

The Ten Virtues of Loudly Invoking the Name of Amitābha: Stein Tibetan 724 and an Aspect of Chinese *Nianfo* Practice in Tibetan Dunhuang

JONATHAN A. SILK
LEIDEN UNIVERSITY

Stein Tibetan 724 was earlier identified as a list of virtues of the Buddha Amitābha. A new reading of the document and identification of its Chinese source allow its re-identification instead as a list of the virtues of invoking the Buddha Amitābha in a loud voice. The article offers a corrected transcription of the manuscript, presents and examines possible sources, and suggests the most plausible proximate original for the Tibetan translation, briefly exploring the practice of loud invocation as a Buddhist practice in medieval Dunhuang.

In 1993, as an appendix to a paper on a Tibetan poem in praise of the Buddha Amitābha found in Dunhuang, I presented the text of a very short manuscript, a single folio side, on which—I thought—were recorded ten qualities or ‘virtues’ of the Buddha Amitābha.¹ At that time, I suspected a connection of this text with Chinese Buddhism in Dunhuang, due to the use, in what appeared to be the title of the text, of *a mye ta pur*, a transcription in Tibetan script of the Chinese name of the Buddha Amitābha, 阿彌陀佛. This usage unequivocally locates the text in the multilingual world of Dunhuang, in which some individuals honored Chinese-language Buddhist texts but preferred, probably because of its relative simplicity, the Tibetan script to the Chinese. Now, however, I realize that I earlier mistook the basic nature of the document. I therefore present a new transcript of the manuscript, identify what may plausibly be considered its direct Chinese source, and offer an English translation of the Tibetan text, in light of its evident Chinese Vorlage. Moreover, I also provide the fuller context of the suggested Chinese original, knowledge of which allows us to better locate the text. Finally, in looking at several related texts, I attempt to set the whole in a somewhat broader framework.

1. Silk 1993: 71–72. This manuscript is found in the Stein Tibetan Collection, with the shelfmark IOL Tib J 724, numbered folio *ka* 78 (*ka don brgyad*); the verso is blank. It was earlier catalogued as Ch. 73 viii, fragment 3. In poṭhi format, 37 × 6.5 cm, it is written in a clear *dbu can*, with several interlinear corrections in a quicker hand. The entry in La Vallée Poussin 1962: 232 misunderstands the title: “Contains the enumeration of the ten qualities of the Amitābha’s (?) magical nail.” This is based on the wrong assumption that the syllable *phur* is Tibetan, when it is in fact rather Chinese (see below). La Vallée Poussin went so far as to “reconstruct” the title as *Amitābha kīla-guṇa-daśaka*, based on his misapprehension. The text was published in Tōyō Bunko Chibetto Kenkyū Inkaï 1984: 47. When I studied it in 1993, I had to base myself only on the transcription in this catalogue. Now that clear color photographs are available on the IDP website (http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=690601914;recnum=5576;index=4), I have re-edited the text, the earlier transcript of which contained many errors.

I transcribe with + the *'a-rtēn* with a flag on the right shoulder འ. This is the only form found in the manuscript, and is common in older manuscripts. It is referred to by Dotson and Helman-Ważny (2016: 109) as the “hooked ‘a.” I transcribe with *ĩ* the reversed *gi gu* (*gi gu log*).

For a number of valuable suggestions I thank my student Channa Li, as well as Ruixuan Chen and Wu Juan, and for the solution to the problem of the reading *chung*, Charles Ramble. For several important suggestions of interpretations of Chinese I owe thanks to my friend Stefano Zacchetti, and further to Antje Richter.

