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THE EARLIEST TEXT OF CH'AN BUDDHISM : THE LONG SCROLL

by

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A Thesis

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迴誰因寫
面家何書
不無不今
相賴送日
看漢錢了

Today the copying is over.

Why haven't you sent me my fee?

Who is that unreliable man?

I turn, but we do not see each other.

(Poem scribbled at the end of Peking 99)

When all is done and said,

In the end thus shall ye find:

He most of all doth bathe in bliss

That hath a quiet mind.

(Lord Vaux Thomas 1510-1566. Quoted by D.T.Suzuki

in his On Indian Mahayana Buddhism, p.112.)

ADDENDA

All references to the official, standard Chinese histories are to the Chung-hua shu-chu edition published in Peking.

CTCTL = Ching-te chuan-teng lu.

LCSTC = Leng-chia shih-tzu chi.

Certain commonly recurring Sanskrit words have no diacritical marks, e.g., dhyana and samadhi. Other Sanskrit words that have appeared in English are not given diacriticals.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

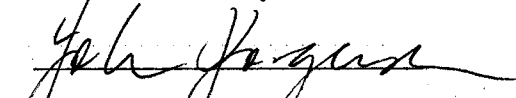
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J. Jorgensen,

2nd of October, 1979.

DECLARATION

This thesis is my own work.


John A. Jorgensen.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- Ajia: Ajia Bukkyōshi, Chūgoku-hen I, Kanminzoku no Bukkyō. Tōdō Kyoshun and Shioiri Ryōdō. Tokyo, 1975.
- Bca: Entering the Path of Enlightenment, Śāntideva's Bodhicaryāvatāra. London, 1970.
- bSamyas (Houston): Houston, Gary W., Sources for a History of the bSamyas Debate. Indian University. Ph.D., 1976.
- Ch'en: Ch'en, Kenneth K., Buddhism in China. A Historical Survey. Princeton U.P., 1972.
- Chin-kang ching (Iwanami): Nakamura Hajime and Kino Kazuyoshi, Hannyashinkyō. Kongohannyakyō. Iwanami Bunko, Tokyo, 1960.
- 'Chu Tao-sheng...' (Liebenthal): Liebenthal, Walter, 'The World Conception of Chu Tao-sheng', Monumenta Nipponica XII, 1956.
- Chūgoku no Rekishi III: Okazaki Takashi, Chūgoku no Rekishi III, GiShin Nanbokucho no sekai. Tokyo, 1977.
- Daizōkyō kōza V: Ono Hodo, Daizōkyō kōza V; Nehankyō, Yuikyō, Bonmokyō kōgi. Tokyo, 1933.
- Fan: Fan Hsiang-yung, Lo-yang chia-lan chi chiao-chu. Shanghai, 1958.
- Goroku I: Yanagida Seizan, Zen no Goroku I, Daruma no Goroku. Tokyo, 1969.
- Goroku II: Yanagida Seizan, Zen no Goroku II, Shoki no Zenshi I. Tokyo, 1971
- Goroku III: Yanagida Seizan, Zen no Goroku III, Shoki no Zenshi II. Tokyo, 1976.
- Goroku VIII: Iriya Yoshitaka, Zen no Goroku VIII. Tokyo, 1969.
- HKSC: Tao-hsuan, Hsu Kao-seng chuan in Taisho 50.
- Hokugi: Hokugi Bukkyo no kenkyū, edited by Ocho Enichi. Kyoto, 1970.
- 'Hui-chiao' (Wright): 'Biography and Hagiography, Hui-chiao's "Lives of Eminent Monks"' in Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun Kagaku Kenkyusyo, 1954.
- Kamata I: Kamata Shigeo, Chūgoku Keron shisōshi no kenkyū I. Tokyo, 1965.
- KSC: Hui-chiao, Kao-seng chuan in Taisho 50.
- The Lion's Roar, (Wayman): Wayman, Alex and Hideko, The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā. Columbia U.P., 1974.
- Lotus: Saddharmapundarika Sūtra.
- LS: Suzuki, D.T., The Lankavatara Sutra. London, 1932.

Lanka: Lankāvatāra Sūtra.

Large Wisdom (Conze): Conze, Edward, The Large Sūtra on Perfect Wisdom. London, 1961.

Luk, Vkn: Luk, Charles, The Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra. Berkely, 1972.

LYCLC: Yang Hsuan-chih, Lo-yang chia-lan chi in Taisho 51.

MBT II: Tucci, Giuseppe, Minor Buddhist Texts, Part II, S.O.R. IX, 2. Rome, 1958.

Morohashi: Morohashi Tetsuji, Dai Kan-Wa Jiten. Tokyo, 1966.

'New Light' (Liebenthal): Liebenthal, Walter, 'New Light on the Mahāyāna Śraddhotpāda Śāstra', T'oung Pao, XLVI. 1958.

Nirvana: Mahāparinirvāna Sūtra (The Mahayana sutra).

PrajñāP: Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra.

Ratnagotra (Takasaki): Takasaki Jikido, A Study on the Ratnagotravibhāga, S.O.R. XXXVIII. Rome, 1966.

'Ryōga chii' (Yūki): Yūki Reimon, 'Shina Yuishikigakushijō ni okeru Ryōgashi no chii', Shina Bukkyō shigaku I, 1. April 1937.

Sanmai (or Samadhi): Bukkyō ni okeru sanmai-shisō, Nippon Bukkyō Gakkai-hen. Kyoyo, 1976.

Shikan: Shikan no Kenkyū, edited by Sekiguchi Shindai. Tokyo, 1975.

Shiruku-rōdō: Ajia Bukkyōshi, Chūgoku-hen V; Shiruku-rōdō no Shūkyō. Editor in chief, Nakamura Hajime. Tokyo, 1975.

SKSC: Tao-yuan, Sung Kao-seng chuan in Taisho 50.

SL: Suzuki, D.T., Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra. London, 1930.

Suzuki II: Suzuki D.T., Suzuki Daisetsu Zenshū II; Zenshisōshi kenkyū. Tokyo, 1968.

T'ang: T'ang Yung-t'ung, Han Wei Liang-Chin Nan-pei ch'ao Fo-chiao shih. Taipei, 1974 reprint of 1938 edition, with a supplement by Feng Ch'eng-chun.

Ting: Ting Fu-pao, Fo-hsueh Ta-tz'u^{hien}, Taipei, 1969.

Treatise: Hurvitz, L., The Book of Wei. Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism in Yun-kang Caves, suppl. to vol. XVI. This refers to Hurvitz's translation.

Treatise, note: L. Hurvitz's translation of Tsukamoto Zenryū's notes to the above.

Tsukamoto: Tsukamoto Zenryū, Hokucho Bukkyōshi kenkyū (1942) reprinted in Tsukamoto Zenryū chosakushū. Tokyo, 1974.

'Vajrasamadhi' (Liebenthal): Liebenthal, Walter, 'Notes on the Vajrasamadhi'
T'oung Pao XLIV, 1956.

Vkn: Vimalakīrti Sūtra. All references in Chinese are to the Chu Wei-mo chieh ching in Taisho 38, Taisho no. 1775, attributed to Seng-chao. 維摩詰經
 Wen-ts'un 3 (or) 4: Hu Shih, Hu Shih Wen-ts'un. Taipei, 1952.

Yuki Fest: Yūki kyōju soju kinen, Bukkyōshisōshi Ronshū (Essays on the History of Buddhist Thought presented to Prof. Reimon Yuki on his retirement).
 Yuki Festschrift, 1964.

'zenshu izen' (Mizuno): Mizuno Kōgen, 'Zenshū seiritsu izen no zenjō shisō jōsetsu', Komazawa Daigaku Kenkyū kiyō XV, 1957.

ZSS: Yanagida Seizan, Shoki Zenshū shishō no kenkyū. Kyoto, 1967.

CONVENTIONS

T. plus a number refers to the Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō 大正新脩大藏經 volume number and page number. The text is either given its name or an abbreviation for it before the quotation, and the volume and page number usually follows the quotation.

Y. plus a page number in the translation of the Long Scroll refers to the page number in Yanagida Seizan, Zen no Goroku I, Daruma no Goroku. Y.n.p. indicates the note to Yanagida's translation given on that page.

IBK indicates the Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū.

Roman numerals alone in the text indicate the paragraph or section of the Long Scroll as divided by Yanagida Seizan. I have followed his division rather than D.T. Suzuki's, which are all too short.

Note that there are two transcriptions of Tibetan. I have followed the one that uses no diacritical marks. However, when quoting from Tucci's MBT II, I have kept his system. Moreover, in quotes from the MBT II, I have removed his / which indicate the punctuation of the Tibetan text, and I have added capitals at the beginning of the sentences.

Introduction.

This thesis aims to present a translation of the work that is usually considered to be the oldest source for Chinese Ch'an. I have titled it the Long Scroll rather than the Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun or Ta-mo lun because these latter titles are confusing and ill-defined. Long Scroll is a translation of the name Suzuki Daisetsu gave it.¹ This name is the most appropriate for we do not know what its original title was. Moreover, a complete copy of it has not been found or identified.

There is a work that is sometimes said to be older than the Long Scroll as a source of Ch'an. Sekiguchi Shindai has tried to prove that the Ta-mo ch'an-shi lun was a work by Bodhidharma.² However, Nakagawa Taka has put forward a more plausible argument that this work was written by Tao-hsin or a member of his group.³ The Ta-mo ch'an shih lun was probably the first Ch'an book of precepts or Vinaya, and in my opinion was for beginners, whereas the Long Scroll was for 'qualified Buddhists'.⁴

Other authors have asserted that the 'wall-contemplation' and 'entry via Principle' that is unique to the theory attributed to Bodhidharma in the Long Scroll had its origin in the Chin-kang san-mei ching.⁵ However, Mizuno

1) I.e., 長卷子, Suzuki II, p.108.

2) Darumadaishi no kenkyū, chapter 2. A copy of this text is dated 681.

3) 'Darumazenjiron no shisō oyobi nendai ni tsuite' in Tōhoku Yakka Daigaku kiyō VI (Nov., 1959), p.110 f. The original title of the text may have been P'u-sa hsieh-fa 菩薩戒法 rather than 達磨禪師論.

4) Paragraph II. Cf. the Ch'an-shih lun on the Pure Land (Darumadaishi no kenkyū, p.464) and Tao-hsin's assertion on the same subject (Suzuki II, p.262). Compare these with XVII.

5) E.g., Suzuki II, p.70. 金剛三昧經.

Kōgen has shown that the sutra is a forgery that was written between 649 and 665A.D.⁶ The chapter of the Chin-kang san-mei ching in which 'wall-contemplation' appears also has terms created by Tao-hsin and Hung-jen, so it was probably written to give a scriptural basis for the theories preached by all the earlier Ch'an patriarchs.

Therefore it is my opinion that the Long Scroll is definitely the oldest Ch'an text in existence. It has been long forgotten, and only attracted the attention of a modern scholar for the first time in 1935, when D.T.Suzuki discovered a manuscript of it that had been unearthed at Tun-huang. He found that the first half of it corresponded to the Erh-ju chung that is in the Korean collection, the Ch'an-men ts'o-yao. In 1936 he published the first edition of the Long Scroll. This was accompanied by background information and some comments on the contents.⁷ It was revised with the aid of another manuscript, Stein 2715, and was printed in the Zenshisōshi-kenkyū II in 1951.⁸ In 1965 Tanaka Ryōshō discovered three fragments of Tun-huang manuscripts that corresponded to parts of the Long Scroll that had been identified by Suzuki.⁹

The first and only translation to date of the Long Scroll was done into modern Japanese by Yanagida Seizan in 1969.¹⁰ This edition was made from all of the afore-mentioned texts. This work is invaluable, for Yanagida has

6) 'Bodaidaruma no Ninyūshigyōsetsu to Kongōsanmaikyō' in KDKK XIII (March 1955) pp. 40 ff.

7) Shoshitsu isho oyobi (sono) kaisetsu 少室遺書及解説, Ataka Bukkyō Bunko, limited edition.

8) This was revised and reprinted as Suzuki Daisetsu Zenshū II (Abbreviated in the thesis to Suzuki II).

9) I.e., Stein 3375, Pelliot 3018 and 4634. Announced in 'Shigyōronchōkenshi to Bodaidarumaron' in IBK 14-1 (1965).

10) Zen no Goroku I, Daruma no Goroku.

identified many of the quotes from sutras contained in the Long Scroll and has provided some background information on terms that are difficult to understand or whose meaning can only be guessed at.

In 1971 Yanagida identified a continuation of the above manuscripts, Pelliot 2923.¹¹ Since then two other Tun-huang manuscripts, Stein 7519 and Pelliot 4795, have been identified as part of the Long Scroll.

It was not realized for some time that parts of the Long Scroll existed in Tibetan translations. In 1958 Giuseppe Tucci published a translation of part of the bKah-thang sde-lnga as source material for a history of the bSamyas debate, in which Chinese Ch'an was pitted against a branch of the Indian Madhyamika. Although Tucci realized that it contained translations from the Chinese, he did not perceive that the Long Scroll was involved.¹²

In 1968 Ueyama Daishun discovered that there was a Tibetan translation of the Leng-chia shih-tzu chi which quotes paragraph II of the Long Scroll.¹³ However, it was not until 1974 that Obata Hironobu identified parts of the bKah-thang sde-lnga and Pelliot tib. 116 as translations of the Long Scroll.¹⁴ In 1975 it was found that paragraph II of the Long Scroll existed in the rNal-hbyor mig-gi bsam-gtan.¹⁵ In March 1976, Okimoto Katsumi discovered that the bSam-gtan mig-sgron contained much of the Long Scroll, and he published part of it along with the corresponding Chinese text.¹⁶

As a seminal text, the Long Scroll contains quite a number of passages and

11) "Hokushūzen no ichi shiryō" in IBK, XXXVIII (1971) p.616. Cf. Tanaka Ryōshō, 'Shigyōronchōkenshi zatsuroku no ichi ihon' in Shūgaku kenkyū XIII p.36.

12) In Minor Buddhist Texts, Part II, S.O.R.

13) 'Chibettōyaku Ryōgashijiki ni tsuite' in Bukkyō bunken no kenkyū.

14) 'Chibetto no Zenshū to Rekidaihōbōki' in Zenbunkakenkyūsho-kiyō VI (1974).

15) This was announced in Okimoto Katsumi's 'bSamyas no shūron (ichi)-Pelliot 116 ni tsuite' in Report of the Japanese Association for Tibetan Studies XXI (March 1975). Cf. Obata, 'Chibettoden Bodaidarumazenjikō' in IBK, XLVII (Dec., 1975), p.229.

16) 'Chibettōyaku Ninyūshigyōron ni tsuite' in IBK, XLVIII, (March 1976).

and terms that are difficult to understand. This difficulty is compounded by the fact that it was neglected or forgotten in the latter course of Ch'an history. For a number of these terms dictionaries of Buddhist terminology are of little use. The value of Yanagida's translation and the rarity of some of the terms can be seen when one looks at Nakamura Hajime's Bukkyōgo Daijiten, where for some terms, especially those that appear in the Long Scroll II and III, he quotes Yanagida's translation and cites the Long Scroll as the only example of their use.¹⁷

Although the Long Scroll draws on Buddhist canonical works, it often uses the terms derived from them in a somewhat different sense. For example, the term 如法 which occurs in many sutras meaning "according to the Dharma"¹⁸ does not seem to mean this in the Long Scroll. However, there is a rare meaning of it that Seng-chao alludes to in his commentary to the Vimalakīrti Sūtra;

In one meaning the phenomena 'flowers' scattered on the body should fall.

(As they) do not fall they are not the phenomena 'flowers'.¹⁹

Therefore I have translated it as 'phenomena as they are', rather than 'in accordance with the Dharma'. In other cases the Long Scroll plays on the literal translations and transliterations of Sanskrit into Chinese (X).

Since the Long Scroll is a native Chinese product, one cannot rely on a Sanskrit original for help, nor can one retranslate Chinese translations of Sanskrit back into Sanskrit in the way de la Vallée Poussin has done in his Vijñaptimātratā Siddhi. For example, in LXX, 實際 cannot be rendered by bhūtakoti. It must be rendered as the "limit of reality", for "where the eyes
see

17) E.g. 定境心王, or 深趣, 壁觀.

18) Cf., Ting, p.1092b.

19) T.38,387a.

that is the limit of reality." Although the Tibetan translations are sometimes helpful, because they were translated in a formative period of the Tibetan language, the meaning is not always clear.²⁰ Without the benefit of the Chinese text, even such a great authority on Tibetan as Tucci occasionally misunderstands the translation.²¹

Occasionally I have also found it necessary to emend or choose between the editions, even though I have not had access to copies of the manuscripts.²² For all the above reasons the translation has many footnotes. I have translated many of Yanagida's footnotes and have added some of my own where I think they will clarify the meaning of the text.

It is these difficulties that have prompted me to add the background chapters. For example, the discussion of the term 'wall-contemplation' and its Tibetan translation leads into a discussion of what form of Buddhism influenced the Long Scroll. This takes up much of chapter four. Very little has been written about the Buddhism of the Long Scroll. Probably the most extensive comments were those by Yanagida Seizan in the introduction to his translation, where in several paragraphs he links it in particular with the thought of Seng-chao.²³ Since this opinion conflicts with that of D.T.Suzuki and Ui Hakuju, who thought that the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra was a major influence on the Long Scroll, I have discussed these streams of Buddhist thought in chapters two and four. I tend towards the latter view, although this is

20) Cf. Ueyama Daishun, 'Chibettoyaku Ryōgashijiki ni tsuite', pp.199 ff.

21) For example, the Chinese LXIX has a discussion of the six senses, and the Tibetan (MBT. II, p.74) has the word tshogs-drug, which Tucci has taken to mean the "six accumulations" or "niyatipāta", rather than its other meaning of "six kinds of perception". Cf. Jäschke, Tibetan English Dictionary, p.452.

22) E.g., XLVIII. See Appendix III.

23) Goroku I, pp.12-14.

really only a question of emphasis. I have decided in favour of the Lanka or Cittamātra proposition mostly because of the way I understand the words 意, 識, and 識, and because this was a hotly debated topic during the late Northern Wei period.²⁴

I have added two lengthy chapters on the historical background of Buddhism in fifth and sixth century China because it is necessary to understand the environment in which the Long Scroll was written. Moreover, the Buddhism of the late Nan-pei ch'ao period has been largely neglected by Western scholars, and the most comprehensive surveys of the period in Asian languages are fairly old.²⁵ The most detailed published survey of the immediate background with reference to early Ch'an is Yanagida's 'Daruma Zen to sono haikai.'²⁶

Chapter three is an attempt to identify and describe the people connected with the Long Scroll. I have presented all the relevant biographies from the Hsu Kao-seng chuan in their entirety because they are very difficult to understand, and have not been fully translated into any modern language.

I have added some appendices on various problems concerning the texts, and I have attempted to date it and find out who compiled it. I have added an appendix on the Tibetan translations, the background to them and what that tells us about the Long Scroll. Finally, I have tried to identify the origin or nationality of Bodhidharma, a problem that has been obscured by centuries of legends.

Because of the difficulty and obscurity of the source material, and the

24) See chapter two.

25) I.e., T'ang Yung-t'ung, Han Wei Liang-Chin Nan-pei ch'ao Fo-chiao shih (1939), and Tsukamoto Zenryū, Hokuchō Bukkyōshi kenkyū, (1942).

26) This article is in Hokugi Bukkyō no kenkyū, ed. Ocho Enichi (1970) pp. 115-117.

complicated nature of the philosophical problems, many of my conclusions are tentative. However, several things are very clear. The first is that the Long Scroll was very influential in the development of Ch'an Buddhism, having many features of the later classical Ch'an. Secondly, the Long Scroll demonstrates the importance of scriptural knowledge for the philosophy of Ch'an. Although the most distinctive feature of the teachings in the Long Scroll was its unique concept of meditation, this does not mean that it neglected Buddhist philosophy. As Bodhidharma implies in II, one must first of all believe in the Buddhist principles. This was a cardinal rule of Buddhism. As Tao-hsuan says in his Essay on the Contemplatives;

If one acts, follow the precepts. If one practises meditation 靜, one (must) not forget the preceding wisdom.²⁷

Therefore Ch'an is not merely meditation alone, for it has as its premise a purely Buddhist philosophy. Hopefully, a complete text of the Long Scroll will be discovered, and further studies will uncover more of the scriptural sources for it, for in my opinion the Long Scroll provides the most useful basis for the study of the Ch'an Buddhism that developed from it.

27) T.50,597b.

Notes on the Translation.

Because of the difficulty of some of the terms in the Long Scroll, I have occasionally translated them in a somewhat arbitrary fashion.

Even standard Buddhist terms are difficult enough to translate. For example, I have adopted 'phenomena' for 法 or dharmas, for in the philosophy of perception, with which the Long Scroll is largely concerned, the significance of sense data (境 in the Long Scroll) is in how they are perceived. The Nirvana Sutra says;

All created phenomena are of two types; material phenomena and immaterial phenomena. Immaterial phenomena are the mind and the mind discriminated phenomena. Material phenomena are earth, water, fire and wind.¹

Thus in the Long Scroll phenomena has as its antonym 如法, 'phenomena as they (truly) are'. However, in other places the word 法 is ambiguous.²

Other terms such as 事 have many meanings. It is sometimes a translation of artha or vastu, an object or meaning. Sometimes it means sense datum or viṣaya. 事 is the opposite of 理, which I have translated as 'Principle'.³ 事 is an object, an 'event' made up of the changing phenomena.⁴

In addition there are words whose meanings are unclear.⁵ There are also words that appear to have a similar meaning, but may not be exactly the same.⁶

1) T.12,445c.

2) E.g., XVII, 依法 can mean either to "rely on the Dharma" or "rely on phenomena."

3) In Essays in Zen Buddhism, First Series, p.180 f., Suzuki translated 理 as "reason".

4) Cf. SL p.437.

