 in Shāndōng 山东 – see pages 17, 18, 24
- Shìjiā Fāngzhì** 《釋迦方志》: ‘*Buddhist Geographical Gazetteer*’, 650 text by Dào xuān 道宣 – see page 9, 24
- Shìjiāmóuní** 释迦牟尼: Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha, whose clan name is Śākya and whose personal name Siddhartha – see pages 7, 8, 12, 13, 16, 24
- Shǔ** 蜀: name of a state during the Warring States period, later used to refer to the western part of present-day Sìchuān – see pages 6, 7, 9, 16, 17, 19
- Shǔ Guó** 蜀国: state of Shǔ, one of the states of the Sān Guó 三国, later also used as a term for present-day Sìchuān – see page 15, 24
- Shǔjùn** 蜀郡: Shǔ, historical administrative unit in present-day Sìchuān, its name multiple times changing to Yìzhōu – see page 24
- Shǔ Shēndúguó Dào** 蜀身毒国道: road from Shǔ to Shēndú, historical road from Sìchuān to India, via Yúnnán – see pages 9, 19, 24
- Sìchuān** 四川: Chinese province – see pages 9, 15, 16, 19
- Sìkù Quánshū** 《四库全书》: ‘*Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*’, Qīng dynasty library collection – see page 16, 24
- Sòng** 宋: Sòng, Chinese dynasty – see page 13, 24
- Tàipíng Guǎngjì** 《太平广记》: ‘*Extensive Records of Tàipíng*’, – see pages 11, 16, 20, 24
- Táng Cháo** 唐朝: Táng dynasty, Chinese dynasty, 618–907 – see pages 5, 7, 9, 19, 24
- Táng** 唐: Táng, Chinese dynasty contemporary with Nánzhào, 618–907 – see pages 5, 11, 12, 24
- Táng Xīzōng** 唐僖宗: Táng emperor Xīzōng, Táng dynasty emperor, 873–888 – see page 11, 24
- Táng Gāozōng** 唐高宗: Táng emperor Gāozōng, Táng dynasty emperor, ruling 649–683 – see page 11, 24
- Tiānzhú** 天竺: India, A commonly used name for India – see pages 9, 19, 24
- Wànfósi** 万佛寺: Wànfó temple, historic temple just outside 成都, where many early Buddhist sculptures have been found, see Wong (1998) – see page 9, 24
- Wànxùcáng** 《卍续藏》: ‘*Collection of Buddhist Scriptures*’, Japanese collection of Buddhist texts – see page 6, 24
- Wáng Rénqiú** 王仁求: –
- Wáng Rénqiú Bēi** 《王仁求碑》: ‘*Wáng Rénqiú Stele*’, funerary stele for Wáng Rénqiú 王仁求 erected in 698 – see page 7, 24
- Wēibǎoshān** 魏宝山: Wēibǎo mountain, holy mountain in today’s Wēishān 巍山 – see page 24
- Wēishān** 巍山: mount Wēi, mountain south of Ěrhǎi, in the historic context probably not what is called Wēibǎoshān 魏宝山 – see page 13, 24

- Xĭěr Hé** 西洱河: Xiěr river, historic name for Ěrhǎi 洱海, now in use for the river that flows out of the lake – see pages 5, 6, 15–17, 25
- Xĭěr Hé Fēngtǔ Jì** 《西洱河风土记》: ‘Records of the Local Customs of Ěrhǎi’, one of the earliest records of the Ěrhǎi region, compiled in 648 – see page 7, 25
- Xīhàn** 西汉: Western Hàn, dynastic period, 202BCE–8CE – see page 6, 25
- Xīzhōu** 雋州: Xīzhōu, Táng dynasty administrative region in present-day southern Sìchuān – see page 19, 25
- Xìnúluó** 细奴逻: first ruler of Nánzhào, *617 †674, ruled 649–674 –
- Xiàn** 县: county, administrative unit – see page 6, 25
- Xiǎoyàn Tǎ** 小雁塔: small goose pagoda, 707 pagoda in Chángān 长安 – see page 8, 25
- Xiè Zhàozhè** 谢肇浙: author of the 《滇略》 –
- Xīnjiāng** 新疆: north-western region of China –
- Xīnpíng** 欣平: Shǔ county – see page 6
- Xīnzuǎn Yúnnán Tōngzhì** 《新纂云南通志》: ‘New Compilation of the “Yúnnán General Gazetteer”’, 1949 new edition of the 《云南通志》 – see pages 9, 11, 25
- xūmí** 须弥: Mount Meru, sacred Buddhist mountain, considered the centre of the world – see page 8, 25
- Xuánzàng** 玄奘: Chinese monk, 602–664, who travelled to India from 629–645, bringing back many Buddhist scriptures – see page 5
- Yánfú** 阎浮: Jambudvīpa, ‘Jambudvīpa is always the continent where buddhas spend their final lifetimes establishing their dispensations and is therefore the most auspicious site for beings to take rebirth. Also unique in this world, Jambudvīpa is ruled by a wheel-turning monarch (Cakravartin), the only continent that is so governed.’, Buswell and Lopez (2014), pp. 377–378 – see page 19, 25
- Yì Jìng** 义净: Táng dynasty monk –
- Yìzhōu** 益州: Yìzhōu, one of thirteen administrative regions created by Hàn Wǔdì 汉武帝 in 106BCE, covering the region of present-day Sìchuān with its center at 成都. In 742 it became Shǔjùn 蜀郡, but the name remained in use to refer to 成都 – see pages 6, 9, 15, 25
- Yuánjiā** 元嘉: reign period of Liú Sòng emperor Wén, 424–453 – see page 9
- Yúnnán** 云南: at the time of the Táng dynasty the name for the geographic region south of its Jiannan district – see pages 6, 7, 9, 17
- Yúnnán Tōngzhì** 《云南通志》: ‘Yúnnán General Gazetteer’, generic name for a number of historical works on Yúnnán – see page 11, 25
- Yúnnán Zhì** 《云南志》: ‘Gazetteer of Yúnnán’, Táng document detailing all aspects of Yúnnán – see pages 9, 17, 25
- zhào** 诏: zhào, term for a local ruler or his realm – see page 25
- Zhōngnán Shān** 终南山: mount Zhōngnán, mountain where Dào xuān 道宣 lived in solitude from 645 after his mother died, returning in 657, it is part of his name, see Zou (2018), pp. 59, 108, 181 – see page 15, 25

- Zhòngkè Lǜxiāng Gǎntōng Chuánxù** 《重刻律相感通傳序》: text by Dào xuān 道宣 – see pages 5, 15, 26
- Zhōu** 周: Zhōu, 1022–256 BCE, early Chinese dynasty – see page 19, 26
- zhōu** 州: prefecture, administrative unit – see page 7, 26
- Zhōushū** 《周书》: ‘History of the Zhōu’, one of the twenty-four official Chinese histories, covering the Běizhōu 北周 dynasty, completed in 636 – see page 6, 26

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