Tibetan manuscript IOL Tib J 724:²

ll a mye da phur kyi yon tan bcu la ll
 dmyig [written below: gnyid] chung ba dang cig ll
 bsdud bsngangs ba dang gnyis ll
 sgra snyan pa grags pa dang gsum ll
 ngan tsong gi sdugs sngal zhi ba dang bzhi ll
 phyi +i sgra skad +gags pa dang lnga ll
 sems myi g.yeng ba dang drug ll
 brtson +grus kyi go ca dang ldan ba dang bdun ll
 sangs rgyas dang byang cub sems dpa+ thams cad dgyes pa dang brgyad ll
 ting nge +dzin thams cad mngon du gyur pa dang dgu ll
 sangs rgyas kyi zhing khams yongs su dag par skye ba dang bcu +o ll

The source of this list is, I suggest, found in a work attributed (wrongly) to the Tang dynasty scholar Kuiji 窺基 (632–682), a commentary on the Smaller *Sukhāvativyūha* sūtra (*Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經), the *Amituojing tongzan shu* 阿彌陀經通贊疏.³ There we find the following:⁴

有十種功德。一，能排睡眠。二，天魔驚怖。三，聲遍十方。四，三塗息苦。五，外聲不入。六，心不散亂。七，勇猛精進。八，諸佛歡喜。九，三昧現前。十，往生淨土。

The correspondence between the Tibetan text—I would now say, the translation—and the Chinese—I would now say, the original—is very clear. For ease of comparison, I place them here side by side, making the necessary corrections to the Tibetan in brackets, as explained immediately below:

| | |
|-------|---|
| 有十種功德 | a mye da phur kyi yon tan bcu la |
| 能排睡眠 | dmyig gnyid chung [phyung] ba |
| 天魔驚怖 | bsdud [bdud] bsngangs ba |
| 聲遍十方 | sgra snyan pa grags pa |
| 三塗息苦 | ngan tsong [song] gi sdugs sngal zhi ba |
| 外聲不入 | phyi +i sgra skad +gags pa |
| 心不散亂 | sems myi g.yeng ba |
| 勇猛精進 | brtson +grus kyi go ca dang ldan ba |
| 諸佛歡喜 | sangs rgyas dang byang cub sems dpa+ thams cad dgyes pa |
| 三昧現前 | ting nge +dzin thams cad mngon du gyur pa |
| 往生淨土 | sangs rgyas kyi zhing khams yongs su dag par skye ba |

Several observations are necessary to clarify what is generally a very closely corresponding pair of lists. In the first item, I understand the verb *chung ba* to correspond to *pái* 排 ‘to

2. The text transcribed here is followed on the last line by material I believe to be entirely unrelated, namely a zodiac. Already read by La Vallée Poussin, it appears to be in a different hand, the letters are smaller, and the ink also appears somewhat lighter in color: ll ǀ ll byi ba la ll glang la ll stag la ll yos bu la ll +brug la ll sbrul la ll rta la ll lug la ll sphre+u la ll bya la ll khyi la ll phag la ll ǀ ll Below each of these, respectively, are written tshī, che+u, +ying, +bre+u, zhin, zi, +gu, +byi, gzhin, ye+u, gshur, hra+. Takata (2000: 69) identifies the latter, which in Tibetan are meaningless, with Chinese terms, namely *tshī* 子, *che’u* 丑, *’ying* 寅, *’bre’u* 卯, *zhin* 辰, *zi* 巳, *’gu* 午, *’bri* [so Takata, but it is clearly +*byi*] 未, *gzhin* 申, *ye’u* 酉, *gshur* 戌, *hra’* 亥. Takata (2000: 59) terms this a “Tibeto-Chinese bilingual list of the ‘twelve branches,’ which would have been necessary on a daily basis for the purpose of indicating dates,” but he pays no attention to the rest of the leaf, and consequently makes no attempt to explain what such a necessary list might be doing added as the last line on a folio, the rest of which has nothing whatsoever to do with dating. This seems to me to remain a problem.

3. Here I understand *zàn* 贊 in the sense of clarification or summation, and thus *tōngzàn* as something like comprehensive clarification or summation.