5) For example, 浪宕針花 of XXX, or 規域外, "outside the sphere of conventions" in XX, or 規鈍心, "the mind conventionally (thought) dull" in XXI.

6) For example in XXIX we have 性, "nature", 體 "substance" or "substratum", and 體性 "essence".

In any case, I hope that the following table of antonyms will help explain the most common terms in the translation.

Primal truth. 第一義諦

Nirvana 涅槃

phenomena as they are. 如法.
(Buddha phenomena). 佛法

Principle 理

non-appearance 無相

not resting 無住

Mind as it is 如心

No-mind 無心

quiescence 寂滅

saint 聖

Aware 覺

worldly truth. 俗諦

birth and death. 生死

phenomena 法

events or objects. 事

appearance. 相

resting 住

mind (manas and vijñanas) 心 (意, 識).

mentation 有心

arisa and cessation 生滅

ordinary people 凡夫

stupid 愚

Chapter 1, The Political and Social Background.

The following is an outline of the history of the period from just before the arrival of the first patriarch of Ch'an, Bodhidharma, in the 470's until the times of Hui-k'o and his pupils, the people who probably compiled the Long Scroll, (i.e., the period from 580 to 600A.D.).

Part 1, The Asian World.

The period of the first two patriarchs of Ch'an, Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o, 450A.D. until 600A.D., was a very turbulent one in Asia. A seemingly never-ending series of civil wars and invasions however, still could not totally eclipse brilliant developments in thought and the arts which left a legacy, a basis for the cultural and political resurgence of later ages.

The Hsien-pi (Turkish?) Tabghatch (T'o-pa) dynasty of Northern Wei (386-534) had re-united most of North China by 439, moulding the earlier barbarian invaders and the native population into a state strong enough to prevent further invasions from the Mongolian steppes that were threatened by the Juan-juan.

The T'o-pa persecuted Buddhism between 446 and 452, probably because Emperor Wu (r.424-452) was persuaded by the Taoists and Confucians that the religion was undermining his military strength. After Buddhism was restored, the T'o-pa maintained their relatively peaceful and powerful empire until the late 520's, when a series of revolts and disturbances led to the division of North China into two warring states under Hsien-pi barbarian (in both senses of the word) rulers. This weakness and resultant division was partly due to the drain on the resources of the State by the great expansion of the Buddhist Church, and partly also due to the growing weakness of the once war-like nomadic Tabghatch.¹

In 534, after a decade of uprisings and civil wars, the Northern Wei was

1) R.Grousset, The Rise and Splendour of the Chinese Empire, pp.111-114 and The Empire of the Steppes pp.61-66.

divided into Eastern Wei (534-550, capital at Yeh), and Western Wei (534-557, capital at Ch'ang-an). But the emperors, descendants of the Northern Wei house, were only the puppets of the real rulers, the Kao family in the East and the Yü-wen family in the West. When the strongmen of these families tired of their puppets, they established their own dynasties, the Northern Ch'i (550-577) and the Northern Chou (557-581).

The Northern Chou under Emperor Wu, using policies similar to those of the first unifiers of China, the Ch'in, finally reunited North China in 577 after a protracted war. Emperor Wu's policy was to strengthen the army by increasing the population of the state, and to augment its finances by promoting agriculture. To create such a spartan regime, in 574, he had to proscribe the Buddhist Church, with all its wealth and presumably celibate monks.² But with the death of Emperor Wu in 578, real power fell into the hands of a triumvirate, of which the Chinese Yang Chien was the *primus inter pares*. In 581, Yang founded his own dynasty, the Sui, and he completed the reunification of China in 589.³

During the same period, South China, in contrast, was ruled by a series of relatively short-lived, weak dynasties, the ruling families of which were strife ridden and continually engaged in inter-familial murders.⁴ The reasons for this instability seems to have been the almost autonomous power that regional groups could attain. Since none of these groups could completely dominate the others, there resulted what could best be described as a series of civil wars. The only periods of even comparative peace in the South appear to have been under the Liu Sung Emperor Wen (the Yuan-chia era 元嘉 424-453) and under Emperor Wu of Liang (r. 502-549).⁵

2) Ajia p.118, Tsukamoto p.620.

3) L.Hurvitz, 'Chih-i' in Melanges Chinois et Bouddhiques (1962), p.127, nb.1; Tsukamoto, p.644.

4) Grousset, The Rise and Splendour... p.108 f.

5) Chugoku no Rekishi III, p.87.

With the death of the Buddhist Emperor Wu of Liang in 549 at the hands of the rebel Hou Ching, this last period of calm ended. In 544, the northern states attacked and set up puppet states⁶, and in 577 these puppet states were overthrown by an ex-Liang general, Ch'en Pa-hsien, who founded the Ch'en dynasty (557-589).⁷

The South appears to have been far less dynamic than the North. Social stratification and conservatism dominated the South. Corruption was widespread.⁸ The Southern gentry who had fled from the North considered themselves in exile, and they tried to emphasise their Chineseness in order to distance themselves from the 'barbarian' North and the indigenous Southerners. This conservatism prevailed in their Buddhism, which was more influenced by Taoism than in the North. They also kept more to writing commentaries and placed more emphasis on making their translations and writings conform to a purely Chinese upper class literary style.⁹

Meanwhile, Buddhist North China was increasingly cut off from the older centres of Buddhism in India. Between 439 and ca. 500A.D. we only have records of two important foreign monks coming to North China.¹⁰ Some Indians arrived in South China, but of them only Bodhidharma seems to have left to come to the North.

The Iranian empire in the west was no longer a source of Buddhist missionaries as it had been under the Arsacids (Parthians). Monks from Iran had played a very important role in the proselytization of Buddhism in China. The Sassanians who came to power in 224A.D. were not as sympathetic to foreign religions as the Arsacids had been, for their ancestors had been the

6) A.Dien, Biography of Yen Chih-t'ui p.11.

7) Cf. Dien, op.cit., pp.7-12; Chugoku no Rekishi II, pp.87 ff.

8) E.Balazs, Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy, p.259.

9) Ch'en, Buddhism in China p.122.

10) Chi-chia-yeh (T'ang, Feng supplement, p.37) and Fo-ta (T.50, 551a-b).

guardians of the temple of the fire of Anahita.¹¹ They often persecuted foreign religions.¹² Thus by the time of Hsuan-tsang who was on his travels between 629 and 645, there were reportedly only two or three Buddhist temples in the capital Ctesiphon¹³, which was said in the Wei-shu to have had a population of over 100,000 households.¹⁴ The Sassanian Empire was very powerful, with vast armies, an immensely wealthy court, and a stratified, caste society.¹⁵ However, a new barbarian horde on their eastern marches became very strong, aiding the Sassanian Emperor Peroz (r.459-484) to take the throne. However, he soon fell out with the monarch of this horde, the Hephthalites, and war flared.¹⁶ Sapped by successive years of famines and religious disputes, the country was so weakened that Peroz himself was taken prisoner.¹⁷ Released, Peroz ill-advisedly attacked the Hephthalites again, and so lost his life in 484. Now the Hephthalites were masters of Iran, demanding heavy tribute and even placing their hostage, Peroz's son, Kavad I, on the throne in 488. It was only sometime between 503 and 513 that Kavad was able to regain enough power to beat back the Hephthalites.¹⁹ Thus the way was open for a renaissance, a last flourishing of Sassanian power and civilization under the leadership of Kavad's son, Khusrau I (531-579).²⁰

11) R.Ghirshman, Iran, pp.290 and 314; Wei-shu, p.2271

12) Iran, p.315 ff.

13) Ta-T'ang Hsi-yu chi, (T.51,938a).

14) Wei-shu, p.2270.

15) Iran, pp.302,309-314.

16) U.Thakur, The Hunas in India, p.29. Hereafter, Hunas.

17) Iran, p.300.

18) Ibid., p.301. Cf. P.Sykes, A History of Persia p.438 f.

19) Sykes, op.cit., p.443.

20) Also known as Chosroes I (r.531-579). Cf. Iran, p.340.

The Hephthalites appear to have originated as the western vassals of the Juan-juan. They expanded westwards, crossing the Oxus in the 420's²¹, and occupying Bactria and Transoxiana in the 440's, pushing the earlier occupants, the Kidarites of Little Kushans south towards Gandhara.²² The Hephthalites then occupied parts of the Sassanian Empire.²³ However, the vast Sassanian Empire was ultimately too strong, and the Hephthalites could only make use of the opportunities provided by internal strife to attack, and could never hope to do more than make raids and occupy some of its outposts. So the Hephthalites turned their cavalry southwards and ousted the Kidarites and others from the Gandhara-Kapiśa-Taxila region in the late 450's, and then continued right on to the plains of India and attacked the Gupta Empire in the beginning of the reign of Skandhagupta (ca.455-470) who defeated them.²⁴

The second attack-wave against the Guptas was led by Toramaṇa, the viceroy of Gandhara.²⁵ The Guptas seem to have been weakened by a partition of their empire not many years earlier.²⁶ The Hunas, as they were known to the Indians, soon took much of western India.²⁷ According to Upendra Thakur, Toramaṇa drove his attack as far east as Kāśī (Varanasi), where he died in 515.²⁸

His son Mihirakula (ca.515-556) succeeded him. In the 530's Mihirakula

21) Hunas, p.27. Cf. Iran, p.297 which says their appearance in the region was much earlier.

22) Grousset, Steppes, pp.67 and 69. K.Enoki, 'On the Nationality of the Epthalites' in Toyo Bunko VII, (1935) p.18.

23) Steppes, p.68.

24) Sung Yun who was in Gandhara in 520 says that the Hephthalites had taken it two generations earlier, ca.460A.D. Grousset (Steppes p.68 f.) and Thakur (Hunas pp.31 and 64) say that the invasion of India was before 460A.D.

25) I.e., the 'tegin'. Cf. Fan Hsiang-yung, Lo-yang chia-lan chi chiao-chu, p.324. Hereafter, Fan.

26) Steppes, p.70.

27) Hunas, p.93.

28) Ibid., p.122.

persecuted both Buddhists and Jains in his kingdom.²⁹ According to the Buddhist pilgrim Sung Yun, in the 520's he was fighting the ruler of Kashmir. In the 530's he was finally driven out of India by Yaśodharman, a man who had built a new kingdom out of the western Gupta territories, and was pushed back to Kashmir, losing those parts of India proper that his father had gained.³⁰

It seems that the Bactrian Hephthalites were non-Buddhist nomads, for Sung Yun describes them as "illiterate.... They do not believe in the Buddha-dharma, serving many foreign gods, and killing (animals) and drinking their fresh blood."³¹ Therefore, Toramana was probably the only Hephthalite ruler even tolerant of Buddhism, and Mihirakula was more typical of his fellows. The Hephthalites were thus the main obstacle to the intercourse of North China with the Buddhist homeland in India, and with the Sassanians.

The defeat by Kavad I in the first decade of the sixth century probably helped open up the land route to North China. In 546 the T'u-chueh chief, Bumin (T'u-men), allied himself with the Western Wei, and this alliance smashed the Juan-juan in 552. The T'u-chueh then allied themselves with Khusrau, and together ousted the Hephthalites from Bactria ca.565.³²

In North India the Guptas arose in 320, and under the reign of Candragupta II (ca.376-415), all of North India was united. This reign has been described as "the high watermark of ancient Indian culture."³³ With the death of the preserver of the Empire, Skandhagupta (ca.455-470), however, this long era of relative peace and security ended, and "to the west of Vārāṇasī the Gupta

29) Ibid., pp.151 and 156.

30) Ibid., p.137.

31) LYCLC, (T.51,1019b-c).

32) Steppes, pp.80 ff.; Iran p.305.

33) A.Basham, The Wonder that was India, p.66. This Empire and reign was the one described by the Buddhist pilgrim Fa-hsien.

emperors now exercised little more than titular control."³⁴ The Hephthalites contributed to the downfall of the empire (ca.550) and North India was not reunited until the time of Harsha, the beginning of the seventh century.

The south of India, the Deccan, was divided among a number of kingdoms. In the north-west the Vākātakas were the main power, but were extinguished in the 550's by the Hephthalite invaders and divisive local forces. To the south of the Vākātakas on the Malabar coast were the Kadambas, and in the east along the Coromandel coast were the strongest and longest-lived state in the Deccan, that of the Pallavas.³⁵ The Pallavas were renowned for their individual style of architecture and their cultural and commercial influence on South-east Asia. It is from Kanci, their capital and a major centre of Buddhist studies, that I suggest that Bodhidharma, the founding father of what was to become Ch'an Buddhism, came to North China.

34) Ibid., p.68.

35) Ibid., p.76. Cf. the genealogical tables in D.Sircar, The Successors of the Satavahanas in Lower Deccan, pp.391 ff., and K.Takakuwa, A Study of the South-eastern Countries of India, pp.404 ff., esp. p.419.

Part 2, Socio-Economic Aspects of Buddhism, 450-600A.D.

The period between 450 and 600A.D. is one of the most important in the history of Chinese Buddhism. This period is really the beginning of the Buddhism of the masses and of the state. Although the Sangha was fairly large (estimated at approximately 50,000)¹ during the times of Kumārajīva (344-413), actual knowledge of Buddhism was restricted to a very small elite.² It was in the Northern Wei that Buddhism expanded into a mass religion. There the clergy had grown to more than two million monks and nuns by around 525³, whereas in the South the numbers of the clergy remained fairly static from the time of Kumārajīva until the sponsorship of Emperor Wu of Liang (502-549) induced a considerable expansion in numbers.⁴

This alliance of state power and the Sangha inevitably led to a decline in the morals of the priesthood, with many people becoming monks for reasons other than the religious ones. This of course was no new phenomenon. It was

1) R. Robinson, Early Madhyamika in India and China, p.78; E. Zurcher, The Buddhist Conquest of China, p.255.

2) Zurcher, op.cit., p.8 f.

3) Treatise, p.103 says that many of them "were evading conscripted service."

4) Ch'en, op.cit., p.136 gives the figures for the dynasties as, Eastern Chin (317-420), 24,000 (Cf. Zurcher, p.255); Liu Sung, 36,000; S.Ch'i, 32,500; Liang, 82,700. There is some difficulty in determining the accuracy of these numbers because of the lack of reliable population statistics. According to E. Balazs, Le Traité Économique du Souei-chou, p.310, during the Sui the old southern regions had only 16.8% of the population of the Empire, which had a population of 8,100,000. Thus during the Liang, if the population was about the same as during the Sui, the clergy would have only amounted to approx. 1% of the population. It was said that the N.Chou conscripted 2,000,000 monks into the army, and on taking N.Ch'i laicized 3,000,000 clergy, but I think that this figure included many lay believers and servants (cf. note 113 in this chapter). Even so, as the old northern states area in the Sui census of 609 had a population of 39,000,000, this would have made the percentage of clergy around 5%. Some estimates of Tibet's percentage of clergy before 1951 have been nearer 10%.

known and commented on much earlier in both North and the South.⁵ Although some of these criticisms of the Order were exaggerated because of the Confucian bias of many of the writers⁶, they had a basis in fact, for even Buddhist writers deplored such deviance from Buddhist morality.⁷

As it is North China that was the home of proto-Ch'an, and of the Buddhist Church (as a hierarchical organisation rather than an unstructured community), this account will concentrate on the Northern Wei, with only occasional comparisons being made with the southern states.

The aftermath of the Northern Wei persecution of Buddhism (446-452) was probably the most crucial factor in the development of the Buddhist Church and the style of mass Buddhism.

The T'o-pa royal house wished to placate the Buddhists by trying to make amends for, and perhaps in the process even assuage their own feelings of guilt about, the persecution of Buddhism.⁸ At first they made rather lame excuses that decrees of proscription had been misinterpreted⁹, and soon after the death of Emperor Wu (d.452), the new Emperor commissioned a statue of the Buddha that was so cunningly carved that it had pebbles in exactly the same positions as the moles on his own body. Wei Shou records that,

This year the officials were commanded by Imperial edict to have made a stone the likeness of the Emperor's person. When it was finished, on both the face and the soles of the feet were black pebbles, which mysteriously resembled the moles on the upper and lower parts of the Emperor's body. Those who discussed this thought that it was in response to his purity and sincerity.¹⁰

5) Zurcher, op.cit., pp.256-264.

6) Cf. Balazs, Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy, p.256.

7) Tsukamoto, pp.102 and 544 on Tao-hsuan. Cf. Tao-hsuan decrying the tendency to belittle Vinaya as only for Hinayana followers (T.40, 49b-c).

8) For example, the attempt by the crown prince Huang to ameliorate the persecution, (Treatise, p.68 f.).

9) Ch'en, op.cit., p.151.

10) Treatise, p.71. Cf. Ch'en, p.152.

This, I suspect, rather than being a co-incidence, was a clever piece of propaganda designed to remind the populace of what had been said of an earlier Emperor, T'ai-tsung (r.409-424), by Fa-kuo;

T'ai-tsu is enlightened and loves the Way. He is in his very person the Thus-Having Come-One (Tathagata)....I am not doing obeisance to the Emperor, I am merely worshipping the Buddha.¹¹

Thus "the idea that the reigning Emperor was the vicar of Buddha on earth, or that he was at the very least the patriarch of the Northern Wei clergy"¹² became a dominant feature of Northern Wei Buddhism. This idea was prevalent in the pre 494, P'ing-ch'eng (Yun-kang) period, and faded somewhat in the post 494, Lo-yang (Lung-men) period.¹³

Further sponsorship and control of the Order was initiated by the creation in the Sangha of an administrative system roughly parallel to the lay administration. This led in time to the Sangha-Household and Buddhist-Household systems.¹⁴

The other effect of the aftermath of the persecution is rather more indirect and hidden. The deaths of those responsible for the persecution was seen as the operation of karma. Emperor Wu died in 452 and his heir apparent Huang 晃 died in 451 at the age of 24. Of the other instigators, K'ou Ch'ien-chih died in 448, and Ts'ui Hao and many of his clan, 128 in all, were executed.¹⁵ Ts'ui Hao met with a horrific death in 450.¹⁶ The misfortunes that struck the persecutors were seen by the populace as signs of karmic retribution, and the fear of hell-fire and brimstone was strong thereafter

11) Treatise, p.53; Ch'en, p.152.

12) Treatise, note, p.78.

13) Ch'en, p.178.

14) Ibid., p.152.

15) Ibid., p.150.

16) Treatise, p.67; Tsukamoto, p.70. Ts'ui was placed in a cage, and was urinated on by his guards while being sent to the execution ground. He was probably also tortured, 備五刑 . He was 70 years old.

in Northern Wei Buddhism.¹⁷ People thus felt the need to observe the precepts and even to serve the Order as members of the Sangha-Households or just as servants to the monks.¹⁸ Its effects were so long lasting that even the ex-Southern intellectual of post Northern Wei times, Yen Chih-t'ui (531-591+), thought of karma only in terms of retribution.¹⁹

No doubt both the Buddhist clergy and the State took this opportunity to make the masses observe the precepts. Circa 460A.D., a certain T'an-ching ^{曇景} _靖, who was in the same circle as T'an-yao (by now the Comptroller of the Clergy?), forged a T'i-wei-po-li ching 提謂波利經, possibly with T'an-yao's connivance. This forgery emphasised the observance of the precepts and the horrors of hell if one broke them.

If you do not accept the precepts when you are alive, when you die you will go to hell....a red cord around my wrists, a black cord around my throat...I am taken off to Tung-t'ai Mountain.²⁰

It spoke of the inevitability of one's own sins and good deeds being faithfully recorded and weighed up by the officials of the Underworld.²¹ Moreover, it tried to seduce the common people by linking its theories on the precepts with the five elements theory and other popular native beliefs²² on one hand, while threatening them with hellfire on the other. It certainly was not orthodox Buddhism in Tao-hsuan's eyes, yet he notes that it was popular in Sui times.²³ Whether intentionally written for such an end or not, forgeries of this nature suited the purposes of both the T'o-pa state in creating a more docile and law-abiding populace, and of the Church establishment in attracting more followers.

17) Tsukamoto, pp.70-73.

18) Ibid., p.130.

19) Teng Ssu-yü, Family Instructions for the Yen Clan, p.xxxi.

20) Tsukamoto, p.201. For T'an-ching, *ibid.*, p.196.

21) Ibid., p.207. I.e., 校定罪福，行之高下 ... 覆校三界衆生罪福多少

22) Ibid., p.213.

23) Ibid., p.195. Cf. Tao-hsuan's comment, HKSC, T.50, 428a.

As mentioned earlier, it was the Buddhist Church's parallel system of administration throughout the Empire that made it possible for a dynamic Comptroller of the Clergy, "enjoying the support of the emperor, to utilize the power of the central government to direct and expand the activities of the Buddhist Church."²⁴ The opportunity soon presented itself to the guileful T'an-yao, who in the early 460's had become Comptroller of the Clergy.

Minor gentry were deported to the area of the capital, P'ing-ch'eng, from the conquered cities of Li-ch'eng 歷城 and Liang-tsou 梁鄒 (they had fallen to the Northern Wei when it took this territory from the Liu Sung in the period from 467 to 469). These people were made serfs 平齊民 in the district renamed P'ing-Ch'i commandery 平齊郡.²⁵ These people were reduced to starvation by a series of droughts, and were suffering so much that they were threatening to rebel against the authorities.

T'an-yao memorialized the throne suggesting that an equitable solution would be to place these malcontents, along with other farmers able to give 60 hu (斛 between 2 and 2½ bushels?) of grain to the Church, under the gentler control of the Buddhist clergy.²⁶ This was probably thought to have a two-fold benefit. First it would alleviate the sufferings of the malcontents in particular, and so ameliorate the threat of revolt, while also salving the consciences of some of the P'ing-ch'eng nobility and officials, who, being devout Buddhists, may have felt remorse about causing others suffering.

24) Ch'en, op.cit., p.153.