4. T. 1758 [XXXVII] 341c13–16.

push open’ or ‘to push aside’, taking *chung* as a miswriting for *phyung*, perfect of ’*byin* ‘to cast out’. Tibetan has, moreover, (mis)understood Chinese *mián* 眠 ‘sleep’ as the graphically very similar *yǎn* 眼 ‘eye’, which it renders with the archaic spelling *dmyig*. The result is meaningful, but somewhat different from the Chinese sense. I do not know the significance of the fact that *gnyid* is added below the line.

In item two, for *bsdud* read *bdud*, a misspelling. The Chinese *tiānmó* 天魔 strictly speaking is equivalent to *devamāra*, which is perhaps more normally rendered in Tibetan as *lha’i bdud*. I think, however, that the equivalence is close enough to be fully understandable.

In item three, Tibetan does not render *shífāng* 十方, the ten directions. Note that Jäschke (1881: 197) cites as an example sentence *khyod kyi snyan pa phyogs bcur grags*, “every part of the world rings with thy praise,” a rendering which would correspond remarkably well to the Chinese expression.

In item four, *ngan tsong* should be read *ngan song* = *apāya*, another misspelling.

In item eight, the Chinese does not mention bodhisattvas, but the addition is quite normal in Tibetan.

In item nine, *mngon du gyur pa* indicates something like ‘made manifest, realized’, and the Chinese *xiànqián* 現前 means that something is evident as if right before one’s eyes; the rendering is thus very precise.

In light of this Chinese text, we may translate the Tibetan, including the introductory expression, as follows:

With regard to the ten virtues of uttering *Amita Buddha!*:

- 1) Sleep is cast away from the eyes, and
- 2) Māra is shocked, and
- 3) The fame of the voice pervades [the world], and
- 4) The defilements of the evil states are pacified, and
- 5) External sounds are suppressed, and
- 6) The mind is unagitated, and
- 7) One is endowed with the armor of energy, and
- 8) All buddhas and bodhisattvas are pleased, and
- 9) All samādhis are made manifest, and
- 10) One is born in a purified buddha-field.

In what I believe to be its full original context, the Chinese passage is contained in a comment on the following sentence of the Smaller *Sukhāvātīvyūha* sūtra:⁵ “Hearing this music, all spontaneously awaken the mind of mindfulness of the Buddha, mindfulness of the Dharma, and mindfulness of the Sangha.” 經云：「聞是音者，皆自然生念佛、念法、念僧之心」。 However, to understand the relevant portion of the commentary we need to look to the previous passage in the commentary as well. This, in turn, runs:⁶

The *Scripture* says: “Śāriputra, in that buddha-land gentle breezes blow, moving the rows of jewelled trees and the jewelled nets, which produce exquisite music, just like that of a hundred thousand kinds of instruments being played together.”

The *Clarification* says: The eighth [ornament of the Land of Bliss] is that breezes blow, producing music. This discussion is divided into four parts: 1. The wind shakes the jewelled trees. 2. Their voice is like music. 3. Hearing [that music] causes good mindfulness. 4. The completion of the ornaments [of the land]. In the first two expressions here, “gentle breezes” means soft breezes. They are not sudden or violent winds. They blow on the trees and nets, and these

5. T. 1758 [XXXVII] 341c8, quoting T. 366 (XII) 347a23.

6. T. 1758 [XXXVII] 341b28–c7.

subsequently emit exquisite musical sounds. In “just like,” “just” indicates a comparison, “like” a resemblance. It is like a hundred thousand melodies performed together. Soft breezes gently arise and blow the trees and nets. Harmonious sounds then fill the entire universe. Their elegance is the same as that of all sorts of music. Therefore it says “just like that of a hundred thousand kinds of instruments being played together.”