25) Ibid., p.154. The status of these people is obscure. Cf. TCTC, p.4148 f., and Wei-shu, biog. of Kao Yun 高允, p.1089. Quoted in Tsukamoto, p.103. For Kao Yun cf. Treatise, note 6, p.63. Kao Yun had been a monk in his youth. He had many relatives amongst the prisoners, so he promoted them to positions in that commandery. The common people seem to have been made slaves and the gentry serfs (Wei-shu, p.1119, the biog. of Mu-jung Pai-yao). There was hunger which added to the distress of these people, who became rebellious (Wei-shu, p.630). For a longer account see Tsukamoto, pp.103-108.

26) Treatise, p.73.

Hopefully it would also alleviate the distress of the peasantry in general, for the proposal was that some of the 60 hu of grain that each household had to contribute annually should be used as an emergency stockpile to be given to the peasants in famine years. This grain could also be used to finance the expansion of the Church, especially in its building projects.

This proposal appealed strongly to the holders of the power behind the throne at the time, the Feng family of the Empress Dowager, and to the other leading families such as the Kao.²⁷ The patronage of the Feng family was a crucial factor in pre-Lo-yang Buddhism.²⁸ The memorial was approved and so in a sense the Church became one wing of the state agricultural enterprise that was used for the expansion of agriculture in the still underdeveloped North.²⁹

The proposed system was divided into the Sangha-Households and the Buddha-Households. The Sangha-Householders were more or less the serfs of the Church, and ideally the basis of a Church welfare agency. Each household had to pay the local Church office 60 hu of grain annually, and in return the household was free from government tax and corvee. This contributed to the spread of the Sangha-Households, for, "apparently any number of families might band together to form a Sangha-Household"³⁰ and so gain the protection of the Church.

The Buddha-Households were made up of criminals pardoned on the condition that they obey the Buddhist precepts and become slaves to work in the monasteries and on Church projects. It was no doubt hoped that this would be a far better reformation system than that of the state's prisons. Criminals were probably numerous because of the strict laws of Northern Wei. Criminals often

27) Tsukamoto, p.110 f.; Ch'en, p.153 f.

28) Treatise, note, p.81.

29) Tsukamoto, p.76; Ch'en, p.156.

30) Ch'en, p.157.

converted to Buddhism and served it in order to escape the death penalty. Moreover, the need for productive workers was so great that offenders were often transferred directly into the Buddha-Households.³¹

The development of the Buddha and Sangha-Households resulted in an expansion in the size and wealth of the Church on one hand and concomitant corruption on the other. In the census of 477 there were 77,258 monks and nuns and 6,478 temples in the country, but by 525 there were 2,000,000 clergy and over 30,000 temples in Northern Wei.³²

The corruption in the Church is mostly related to maladministration by monk officials. Although the Sangha grain legally belonged to the state (the Church administration was technically under state control), it was in fact the Church's, for the clergy used it as if it were the private property of the Church.³³ The grain was supposed to be given as relief, as alms, or at least as credit, to the peasants when they were starving in famine years. It could also be lent to the rich during good years and the profits from the interest charged could be used for the construction of Church property.³⁴ In fact, however, some of the monk officials used the system for their own private gain, or lent it to their rich and powerful lay friends. At the same time these officials (one probably had to be from the upper class to get such a post) charged exorbitant interest on the grain supposed to be given as alms to the peasantry. In 511A.D. an edict concerning the Sangha-grain warned the

31) Tsukamoto, p.132 f. Cf. 勿使有留獄久因.

32) Ch'en, p.158; Tsukamoto, p.101; Treatise, p.103 in which the writer laments the resultant corruption, i.e., 僧尼大衆二百萬矣, 流弊不歸一於此, 諸者所以歎息也. Although these numbers appear excessive, both the Wei-shu and the Buddhist sources seem to be in agreement. Cf. Tao-hsuan's Kuang Hung-ming chi, (T.52,374c), and Yen K'o-chun, p.3873a. Liu Ch'ou of N.Ch'i wrote that, "now monks and nuns are over 2,000,000, and together with lay women (believers) approach over 4,000,000." Cf. note 4 in this chapter.

33) Ch'en, p.155 f.

34) Tsukamoto, pp.100 and 121. I.e., 至於饑歲, 賑給饑民.

monks;

The officials coveting grain, schemingly took usurious interest, and, when they came to demand payment, took no heed of flood or drought. At times the interest would exceed the principal, at times they would alter the notes. They have ruined poor and humble people without limit, and the cries and sufferings of the people have increased yearly and monthly.... In future when loans are made, they must first of all be totally for the destitute....The rich are not allowed instant credit, and if they default as before, they risk (committing) excesses, and they shall be punished according to the law.³⁵

In 511, another memorial complained about two monks who were violating Buddhist morality that said a monk should be indifferent to wealth;

Selfish in thought, reckless in feeling, they memorialize for compulsory services, causing crying anguish to fill the streets. More than fifty people have abandoned their children and committed suicide by hanging themselves or drowning.

So corrupt and ineffectual was the administration that one of these two so-called śramaṇas could still become the Comptroller of the Clergy between 512 and 515.³⁶ All the controls and checks on clerical power were unenforceable.³⁷

So lucrative had these posts in the Church become that by 528 monks were actually buying these positions. No wonder Tao-hsuan included virtually none of these office-bearers in his Hsu Kao-seng chuan, which was meant to record the lives of 'Exemplary' rather than 'Eminent' monks.³⁸

Immense quantities of grain must have gone into the Church coffers, for the state felt the need to attempt land-reforms. Of course, it was not only the Church that encroached upon the State's sources of income, the landowning gentry did so too. The land-reform legislation of 485/486A.D. comments that,

35) Treatise, p.87; Tsukamoto, p.121 f.; Ch'en, p.156. I have changed Hurvitz's translation somewhat, especially the latter half.

36) Treatise, p.88. Cf. Yen K'o-chun, pp.3548b and 3545 for Imperial sponsorship of Buddhism.

37) Treatise, p.88. This is in a memorial of 517.

38) Tsukamoto, p.544.

At the beginning of the Wei, most people sought protection. The protected did not do service (corvée), but the rents exacted by the powerful were double the amount of the government tax.³⁹

Moreover, the Sangha-Household system, with all its corruption, was not sufficient for the needs of the peasantry in bad years, so in 488 the government was forced to set up an Agricultural Office, in which 10% of the population of a district were made T'un-min 屯民. These peasants had to pay 60 hu of grain annually, but in addition had to perform corvée and other duties.⁴⁰

Since the Sangha-grain probably made up over half of a Sangha-Household's crop, and since the Church charged exorbitant interest on loans of grain, it was natural that there were peasant uprisings against both the Church and the State. Disaffected gentry and monks, together with the oppressed peasantry and Households, some of whom, it must be remembered, were either Shantung deportees or criminals, often collaborated in rebellions when they suffered from the hardships of famine, excessive corvée demands, incompetent officials and the burden of the extraordinary costs for Buddhist works.⁴¹ These revolts occurred in the worst affected areas, Kansu and Ho-pei, the old strongholds of Buddhism in the pre Northern Wei North, Yen and Northern Liang.⁴²

The most serious rebellion of all, the 'Mahayana Rebellion' of Fa-ch'ing 法慶 in 515, was ironically due partly to an official, Yuan Luan 元鸞 who was overzealous in his support of Buddhism;

In the reign of Emperor Hsuan-wu (500-516) he was governor of Ting-chou (modern Ting prefecture, Hopei). Luan loved and rejoiced in Buddhism. He

39) Balazs, Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy, p.110. The Church probably did likewise.

40) Tsukamoto, p.124. For N. Wei landownership see Balazs, Chinese Civ..., pp.107ff.

41) Tsukamoto, pp.137-8 and 167-8. There were rebellions in 481, 490, 509, 510, 514, 515 and 516-517.

42) Ibid., pp.162-166. I-chou 冀州 (mod. I-hsien) was the most rebellious district in Hopei. Cf. T'ang, p.488.

repaired and erected Buddhist temples. He exhorted and led the people in great construction labours. The public and private expenditure was burdensome and caused people harm.⁴³

Fa-ch'ing called his rebels the 'Mahayana', and his horde of over 50,000 killed monks and nuns, burnt sutras and statues, saying, "The new Buddha has appeared in the world. Abolish the old devils." In this millenarian movement, to kill an enemy was to gain the first stage of Bodhisattvahood, to kill ten enemies was to reach the tenth stage.⁴⁴ This clearly shows a deep hatred of Church establishment, being a wilful distortion of the Buddhist dogmas that had been so shamefully abused by government supported clergy.

In fact, the ruling elites made use of the Vinaya to further their own ends. In 513 the Empress Dowager Ling forbade the ordination of slaves, (this being in accord with the Vinaya), probably in order to keep the Buddha-Householders in their place. In other words, only free men could become monks, and it is likely that only members of the upper classes could rise to high positions in the Church. Exceptions may have been made for thaumaturges and other monks with mass followings.

Although ostensibly to control immorality, another edict (in 472) was really directed at controlling unregistered monks and mendicants, who were probably attracting large followings which the church administration found it impossible to restrain, and who may have been preaching unorthodox brands of Buddhism.

Monks not living in temple dwellings have been drifting through the villages and associating with mischievous persons....One may not harbour unregistered monks.⁴⁵

Immorality was a charge that could be easily used as an excuse by the

43) Ibid., p.129; Pei-shih XVIII; Wei-shu, p.510, 宣武時爲定州刺史, 篤愛樂佛道, 繕起佛寺, 勸率百姓, 大爲土木之勞, 公私費擾頻爲人患.

44) Tsukamoto, p.169.

45) Treatise, p.76.

Administration to 'excommunicate' monks who did not conform to its ways, who were critics or dissenters.

This impression of the status of the Church officialdom seems to be confirmed by Ho Ping-ti's statement that the temples within the walled city of Lo-yang were the exclusive reserve of the ruling classes. Since the Church's central administrative office was within the city walls, a monk official would have been of the upper classes, for "the walled city of Lo-yang was reserved for the use and recreation of the ruling classes."⁴⁶

All these privileges gave the Church immense wealth. Besides the profits and wealth from the Households system, the pious donations of the nobility and the common people, plus the patronage and projects of the Imperial family, added to the glory of the Church. The extent of these donations can be seen in the inscriptions in the Yun-kang and Lung-men cave complexes. The Yun-kang project was initiated by the dynasty as a symbol of their contrition for the persecution, with five statues of the Buddha, one 70 feet high, that were considered to represent the first five emperors of the dynasty.⁴⁷ On the other hand, village Buddhist societies headed by a member of the clergy also had statues carved there. Both the aristocracy and the commoners had such statues dedicated to the Sakya Buddha or Maitreya for similar reasons: for the prosperity of the dynasty and the state, for the spiritual welfare of relatives and ancestors, for the salvation of all creatures, and in thanks for wishes granted.⁴⁸ There was a change in the main object of devotion at Yun-kang, the human Buddha reincarnated as the ruling Emperor, to the superhuman saviour-Buddha at Lung-men.⁴⁹

46) Ho Ping-ti, 'Lo-yang, A.D. 495-534' in Harvard Journal of Oriental Studies, XXVI, (1966), p. 83 f. The office was the Chao-hsuan-ts'ao 昭玄臺. See note 79 in this chapter for my reservations on this statement.

47) Ch'en, op.cit., p. 165 f.

48) Ibid., pp. 168 and 174 ff.

49) Ibid., p. 178.

The zenith of the Church's wealth was at Lo-yang in the period between 500 and 530 A.D.⁵⁰ Its main symbol there was the Yung-ning temple. According to Hattori Katsuhiko, the Yung-ning temple was the home of the spirit of the dynasty, the spirit of Heaven who gave the mandate and so controlled the fortunes of the dynasty.⁵¹ This is further supported by the fact that one of the main temples of P'ing-ch'eng was the Yung-ning⁵², that there was a Yung-ning temple in Lo-yang, and that with the division of the Empire into east and west there was one built in Ch'ang-an by the Northern Chou in 562+.⁵³

When the Emperor Hsiao-wen shifted the capital south to Lo-yang in 494, he planned to limit the number of temples there to two, and of these, only one, the Yung-ning, was to be within the walls of the city.⁵⁴ Although Hsiao-wen "grew up in an entourage of devout Buddhists"⁵⁵, he, in his sinification campaign, may have wished to limit the Church's influence on the government by these ordinances (compare this to the reasons for the shift of the Japanese capital from Nara to Kyoto). Ultimately, however, he had to give in to the demands of the people for more temples. Tsukamoto suggests that the Northerners from P'ing-ch'eng wanted their new city to be like the old one. After all, they had only just completed many of the temples and caves before the shift was made. The Administration had to make concessions to entice the Northerners south.⁵⁶

However, it is strange that, of the many temples built in this wealthy

50) Ibid., p.171. Note that at one time there were 1,367 temples in Lo-yang, (Treatise, p.101).

51) Hattori Katsuhiko, 'Hokugi Rakuyō jidai ni miru shinsenshisō' in Dōkyō no kenkyū, p.210 f.

52) Tsukamoto, p.116; Treatise, p.74; Fan, op.cit., chuan 1, p.14. This temple was later burnt down.

53) Tsukamoto, p.534.

54) Ibid., p.270; Ho Ping-ti, op.cit., p.72.

55) Treatise, note, p.81.

56) Tsukamoto, p.271.

period in Lo-yang, the Yung-ning was one of the last built. It was only completed in 516 with the patronage of the Empress Dowager Ling.⁵⁷ No doubt the reason was that it had to be the most impressive monument that could be financed. Despite the immense wealth of the court and the merchants⁵⁸, the cost of the construction of the Yung-ning temple virtually "exhausted the imperial treasury."⁵⁹ So great were the expenses of this and other Buddhist works made after 516 that protests were made, but it was only with the threat of bankruptcy in 520 and 521 that measures were enacted in an attempt to preserve the solvency of the court.⁶⁰

It is in the Lo-yang chia-lan chi of 547 that we have the best description of the Yung-ning temple and the first mention of Bodhidharma in history.

The Yung-ning temple was erected in the first year of the Hsi-p'ing era (516) by the Empress Dowager Ling of the Hu family.... In the centre there was a nine-story pagoda⁶¹ built of a wooden framework, rising to a height of 90 chang.⁶² There was a spire⁶³ of a further 10 chang, making a total

57) Ch'en, p.161.

58) Ibid., p.161; Tsukamoto, p.284.

59) Ch'en, p.163. I cannot find his source for this statement.

60) Tsukamoto, p.285 f. In 516 Li Ch'ung ^{李崇} memorialized the throne asking that the expenditure on Buddhist works, the Yung-ning temple and Lung-men caves in particular, be greatly reduced because it had led to the neglect and disrepair of the state 'university', schools and offices (cf. TCTC, p.4628 f.; Yen K'o-chun, p.3688). See also the charges made by Li Yang ^{李瑒} in Confucian terms about the avoidance of corvée etc., (TCTC, p.4629; Yen K'o-chun, p.3677). See also the complaints about Buddhist construction-costs in 519, (TCTC, p.4647).

61) Fan, chuan 1, p.14, nb. 11. ^{浮圖} = stupa.

62) Ibid., chuan 1, p.1. All the editions agree, but see p.14, nb. 13. The Wei-shu has "over 40 chang", and the Shui-ching chu has 49 chang. These heights are probably all exaggerations, for a chang is 10 N.Wei feet, and according to Ho Ping-ti, op.cit., p.68, a post 495 N.Wei foot equalled 29.6 cm.

63) ^刹 i.e. ^{表刹}. Fan, note 19 to the preface to the LYCLC, p.8. This is a ksetra or a ksamā, which is a flagpole.

height from the ground of 1,000 feet. If one is 100 li⁶⁴ from the capital one can still see it in the distance. When they first dug the foundations down to the Underworld they found 30 (or 3,000) gold statues, which the Empress Dowager regarded as a verification of her belief in the Dharma, so the building exceeded (in height the previous) level.⁶⁵ At the top of the spire there was a gold Jewel vase of 25 shih⁷¹ ⁶⁶, below which was a 30 layered gold plate dew catcher,⁶⁷ all around which were hanging golden bells. Also there were four iron chains, which drew the spire down towards the pagoda. At the top of the chains at the four corners there were also golden bells.... The pagoda had nine levels, each level having gold bells hanging from it, in all 120 bells. The pagoda had four faces, each with three doors and six windows. The doors were all lacquered vermilion, and the top of their wings were studded with five rows of gold nails. (These twelve doors and their 24 wings had)⁶⁸ in all 5,400 nails. On each door were gold rings....To the north of the pagoda was a Buddha hall... in which there was an 18 foot gold statue and 10 gold statues of medium height.... There were over 1,000 monk's cells and residences, with carved beams and whitewashed⁷² walls, and the green jadelike stone sills were beautiful beyond description.⁶⁹ ...

All the gifts of sutras and statues from foreign lands are in this temple. All the walls of the temple are (topped) with short rafters covered with tiles....(the doors in the walls) are shaped like those of the southern gate of the palace⁷⁰, with cloud designs and paintings of immortals....There are four guardian (statues) and four lions at the gates, and they are ornamented with gold and silver, and complemented with pearls....

When the ornamentation was finally completed, Emperor Ming and the

64) A li⁷³ is 1,800 feet or approx. 432 metres, so 30 li is approx. 13 km.

65) Fan, chuan 1, p.14, nb. 13. The comparison is with the Yung-ning temple in P'ing-ch'eng that had 7 stories and was over 300 N. Wei feet high.

66) A kundika, a vessel for the worship of the Buddha. Cf. the HKSC summary of this passage⁷⁴ . Cf. also Ch'en, p.162.

67) See Hattōri Katsuhiko, op.cit., p.210 f. for this term.

68) Fan, chuan 1, p.2 adds this phrase.

69) Ibid., p.15, nb.18.

70) Loc.cit., nb.23. I.e., the Tuan gate⁷⁵.

Empress Dowager climbed it together.⁷¹ They could see into the palace as if it were in the palm of their hands, and they could look down on to the city as if it were their home. Because they could see into the palace, it was forbidden for anyone to climb it. I, Hsuan-chih and the Prefect of the Metropolitan Ho-nan Prefecture⁷², Hu Hsiao-shih 胡孝世 climbed it together and looked down over the clouds and rain. I believe it wasn't in vain!

At the time there was a śramana of the Western Regions, Bodhidharma, who was a barbarian of the country of Po-ssu (Persia). Originating in the furthest wilds, he came to China, and seeing that the light of the golden circlets (on the spire) shining in the sun, was reflecting onto the surface of the clouds, (and hearing the sound of) the large bells moving in the wind echoing beyond the heavens, he praised and lauded the temple as being really a superhuman achievement. He said, "I am one hundred and fifty years old, and have travelled through many countries. I have been everywhere, yet nowhere else in Jamudvīpa (the world) does the exquisite beauty of this temple exist. Even in the highest realms of matter there is nothing like this." He chanted "Namas" (an expression of praise) and made prayerful gestures of obeisance for several days.

In the second year of the Hsiao-ch'ang era (526), a great wind lifted off the roofs and uprooted trees. The Jewel vase on the top of the spire was blown down by the wind and plunged over ten feet 丈 into the ground....

In the second month of the third year of the Yung-hsi era (534)⁷³ the pagoda was burnt down.... The fire began in the middle of the eighth tier and was calm, but then flared greatly. At the time there was thunder and rain (clouds) which darkened the sky, and scatteringly sent down sleet. The people 百姓, lay and clergy alike, all came to watch the conflagration. The sound of lamenting moved the capital. At the time three bhiksus (monks) rushed into the fire to their deaths. Fire entered the ground following

71) According to Fan, p.19, nb.43, quoting the Wei-shu biog. of Ts'ui-kuang (LXVII, 崔光), this was in 517, but Yen K'o-chun, p.3682 says it was 518. Yen quotes Ts'ui's admonition of the Dowager for climbing the pagoda which he said is a violation of the Confucian rule of conduct that states one should not go to high places.

72) Ho Ping-ti, op.cit., p.74 f. Perhaps the cloudy weather permitted the climb.

73). 永熙 Cf. TCTC, p.4837.

the pillars down. There was smoke for the rest of the year.

In the fifth month of this year a man came from Hsiang Commandery⁷⁴ saying, "The pagoda has been seen in the sea. It was bright and sparkling just as new. The people on the sea all saw it. Suddenly a fog arose and the pagoda disappeared."⁷⁵

As Hattori and Fan indicate, this last event was an omen that heralded the downfall of the Northern Wei. In fact, the Empire split into two in this very same year.

A man saw the pagoda fly into the Eastern Sea. The Yung-ning temple is the home of the divine image. As the Will of Heaven says, "The Yung-ning is burnt, (so) Wei will not be at peace." Po-hai was the original feifdom of King Hsien-wu of Ch'i. The return of the divine presence to the ocean is proof of the future rise of Ch'i.⁷⁶

There were other vast temples besides the Yung-ning, such as the Kao-yang Wang temple to the south of the city wall, whose compound-walls were about 2½ li long on each side.⁷⁷ Within the city wall the old residence of the eunuch official Liu T'eng was converted into the Chien-chung temple ^{建中寺} in 531, and "its covered corridors and stately rooms fill much of a ward",⁷⁸ a ward being a square li.

It is strange that Bodhidharma could have entered the walled city and the temple, for Ho Ping-ti claims that "the walled city of Lo-yang was reserved exclusively for the use and recreation of the ruling classes", and that the "monasteries and nunneries (therein) actually served as places of relaxation

74) 像郡 .Fan, chuan 1, p.12, amends this to Tung-lai 東萊 mod. I-hsien 掖縣, 山東

75) LYCLC, T.51,999c1002b. Cf. Ch'en, p.162 for the part of this passage that he summarises.

76) Hattori Katsuhiko, op.cit., p.212; Fan, chuan 1, p.168; Wei-shu, CXX, biog. of Ling Cheng-chih 靈徵志: 永寧佛圖靈像所在. 天意若曰, '永寧見災' 魏不寧 (note the pun on the name) 字勳海濱 獻武王之本封也, 神靈歸海, 則齊室將興之驗也. Although the Wei-shu was written under the N.Ch'i, there are similar accounts in the LYCLC, the Pei-Ch'i shu and the Pei-shu, but the latter two may be quotes from the Wei-shu.