經云：「舍利弗，彼佛國微風吹，動諸寶行樹及寶羅網，出微妙音，譬如百千種樂同時俱作」。贊曰：第八，風吹樂音也。文分為四：一，風搖寶樹；二，聲似樂音；三，聞興善念；四，結成莊嚴。此初二文也。「微風」者，細風也。非猝暴風也。吹樹及網羅，即發微妙音韻。「譬如」者，「譬」者，況也。「如」，由似也。況似於百千種音樂同時俱奏也。細風徐起吹樹網羅。音韻而遍滿十方。微妙而使同衆樂。故云譬如百千種樂同時俱作也。

Immediately following this is the portion of the commentary most relevant for us:⁷

The *Clarification* says: The third [expression, above, is]: “Hearing causes good mindfulness.” As for “spontaneously” [in the sūtra text], when things work naturally and are resigned to fate, it is termed “spontaneous.” It is not the case that absence of cause is termed “spontaneous.” As for “awakening mindfulness of the Buddha, mindfulness of the Dharma, and mindfulness of the Sangha” [in the sūtra], these are the names of the Three Jewels, as previously explained. Mindfulness of the Buddha (recitation) is of three types: 1. Mental recitation, in which one has connected thoughts in one’s mind. 2. Softly calling recitation, in which one is able to hear one’s own voice. 3. Loudly calling recitation. This [in turn] has ten virtues: 1. It can push away sleep. 2. Māra is terrified. 3. The voice reaches everywhere. 4. The sufferings of the three evil realms are pacified. 5. Other sounds are suppressed. 6. The mind is unagitated. 7. One bravely is energetic [in practice]. 8. All buddhas are pleased. 9. Samādhi is manifest before one. 10. One attains rebirth in the Pure Land. One should distinguish four variants: 1. That in which one recites in the mind but does not recite verbally. 2. That in which one recites verbally but does not recite in the mind. 3. That in which one recites both in mind and verbally together. 4. That in which one recites neither in the mind nor verbally. Of these four, the first and the third are correct. The *Auspicious sūtra* says: “Cool breezes gently arise, neither cold nor hot. They blow the nets and the multi-jeweled trees, which expound the supreme sublime voice of the Teaching. For those who hear that, no defilements arise, and they spontaneously experience pleasure, as one experiences when attaining samādhi.”⁸

贊曰：第三，「聞興善念」也。「自然」者，慣習任運名曰自然。非無因緣名自然也。「生念佛、念法、念僧」者，三寶之名，如前釋也。念佛有三：一，心念，心中繫念；二，輕聲念，自耳聞故；三，高聲念。有十種功德：一，能排睡眠；二，天魔驚怖；三，聲遍十方；四，三塗息苦；五，外聲不入；六，心不散亂；七，勇猛精進；八，諸佛歡喜；九，三昧現前；十，往生淨土。

7. T. 1758 [XXXVII] 341c9–21.

8. The citation is a paraphrase of a passage from the *Foshuo wuliangshou jing* 佛說無量壽經, T. 360 (XII) 272a14–18, the Larger *Sukhāvāṭīvyūha*. The translation below (which is rather free) is that of Gómez (1996: 185).

Breezes blow spontaneously, gently moving these bells, which swing gracefully. The breezes blow in perfect harmony. They are neither hot nor cold. They are at the same time calm and fresh, sweet and soft. They are neither fast nor slow. When they blow on the nets and the many kinds of jewels, the trees emit the innumerable sounds of the subtle and sublime Dharma and spread myriad sweet and fine perfumes. Those who hear these sounds spontaneously cease to raise the dust of tribulation and impurity. When the breezes touch their bodies they all attain a bliss comparable to that accompanying a monk’s attainment of the samadhi of extinction.

自然得風徐起微動。其風調和不寒不暑。溫涼柔軟不遲不疾。吹諸羅網及衆寶樹，演發無量微妙法音，流布萬種溫雅德香。其有聞者，塵勞垢習自然不起。風觸其身，皆得快樂。譬如比丘得滅盡三昧。

I do not know why the title *Ruixiang jing* 瑞相經 is used to refer to the Larger *Sukhāvāṭīvyūha*, but it does appear in other texts as well.

應作四句分別：一，心念口不念；二，口念心不念；三，心口俱念；四，心口俱不念。此四句中，第一句、第三句是。瑞相經云：「清風徐起，不寒不暑。吹諸羅網及衆寶樹，演發無上微妙法音。其有聞者，塵垢不起。自然快樂，如得三昧」。

It is clear from this passage that the advantages or merits enumerated here apply to the practice of loud recitation of the phrase “Hail to Amitābha Buddha!”—a *mye ta pur* in Tibetan transcription.⁹ This string of sounds, meaningless in Tibetan, is nothing other than a transcription of 阿彌陀佛, Modern Standard Chinese *a mi tuo fo*.¹⁰ This fact in turn suggests that the manuscript may date to the time of the Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang, the period of roughly 780–850, although it might also be somewhat later, even as late as the tenth or eleventh century, since Tibetan continued to be used in Dunhuang through this period. The expression at the beginning of the Tibetan text, which cannot be considered a title as such, is therefore to be understood not as referring to merits or virtues of Amitābha Buddha himself, but rather as “The Ten Virtues of [recitation or utterance of the exclamation] *Amita Buddha!*” That is, Tibetan *a mye ta pur* must be understood as a transcription of the Chinese exclamation, and thus we could also render the expression “The Ten Virtues of [proclaiming] *A mi tuo fo!*” What the original context makes clear is that this recitation is to be done in a loud voice, not quietly. In this light, the virtues arising from this practice begin to make sense: a loud voice will wake the sleeping, terrify Māra, drown out other voices, and so on.¹¹ The practice of loudly proclaiming Amitābha Buddha’s name goes on to have wide currency in Chinese and Japanese Buddhism, as discussed by several scholars.¹²

Turning to the text that evidently provided this listing, as noted above the *Amituojing tongzan shu* is traditionally attributed to the scholar Kuiji, a direct disciple of the famous Xuanzang.¹³ However, it was argued already by Sasaki (1913: 260–61), and by Mochizuki (1922: 480–502), that this attribution is not correct.¹⁴ Hayashi (2006–2007: 108–9) also concludes that the author cannot be Kuiji, but maintains that whoever did write it was very familiar with Kuiji’s thought and with Yogācāra doctrine. Whoever the author may have been, the *Amituojing tongzan shu* was certainly known in Dunhuang, with at least one, albeit fragmentary, manuscript from the site identified (kept in St. Petersburg, Д × 00684).

Although I believe the source of our small Tibetan text is now clear, it is necessary to consider that there are at least a few other possibilities. For, the same list is found in a number of texts, two of which date from the Tang period, and manuscripts of these texts have also been recovered from Dunhuang; therefore they are known to have been available in the time and place in which our Tibetan text was written. As Kaneko 1976 has clearly shown, a number of

9. Nagai (1990), noticing our passage, offers a brief introduction to Chinese discussions of the practice of recitation of the Amitābha Buddha’s name in a loud voice, but his main focus is on Japan. Notice that this approach to recitation is not mentioned by Jones 2001, who surveys methods of *nianfo*.

10. The phonology of this exclamation is discussed in Silk 1993: 17–19 (which overlooked the relevant remarks of Laufer 1916: 423). The medieval pronunciation of 阿彌陀佛 was something like ?ā mjie dā bjwæt, reflected in *a mye ta pur*; concerning the last syllable, the *-t* final often became *-l-r* in Middle Chinese, as reflected clearly in the Korean pronunciation of ‘buddha’, *bul*, seen here in the Tibetan *-r*.

11. Indian tradition—in this case non-Buddhist—distinguishes three modes of mantra recitation (*japa*): vocal (*vācika*), whispered (*upāṃśu*), and purely mental (*mānasa*). Padoux quotes a verse of Kṣemarāja in which he refers to the form of recitation which others can hear as *udāhṛta* (Padoux 1987: 119 n. 6). My thanks to Péter Szántó for his advice in this regard.