77) T.51,1013. Ho Ping-ti, op.cit., p.99 and map.

78) T.51,1002b-c. Ho Ping-ti, op.cit., pp.73 and 68 for the size of a ward.

and recreation for the members of the nobility and officialdom."⁷⁹ The atmosphere of these temples can best be seen in the description of the pleasures of Ching-lo temple ^{景樂} in the LYCLC. It always had "troupes of female musicians, a zoo with rare birds and beasts, and a team of jugglers and magicians."⁸⁰ Bodhidharma probably gained entry because he was a foreign monk.

This wealth and extravagance was not restricted to the Church. Bodhidharma had come to one of the richest cities in the world. During the prosperity of Lo-yang, with the treasury so overflowing that the Empress Dowager Ling opened it to some officials, the nobility led lives of idleness and luxury. To the west of the city were wards, the Great Market. There were two wards for commerce (many butchers also lived here), two for music and entertainment, two for brewing and drinking, two for funerary supplies and two for money-lending and merchant's houses.

There were rich men there. In all these ten wards there were many artisans and traders who had profited. Each home was worth 1,000 gold (pieces). The storied pavilions faced each other.... even the slaves wore brocades of gold and silk.

In 517-18 the government passed a sumptuary law against the use of such brocades by the merchants, but could not enforce it.⁸¹ At this time the relatives of the Emperor had managed to amass unbelievable wealth.

They fought to build gardens and mansions in vain competition....Connected mansions and linked dwellings, lofty residences sprang up like the wind,

79) Ho Ping-ti, op.cit., p.84. However, I have doubts about Ho's statement, for in T.51,1003b it is said that "it was made into a nunnery, and the great men 丈夫 could not enter. Those who could go and see it considered that they had reached Heaven. When Prince Wen-hsien died, the temple relaxed the prohibitions slightly, and the people 百姓 came in and out without further restrictions." Note that the people also came to see Yung-ning burn. For Chien-chung 建中 and Ching-lo 景樂 see T.51,1002-3.

80) Ho Ping-ti, op.cit., p.88 and LYCLC, T.51,1016a.

81) Ho Ping-ti, p.88.

storied pavilions rose like the mist, high terraces were built by every family. Each garden had flowers, trees and curving ponds....Yuan Ch'en 元琛, the Prince of Ho-chien was the wealthiest and was forever contending with the (Prince) of Kao-yang (Yung 雍) to be the foremost. He built Wen-po Hall 文柏堂 ...and set (in its grounds) a jade well with a gold well-pitcher, and he had the rope plaited from gold of five colours.⁸²

Lo-yang was a cosmopolitan city, there being four wards for foreigners to the south of the city. There were Juan-juan and Southerners (Liang), and "western barbarians ...from the west of the Pamirs, even from as far as Syria."⁸³ There were none from the many countries and myriad cities who did not rejoice in being there....Those that resided there were innumerable. Over 10,000 families were naturalized."⁸⁴

There were many alien monks and missionaries as well.

At that time the Buddha's teaching, sutras and statues proliferated in Lo-yang, and śramaṇas of foreign lands all came to this hub, carrying their staffs and sutras....Shih-tsung (Emperor Hsuan-wu) therefore built this temple (Yung-ming 永明) for their comfort....There were over 3,000 śramaṇas from 100 countries, from as far in the west as Syria.⁸⁵

During this period the Church naturally expanded, but this expansion was given even greater impetus after 510, when the military and labour corvée became so severe that many more common people entered the Church.⁸⁶ By 517 a memorial claimed that "the temples rob the people of their dwelling in nearly one case out of three."⁸⁷ The number of temples rose even further after Erh-chu Jung's rebellion in 528, which came after a series of troubles.

82) T.51,1016a-b; Tsukamoto,p.302; Fan,p.205 f. Cf.TCTC,p.4646 (519 A.D.). Yuan Ch'en even had silver troughs for his horses.

83) 大秦, Wei-shu, p.2275, 名號軒都安陸. Is this Antioch?

84) T.51,1012b; Fan,p.161; Ho Ping-ti,p.86.

85) T.51,1017b-c.

86) Ch'en,p.158.

87) Treatise,p.94.

In this year his troops killed the Empress Dowager Ling, the infant Emperor, 1,300 members of the nobility and 2,000 of the commoners.⁸⁸ The aristocracy was decimated and "from then on there was no peace at the Northern Wei capital."⁸⁹ Wei Shou says that "of the courtiers who died, many of the families donated their homes to the monks and nuns, and most of the mansions of the Capital became temples."⁹⁰

With all its wealth and vast numbers the Church was bound to contain corrupt members. In 486, the government forced 1,327 monks guilty of ill-conduct to return to the laity, and in 509 the Comptroller of the Clergy warned that monks would be forcibly laicized if they did not obey the Vinaya. He complained of violations of the Vinaya such as the lending of private property.⁹¹ Criticisms of the corrupting power of wealth came from both the Buddhist and Confucian officials. A forgery (?) attributed to Kumārajīva, the Jen-wang Pan-jo ching 仁王般若經, which probably dates from the Northern Wei, says, "If any of my pupils, monks or nuns, take the status of officials, they are not my pupils."⁹² Later, Tao-hsuan seems to criticise the Buddha and Sangha-Households by omitting passages concerning them in the Treatise on Buddhism and Taosim by Wei Shou that he includes in his Kuang Hung-ming chi.⁹³

Official criticisms are harsher and direct. That of the elder statesman, Prince Ch'eng, in a memorial of 517 complaining of the violation of the regulation that there be only one temple within the city walls, is the most revealing:

88) Tsukamoto, p.289.

89) Treatise, note, p.99.

90) Treatise, p.99.

91) Ibid., p.85.

92) Tsukamoto, p.137.

93) Ibid., p.102.

But as for the monasteries of today, there is no place that does not have them. Either side by side they fill the interior of the walled cities, or one upon the other they overflow into the butcheries and wineries....

Statues and reliquaries are wrapped in the stench of rotting meat, the spiritual is submerged in lust.⁹⁴

Prince Ch'eng was probably himself a believer in Buddhism, which may explain why he seems to have found the rejection of the old mores of Buddhism horrific:

Of old the Tathagata, when he revealed his Doctrine, mostly resided amongst the mountains and in the forests. Now these monks passionately cling to the cities and towns. Are narrow ways fitting for religious practice? Are frivolity and turmoil really the abodes of contemplation? It must be because gain wins their hearts. The dwellers have already lost the truth, and the builders may injure their own merit. These are the chaff of the Śākya clan, the altar rats of the Law.⁹⁵

This malaise of the Church was found in the South also, especially during the reign of Emperor Wu of Liang. He erected many temples and three times gave himself over to the Order, so that his court were obliged to ransom him, at public expense, thereby raising funds for the Buddhist Order. He set up Inexhaustible Treasuries, the profit of which went to the Church. Emperor Wu's infatuation with Buddhism led to a neglect of the affairs of state⁹⁶, and to many insincere protestations of Buddhist faith, especially by sycophantic courtiers.⁹⁷

Earlier, one of Emperor Wu's acquaintances, the 'materialist' Fan Chen 范缜, scathingly analysed the reasons for the spread of Buddhism in his tract, the Extinction of the Soul 神滅論. He attacked Buddhism on its own grounds.

Now why do people donate all their wealth to monasteries and become monks, or ruin themselves in worshipping the Buddha, without pity for the poor

94) Treatise, p.94 f.

95) *Ibid.*, p.96.

96) Ch'en, pp.125 ff.

97) Teng, op.cit., p.XXX, nb.4. He gave himself to the Order in 528, 546 and 547.

Cf. Ch'en, p.125.

and needy? It is because they are full of feelings of self-regard and lacking in concern for others. Thus a stingy look passes over the face of someone who gives a trifle to a poverty-stricken friend, whereas his whole countenance lights up with joy when he contributes a thousand bushels of grain to a rich monk. Surely this is a case of great expectations when the monk is given a large amount of grain, and no hope of reward when the friend is given a mere handful....Furthermore, (it is) because they have been deceived by vague, dark sayings that threaten them with the torments of everlasting hell, or enticed by meaningless, extravagant statements that promise them the delights of the highest heaven...⁹⁸

As we shall see, the early Ch'an monks held a similar view of the reasons for the popularity of Buddhism, and castigated these reasons accordingly as being non-Mahayana.

Another reason for the popularity of Buddhism in the North, was of course, magic. In this respect the Northern Wei was heir to the tradition of Fo-t'u-teng. Even the most erudite Indian translators appear as thaumaturges. For example, when Bodhiruci, the great translator who lived at Yung-ning temple, was alone and had no-one to draw water from the well for him;

he grasped a willow twig and merely waved it over the well. He secretly chanted an incantation several times. The spring water bubbled up level with the well's side....Nearby monks saw this and couldn't fathom his genius ^{神通}. All praised him as a great saint. In reply he said, "Do not mistakenly praise me. This magic is commonly practised in the Western Regions, but here it isn't studied and so it is regarded as (the ability of a) saint." After this he would not demonstrate his ability.⁹⁹

There were magicians in the South as well, as can be seen in the biography of Pao-chih in the HKSC.¹⁰⁰

98) Balazs, Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy, p.275. This tract spawned a large number of replies and few defences. There were famous defenders of Buddhism such as Liu Hsieh ^{劉慧} (who wrote the Wen-hsin tiao-lung) whose tract, the Mieh-huo lun was a reply to a Taoist attack. Cf. Ch'en, p.142; Yen K'o-chun's Ch'uan Liang wen for many of these tracts; T, ang, pp.470-484.

99) T.50,428c-429a; Hokugi, p.120 f.

100) KSC, T.50,394a-395a. Cf. Makita Teiryō, Chūgoku kinsei Bukkyōshi kenkyū p.31 ff. He was later made into a Ch'an 'saint'.

After the fall of Northern Wei, most of the monks of Lo-yang followed the Kao family and the Emperor Hsiao-wu east to Yeh. This exodus was due in part to the respect that Kao Huan 高歡 had for the clergy.¹⁰¹ The translation-team that had been installed in Yung-ning temple fled to Yeh where they received Imperial patronage.¹⁰² The new centre for translation and scholarship appears to have been either the T'ien-p'ing Temple 天平寺 or the Chin-hua Temple 金華寺, where we find mention of a T'an-lin 曇林 acting as an amanuensis for the translators.¹⁰³ Yeh is where Hui-k'o, the pupil of Bodhi-dharma, also fled after 534, and where he later met T'an-lin. Yeh was also the centre of the new Ti-lun 地論 studies. Temples soon sprang up here too, the aristocrats appropriating the mansions of the older residents, often then converting them into temples.¹⁰⁴

Yü-wen T'ai 宇文泰, the strongman of Western Wei, was also a firm believer in Buddhism¹⁰⁵, and even the first three emperors of Northern Chou were Buddhists.¹⁰⁶ Buddhism thus prospered in Ch'ang-an in the early years of N.Chou. It was also the state policy of both N.Ch'i and N.Chou to try and pacify the Juan-juan and T'u-chueh through Buddhism.¹⁰⁷

However, problems with Buddhism arose in Western Wei. The cost of constructing both Imperial palaces and temples at Ch'ang-an proved to be extraor-

101) Tsukamoto, p.514 f.

102) SKSC, T.50,428c. 三藏流支自洛及掌.

103) For T'ien-p'ing temple, see Treatise, p.100. Cf. Yen K'o-chun, p.3818 f, for T'an-lin at Chin-hua in 539. For Hui-k'o, see T.50,553a. For T'an-lin as amanuensis, T.55,269c.

104) Treatise, p.100 f.

105) Tsukamoto, p.515.

106) Ibid., p.533 f. Hurvitz, 'Chih-i', p.119 says that early in his reign Wu-ti was pious and built three monasteries, including a Yung-ning temple, and ordained 1,800 monks and nuns (cf. T.52,508b). In 563 he decreed the compilation of the Tripitaka (T.49,358).

107) See Tsukamoto, pp.519 ff., and Yen K'o-chun, p.3916 for the T'u-chueh

-ordinarily expensive, and it seems to have caused some economic disruption.¹⁰⁸

This of course provided the Confucian officials, who were more influential than in the Eastern Wei, with ammunition for criticism. However, many of them were still believers in Buddhism.¹⁰⁹

Another problem was that the concentration of wealth in Ch'ang-an made the clergy in the provinces jealous, and this may have been one of the factors that led to the Northern Chou persecution of Buddhism.¹¹⁰

Despite the role played by, and attributed to Wei Yuan-sung in the persecution of Buddhism under Emperor Wu of N.Chou (r.561-578), I feel that the real cause was political. Wei Yuan-sung's ideas and memorials provided only a useful justification. Emperor Wu was mostly concerned with defeating the Northern Ch'i and, to do this, he needed all the resources he could muster. The large numbers of men and the great quantities of material tied up in the Church had to be used for his army and for increased agricultural production. Moreover, Emperor Wu could draw on earlier slanderous memorials written by Confucian officials, especially those ironically written in N.Ch'i, to prove the evils of the Church.

Nuns and female lay believers (upāsikā) in fact are the wives and concubines of the monks. It is difficult to even speak of the numbers of children aborted. Now monks and nuns number over two million....This proves that the Buddha is the demon of abortion.¹¹¹

temple and the translation of the Nirvana Sutra into T'u-chueh.

108) Tsukamoto, p.521 f.

109) Ibid., p.525.

110) Ibid., pp.496 and 545.

111) This is a memorial by Liu Chou 劉晔 of N.Ch'i. This man must have been rabidly anti-Buddhist, for he criticises Yang Hsuan-chih's critical memorial as not being in accordance with Confucian values. Yang's memorial in part is;

Buddhism is a lie. Its works are a waste of money. They do not take up arms to protect the country, they leave their parents hungry and cold, dodge corvée to become servants and slaves (of Buddhism). They avoid hardship and stick to ease, and they do not practise the Way....I request that monks pay their respects to the secular (authorities) just as the

Emperor Wu was a man of a temperament not favourable to Buddhism. He loved the hunt and was so violent that he often whipped his own son, Yü-wen Pin. In 574 Emperor Wu proscribed both Buddhism and Taoism.¹¹²

Emperor Wu's policies were effective. He conquered Northern Ch'i in 577. He proscribed Buddhism there too, reportedly making 40,000 or more temples into royal property, and conscripting three million monks into the army. This is most likely an exaggeration, but the numbers might have been large.¹¹³ Wu's death immediately after his conquest in 578¹¹⁴, probably re-inforced the old karma-retribution idea in people's minds. The Ti-lun master, Hui-yuan ^{慧遠} (532-592) criticised Emperor Wu at Yeh, saying that he would end up in the Avici hell. The Emperor replied that he would willingly go to hell in order to benefit the people by abolishing Buddhism.¹¹⁵ No doubt this story provided the source for the tale of Tu Ch'i ^{杜祈} and others like it, tales that were probably spread amongst the people.

Confucians and Taoists do....Hereafter, so that those teachers and pupils who follow the Buddha teaching will be without excess (in numbers or in morality?), the draft-dodgers should be returned to their original service , and the nation will prosper and the soldiers will be many. (T.52,128b and Yen K'o-chun,p.3855).

Cf. the memorials of Liu Ch'ou in Yen K'o-chun,p.3873. Note also that Yen says that the memorial of Chang-ch'iu Tzu-shih ^{章仇子施} was originally 10 pages long (now only a few lines), and angered the Emperor (post 570 N. Ch'i?) so much that the author was confined for a year.

112) Tsukamoto,p.645.

113) Ajia,p.188. Tsukamoto,p.469, has figures from the Li-tai san-pao chi, and on p.578, from the HKSC (T.50,485b),"over 2,000,000". T.52,374c (Kuang Hung-ming chi), says that "the five assemblies of Buddhism who were laicized were 3,000,000." The remarks of Ch'en,p.192, are probably overcautious, for, as the above shows, the figures cover not only monks and nuns, but also laywomen who kept the 6 precepts, *sikṣamāṇā* ^{式叉摩那} (18 to twenty year old novices in training), and male and female lay people who kept the 10 precepts (*Śrāmaṇera* and *śrāmaṇerikā*). Note that all the sources are Buddhist.

114) Tsukamoto,p.644.

115) Ajia,p.188; T.50,490a-b; T.52,374c. Cf. 'Chih-i',p.121 f.

In the eighth year of the K'ai-huang era (588) of Sui, Tu Ch'i of the capital died and three days later revived. He said that he had seen King Yama (King of the dead), who asked, "Sir, what official post did you hold?" "I was a chief officer in the Department of Army Affairs 司命上士." The king said, "So, you followed a mistaken course. I can send you off immediately. But, did you know Emperor Wu of Chou or not?" I replied, "I served as Left Imperial Bodyguard in Charge of Discipline 左武候司法, and so I always knew His Majesty very well." The king said, "You may go and see your Emperor Wu."

An officer led me to the place. The doors, rafters and tiles were all made of iron. Through the iron window I saw a man with an extremely emaciated body the colour of iron wearing an iron cangue. I cried saying, "Lord 大家, why are you suffering like this?" He said, "I have met with suffering the like of which you have never seen. Now that I have come to this I am happy." I said, "What crime did you commit to undergo such suffering?" He replied, "Don't you know? Because I believed Wei Yuan-sung's words and proscribed Buddhism I undergo this suffering."¹¹⁶

After Emperor Wu had died, his maniac son Yü-wen Pin took the throne, and began to restore Buddhism in a way that allowed him to laugh at both his father and the Church. He put statues of the Buddha and of Heaven, which his father had venerated (he even called his whip the 'whip of Heaven'), up together¹¹⁷, and yet would not allow the monks to shave their pates.¹¹⁸ The sight of long-haired monks in robes doubtless amused him.

However, one of the three ministers ruling for Pin, Yang Chien, revived Buddhism before he even took the throne, knowing that this would give him the support of the people. All the while, however, he did not forget that Emperor Wu's draconian Confucian policies were useful for re-uniting all of China.¹¹⁹

116) T.50,657c-658a. Cf. Ch'en, p.193 f. The offering of one cash that everyone was supposed to have donated during the reign of Emperor Wen of Sui may be related to Hui-yuan's retort to Emperor Wu, "these are the seeds of hardship. Both the people and you will go to hell." (T.52,374c).

117) Tsukamoto, p.646.

118) Ibid., p.649.

119) Hurvitz, 'Chih-i', p.127 and Tsukamoto, p.653 f.

The year 580 marks the death of one era of Buddhism and the birth of another. Yü-wen Pin died in 580, the same year in which Yeh, after having suffered from the ravages of Emperor Wu, was razed by Yang Chien after a revolt was launched against him there. The destruction of Lo-yang in the 530's and of Yeh fifty years later marked the end of the glorious days of late Northern Buddhism.¹²⁰

The faults of the Buddhism of the above period are all epitomised in the cautionary tale of Hui-ning of Ch'ung-chen Temple 崇真寺, a tale which tries to direct the reader's mind back to the basics of Buddhism, meditation and the memorization of the scriptures. Even the exposition of the sutras is condemned, probably because it took the form of a scholastic competition (in the capital at least), surrounded by ceremonial, and was more of a festival than a lecture on Buddhist dogma.¹²¹

The bhikṣu Hui-ning 慧凝 died and seventeen days later he came back to life. He had been tried at King Yama's court, and had been acquitted because he had used a false name. Hui-ning related everything that had happened. Five bhikṣus were tried with him. One bhikṣu said, "I am Chih-sheng 智聖 of Pao-ming Temple 寶明寺." He got Heaven because he had practised meditation 坐禪 and austerity 苦行.

The next bhikṣu said, "I am Tao-p'ing 道品 of Prajñā Temple 般若寺." He also got Heaven for he had memorized the forty-chapter Nirvana Sutra.

The next bhikṣu said, "I am T'an-mo-tsui 曇莫 (or 無) 最 of Yung-chueh Temple 融覺寺. I have expounded the Nirvana and Avatamsaka sutras and I have guided a congregation 衆 of one thousand members."¹²² King Yama said, "Expounders of sutras harbour ideas of self and other 心懷彼我 in order to arrogantly shame people 駱凌物, which is the coarsest conduct for a bhikṣu. I shall now test only for meditation and the memorization of sutras."

120) Tsukamoto, p.665.

121) Cf. ZSS, p.437; Hokugi, p.44. Ratnamati, on being ordered to preach to the Emperor said, "But a Buddhist service needs aids. I cannot set it up alone. So all the lecturers, incense attendants, deacons and hymnodists followed him." (T.50,429a)

122) Cf. Yang's attitude to him, T.51,1017b; "The saint of the East."

At this T'an-mo-tsui said, "Ever since I started on the path of poverty I have loved only the exposition of the sutras and really have not committed them to memory (開誦 or: read in silence?)."

King Yama ordered him to be handed over to the officers. Ten black-coated¹²³ men appeared and escorted T'an-mo-tsui to the north-west gate, where all the buildings were black. It looked like an unpleasant place.

The next bhikṣu said, "I am Tao-hung^{道弘}¹²⁴ of Ch'an-lin Temple^{禪林寺}." He said of himself, "I have taught and converted the four categories of Buddhists¹²⁵ and donors, and have made copies of all the sutras and have made ten statues of the World Honoured One.¹²⁶"

King Yama said, "The fundamental requirement for being a śramaṇa is that one must control his mind and observe the Way, and channel his entire energy^志 into meditation and memorization. He does not concern himself with worldly events, nor does he create the artificial.¹²⁷ Although the creation of sutras and statues is correct, (in doing so) one covets the property of others, and once one has it, a greedy mind results. Once one harbours greed the three poisons¹²⁸ result, and so one will not remove the frustrations (kleśa) completely." He also was handed to the officers and so went through the same black gate as T'an-mo-tsui had.