12. See Kaneko 1976, Nagai 1990.

13. What seems to be the first such attribution is that found in the *Sinp’yŏn chejong kyŏjang ch’ongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄 of Üich’ŏn 義天, a work of 1190, which reads as follows: 小阿彌陀經 . . . 通贊疏二卷窺基述 (T. 2184 [LV] 1171c23–25).

14. See also Ozawa 1978, esp. 116–18.

other texts also contain what is for all intents and purposes the same list of ten virtues of the loud recitation of the name of Amitābha, but most of these are too young to have provided the source for our manuscript. Moreover, in the oldest two, the Tang period works, we find the list in different forms, these facts together suggesting the identification of the *Amituojing tongzan shu* as the best candidate for the immediate source of the Tibetan version. However, the others also deserve some consideration.

Embedded in a longer text we find a short work, in verse, the *Praise of Loudly Reciting the Buddha's Name, Gaosheng nianfo zan* 高聲念佛讚, attributed to the eighth-century monk Fazhao 法照 (c. 747–821?).¹⁵ In addition, in this text the ten items are found within a denser context. The ten items read as follows, with the relevant portions underlined:

| | | | | |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|------|
| 第一能排除睡障 | 意令諸子離重昏 | 障滅身心亦清淨 | 便見西方百寶門 | [1] |
| 第二振動天魔界 | 令遣心歸念佛門 | 但使魔宮聞一念 | 因慈永劫奉慈尊 | [2] |
| 第三聲遍十方界 | 為令惡趣苦皆停 | 一一能聞無量壽 | 咸登淨國任經行 | [3] |
| 第四三途幽苦息 | 須臾變作寶蓮城 | 罪人盡處花間坐 | 登時聞法悟無生 | [4] |
| 第五無令外聲入 | 心心直往法王家 | 光明長照琉璃殿 | 化生童子散金花 | [5] |
| 第六安念心無散 | 彌陀淨刹想中成 | 寶樹林間宣妙法 | 聲聲唯讚大乘經 | [6] |
| 第七勇猛勤精進 | 無明塵埃自消除 | 念念常觀極樂國 | 彌陀慈主贈明珠 | [7] |
| 第八諸佛皆歡喜 | 當來護念信心人 | 一一咸令不退轉 | 臨終證得紫金身 | [8] |
| 第九能入深三昧 | 寂滅無為無漏禪 | 念時無念見諸佛 | 永超生死離人天 | [9] |
| 第十由具諸功德 | 恒沙福智果圓明 | 臨終淨國蓮花座 | 彌陀聖眾自親迎 | [10] |

After the title, Sh has: 有十種功德, “there are ten virtues.”

1.3: 障] Sh: 除; 1.4: 便] P: 更

2.1: 振動] P: 動振

3.2: 趣] P: 取

4.1: 途] Sh: 蹊; 4.2: 城] P 成, S illegible; 4.3: 坐] Sh: 座

5.2: 往] Sh: 見; 5.4: 童] P: 同

6.1: 安] PSSh: 妄, conjecturally emended.

7.2: 埃] Sh: 拮

8.2: 當] Sh: 常

9.2: 寂滅無為無漏禪] P: 寂滅無為漏禪

10.3: 座] P: 坐

[The loud voiced recitation of the name of the Buddha Amitābha]:

1. Can push away the impediment of sleep. Contemplation causes everyone to become free of heavy darkness. Through destroying the impediments, the body and mind become clear. Then one can see the hundred jeweled gates in the Western direction.

2. Shakes the realm of Māras. It makes the mind take refuge in the practice of recitation of the name of the Buddha. If [beings of] the palace of Māra hear even a single recitation [of the name of the Buddha], they will compassionately honor the Lord of Compassion forever.

3. Makes one's voice penetrate the entire universe. It stops all sufferings of the evil realms. Everyone able to hear the name of [the Buddha of] Immeasurable Lifespan will all attain the Pure Land and wander there at will.

15. T. 2827 (LXXXV) 1259c8–28, embedded in the *Jingtu wuhui nianfo songjing guanxingyi* 淨土五會念佛誦經觀行儀. I collated the text from three sources: Pelliot chinois 2250, Stein 5572 (in Huang 1986, vol. 43, p. 467), and from a manuscript in the Shanghai collection (in Shanghai bowuguan, Shanghai guji chubanshe 1993: 1–2, §48.1 [41379]). In the notes, the first is indicated by P, the second by S, the third by Sh. I have selected readings based on my assessment of inherent probability.

4. Pacifies the sufferings of the three evil realms. Instantly [the three realms] transform into a jeweled lotus palace. Evil-doers without exception are located within a flower [before it opens]. Immediately [after it opens] they hear the teaching and awaken to [the fact that all things are] unproduced.

5. Prevents external sounds from entering [one's mind]. In every thought one approaches the home of the Dharma King, the bright light shines for a long time on the Lapis Lazuli Palace, and the transformationally produced children born there scatter golden flowers.

6. Pacifies one's mind making it undisturbed. The Pure Land of Amitābha is perfected in thought. Between the trees of the jeweled forest he proclaims the magnificent teaching. Every voice only praises the scriptures of the Great Vehicle.

7. Makes one bravely energetic. The dust of ignorance disappears on its own. Every moment of thought always contemplates the Land of Ultimate Bliss. Amitābha, the Lord of Compassion, bestows the bright pearl [of the teaching].

8. Pleases all Buddhas. They will protect those who have faith [in Amitābha]. All of them together prevent [believers from] backsliding. At the end of their lives, [the believers] will attain a golden body.

9. Makes possible entry into samādhi. It [leads to] final repose, the unconditioned, meditation free of defilements. When one recites, without mental activity one sees all buddhas,¹⁶ and eternally surpasses transmigration, becoming free [from rebirth even as] human or god.

10. Being endowed with these merits, as many as the sands of the Ganges river, the fruit of merit and wisdom is complete, and at the end of one's life on a lotus flower in the Pure Land, Amitābha with his retinue will himself come to welcome one.

Here we see a significant difference in phrasing in the last item, which speaks of going at the end of one's life to (rebirth in) a lotus flower in the Pure Land. This aside, on the whole the correspondence between this list and that in our Tibetan text is close as regards the underlined portions, but both the presence of the rest of the poem and the significant difference in the tenth item make this poem an unlikely source for our Tibetan version.

The second text brought forward by Kaneko is one belonging to the Chan tradition, the *Contemplation Method of the South Indian Dhyaṇa Master Bodhidharma, Nantianzhuguo Putidamo chanshi guanmen* 南天竺國菩提達摩禪師觀門, in which we find the following:¹⁷

16. I find this foot of the verse particularly difficult to understand. Evidently there is some play on *nian* 念 here, as elsewhere in the texts translated in this paper, but the actual sense in this case escapes me.

17. The most easily accessible version is that in T. 2832 (LXXXV) 1270c1–5. A number of Dunhuang copies in Chinese are known; seven are listed by Tanaka and Zeng 2012: 536, including Stein 2583, 2669, 6958, and Pelliot 2058c, and the text has been studied a number of times. The best round-up is found in Tanaka and Zheng 2012: 536–534 [sic]. Sharf (2003: 305–6 and n. 83) translates the ten items, stating in the note that “the origin of this list of ten benefits is unclear.” Aside from this text, however, he refers only to a later version in T. 2017 ([XLVIII] 962b7–11). Sharf translates as follows: “(1) evil voices will not be heard; (2) your invocation of the Buddha will not be scattered; (3) it eliminates sleepiness; (4) it brings courage and energy; (5) it pleases all the devas; (6) it scares away demons; (7) your voice will stir the ten directions; (8) it eliminates suffering; (9) all *samādhis* appear before you; (10) rebirth is attained in the Pure Land.” Despite the suggestion of several scholars that the list of ten merits is a later addition to the *Nantianzhuguo Putidamo chanshi guanmen*, Tanaka (1965: 133 = 1983: 224, and see 1980: 228) points out its near ubiquity in the manuscripts. As Tanaka and Zheng (2012: 534) detail, Japanese scholars since the time of Yabuki Keiki (1933: 541 [not seen]) have discussed the relation between Buddha name recitation (*nianfo*) and Chan, the subject of Sharf's paper, although Sharf does not refer to these discussions or this literature. See also the next note.