The next bhikṣu said, "I am Pao-ming^{寶明} of Ling-chueh Temple^{靈覺寺}." He said of himself, "Before I became a monk, when I was governor^{太守} of Lung-hsi¹²⁹ I built Ling-chueh Temple, and when it was completed I left officialdom and started on the Way. Although I have not practised meditation and memorization, I was not lacking in worship (禮拜)."

King Yama said, "In the days when you were Governor you bent the Principles (理 of Buddhism or of the law?) and oppressed the Dharma. You robbed the people of their property, and borrowed (假造) pretended that you had made?) it to make that temple. It was not a result of your effort!

123) 青衣 is the clothing of low ranking enforcement officers.

124) 道弘 or 宏 . The Sung Kao-seng chuan also has 恒 .

125) I.e., monks, nuns, male and female believers.

126) 人中 . I suspect that 尊 is missing. I.e., the Buddha.

127) 作有爲 . 有爲 = 作造 , to do karmic deeds. 有爲 also means 'the created'

128) I.e., greed, hate, stupidity.

129) 隴西 i.e., Kansu, a source of many revolts.

How can you bother me by telling me this 何勞說此 ?" He was also turned over to the officers and the black-shirts escorted him through the black gate.

The Empress Dowager heard this story and so sent the Chamberlain of the Inner Court, Hsü Ko¹³⁰ to investigate. Following up Hui-ning's story, he visited Pao-ming Temple to the east of the city, Prajñā Temple in the city, and Jung-chueh, Ch'an-lin and Ling-chueh Temples to the west of the city. He asked after Chih-sheng, Tao-p'in, T'an-mo-tsui, Tao-hung and Pao-ming and found that they had all in fact lived there. It was deliberated that, "When a man dies, he receives punishment or reward 罪福." So the (Empress Dowager) invited a hundred contemplative monks to constantly perform services for them 供養之 in the court 殿內. They did not obey the Imperial summons. They held up sutras and statues and proceeded along the streets, begging.¹³¹ They allowed anyone who had private property of sutras and statues to do as he wished.¹³² Ning entered Mt. Pai-lu 白鹿山 and there cultivated the Way in seclusion. After this all the bhiksus of the capital practised meditation and memorization, and no longer expounded sutras.¹³³

130) 黃門侍郎 is a court official who was at times a censor. One of his functions was to escort the ruler to his throne. Cf. Dien, op.cit., p.120, nb.41; Teng, op.cit., p.XXII nb.2. Hsu Ko 徐乾 attained this position in 525. He controlled the Central Secretariat, a secret service and defence department. He fled south when Erh-chu Jung massacred the Dowager and the nobility in 528.

131) 乞索. Cf. 乞索兒, beggar.

132) 若私有財物經像者任意. Does this 'private means' indicate that held by monks?

133) LYCLC, (T.51, 1005b-c) and SKSC, (T.51, 889a-b). Note Ts'an-ning's comments about T'an-mo-tsui's faults. Fan, p.85 f., nb.11, quotes the Ch'ing scholar Yü Cheng-hsieh's Kuei-ssu ts'un-kao 癸巳存稿 that says that although T'an-mo-tsui was a meditator and was intelligent, "he looked upon eating meat, drinking wine, brawling, arguing and obscenity as saintly, the tenth stage of Bodhisattvahood," to try and show that this incident and story is a reflection of a dispute between factions of meditators. Note that T'ang (p.778) says that this story also shows the neglect of sutra-study in the North among meditators. In fact, in later times Yang Chien complained that meditation practice had been lacking since the death of Seng-ch'ou in 560 (T.50, 573c).

Chapter 2, Intellectual Background; The Themes of Scholastic Debate from the Time of Kumārajīva till the Rise of the Sui.

This chapter is concerned with the issues of scholastic dispute debated amongst the Buddhist intelligentsia in the period which has been characterised by Yuki Reimon as the 'Research Period' 研究時代 (400-600A.D.). We are not here concerned with developments in devotional and popular Buddhism, for the audience of the Long Scroll was an intellectual elite within Buddhism. The popularity of individual sutras was however influential in dogmatic developments. Some were popular because of their intellectual content, and others because of their literary qualities, their appeal to the educated laity, or because of their brevity.

The story of this period should begin with the great translator Kumārajīva (344-413) and his pupils. Kumārajīva arrived in Ch'ang-an in 401 and there began the translation of works that were to be influential throughout the remainder of Chinese Buddhist history. Although he translated some sutras that had already been rendered into Chinese¹, his versions were those which became most popular. His main contribution to Buddhism in China was the introduction of Mādhyamika texts² and the compilation (?) of the Ta chih-tu lun.³ He provided more accurate translations of the Prajñāpāramitā texts, including the Vajracchedikā, and translated sutras important to several schools of Mahayana. (For example, Vimalakīrti, Daśabhūmikā, Viśeṣacintā-brahma-paripṛcchā and Śūraṅgama-samādhi.)

In contrast to the above, his translations and compositions specifically

1) Particularly those by his contemporary Dharmakṣema (or Dharmarakṣa) which are listed in R. Robinson, Early Madhyamika in India and China, p. 74 f.

2) I.e., Mādhyamikakārikā 中論, Śata-śāstra 百論, Dvādaśa-nīkaya-śāstra 十二門論.

3) 大智度論. Cf. Robinson, op. cit., pp. 34-39 and K.V. Ramanan, Nāgārjuna's Philosophy, passim. It contains diverse ideas.

dealing with meditation are all Theravadin⁴ with the exception of the Śūraṅgama-samādhi-sūtra, which concerns a Mahayana meditation, a samadhi of emptiness pertaining only to the Bodhisattva of the tenth stage in which "the Six Perfections in every mode of physical, vocal and mental behaviour"⁵ are realized.

T'ang Yung-t'ung lists Kumārajīva's main contributions to Chinese Buddhism as being the introduction of the Mādhyamika teachings, the complete denial (for the first time in China) that a soul (ātman) exists, and the fact that "he was the first...to make it absolutely clear that śūnyatā 空 signifies not the Taoist idea of nothingness, but a total lack of attributes 無相."⁶

His pupils and associates continued to promote the development of Buddhist doctrine. Hui-yuan of Mt. Lu (344-416) fostered the devotional side of the teaching, whereas Seng-chao (374-414) tried to give an explanation of śūnya and prajñā in a Chinese fashion. Abstract and mystical,⁷ "Seng-chao's writings provide a philosophy of mysticism, but not a psychology."⁸ However, his Buddhism is still very Neo-Taoist in tone, for he talks of the Sage, Tao, Nature and Spirit.⁹

I think that Seng-chao's influence on early Ch'an was minimal for there is no hint in his works "that he considered the phenomena of daily life as merely mental."¹⁰ However, his introduction of the Taoist concepts of t'i (substance/ substratum) and yung (用 function) into Buddhism probably influenced the

4) W.Liebenthal, Chao Lun, p.5; For the translations see Robinson, op.cit., p.74f. and N.Donner, 'The Mahayanization of Chinese Dhyana', in Eastern Buddhist (New Series) X, (Oct. 1977), p.58.

5) Donner, op.cit., p.57; T'ang, p.769 f.

6) As summarized by Hurvitz in 'Chih-i', p.71.

7) Robinson's opinion, p.135. For Hui-yuan see Ch'en, pp.103 ff.

8) Robinson, op.cit., p.155.

9) Liebenthal, Chao Lun, p.15

10) Ibid., p.35.

Ti-lun Sects and Ch'an.¹¹ Another factor that militates against his influence on Ch'an is the fact that he was not "noted for attainments in the practice of dhyāna."¹² As Liebenthal admits, the monks of the Ch'an School "were mainly interested in their own liberation, while Seng-chao was immersed in ontological problems."¹³

I think rather that Tao-sheng 道生 (ca.360-434), of all the students of Kumārajīva¹⁴, was to determine the course of later Nan-pei-ch'ao Buddhist scholastic debates. Moreover, I would also like to examine the possibility of Tao-sheng's influence on the compilers of the Long Scroll, for Tao-sheng taught doctrines that were relevant to proto-Ch'an, in fact early Ch'an thought may be the only true successor to his thought and doctrines.

Tao-sheng's most outstanding contribution to Buddhist theory in China was the thesis that all creatures without exception are endowed with a Buddha-nature 佛性. After leaving his teacher in Ch'ang-an he went south (in 408) and there he concentrated on studying the Nirvana Sutra. When he read the Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra 大般泥洹經 in six chuan that had been jointly translated between 417 and 418 by the pilgrim Fa-hsien and Hui-yuan's Mt. Lu associate, Buddhahadra¹⁵, Tao-sheng opposed its statement that;

All creatures have a Buddha-nature within themselves. After the innumerable frustrations (kleśas) have been eliminated, one will clearly see the Buddha. The icchantikas are an exception to this.¹⁶

Tao-sheng boldly stated that "on the contrary, even the icchantikas have a

11) Ibid., pp.17 and 27. This was a popular theme throughout this period (cf. T'ang, p.333).

12) Robinson, op.cit., p.155. Contrast this with Chao Lun, p.40 f.

13) Chao Lun, p.23.

14) Robinson, op.cit., p.169. Tao-sheng studied with Kumārajīva, 406 to 408.

15) T'ang, p.604.

Buddha-nature and can become Buddha."¹⁷ He said,

icchantikas are included in the category of creatures. Why should they alone lack a Buddha nature?

This incited such fanatical opposition that he was expelled as a heretic in 428 from the Southern capital, Chien-yeh. He went into retreat on Mt. Lu.¹⁹ Given that the Taoist and Confucian-influenced Southern literati had not yet accepted Kumārajīva's pronouncement that there is no soul, they considered that "to say that all creatures share the Buddha-nature, implied that they possess immortal souls and thus will be ancestors in the end." Many of the literati just could not accept that the masses had souls or could become Buddhas just as they themselves could.²⁰

However, in 430, Dharmakṣema's translation of the latter part of the Nirvana Sutra (completed 421) arrived at Chien-yeh (k'ang) from the North, and Tao-sheng found that his theory was vindicated by it.²¹ The corresponding passages in the Dharmakṣema Nirvana Sutra did not make an exception of the icchantikas, it simply said that;

Although these icchantikas have the Buddha-nature, they are bound by the contamination of innumerable sins, and so they cannot get away (from them)."²²

16) Ibid., p.648. An icchantika has no faith, lacks the nature to become Buddha.

17) The source for his statement is unknown. Perhaps he was told by Dharmakṣema or Fa-hsien via Hsieh Ling-yun (Cf. W.Liebenthal, 'A Biography of Tao-sheng' in Monumenta Nipponica, XI, (1955) p.305 f., and 'The World Conception of Chu Tao-sheng' in Monumenta Nipponica XII, (1956), pp.92 and 96) or deduced from the Vkn ('Chu Tao-sheng...', p.84. Cf. KSC, T.50, 367a 一聞提悉有佛性).

18) T'ang, p.649.

19) 'Tao-sheng' (MN, XI), p.308.

20) '...Chu Tao-sheng', p.93; Ajia, p.172.

21) '...Tao-sheng', p.309. For Dharmakṣema see Ch'en, p.116.

22) T'ang, p.648. An icchantika here is one who breaks the precepts but never repents. Cf. Daizōkyō kōza V, p.99.

Thus the idea that all beings have a Buddha-nature was accepted as the truth, however reluctantly. But despite the assertions by Kumārajīva and Tao-sheng that the Buddha-nature is not a soul 神明, nor a self or ego 我, this idea remained as endemic as ever. Passages in the Śrīmālā and Nirvana sutras contributed greatly to this misunderstanding, and even Emperor Wu of Liang still obstinately clung to the notion that the spirit does not perish.²³ Even Tao-sheng's own statements are ambiguous enough to allow of such a misapprehension.

The (Buddhist) Principles have it that emptiness 空 does not come from the ego 我, so how can there be an ego that can govern it? So there is no ego. Non-ego 無我 basically (means) that there is no ego in that which is born and dies. It does not (mean) that there is no Buddha-nature Ego.²⁴

He asked, "How can there exist an ego apart from non-ego?"²⁵

Because it is eternal it is self-existent. This is the meaning of Ego. It responds to the impressions made unceasingly by beings. Its self-existence comes from that (彼 the Nirvana aspect of existence), it does not

23) T'ang, p.711. Compare this with the opposition Fan Chen faced. Statements such as the following produced this sort of misunderstanding; "Ego means the Tathagatagarbha. All creatures have the Buddha-nature, which is the meaning of ego." 我者即是如來藏義。一切眾生悉有佛性，即是我義 (Nirvana Sutra, in Daizōkyō kōza, p.83); "Eternal, delightful, ego, purity; these names mean the truth of reality." 有常有樂有我 有淨，是則名為實諦之義 (Nirv., Daizōkyō kōza V, p.119. Cf. also '...Chu Tao-sheng', p.95 and T.12, 407b); "Because the Dharmakaya of the Tathagata has the perfection of pleasure, of self, of permanence and of purity," (in the Śrīmālā, A. Wayman, The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā, p.102). This confusion of the Buddha-nature of the Nirvana with an eternal soul was made to preserve the traditional Chinese idea of the spirit. Cf. Ueda Yoshifumi, 'The Status of the Individual in Mahayana Buddhist Philosophy' in The Japanese Mind.

24) '...Chu Tao-sheng', p.252. 理既不從我為空，豈有我能制之哉，則無我是。無我本無生死中我，非不有佛性我也。

25) Loc.cit., 豈離無我而有我耶。

originate from (my) ego.²⁶

Opponents of Tao-sheng grasped this Ego which is but a description of the state of Nirvana, and made a soul out of it. Emperor Wu of Liang could still, even after Tao-sheng's denunciation of it, assert the view that the Buddha-nature is an undying soul 真神, 神明. Emperor Wu's contemporary, Seng-yu, attributes a Li shen-ming ch'eng Fo-hsing i-chi 立神明成佛性義記 (To establish that the soul forms the Buddha-nature) to him. T'ang Yung-t'ung concludes that the significance of Emperor Wu's Buddha-nature was no more than what most people called the soul or spirit.²⁷ Others also asserted this view of the soul. Seng-tsung 僧宗 (422-481), a pupil of one of Tao-sheng's antagonists, Fa-yao (400-475) seems to have asserted that "the spirit is the direct cause of Buddhahood."²⁸

This idea of the soul was not restricted to the South. Tsukamoto, commenting on the use of the word 'spirit-soul' says, "it would seem possible to sum up the views of both the lay thinkers and the Buddhists of Northern Ch'i on this subject in these words: 'The wondrous incomprehensible spirit is immanent in all men. A human being, by refining this spirit and bringing out his own true nature in its pristine beauty, can become a genie, a Sage, or a Buddha.'"²⁹ This notion of a soul was repudiated by the followers of Bodhidharma.

Tao-sheng's assertions about Buddha-nature had other implications. Hurvitz summarises T'ang's conclusions as follows. "The presence of Buddhahood in all living beings leads logically to the identification of everyone with Buddha. The problem is now to be stated not in terms of who is enlightened and who is

26) Loc.cit., 常故自在, 是我義也。應感無端, 此之自在, 從彼而出, 本非我也。 All these quotations are from Tao-sheng's commentary on the Nirvana Sutra.

27) T'ang, pp. 706 and 709.

28) Ibid., p. 688. Cf. also pp. 640 ff.

29) Treatise, note, p. 34 f.

not, but rather who is aware and who is not....Anyone who holds this view must of necessity believe that enlightenment is instantaneous, and that literally anyone... can become a Buddha— rather, is one already."³⁰

Involved in this problem is the argument as to whether one has always been endowed with the Buddha-nature 本有 and will see its realization 當有, or whether it only comes into being because of practice 始有. Tao-sheng stated;

Creatures originally have a share in the Buddha's cognitive vision...which is realized through the present teaching....(The Buddha-nature) originally exists, and this seed 種 grows. This does not mean it rises and ceases, for it is eternal, bliss, uncreate.³¹

He totally opposed the idea that a Buddha-nature could come into existence.

Returning to the ultimate 極 is to attain the origin, but it seems as if it has arisen for the first time. If it begins it must end, and then the eternal is obscured 常之以昧. If one investigates this tendency, then it is I, ego 我, who first understands it. It does not reflect that it now (for the first time) exists.³²

Fa-yao 法瑤 (400-475) was the principal antagonist of Tao-sheng and Tao-sheng's pupil, Tao-yu.³³ Fa-yao stated that the Principle was the Buddha-nature and that "the Principle of the Buddha-nature is ultimately a function of the mind."³⁴ This seems to be in partial agreement with Tao-sheng's idea that "the True Principle is Nature" and is the Body of Phenomena (Dharmakaya),³⁵ and that since all the Buddhas have 'embodied phenomena' and are merged with

30) Hurvitz, 'Chih-i', p.196.

31) '...Chu Tao-sheng', p.251. 衆生本有佛知見分 ...由今教而成....
本有種生,非起滅之謂,是以常樂無爲耳.

32) T'ang, p.639. Cf. Long Scroll II, "share a single nature, but it is obscured by adventitious contamination and so cannot shine forth....reject the false and return to the true."

33) T'ang, p.685.

34) 佛性之理,終爲心用 (Ibid., p.687).

35) '...Chu Tao-sheng', p.244 for 真理自然, and p.245 for 法身.

Nature, "phenomena 法 are therefore the Buddha-nature."³⁶ So according to Tao-sheng, "One becomes Buddha by conforming with the Principle."³⁷

T'ang deduces from the statements of Fa-yao's pupils, pupils such as the afore-mentioned Seng-tsung, that their master kept to the idea of the spirit and gave Principle an overriding importance. One of his pupils, Ling-ken 靈根, thought that since creatures were not already Buddha, there was a nature and a Buddha-nature.

The Bodhisattva Simhanāda asked, 'If all creatures already have the Buddha-nature, what use is there in cultivating the Way?' The Buddha replied, 'Although the Buddha and the Buddha-nature are undifferentiated, creatures are still unfulfilled 具足, for they truly themselves have the nature but lack the Buddha. Therefore they are said to be not yet fulfilled.'³⁸

This, despite being considered as an 'always endowed' 本有 idea, also contains an element of the 'initiated' 始有 idea. Chi-tsang 吉藏 (549-623), comments rather unfavourably on Ling-ken's overemphasis on Principle;

(Ling-ken says of Principle that) 'its significance is of the highest, even if one lacks the transmission from a teacher.' The substance 體 of learning is that one must rely on a teacher to receive the practices. Now I ask those who contend that the attainment of the Buddha principles is the direct cause that is the Buddha-nature (Ling-ken), what sutra says this, and who is it that receives the practice? His teacher (Fa-yao) had taken the mind to be the direct cause that is the Buddha-nature, and yet the pupil considers that the attainment of the Buddha principles is the direct cause that is the Buddha-nature. Has he not turned his back on his teacher and made his own speculations? Therefore (this idea) cannot be utilised.'³⁹

36) Ibid., p.241.

37) 成佛從理 (Loc.cit.)

38) T'ang, p.389.

39) Ibid., p.689 f. 'The direct cause that is the Buddha-nature' 正因佛性是 taught in the Nirvana Sutra. The Truly So 真如 that is apart from all evils, which can be relied on to perfect the merits and fruits of the Dharma-kaya, is compared to the gold in the earth that is constant and untarnished. (Cf. Ting, p.297).

Tao-sheng also differed with Fa-yao and others over the question as to whether Awakening is Instantaneous頓 or Gradual漸. This was the other major debate in the Nan-pei-ch'ao and early T'ang Buddhist circles. In fact there were three schools of thought on Awakening during the early Nan-pei-ch'ao; the Major Instantaneous Awakening of Tao-sheng, the Lesser Instantaneous Awakening of Chih Tao-lin 支道林 and Tao-an, and the Gradual Awakening of Fa-yao and Hui-kuan 慧觀.

Tao-sheng's thesis 大頓悟 is based on his idea that the Principle 理 is indivisible and that consequently the awakening must be both instantaneous and complete. Therefore he said it must occur in the final, the stage of the Bodhisattva, i.e. the tenth. Hui-ta's Chao Lun-shu 肇論疏 summarises his views as follows;

Chu Tao-sheng's Major Instantaneous Awakening holds that 'Instantaneous' is to clarify that the Principle is indivisible, and 'Awakening' is to name the Ultimate Illumination 極照. It (means) that Awakening is non-dual, and tallies 符 with the undivided Principle.... To understand through seeing is called Awakening, to understand through hearing is called faith 信 Understanding through faith is not the Truth, for when Awakening happens, faith departs.... Awakening does not arise of itself, it necessarily depends on the gradual (buildup) of faith.⁴⁰

Thus Tao-sheng believed that the word 'Gradual' applied only to the preparatory stages and that 'Instantaneous' applied to Awakening, which is a sudden leap, like an awakening from a dream.⁴¹

His difference with the Lesser Instantaneous Awakening theory concerns the stage of Bodhisattvahood in which Awakening occurs. The Lesser School said that it happened at the seventh stage,⁴² but this left the problem of what

40) T'ang, p.658.

41) Ibid., p.657. Tao-sheng may not have been the first to propound the idea, for a preface to a commentary on the Śūraṅgama Sūtra mentions the idea.

42) Ibid., p.658.

the final three stages were for. The arguments centred on Principle, the ten stages and the Three Vehicles. Tao-lin had said that one is awakened at the seventh stage to the Unborn 無生, and that the latter three stages are a manifestation of the Vajra (Diamond)-mind, a realization that one will become Buddha. In later times these three stages were called the Lesser Awakening.⁴³ The three vehicles of Arhat, Pratyeka Buddha and Bodhisattva were equated with stages seven, eight and nine of the Bodhisattva career.⁴⁴

Tao-sheng attacked this theory, saying that the three vehicles were just an expedient⁴⁵ and that only the tenth stage was significant. Chi-tsang (549-623) says of the two opinions;

Thus a sutra says, "The first stage does not know of the world of the second stage, nor does even the tenth stage know of the Tathagata's raising and lowering of his feet." Also, the Major Instantaneous Awakening School says, "When one reaches the tenth stage, one sees the Unborn for the first time." The Lesser Instantaneous Awakening School says, "When one reaches the seventh stage one sees the Unborn for the first time."⁴⁶

Tao-sheng ridiculed the idea of the Vajra-mind, saying:

Life and death is the realm of a great dream. All is a dream from life and death to the Vajra-mind, The mind after the Vajra (stage) 金剛後心 is suddenly awakened and then there is nothing more to see.⁴⁷

However, in Tao-sheng's theory one still has to go through a long, gradual preparation to reach the stage where the sudden qualitative leap is made.

The simile of cutting wood (says) that while the wood still remains one can gradually (remove it) by feet and inches. The realization of the Unborn is when birth is exhausted. So the illumination must be instantaneous.⁴⁸

43) Ibid., p.690.

44) '...Chu Tao-sheng', pp.256 and 259 for the translations.

45) Ibid., pp.261 ff. and p.88. Cf. Chao Lun, p.119.

46) T'ang, p.662.

47) Loc.cit. The Vajra-mind is the mind's ultimate development.

48) Ibid., p.660. According to '...Chu Tao-sheng', pp.90 and 257, in this image the last scrap of wood is cut away in an instant.

Tao-sheng's opponents were a fellow student and companion, Hui-kuan, and the monk Fa-yao. Hui-kuan wrote a Chien-wu lun 漸悟論 (Treatise on Gradual Awakening) in which he based his gradualist theory on the three vehicles. In reply to Tao-sheng's (?) question, "Since the real appearance is only emptiness, why should there be Three (Vehicles)?" Hui-kuan replied,

As for real appearances, there is not even one to be attained, and yet there are three grades of maturity. Practitioners awake to emptiness in varying depths, so therefore there are three types of practitioner.⁴⁹

Note too that the meditation Hui-kuan and Buddhābhaddra adopted was the 'contemplation of purity', a technique that fits the gradualist theory⁵⁰, so Tao-sheng probably opposed this meditation technique also. Despite some contradictory evidence, T'ang concludes that Fa-yao also preached the Gradual Awakening and engaged in debates on the question with Tao-sheng's pupil Tao-yu 道猷.⁵¹ The Fa-hua wen-chü chi 法華文句記 by Chan-jan 湛然 (716-782) has an interesting passage on Fa-yao:

Yao adopted Vasubandhu's ideas.⁵²

Given that Fa-yao studied much the same sutras as Tao-sheng had, that is the Nirvana, Lotus, the Prajñā P and the Vkn, this last concern with Vasubandhu, if it is not an anachronism, must have contributed to the difference between them. The Daśabhūmikāsūtra, on which Vasubandhu wrote a commentary, emphasises the importance of the seventh and eighth stages⁵³, and the early Yogācāra

49) T'ang, p.671. Cf. '...Chu Tao-sheng', p.259. The first work to attack the Instantaneous Awakening theory and uphold the Gradualist theory was the Nieh-p'an wu-ming lun which is usually ascribed to Seng-chao. As T'ang has shown, this is not really possible, and it may be in fact Hui-kuan or one of his associates who wrote it (T'ang, p.670. Cf. Chao-lun, pp.118-123, para.8-13).

50) Donner, op.cit., p.55.

51) T'ang, p.690 f.

52) 瑤取天親意. Ibid., p.682.

53) D.T.Suzuki, On Indian Mahayana Buddhism, p.113

teachers probably therefore taught a gradualism.

One can readily glean some of Tao-sheng's other ideas from the titles of works attributed to him, works such as the Fa-shen wu-se lun 法身無色論 (The Body of Phenomena is Immaterial), the Fo wu ching-t'u lun 佛無淨土論 (Treatise on the Buddha having no Pure Land), the Shan pu-shou-pao i 善不受報義 (The Meaning of 'Goodness does not accept a Reward') and the Treatise on the Two Truths 二諦論.⁵⁴ The doctrines in these works show an affinity of sorts with the secular ideology of Fan Chen and with the religious ideals of proto-Ch'an.

Based on the Vkn, Aksobhya Buddha chapter's contention that "seeing reality in one's body is how to see the Buddha"⁵⁵ and "the Tathagata is seen neither in material nor in the extinction of material nor in the essence of material "⁵⁶

Tao-sheng said that:

The human Buddha is naught but the concatenation of the five aggregates (skandhas)....When there is nothing to be seen, that is seeing reality. Take reality and see that it is the Buddha. Seeing reality therefore is seeing the Buddha.⁵⁷

Consequently, Tao-sheng took the Vimalakirti's line, "The Body of the Buddha is called the Body of Phenomena (Dharmakāya)"⁵⁸ to mean that;

The Body of Phenomena is real, the (Buddha)'s human frame 丈六 is a simulation made in response (to the needs of creatures)....(All his forms) are shadows (made) for contact with creatures, and are not the real Buddha. If creatures are not receptive, then he will not manifest himself... So

54) T'ang, p.623.

55) C.Luk, The Vimalakirti Nirdeśa Sutra, p.120. This line is quoted in the Long Scroll.

56) Loc.cit.

57) Cf., T'ang, p.643 and T.38,410b. Tao-sheng continues, "If he exists, material must be the Buddha. If material is not the Buddha, then there must be a Buddha outside of material."

58) Luk, Vkn, p.18.

the Buddhas are the Buddhas (reflected) in the waters of our minds (lit. 衆生心水中佛也). The Buddha is always formless.⁵⁹

Compare the above with the passage from the Long Scroll (VI) below;

Because the body of phenomena (Dharmakāya) is formless, one sees it by not seeing.⁶⁰

Furthermore, Tao-sheng took ideas such as, "Creatures are the Bodhisattva's Pure Land,"⁶¹ from the Vkn and "wrote a Treatise on the Dharmakaya having no Pure Land".⁶² Compare Tao-sheng's line, "As form conditions its shadow, so each being creates himself his Heaven or his Hell"⁶³ with the following lines from the Long Scroll:

I really thought that Heaven was another country. (III)

The category of creatures is the Land of the Bodhisattvas and Buddhas.⁶⁴ (LXXX)

Tao-sheng wrote a The Meaning of Goodness does not Accept a Reward, whose main theme could be summarised as follows :

He who conjures up creatures and relinquishes ~~his~~ his hate or love for them is not really relinquishing. If he can do it without hope of a reward for it, meritorious (conduct) has reached the ultimate relinquishing.⁶⁵

This idea is echoed in Bodhidharma's rejection of the concepts of sin, merit and reward 罪福, and in Fan Chen's criticism of the motives of certain so-called Buddhists. What all these people share is the warning that,

59) '...Chu Tao-sheng', p.85 f.; T.38,343a.

60) The Hua-yen ching, T,9,599b contains a similar idea. Cf. LXII where the mind constructs a Buddha from a stone, i.e., all is imagination.

61) T.38,334b.; Luk, Vkn, p.8. Note that LXXX quotes this line.

62) T'ang, p.644 says to change 佛 to 法身, for in Chi-tsang's Sheng-man Pao-k'u 勝鬘寶窟) it says, 若法身無淨土論 明法身無淨土.

63) '...Tao-sheng' (MN, XI), p.75

64) Cf. the Ta-mo Ch'an-shih lun 達磨禪師論, "Because one has such a pure mind, one's own mind is said to be the Pure Land." (Darumadaishi no kenkyū p.464).

65) Cf. '...Chu Tao-sheng', p.265.

You must not let yourself be lured into the world by the prospect of pleasure in Heaven.⁶⁶

Tao-sheng and the Long Scroll both refer to the Tathagatagarbha. Tao-sheng said that "the garbha (store?womb) is the Principle which is eternal bliss, is hidden and has not yet come to light."⁶⁷ The Long Scroll opens its theoretical discourse with the following:

Entrance via Principle....ordinary (people) and saints share an identical true nature, but due to adventitious contamination it is covered in falsity and cannot shine forth. (II)⁶⁸

It would be a logical extrapolation from Tao-sheng's statements that "all creatures are the Buddha without exception, and are all in Nirvana"⁶⁹, and that the "Buddhas ...are the Buddhas in the waters of our minds", to say that our mind is the Buddha and that only we ourselves can ultimately save ourselves. This is a central theme in the Long Scroll and later Ch'an.

The mind is the Way. (XVIII)

When one understands, the mind is the Buddha. (LXXXV)

Since it is illogical to pray to oneself, Tao-sheng could say;

The Principle does not allow of supplication. (The Buddha) is always present within reality, so what else is there to be prayed to?⁷⁰

The Long Scroll comes to a similar conclusion:

"How does the Buddha liberate creatures?" Answer, "When the images in a mirror liberate creatures, the Buddha will liberate creatures." (LX)

Thus the idea of control and suppression of the mind is anathema to both Tao-sheng and the Long Scroll's authors, for the awakening is sudden and final,

66) Ibid., p.81. This is Tao-sheng's comment.

67) Ibid., p.253,

68) 理入者---凡聖同一真性. 但為客塵妄覆, 不能顯了.

69) '...Chu Tao-sheng', p.251.

70) 理可不請. 內實常存, 又何所請耶 (Ibid., p.248 f.) Cf. Luk, Vkn, p. 120, "Seeing reality in oneself is how to see the Buddha", 如自觀身實觀佛亦然, which I would rather translate as, "If one sees oneself as real, see the Buddha likewise."

an unforced change in the state of the mind. So Tao-sheng warns:

To (try and) contemplate the Principle by suppressing ^伏 the mind is the partiality ^{偏執} shared by the Three Vehicles. One is thus bound....Those who seek the fruits by practising virtues are bound. They receive the rewards of the three worlds and so are bound to birth.⁷¹

The Long Scroll likewise condemns mind-control as misleading.

"What is the demon mind?" Answer: "Shutting one's eyes and entering samādhi." "What if I control my mind in dhyāna and it does not move?" Answer: "This is to be bound by samādhi. It is useless." (LVI)

Bodhidharma (?) quoted a sutra as proof of this theory.

Seeking is hardship, non-seeking is pleasure. (II)

The reason for this is that there is no need to seek what is already present within oneself.

People of dull faculties seek everywhere for the Way, but do not know where the Way is....i.e. the mind. (XVIII)

The Awakening has to be sudden and natural. Tao-sheng says that;

From life and death up till the Vajra-mind (that of the tenth stage of the Bodhisattva) is a dream. The mind after the Vajra (stage) is awakened fully, and there is nothing more to be seen.⁷²

Up until the Vajra all is a big dream. After the Vajra (stage), one is fully aware.⁷³

The Long Scroll condemns the Vajra (Diamond)-mind as a disturbed mind. (XLVII).

The objectifications out of one's own mind are all a dream. When one is Aware there is no dream. (XIII)

There are many opinions on whether or not Tao-sheng's Instantaneous Awakening is a precursor of the Southern School of Ch'an's Instantaneous (or Sudden) Awakening. Liebenthal suggests that there is a considerable

71) '...Chu Tao-sheng', p.247.

72) T'ang, p.662.

73) 金剛以還皆是大夢。金剛以後乃是大覺也 ('...Chu Tao-sheng', p. 247.).

difference between the two,⁷⁴ for he thinks that Tao-sheng taught a gradual buildup to the highest stage, the point of takeoff, whereas Southern Ch'an, especially Shen-hui, meant by Instantaneous Awakening that a quick-witted person needs no preparation. However, Liebenthal does say that "under the influence of Ch'an Buddhism the interest in Tao-sheng revived."⁷⁵

Hu Shih thinks Tao-sheng's Instantaneous Awakening was a revolution in Chinese thought which was preached in opposition to Indian gradualism and was thus a basis of the Ch'an School. He thinks that it did not appear in early Ch'an because the complex philosophies of T'ien-t'ai's chih-kuan and the rankings inherent in the chiao-p'an ~~教判~~ system popular in the Sui and early T'ang demanded a gradualism in Awakening. Note that Hu Shih has alluded to Tao-sheng's other ideas as being influences on Ch'an.⁷⁶

T'ang Yung-t'ung claims that Tao-sheng's philosophy is based on a synthesis of Prajñāpāramitā ideas on śūnyatā (emptiness) and Nirvana Sutra ideas on the Buddha-nature, and that the neglect of the Prajñā side led later Nirvana Sutra students into the pitfall of claiming the existence of a soul. In his opinion it was the Ch'an School that avoided this mistake. It took over the theory of seeing the Buddha-nature in an instantaneous awakening.⁷⁷

Japanese scholars tend to stress the difference between Tao-sheng and the Ch'an School. D.T.Suzuki, quoting a passage in the Ching-te chuan-teng lu (T.51,444b) in which a pupil of Ma-tsu states that Seng-chao and Tao-sheng's teachings are too academic to be of use in Ch'an practice, says there was no mention made by Ch'an monks of a connection with Tao-sheng.⁷⁸ Ui Hakuju

74) '...Chu Tao-sheng', p.90.

75) "...Tao-sheng', (MN,XI), p.309.

76) Kamata Shigeo, Chūgoku Kegon shisōshi no kenkyū I (hereafter Kamata I), p. 411 f., summarises these arguments. Cf. Hu Shih, Shen-hui Ho-shang i-chi, pp. 39-41.

77) T'ang, p.633; Ch'en, p.116 f.

78) Suzuki II, p.40.

says there is no connection between the two advocates of Instantaneous Awakening, for Tao-sheng's was a purely academic theory.⁷⁹ Kamata thinks likewise, but does at least mention that Seng-chao was often quoted by the Ch'an monks.⁸⁰

Ocho Enichi, on the other hand, thinks that there was a connection and that Tao-sheng was influential in Ch'an circles.⁸¹

In any case it would appear that although Tao-sheng's theories about meditation were more theoretical than practical, it is probable that his ideas were still circulating in Buddhist circles during the lifetimes of Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o, and that these two may have adopted Tao-sheng's theories to explain their own methods of practice. There is not enough evidence on the theories of Tao-sheng or Bodhidharma for us to say there is no connection. Nor do I think that we can even truly distinguish between the hints of Instantaneous Awakening in the Long Scroll and the theory found in the works of Shen-hui and the Southern School.

Tao-sheng's doctrines were propagated by his pupil Tao-yu and by Fa-yuan 法瑗 (d.490), and also by Emperor Wen of Sung (r. 424-454A.D., the Yung-chia era), but they do not seem to have been particularly important in Buddhist circles. No school was founded. It was unfortunate for Tao-sheng that he did not live to see the translations of Gunabhadra which introduced a new type of Buddhism whose doctrines may have vindicated Tao-sheng in more of his ideas. His pupil Tao-yu lamented that Tao-sheng did not see the Śrīmālā Sūtra which was translated by Gunabhadra in 436A.D.⁸²

My late teacher's ideas were in unpremediated agreement with those of this sutra. But time waits for no man. It is a pity that the sutra's ideas came

79) Ui I, p.20.

80) Kamata I, p.413.

81) In an address in Zen no sek'ai, titled 'Jiku Dōshō no dongo setsu'.

82) Wayman, The Lion's Roar..., p.9.

later.⁸³

Tao-yu therefore made a commentary on the Śrīmālā himself.

Although there were a number of translators in the South before the fall of the Southern Sung in 479,⁸⁴ Gunabhadra (394-468) was the most important of them. He arrived in Kuang-chou in 435 and immediately began translating. The breadth of his translations is considerable, ranging from the Hinayana Agamas and Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma to the Vijnānavādin Hsiang-hsu chieh-t'o ching 相續解脫經 (the last two chapters of the Samdhinirmocana)⁸⁵ and Tathagatagarbha works.⁸⁶ Of his translations, the most important for future developments were the Śrīmālā and Laṅkāvatāra sutras. Although both of these had already been translated by Dharmakṣema in Northern Liang⁸⁷, it appears that they were lost or neglected in later times. Perhaps the texts were rare, for after Dharmakṣema's assassination in 433, Northern Liang was conquered in 439 and all the monks were brought east, and this was followed by the Northern Wei persecution (466). So the books may not have escaped these dangers as his translation of the Nirvana Sutra did.⁸⁸

Today it is the Gunabhadra translation of the Śrīmālā, done in 436 with

83) 先師昔義，闍與經同，但歲不待人，經集義後，良可悲哉！ (T'ang, p.673)

84) E.g., Buddhabhadra (d.429); Fa-hsien, and Guṇavarman (367-431). Guṇavarman translated the Lotus, Daśabhūmika and he transmitted the Bodhisattva precepts to the South for the first time, and also the Theravadin meditation. (Cf. T'ang pp.396-400).

85) T'ang, p.400. This is the first pure Vijnānavāda work transmitted to China. However, Weinstein, 'The Concept of Ālayavijñāna in Pre T'ang China', in Yuki Fest, p.33 says it attracted no attention.

86) T'ang, p.400.

87) Weinstein, op.cit., p.48, note 1, doubts this claim that appears in T.48, 84b, for it is not in the earlier catalogue of Seng-yu, the Ch'u San-tsang chi chi. However, Seng-yu was in the South. It was lost by 730. (Cf. T.55, 520a).

88) T'ang, p.402.

the help of the translator Pao-yun 寶雲 (d.449) and amanuensis Hui-kuan (a disciple of Kumārajīva, d.443); which has the earliest known commentaries⁸⁹, and is presumably the version that T'an-lin annotated.

According to Tao-hsuan, it is the four-chuan Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra (楞伽阿跋多羅寶經) that Bodhidharma gave to his pupil Hui-k'o. In later times the Guṇabhadra translation of this sūtra was very popular amongst the early Ch'an monks, who often commented upon it.⁹⁰ The Leng-chia shih-tzu chi 楞伽師資記 even makes Guṇabhadra the first patriarch of the Ch'an School. Despite the difficulty of the language in the Guṇabhadra translation⁹¹, nearly all the commentaries on the Lanka are based on this translation. One of the two Tibetan translations is in fact a translation of Guṇabhadra's Chinese.⁹² The reason for its transmission and popularity in Tibet seems to have been its popularity amongst the early Ch'an followers, the so-called Lanka School. The Guṇabhadra translation is the shortest version, for it does not include the irrelevant and repetitious 'Ravaṇa' and 'Dhāraṇī' chapters, nor the 'Sagāthakam' chapter.⁹³

Guṇabhadra was also a scholar of the Avataṃsaka Sūtra. From the works he seems to have favoured most, we can conjecture that his personal belief was a mixture of the Tathagatagarbha theory and the new Vijnānavādin or Yogācāra

89) Wayman, The Lion's Roar..., p.9 f.

90) SL, p.52 f. Cf. T.50,666b, Fa-ch'ung biog.

91) SL, p.9.

92) Ibid., pp.11 and 13.

93) Ibid., p.16 and table ff. The 'Ravana' describes a mythical setting for the sūtra's preaching and summarises ideas from the later chapters. The 'Dharani' is only a collection of transcriptions of magical sounds, and the 'Sagāthakam' is a collection of verses, some of which appear in the older text. The 'Sagāthakam' was probably written in the fifth century, for it seems to mention the Hephthalite invasion and the fall of the Guptas. Cf. LS, p.289, v.786, 'the Mlecchas'. Bodhiruci's translation (T.16,548a) has, "The Guptas and then the Wayless king" 掘多, 次有無道王. Cf. also Hsuan-tsang's trsl., T.16,638b.

philosophy.

Despite the growing popularity of the Nirvana Sutra's ideas and the growth of the Satyasiddhi doctrines in the South, the followers of Kumārajīva who maintained the Mādhyamika (San-lun) ideals preserved a rather tenuous lineage, and interest in their ideas only revived with the encouragement of Emperor Wu of Liang.⁹⁴ Although many scholars have linked the early Ch'an teachers with this She-shan San-lun School⁹⁵, there appear to be several reasons to doubt this.

Although Tao-sheng had already reached a synthesis of the Nirvana Sutra and the Prajñāpāramitā, a number of 'key links' in the San-lun genealogy rejected the Nirvana Sutra. We have already seen how members of one line, Hui-kuan and Seng-tsung 僧宗, did not understand the Nirvana Sutra doctrines. Seng-sung 僧嵩 at first rejected the Nirvana Sutra, but returned to it later in life. Many of the subsequent members of this lineage⁹⁶ opposed the followers of the Nirvana Sutra, thinking that its ideas on nirvana contradicted the San-lun theory of emptiness⁹⁷, yet many of them could not even distinguish the Satyasiddhi doctrine from that of their own profession. Seng-sung's pupil, Seng-yuan, was known for his Satyasiddhi studies, not for any connection with San-lun studies. In fact the San-lun lineage, if there ever was one, seems to have stopped with Seng-yuan.⁹⁸

Seng-lang 僧朗 (d.515) revived knowledge of the San-lun in the South by travelling North to Ch'ang-an to study, and on his return he received Emperor Wu's patronage. He attacked Satyasiddhi ideas. Seng-ch'uan 僧綽 (d.528+),

94) Hurvitz, 'Chih-i', p.77; T'ang, p.730 f.; Ch'en, p.131.

95) T'ang, p.789 f.; Bukkyō no shisō VII, (Chūgoku Zen), pp.77 and 89; ZSS, pp. 440-445; Hirai Shunei, 'Shoki Zenshū shisō no keisei to Sanronshū' in Komazawa Daigaku, Shūgaku kenkyū V, pp.75-79.

96) Robinson, op.cit., p.163.

97) Ajia, p.169.

98) Robinson, p.164; T'ang, p.502. Both of these men lived in the North.

ordered by Emperor Wu to study San-lun, was famed for his expertise in this and in the Avataṃsaka Sūtra.⁹⁹ One of Seng-ch'uan's pupils, Hui-pu 慧布 (518-587) came to see Hui-k'o.¹⁰⁰ We know very little about the teachings of these monks, but Seng-ch'uan's pietistic and academic tendencies¹⁰¹ seem to separate him from the early Ch'an groups. One thing we know for certain is that this She-shan San-lun clique and their lay friends such as Chou Yung 周愚 (n.d., died ca. 500A.D.+, a student of the Chao Lun) taught and discussed doctrines in the ch'ing-t'an manner and concentrated on the analysis of the two truths.¹⁰² Chou Yung said that the Prajñā P taught that "empirical names are empty" 假名空, and he attacked the Satyasiddhi by saying that it contained the mutually contradictory theses, "the non-emptiness of empirical names" 不空假名 and "emptiness is an empirical name" 空假名.¹⁰³ In other words their ideas were predominantly ontological and epistemological, unlike Ch'an's emphasis on the psychological.