大聲念佛得十種功德。一者，不聞惡聲。二者，念佛不散。三者，排去睡眠。四者，勇猛精進。五者，諸天歡喜。六者，魔軍怖畏。七者，聲振十方。八者，三途息苦。九者，三昧現前。十者，往生淨土。

Here we see that the order of the items is quite different from that in our text (using the numbers of our text, we could say that here the items run 5, 6, 1, 7, 8, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10), and the wording here and there is significantly different as well, both arguing against a direct identification of this as the source of the Tibetan version. However, what is most interesting about this text is not only that it is found in Dunhuang in Chinese, but that the Chinese text is also found in Tibetan transcription, highlighting its presence in a community which, while adhering to Chinese forms of Buddhism, nevertheless felt more comfortable in Tibetan script than in Chinese.¹⁸

One final question must be addressed. Some texts—but none that can be dated before the Song dynasty, so far as is known (according to Kaneko)—contain a passage attributing the list to a sūtra, as follows:¹⁹

業報差別經云：高聲念佛誦經，有十種功德。一，能排睡眠。二，天魔驚怖。三，聲遍十方。四，三塗息苦。五，外聲不入。六，令心不散。七，勇猛精進。八，諸佛歡喜。九，三昧現前。十，生於淨土。

This list, we observe, is precisely the list with which we began. But what of its putative source, the *Yebao chabie jing* 業報差別經? There exists, in fact, a sūtra titled *Fo wei shoujia zhangzhe shuo yebao chabie jing* 佛為首迦長者說業報差別經 (T. 80), apparently translated during the Sui dynasty, which contains a number of lists of ten virtues to be gained from various practices. However, recitation of the Buddha's name, or mindfulness of the Buddha, is not included in the text, at least as we have it now. The absence of any reference to this text in works dating from before the Song convinced Kaneko that this attribution belongs to the late Tang, at the earliest.

In the end, then, based on the evidence available at present, it seems almost certain that the text contained in IOL Tib J 724 reflects the Chinese list contained in the Smaller *Sukhāvāṭīvyūha* commentary titled *Amituojing tongzan shu*. Whether this was the proximate source, or there was some still-undiscovered intermediary, is not known, but that this text, or something very much like it, was the source does seem to be clear. Why this list should have been abstracted from its context and translated into Tibetan remains unknown. To say that it played some role in practice in Dunhuang is not wrong, but also not, in and of itself, terribly informative. I see, at this point, no reason to assume some association with “Pure Land” practice in any sort of exclusivistic sense. In terms of its context, however, the presence of the list in Chan literature is interesting, and scholars of Chan at Dunhuang, already aware of the list as found in the *Nantianzhuguo Putidamo chanshi guanmen*, may now wish to examine other Chan-related Tibetan materials for possible additional evidence, which might contribute to sketching a larger and more contextualized picture.

18. Pelliot tibétain 1228, transcribed in Takata 1988: 287, lines 25–29 (see 31–32 for a brief discussion) and in the so-called “Long Scroll,” IOL Tib J 1772 (Ch. 9.II.17), edited by Takata (1993: 373), in the text lines 113–17. On the phonology, see also Ikeda 1989. Virtually none of the very important and highly relevant materials referred to in this and the previous note are mentioned in the recent catalogue of van Schaik 2014: 78 (item 41).

19. The earliest example, according to Kaneko 1976: 220, is found in the *Wanshan tonggui ji* 萬善同歸集 of Yanshou 延壽 (904–975), in which we find the passage at T. 2017 (XLVIII) 962b7–11.

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