Emperor Wu of Liang, who misunderstood the cardinal Buddhist principles of non-ego and nirvana, could still regard the Prajñā P in particular, and the Nirvana Sutra, as the peaks of Buddhist wisdom. He encouraged the study of both.¹⁰⁴ Monks in his circle seem to have often discussed Buddha-nature.¹⁰⁵ Pao-liang 寶亮 (d.509) misinterpreted the Nirvana Sutra and denounced the idea of non-ego as Hinayana doctrine. He posited the existence of an eternal "divine substratum of the spirit/soul" 神明妙體, which he equated with the

99) Cf. Kamata I, p.325; Robinson, op.cit., p.165 for Seng-lang.

100) T.50, 480c.

101) Robinson, op.cit., p.166.

102) T'ang, p.732.

103) Ibid., p.741; Nan Ch'i shu, p.731.

104) T'ang, pp.703, 731, 734.

105) Cf. Ch'en, p.128 f.

Nirvana Sutra's Buddha-nature and which he supposed was realized at the Diamond-mind stage. This soul was supposedly beyond both the worldly truth of impermanence and suffering and thus equal to the real truth of emptiness.¹⁰⁶ We do not know whether or not he, like Emperor Wu, also divided the mind into the soul or Buddha-nature element (the substratum ^{用體}) and the normal mind that is the former's function ^用 . Emperor Wu's concept of the mind was primitive. He thought that just because we have a mind, unlike insentient things, we can become Buddhas.¹⁰⁷ His method of realizing this potential of the mind was a negative, defensive one:

Therefore practitioners (should) always unify the mind and not allow it to be disturbed, i.e.... to be self-aware, inspecting and guarding the senses to prevent them being tainted.¹⁰⁸

As Tao-hsuan says, these debates were little more than games:

By the time of Emperor Wu of Liang, the meditation school had developed extensively. He searched out and appointed the scholars of the mind in the Empire and gathered them together at the Yang capital (Chien-k'ang). They compared (each other's) depth, and formed classes among themselves.... Although the Buddhist persuasion flourished at this time, they mostly played at skill in debate. Their barbed comments seethed with insults. Ultimately they lacked the reality of a straightforward mind.¹⁰⁹

All this, of course, was anathema to the early Ch'an Buddhists.

In the North, from the death of Dharmakṣema till the beginning of the sixth century, academic theorizing of any sort, or even translation seems to have been very rare. The vicissitudes of war had taken a heavy toll.¹¹⁰ Ch'ang-an, the capital of the Later Ch'in, whose rulers had sponsored Kumārajīva, was

106) Cf. T'ang, p.693 f., and Ch'en, p.129.

107) T'ang, p.711.

108) Ibid., p.708.

109) T.50, 596a.

110) T'ang, p.487. For Dharmakṣema's translations see Treatise, note, p.58.

taken by the Southern Sung in 417. By this time most of Kumārajīva's followers had gone south or had already died. In 418 the Hsiung-nu Ho-lien Po-po, the founder of the Hsia dynasty, attacked Ch'ang-an when Liu Yu's son I-chen had left, and killed all the soldiers in the city, as well as burying many of the clergy and laity alive.¹¹¹ The Ho-lien family persecuted Buddhism¹¹² and so the Buddhism of Ch'ang-an virtually disappeared, and the only surviving Buddhist centres in North China were the Feng Pa state of Northern Yen北燕, centred in Liao-hsi (capital Lung-ch'eng龍城) in the north-east, and the Northern Liang in Kansu.¹¹³ Northern Wei continued to expand, taking Lo-yang in 423, and in 427 they took Ch'ang-an from the Hsia, who were eliminated by 431. In 436 the Northern Wei captured Lung-ch'eng. Many of the monks from the Northern Yen appear to have made their way south before this¹¹⁴, and the rest probably fled to Koguryo, which had expanded into the Liao-tung Peninsula.

Meanwhile, in the Northern Liang (397-439), an old Buddhist stronghold, Buddhism prospered under the patronage of the Chu-chü family.¹¹⁵ In 439 the Northern Wei attacked and captured the Northern Liang capital, with a devastating effect on the Buddhism there. Tao-hsuan records the experiences of a certain Seng-lang;

Seng-lang was a native of Liang-chou. The Wei attacked Liang. The laymen in the city were few, so monks道人 were compelled to fill up the ranks

111) Treatise, p.62.

112) "When Ho-lien Ch'ang took Ch'ang-an, he did not believe in Buddhism, and punished and harmed monks and nuns." (Treatise, note 2, p.62). Ch'ang was the third son of the founder of the dynasty, Po-po. He succeeded his father to the throne in 425.

113) T'ang, p.488.

114) Loc.cit. For example Dharmavikrama曇無竭 a Chinese, took 25 comrades to India in 420 A.D., and he returned to South China (Cf. Feng's suppl. to T'ang, p.32 f.).

115) Treatise, pp.57 f., and 61.

of the army. When the battering rams had determined (the outcome) the whole city fell. They collected the three thousand monks who were in the army on the walls 登城 and took them to the Wei ruler, who said, "Men of the Way should meditate and practise the Way. Now that you have become bandits you must be publicly executed. You will be executed tomorrow." When the time came in the early morning, a red cloud several ten's of feet high crossed the sun's path. Kou Chien-chih, who was trusted by the Emperor, said, "Heaven Above is disagreeing. They really are monks and it was not their intention 本心 (to do this). It desires that you not kill them.".... The Emperor stopped (the execution) and had the captives divided up to perform penal servitude. Only (Seng)-lang and several other monks were separated off and attached to soldiers. When the Wei army was returning east, (Seng)-lang and fellow students deserted on the road...and escaped.¹¹⁶

It is said that over thirty thousand people were moved east after the conquest.¹¹⁷ Some of these people from Liang-chou returned to the clergy and became influential in Northern Wei Buddhism.¹¹⁸ Two notable examples are T'an-yao and Hsuan-kao.

This series of disasters was followed by the Northern Wei persecution (446-452). So calamitous were these events in fact, that we have only hints of what happened in the North from the 430's until the later years of Emperor Hsiao-wen (r.471-499).¹¹⁹ Most of what we do know concerns the official-monks such as the Comptroller of the Clergy, monks such as Fa-kuo, the Indian Shih-hsien 師賢¹²⁰ and his successor T'an-yao, and is found in Wei Shou's Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism.

Dharmakṣema's style of Buddhism seems to have determined the nature and course of Buddhism in Northern Wei until the sixth century. His translation

116) T.50,646c ; T'ang,p.489 f.

117) T'ang,p.489.

118) Treatise,note,p.61.

119) T'ang,pp.402 and 488.

120) Treatise,p.71.

of the Nirvana Sutra was important in the North, not for the discussion of the Buddha-nature (the icchantikā question was not disputed), but for its promotion of a Mahayana vinaya (discipline or precepts). Many of his other translations were concerned with precepts (e.g. the Yogācāra Bodhisattvabhūmi 菩薩地持經, Bodhisattvaprātimokṣa 菩薩戒本, Upāsakaśīla 優婆塞戒經). He made his pupils undergo confession and advocated a strict observance of precepts. His Buddhism was practical, with an emphasis on discipline, the Bodhisattvas and magical powers, and so it spread among the lower classes. For the literati his translations of the Nirvana and kindred sutras offered some addition to the intellectual stimulus provided earlier by Kumārajīva's translations.

Some of Dharmakṣema's pupils wrote commentaries. Tao-lang wrote a commentary on the Nirvana Sutra, in which he "correctly took the Middle Path to be the Buddha-nature."¹²¹ The only other important scholar-monk we know of who was associated with Dharmakṣema was Chih (Hui)-sung¹²², but he starved to death while escaping from the doomed state of Northern Liang. For reasons such as these, Buddhist scholasticism in North China seems to have virtually died out in the fifth century.

The other major element in Northern Wei Buddhism was meditation. The North is usually characterised as the stronghold of meditation in China.¹²³ The most influential teacher of meditation in the North was Hsuan-kao 玄高 (402-444). Unfortunately we do not know for certain who taught Hsuan-kao, nor exactly what sort of mediation he practised. He is said to have studied under a Buddhābhadrā¹²⁴ and to have served a foreign meditator, T'an-wu-pi 曇無毘 for

121) 正以中道為佛性 . T'ang, p.395 f.; Treatise, note, p.58 f.

122) 智慧嵩 . T'ang, p.396; Treatise, p.60.

123) Cf. Hokugi, pp.128-130.

124) 譯跋跋陀, probably not the Mt. Lu Buddhābhadrā who had been translating in the North, as T'ang, p.491, shows. The opposite view is taken in Hokugi, p.42f.

a time. We know nothing certain about either of them.¹²⁵ Judging from Hui-chiao's comments his meditation seems to have been based on the counting of the breath and the resultant return to purity. This was aimed at attaining magical powers.¹²⁶ This meditation was probably done in six stages; counting the breath 數, being conscious of the breath 隨, the halting of the mind's movement (śamatha) 止, the analysis of the mind (vipaśyanā) 觀, reflection upon the mind 還, and the purification of the mind 淨.¹²⁷

After wandering across North China, Kao-hsuan returned to Northern Liang. When it fell he was invited by Tu Ch'ao¹²⁸ to the Northern Wei capital, P'ing-ch'eng, where he became the religious instructor of the crown prince, T'o-pa Huang 晃. Here he was in great danger, for in 438 the first severe restrictions on Buddhism began.¹²⁹ In 444 he and another eminent monk were executed by Emperor Wu of Wei on the instigation of Kou Chien-chih and Ts'ui Hao, who alleged that Huang was using Hsuan-kao's magical powers to assist in a plot against the throne.¹³⁰ "This was apparently an act designed to clear influential clerics out of the entourage of the nobility and bureaucracy"¹³¹ and was soon followed by the full-blooded persecution.

One can see the magical powers attainable by meditation that were admired by people in the life of Hui (or T'an)-shih 慧(曇)始. Although he had studied under Kumārajīva, he concentrated on meditation.¹³² The meditation techniques

125) T'ang, p.492 f.; T.50,397a-398b.

126) T.50,397b.

127) T.50,400c, 遊月六門. 出入盡於數隨往返窮乎還淨. Does this equal the 六妙門.

128) Tu Ch'ao was a relative by marriage of the royal house (Treatise, note, p.61.).

129) Loc.cit.

130) T.50,397c, T'ang, pp.492 and 774.

131) Treatise, note, p.66.

132) Ibid., p.62 f.; P.Lee, Lives of Eminent Korean Monks, pp.40-44.

of these Northerners consisted of breath control, the contemplation of impure things and mindfulness of the Buddha.¹³³

Official patronage encouraged this emphasis on meditation. After the persecution, T'an-yao had many caves carved out for meditators in the vicinity of P'ing-ch'eng, and one cluster of these even accommodated up to three thousand monks.¹³⁴ In this period, Mt. Sung^{嵩山} near Lo-yang also was becoming a centre of meditation and austerity.¹³⁵ With the move to Lo-yang (494), the Emperor Hsiao-wen built Shao-lin Temple in 496 for the Indian meditation master Fo-ta^{佛陀} who had previously been living near P'ing-ch'eng in a temple especially set aside for him.

At the time Emperor Hsiao-wen (of Wei) respected and exalted him (Fo-ta) so sincerely that he established a special monastery^{禪林} for him, and had the stone cut into a niche (for statues?) to bind his followers by fixing their thoughts on it (?). The national wealth was contributed to make up the difference....In the city of Heng-an (P'ing-ch'eng) lived the K'eng family who were millionaires and who deeply revered Buddhism. They built a separate cloister^院 for Fo-ta.¹³⁶

The patronage of this line of meditators was continued when Emperor Wen-hsuan of Northern Ch'i gave the temple to Seng-ch'ou^{僧稠}.¹³⁷

The popularity of meditation in the North is in total contrast to the South. From the start of Liang rule on, the Kao-seng chuan records no Southern meditators in the relevant section, and in the Hsu Kao-seng chuan there are only six recorded, three of whom came either from the North (e.g., Seng-fu or Hui-ch'u) or from the southernmost outposts of the Empire (e.g., Hui-sheng at

133) T'ang, p. 774 f.

134) Ibid., p. 775; Cf. Kao Yun's Lu-Yuan fu (鹿苑賦), 鑿仙窟以居禪 cf. T. 52, 339b.

135) T'ang, p. 775.

136) T. 50, 551a-b; Ajia, p. 156; T'ang, p. 776; Treatise, p. 82.

137) Ajia, p. 157.

Chiao-chih 交趾).¹³⁸

In the reign of Emperor Hsiao-wen (r.471-499) scholastic activity revived in the North. This revival centred mainly on the pupils of Seng-yuan 僧淵 (414-482), who in turn was a pupil of Seng-sung. Although Wei Shou says that Seng-sung received the Satyasiddhi Śāstra 成實論 from Kumārajīva¹³⁹, Hui-chiao does not make this connection and seems to have rejected Seng-sung's teachings as heretical.¹⁴⁰ When Seng-yuan was young, he went to Pai-ta Temple 白塔寺 at Hsü-chou (i.e. P'eng-ch'eng) and there studied the Satyasiddhi and Abhidharma doctrines under Seng-sung.¹⁴¹

Three of Seng-yuan's pupils were highly respected by the T'o-pa Emperor Hsiao-wen. They provided the philosophical basis for his faith. In 495 the Emperor visited Seng-yuan's residence, Pai-ta Temple.¹⁴² One of these three pupils there, T'an-tu 曇度 (d.489) was probably the most versed in the Satyasiddhi. T'an-tu had come to Hsu-chou from Chien-k'ang, where he had studied the Nirvana, Lotus, Vkn and Prajñā P.sutras. He was requested by Hsiao-wen to come to P'ing-ch'eng, where he stayed preaching to his thousand students till his death.¹⁴³

Tao-teng 道生 was also very influential with Hsiao-wen. He had studied the Nirvana, Lotus and Śrīmālā sutras at Hsu-chou, where also he later studied the Satyasiddhi with Seng-yuan. He accompanied the Emperor on his campaign against the Southern Ch'i¹⁴⁴, and the Emperor was grief-stricken when he died in 496. While he was in Lo-yang he was respected by high officials and clergy alike.¹⁴⁵

138) T'ang, p.794.

139) Treatise, p.80.

140) T.50,373a; Robinson, op.cit., p.164.

141) T.50,375a.

142) Treatise, p.80. The Emperor is said to have linked Seng-sung with Kumārajīva.

143) T.50,375b; Treatise, note, p.81.

144) Treatise, p.82 and note, p.81.; Nan Ch'i shu, p.794. (145 on next page).

The third pupil, Hui-chi (慧記 or 紀) was also favoured by this Emperor.¹⁴⁶ Besides the Satyasiddhi, he was also an expert on the Sarvāstivādin treatises.¹⁴⁷

Another monk who was very influential with Hsiao-wen was a certain Tao-pien 道平 (n.d.) who hailed from the north-east. His teacher is not named. Tao-pien was a commentator and scholar. He first lived in P'ing-ch'eng and then Lo-yang. He detected that a popular ^{sutra}, the Ta fa-tsun wang ching 大法尊王經, was a forgery, and had it burnt. He wrote commentaries on the Vkn, Śrīmālā, Vajracchedika and Prajñā P sutras, and wrote two compendia on the Hinayana and Mahayana.¹⁴⁸ His pupils, however, seem to have been hermits.¹⁴⁹

We have lists of other important monks of this period in the Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism, but we know virtually nothing about them.¹⁵⁰

The revival of translation projects began only after Hsiao-wen's death. We hear of only one translator in the North after Dharmakṣema and before 500A.D., a mysterious Chi-chia-yeh 吉迦夜 who is supposed to have translated the Fu-fa tsang yin-yuan chuan 付法藏因緣傳 and Ching-t'u ching 淨土經 together with T'an-yao.¹⁵¹ However, the next phase of translation activity

145) T.50,471c. He died between 500 and 504 (T.50,472a).

146) Treatise, note, p.81.

147) T.50,375b. Cf. Ch'en, p.131.

148) T.50,471c; Treatise, note, p.84.

149) T.50,471c.

150) Treatise, p.84; Robinson, op.cit., p.164; T'ang, p.502 f.

151) T'ang, Feng suppl., p.37. T.50,428a mentions a nameless Indian who translated these works. Could he be Ch'ang-na-yeh-she 常那邪舍, *Jñānayaśas, who is supposed to have helped T'an-yao translate 14 scriptures. For this man see Treatise, p.73, T'ang, p.499 f. Seng-yu lists his works as, Tsa Pao-tsang ching 雜寶藏經, Fu fa-tsang yin-yuan ching 付法藏因緣經, Fang-pien hsin lun 方便心論 (T.55,13b). Tao-hsuan adds the Ta-fang-kuang p'u-sa-ti ching 大方廣菩薩地經 of 472 (T.55,268c).

does not begin until the first decade of the sixth century when the Northern Wei capital of Lo-yang attracted large numbers of foreign monks, amongst whom were several talented scholars.

Although not completely accurate, T'ang's table comparing the number of translators and chuan translated in each dynasty indicates that far more translation was done in the South during our period than in the North.¹⁵² The North, after its unification by the Northern Wei in 439, seems to have been frequently cut off from India and Central Asia west of Sinkiang until about 500A.D. by the wars and troubles there which were caused in the main by the Hephthalites; whereas the South, under the Liu Sung, Southern Ch'i and Liang had a constant supply of foreign translators who arrived by sea. However, T'ang's figures belie the importance of the work done in the North, for most of the doctrinal developments that were new to the Chinese were introduced in Lo-yang and Yeh. Of the translators in the South before Paramārtha's arrival in 546, only Gunabhadra's works were significant in that they introduced strikingly new themes and doctrines. The works of the other Southern translators seem to have been translations either of slightly different versions of sutras already translated or of works unimportant for further doctrinal development, being centred on Vinaya, Abhidharma, and Hinayana types of meditation.¹⁵³ Moreover, since all but one of the Northern translators arrived in the North after 501A.D., the impact of their work was much more effective and dramatic than in the South, for in the same post-500 A.D. period there were few translators in the South, and of whom only Paramārtha was the equal of the translators in the North in ability.

The new Buddhism that these translators introduced to the North was that

152) T'ang, p.412 f.; Liu Sung-22 men and 717 chuan: N.Ch'i-7;33: Liang-8;201: Wei-12;274: N.Chou-4;29: N.Ch'i-2;52 chuan.

153) T'ang, pp.396-400 and Feng suppl., pp.28-32.

of the Vijnānavāda treatises, especially those by Vasubandhu. Guṇabhadra had already translated a part of one of the earliest of the Vijnānavādin works (attributed to a semi-mythical Maitreya), a part of the Samdhinirmocana. He had also brought the Laṅkāvatāra, which combines elements of the Vijnānavādin (or Yogācārin) philosophy with the Tathagatagarbha tenets, to produce a new synthesis, which D.T.Suzuki called Cittamātra. This sutra was again translated by Bodhiruci in 513, and the 'Cittamātra' 唯心 synthesis, according to some scholars, appears again in Paramārtha's translations.¹⁵⁴

In North China from 500A.D. until the Sui dynasty there were some fifteen foreign translators, of whom the most important were Bodhiruci (508+), Ratnamati (508+), Prajñāruci (538-542), Vimokṣasena (to 541), Buddhāśanta (520-39, probably earlier if he took part in the 508 translation of the Ti-lun) and Narendrayaśas (b.517, in China 556-89).¹⁵⁵ We should note that T'an-lin, the reputed author of the preface to the Long Scroll was an amanuensis, preface-writer or assistant to Bodhiruci, Prajñāruci, Buddhāśanta and Vimokṣasena.¹⁵⁶

Bodhiruci was a prodigious translator, the most important of his translations being Vijnānavādin, (e.g., the Samdhinirmocana 深密解脫經, the Vajracchedika commentary by Vasubandhu 金剛般若經論, the Sukhāvatīvyūha-upadeśa 無量壽經論 and the Saddharmapundarikopadeśa 法華經論 by Vasubandhu), Tathagatagarbhin (e.g., Ratnagotravibhāga 寶性論) and of course the Lankā in ten chuan 入楞伽經).¹⁵⁷ Prajñāruci translated Vasubandhu's

154) Takasaki, A Study of the Ratnagotravibhāga, p.53; Katsumata Shunkyo, Bukkyō ni okeru shinshikisetsu no kenkyū, p.627.

155) T'ang, pp.402 ff. The dates in brackets denote the period during which they were in China.

156) W.Liebenthal, 'Notes on the Vajrasamādhi' in T'oung Pao, XLIV, (1956), pp.385 f.; T.55,268-270 and T.55,542-3 for a list. Tao-hsuan notes that there is a possibility of confusion in the works and names of Prajñāruci and Bodhiruci, (T.55,270a; T.50,429a). I think the same may apply to Dharmaruci and Prajñāruci, especially over the Chin-ssu wang ching 金色王經, translated by both?

157) T'ang, p.402; Treatise, note, p.101 f., differ slightly. Cf. T.55,269c.

Wei-shih lun 唯識論¹⁵⁸, and Buddhaśānta translated the Mahāyānasamparigraha śāstra 攝大乘論 in 531. This is a major work which was retranslated by Paramārtha in 563 together with Vasubandhu's commentary; the She-lun.¹⁵⁹

However, the book that seems at first to have been the most influential in new doctrinal departures was the Daśabhūmividyākhyāna (十地經論, more commonly known as the Daśabhūmikāsūtraśāstra or Ti-lun) by Vasubandhu. It was probably translated between 508 and 511 in a supposed team effort by Bodhiruci, Ratnamati and Buddhaśānta.¹⁶⁰ There are several contradictory stories about this translation. The preface to it by Ts'ui Kuang 崔光 and an entry in the Li-tai san-pao chi say that in 508 Bodhiruci and Ratnamati recited the text and Buddhaśānta put it into Chinese.¹⁶¹ In Tao-hsuan's biography of Bodhiruci he states that,

The works were transmitted by Bodhiruci. Then the three virtuous monks each followed hearsay and transmitted their teachers' practices, and did not consult each other.

The Emperor, wishing to avoid trouble, had each of them translate separately and then had Ts'ui Kuang (?) collate the translations and decide upon a final version.¹⁶²

In the Tao-ch'ung HKSC biography, it says that only Bodhiruci and Ratnamati did the translation, each being guarded in different rooms for about four years, so that an impartial translation could be produced. It records an

158) Later translated by Paramārtha and Hsuan-tsang (唯識二十論. Prajñā-uci's title has the interesting of Ta-ch'eng leng-chia ching wei-shih lun 大乘楞伽經唯識論, which connects it to the Lanka. Hsuan-tsang's translation has been translated by C.H. Hamilton, American Oriental Series, XIII (1938). This work attempts to refute all opponents of 'representation only' (唯識, vijñaptimātra).

159) Takamine Ryoshū, Kegonshisōshi, p. 115.

160) Treatise, note, p. 30.

161) T'ang, p. 848 f., Weinstein, op. cit., p. 34. For Ts'ui Kuang's biog., see Wei-shu LXVII. His dates are 452-523.

162) T. 50, 429a; T'ang, p. 849.

obviously apocryphal story that on collation it was found that only one character differed.¹⁶³

In Hui-kuang's 慧光 HKSC biography it says that Ratnamati was the first to translate the Ti-lun.¹⁶⁴

As Buddhaśānta's time of residence in China (that is if he is not the same person as meditation master Fo-ta) is said to have been from 520 to 539, it seems that it could only have been Ratnamati and Bodhiruci who translated the Ti-lun and that any arguments over the meanings of passages in the translations were between these two. The results of this dispute between these two contemporaries of Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o was the formation of two schools, the Northern and Southern Ti-lun Factions.

The Daśabhūmikasūtra is a sutra that now also forms part of the Avatamsaka Sūtra, and is known to predate the famous Mādhyamika founder, Nāgārjuna.¹⁶⁵ The Daśabhūmikasūtra explains the significance of the ten stages of the Bodhisattva, the growth of wisdom and compassion in each, and the Bodhisattva conduct in terms of the ten appropriate pāramitās, instead of the usual six.¹⁶⁶ The sutra supports the idea that the mind, the Buddha and creatures are one,¹⁶⁷ and that the three realms are not really made from this mind, but are rather deluded mental states.¹⁶⁸

If one wishes to know the Buddhas of the three ages one should contemplate as follows. The mind creates the Tathagatas.¹⁶⁹

163) T.50,482a; See W.Liebenthal, 'New Light on the Mahāyāna Śraddhotpāda śāstra', in T'oung Pao, XLVI, (1958) p.212 for his biog. Bodhiruci wrote 不二不盡 and Ratnamati wrote 定不二不盡.

164) T'ang, p.850; Takamine, Kegon, p.73; Weinstein, op.cit., p.34; T.50,607c.

165) Bukkyō no shisō VI (Kegon), p.64; Ramanan, op.cit., p.32.

166) D.T.Suzuki, Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism, pp.311-329 which is based on the Daśabhūmika.

167) 心佛衆生是三無差別, Bukkyō no shisō VI, (Kegon), p.75.

168) Ibid., pp.75 and 111.

169) Ibid., p.76, the 'verse destructive of hell' 破地獄偈.

The śāstra (lun) preaches the stages via groupings of practice methods. It uses the Vijñānavādin terminology of Ālayavijñāna and Ādāna (or manas) to explain this. This terminology being new to the Northerners, attracted much attention.¹⁷⁰ Although it is not clear what in the Ti-lun gave rise to the dispute between Bodhiruci and Ratnamati and the subsequent establishment of the Northern and the Southern Ti-lun Factions, it may have hinged upon the famous verse in the Daśabhūmikasūtra, "The three realms are false, they are just the creation (work) of the mind,"¹⁷¹ This becomes "The three realms are false, they are just the creation of the One Mind" in Bodhiruci's translation of the śāstra.¹⁷² It is considered that Vasubandhu meant by the One Mind the True Mind 真心.¹⁷³ Thus in Vasubandhu's works the problem existed of the One Mind's relation to the Ālayavijñāna. Takamine suggests that the root of the difference lies in the fact that Bodhiruci stressed the Ālayavijñāna and Ratnamati the One Mind.¹⁷⁴

This introduces the vexed question of the relationships between the Avatamsaka (Hua-yen), the Tathagatagarbha, the Vijñānavāda and the Cittamātra strands of Buddhist thought. In other words, the question is whether the Avatamsaka, in particular the Daśabhūmi chapter's One Mind 一心 and Mind-Only 唯心¹⁷⁵ forms the basis for the Vijñānavādin wei-shih 唯識 (vijñāna-mātra or vijñaptimātra) and Ālayavijñāna, and whether or not they in turn are equal to the Tathagatagarbhin Buddha-nature 佛性 or not. The Cittamātra (i.e. the Lanka and Ch'i-hsin lun) seems to be an amalgamation of the

170) Hokugi, p.40 f.

171) 三界虛妄但是心作 (T.10,514c). This is the Buddhābhaddra and Kumārajīva translation of the sūtra.

172) 三界虛妄但是一心作 (T.26,169a).

173) Kamata I, p.505.

174) Takamine, Kegon, p.76.

175) Ibid., p.64.

Avatamsaka, Vijñānavāda and Tathāgatagarbha doctrines. In Cittamātra the 'Mind Only' 唯心 equals the Buddha-nature, the Tathāgatagarbha 如來藏 and the Ālayavijñāna 阿賴耶.¹⁷⁶

Bodhiruci translated both the Samdhinirmocana and the Lanka, and he also preached and wrote a commentary on the latter, which shows how important he thought it was.¹⁷⁷ Takamine hints that the question that bothered Bodhiruci was the relationship of the Ālayavijñāna, the Tathāgatagarbha and the number of vijñānas.

The Ālayavijñāna is called the Tathāgatagarbha and yet it exists together with the ignorant seven vijñānas....Because the Tathāgatagarbha-vijñāna is not in the Ālayavijñāna, the seven kinds of vijñāna have birth and cessation, (whereas) the Tathāgatagarbha-vijñāna neither arises nor ceases. ...Apart from the Ālayavijñāna there is no arising or cessation. Because all ordinary people and saints rely on the Ālayavijñāna they are born and die (and yet) by relying on it practitioners (can) therefore enter what proof is manifested (of it) by the holy practices within themselves.... because the Tathāgatagarbha is pure.¹⁷⁸

In other words the Tathāgatagarbha and Ālaya are distinguished and yet equal. This is because the Ālaya has a dual role; it can be pure and yet with the arising of the seven vijñānas it is contaminated, impure.

Ratnamati, however, was mostly concerned with the Avatamsaka and the Ratnagotravibhāga, which preach of the pure mind of the Tathāgatagarbha and the Buddha-nature.¹⁷⁹ Takasaki says that the Southern Ti-lun Faction that traced its origin to Ratnamati gave rise to the Hua-yen, a "school which emphasises the 'cittamātra' theory...along with 'dharmadhātu' and 'tathāgata-

176) For the relation of the Tathāgatagarbha and Ālaya, see Wayman, The Lion's Roar... p.53. Takasaki, Ratnagotra..., p.53 says that the Cittamātra is a post-Vasubandhu but pre-Dharmapala development. Cf. Katsumata, op.cit., p.627 and Kamata I, p.506.

177) T.70,653.

178) Bodhiruci translation of the Lanka, T.16,556-7.

179) Takamine, Kegon, p.77; Liebenthal, 'New Light...', p.204.

-garbha' against the 'vijñāptimātra' and 'ālayavijñāna'." ¹⁸⁰

Such a difference may have existed between Ratnamati and Bodhiruci and even between their immediate pupils, but later doctrinal developments and certain features of the Lanka give rise to some doubts about this. The Lanka contains the term 'One Mind', which the Avatamsaka-centred Ratnamati is supposed to have stressed. Suzuki interprets this One Mind (ekacittam) as being that which underlies all differentiated existences. ¹⁸¹ Liebenthal has identified a phrase in the Bodhiruci Lanka that probably is derived or quoted from the Daśabhūmikasūtra. ¹⁸²

For an account of the later developments in the Ti-lun Factions and the role of the Lanka in it, it is first necessary to direct our attention southwards again and examine the role of the next great translator in China, Paramārtha. ¹⁸³ After his arrival at Kuang-chou from India in 546, he was invited to Chien-yeh (Chien-k'ang) by Emperor Wu of Liang in 548 in order to head a translation project, but the Hou Ching rebellion of 548 prevented him from beginning his work and he had to flee back south. He was invited back to Chien-yeh by Hou Ching (552) and there he translated the Chin-kuang-ming ching 金光明經. With the Northern Ch'i invasion in 554 he fled to Yu-chang, and thereafter worked his way south, staying at various places, finally returning to Kuang-chou where he later died (569). ¹⁸⁴ He translated many works, the most important being Vijñānavādin. His most influential translations

180) Takasaki, Ratnagotra, p.8 Cf. T'ang, p.875 f.

181) SL, p.269 and LS, p.284 v.770 (Sagathakam), "Things (phenomena?) are differentiated but the Mind is one."; Relying on Suzuki this appears to be an isolated use restricted to the 'Sagathakam', but see the following footnote.

182) Liebenthal, 'New Light...', p.165; T.16, 530a.

183) 真谛 Cf. Ch'en, p.134 f., and T'ang, pp.855-867 for his life and works.

184) T'ang, p.855. Note that T'ang's dates (p.856) are incorrect. Cf., Ch'en, p.134 f.

were the Mahāyānasamparigraha 攝大乘論 (563), the Mahāyānavijñānamātra-sāstra 大乘唯識論 (i.e. the Vimśatikā), the Madhyāntavibhāga 中邊分別論¹⁸⁵, the Mahānirvānasūtraśāstra 大涅槃經論 by Vasubandhu, and the Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitāśāstra 金剛般若論 also by Vasubandhu. He also translated a biography of Vasubandhu.¹⁸⁶ Paramārtha's effort was important, for he combined the Vijñānavādin and Tathāgatagarbha thought¹⁸⁷, especially equating the, "mind is (Bhūta)tathātā (真如 or Truly So)" of the latter and the, "mind is the Ālayavijñāna" of the former. This line of thought, which was first introduced by Guṇabhadra in the Lanka, differs from the Dharmapāla lineage of Vijñānavāda which was later adopted by Hsuan-tsang.¹⁸⁸ Some scholars think that Paramārtha introduced the Valabhī lineage of Vijñānavāda (i.e. Guṇamati and Stīramati) that emphasised the Truly So rather than the Nālanda lineage (Dignāga, Dharmapāla, Śīlabhadra) that stressed the Ālaya.¹⁸⁹

Some authors think that Paramārtha was more of an independent thinker, inserting his own ideas into his translations of commentaries, especially ideas about the relations between the Amalavijñāna, Ālaya and Ādāna vijñānas.¹⁹⁰ Various theories have been put forward concerning these last three vijñānas and their effect on the history of the Ti-lun and She-lun Factions. The

185) Ch'en, p.135.

186) A partial list of his translations are given in T'ang, pp.866 ff. Cf. Tao-hsuan's list T.55,273. Some of the works listed, such as the Ch'i-hsin lun may be forgeries.

187) Takasaki, Ratnagotra, p.52 calls it unique.

188) Cf. Bukkyō no shisō IV, (Yuishiki), .173.

189) Ibid., p.178 f. Paramārtha translated a Ch'iu-na-mo-ti Sui-hsiang lun 求那摩底隨相論 (T.55,274b).

190) Bukkyō no shisō IV, (Yuishiki), pp.119 and 173; Takasaki Jikido, 'Shindai-yaku Shōdaijōron Seshinshaku ni okeru Nyōraizōsetsu' in Yuki Fest., p.241.

She-lun is usually said to have supported and later to have subsumed the Northern Ti-lun Faction within itself. Most T'ang dynasty writers claimed that Paramārtha and his She-lun Faction taught that there are nine vijñānas, whereas the Ti-lun Factions taught that there are eight.¹⁹¹

However, this theory has been challenged by Yuki Reimon, who claims that the difference is derived from the Lanka translated by Bodhiruci¹⁹², and may even go back to Fa-shang of Ratnamati's line, the Southern Ti-lun.¹⁹³

Because the Lanka is so important in the development of early Ch'an Buddhism we have to consider this problem. The sources for the history of the Ti-lun debate are few, contradictory and secondary, all (with the exception of Hui-yuan) being written by later authors.¹⁹⁴ Since the philosophy of these schools is so complex, I shall merely try to examine them from two angles, from the nature of the ultimate mental cause, and from the enumeration of the different levels consciousness or perception (vijñānas) in its impure state.

According to Liebenthal the nature of the ultimate was the main point of contention between the Ti-lun Factions which was discussed in terms of t'i^體 (substance or substratum).¹⁹⁵ The debate in terms of vijñānas probably came

191) Liebenthal, 'Vajrasamadhi', p.369 f., note 1; 'New light...', p.208 f.; Yuki Reimon, 'Ryōga chii', p.26.

192) Yuki, 'Ryōga chii', p.29.

193) Ibid., p.30. Fa-shang (495-580) was a Comptroller of the Clergy during the Eastern Wei and Northern Ch'i, a post he inherited from his teacher Hui-kuang 慧光 (465-537), who was a pupil of Ratnamati and Comptroller from 534. Both men were interested in Vinaya. Fa-shang was a patriarch of the Vinaya Sect that was later headed by Tao-hsuan. Cf. 'New Light...', p.203 f. and Treatise, note, p.102.

194) Cf. 'Ryōga chii', p.23 f. Most are by Hui-yuan 慧遠 (523-592), but are heavily influenced by the She-lun. Two incomplete chuan of Fa-shang's commentary on the Ti-lun have been found at Tun-huang. Cf. Weinstein, op.cit., p.41.

195) 'New Light...', p.207 f.

later. Thus the T'ien-t'ai commentators Chih-i (531-597) and Chan-jan (716-782) dwell on this aspect. Chan-jan says that,

The Northern Faction of Hsiang-chou (Yeh) maintained Ālaya to be āsraya 依持 (the basis of existence or the vijñānas). The Southern Faction maintained the Bhūtatathātā to be the basis. Although they both relied on Vasubandhu they differed as much as water and fire. Then again the She-lun (school) arose and maintained that Ālaya (was the basis) and so aided the Northern Faction.¹⁹⁶

This is made even clearer by the next quotation from Chan-jan (湛然):

The Southern Faction maintained that dharmatā (nature of phenomena 法性) produces all phenomena. The Northern Faction maintained that Ālaya produces all phenomena.¹⁹⁷

Chih-i makes the difference between the Ti-lun and the She-lun on the nature of phenomena 法性 clear in this passage in his Mo-ho chih-kuan V, part 2:

The Ti-(lun) people say, "All, understanding and delusion, the true and the false, is based on the nature of phenomena. The nature of phenomena supports the true and the false, and the true and the false rely on the nature of phenomena." The She Ta-ch'eng says, "The nature of phenomena is not polluted by delusion, and it is not purified by the True. Therefore the nature of phenomena is not the basis, for we say that the basis is the Ālaya."¹⁹⁸

Yuan-tse 圓則 (Wonch'uk, 613-696), a Silla monk who studied with Hsuan-tsang and opposed his influential fellow student K'uei-chi 窺基 (632-82), says that Bodhiruci wrote a Wei-shih lun 唯識論 in which he said there are two types or aspects of mind.

Bodhiruci's Wei-shih lun says, "There are established two sorts of mind.

196) Ibid., p.204 f. This is from the Fa-hua hsuan-i 法華玄義 (T.33,942c). Cf. 'Ryōga chii', p.25.

197) 'New Light...', p.205. This is from the Fa-hua wen-chū chi 法華文句記 (T.34,285a).

198) 地人云,一切解惑真妄依持法性,法性持真妄,真妄依法性也。攝大乘云,法性不為惑所染,不為真所淨,故法性非依持,言依持者阿梨耶是也。'Ryōga chii', p.24.

One is the mind of the nature of phenomena, (which has) the Truly So ^{真如} as its substratum ^{骨體}. Because this is the nature of the Truly So mind, it is said to be mind but not a conditioner. The second is the yoking mind which is the mind that yokes with faith and greed etc.¹⁹⁹

This latter statement seems to contradict the earlier ones, but I suspect that it reflects the double nature of the mind or \bar{A} laya. Liebenthal concludes that "all we learn about the Northern Faction is that they believed in \bar{a} laya as \bar{a} sraya(basis) of life-death....We learn more about the Southern Faction. They believed in a final, pure principle...called dharmatā, buddhatā, cittatā (法性 nature of phenomena, 佛性 Buddha-nature, 心性 the nature of the mind) ...and they equated this with \bar{a} layavijñāna. This agreed with the Ti-lun", but only in Bodhiruci's translation.²⁰⁰ On the other hand, Liebenthal notes that the idea that all phenomena have their source in the \bar{a} laya is found in the Lanka,²⁰¹ and in the Ti-lun.²⁰² So the Northern Faction may have relied mainly on the Lanka.

Further differences and problems emerge when we consider the number of \bar{a} layavijñāna[~] the contaminated mind is divided into, and what the nature of the \bar{A} layavijñāna[~] and the ultimate is. Again there were two sources of confusion, the Ti-lun and the Lanka. Since Vasubandhu, the author of the Ti-lun, assumed that his readers would know the theory of the \bar{a} layavijñāna[~] from his other works, when the Ti-lun with its scattered and unsystematic references to the

199) 菩提流支唯識論云，立二種心，一法性心真如為骨體，此即真如心之性故，名之為心而非能緣，二相應與信貪等心所相應。Takamine, Keron, p.90 f. This quote is from the Chieh shen-mi ching shu 解深密經疏 Yuki, 'Ryōga chii', says that Yuan-tse was the first to link the Chiu-shih i-chi 九識義記 of Paramārtha with the She-lun's nine vijñāna theory.

200) 'New Light...', p.209; T.26, 124c and 125a.

201) T.16, 557a1 (Bodhiruci).

202) T.26, 577b4; Liebenthal gives these two quotes in 'New Light...', p.205.

ālaya arrived in China, the Chinese, having no understanding of his ālaya theory, soon argued about it.²⁰³

The references in the Ti-lun are ambiguous. The mind that develops with the foetus is said by Vasubandhu to be the ālayavijñāna (T.26,142b), and together with "the six vijñānas and the perfuming of the 'seeds' (within itself)...forms one of the ten categories of worldly bondage" (T.26,188b). On the other hand the ordinary man is advised to seek release in his "ālayavijñāna and ādāna-vijñāna" (T.26,170c) and when he reaches the eighth stage of the Bodhisattva he is no longer affected by illusion because "he abides in the tathatā of the ālayavijñāna."²⁰⁴

These references appeared contradictory to the Chinese students of the Ti-lun, and when they realized that the mind (citta) 心, manas 意 and vijñāna 識 had to be eliminated to reach enlightenment²⁰⁵ they had to try and find a solution by linking them to the ālaya and ādāna vijñānas. Since the ālaya was the basis (āśraya), this brought them back to the question of whether or not it was also equal to the tathatā and pure, or not equal and so impure.²⁰⁶ In other words they asked whether the ālaya is a vijñāna of the false consciousness 妄識 (i.e., does it mislead?) or a vijñāna of the truth 真識 (i.e. is it the ultimate mental condition?) or both.

Vasubandhu's treatises say that there are eight vijñānas. The first five correspond to the five senses, the sixth is the manovijñāna (functions for the volition), the seventh is the manas which is the "source of all illusion for it...mistakenly regards the ālayavijñāna (the eighth) as an eternal, unchanging soul."²⁰⁷ The mind equals the ālaya, so in the Fa-hsiang School of

203) Weinstein, op.cit., pp.35 and 38.

204) T.26,180a. All these references are in Weinstein, op.cit., p.38 f.

205) T.26,125b,179b-c.

206) Weinstein, op.cit., p.39.

207) Ibid., p.36.

Hsuan-tsang at least, a Buddha has no ālaya, but both men and Buddhas have the ādāna, which although partially equal to the ālaya in that it is a store of the seeds of phenomena, is in both because it is neutral and its seeds are all pure.²⁰⁸

Weinstein thinks that when Fa-shang was grappling with the problems of the Ti-lun while writing his Shih-ti-lun i-shu 十地論義疏 (only chuans one and three survive), he turned for a solution to the same passage in the Lanka that probably bothered Bodhiruci. This passage suggests that the Tathāgata-garbha both is and is not the ālayavijñāna.²⁰⁹ Commenting on the Ti-lun verse, "The body of phenomena (Dharmakāya) is free from mind, manas and vijñānas," Fa-shang says;

Mind is the seventh, manas is the sixth and vijñānas means the five vijñānas....When one is free from these seven types of vijñāna, a transformation occurs which leads one to the realization of the wisdom (of enlightenment).²¹⁰

Since he had to solve the problem of the ambiguous tathatā or Tathāgatagarbha, Fa-shang had to make further distinctions.

The first category, (existence seen as) dependent origination, represents the seventh vijñāna which is the ālaya. This is the source 本 of birth and death. The second category, illusory existence, is the mind of the six (other) vijñānas which discriminate falsely and cling to their respective areas of perception (contaminants). The third category, (existence seen as) tathatā 真如 (Truly So), is the Buddha-nature, real truth, the first significance, emptiness....These three categories are not distinct from one another.²¹¹

There still remained the problem of ultimate purity (tathatā) and the ālaya or Tathāgatagarbha. If the ālaya is not the ultimate, it must have a basis

208) Ibid., p.37.

209) Ibid., p.42; T.16,556c f.

210) T.85,763c; Weinstein, op.cit., p.41.

211) T.85,764b; Weinstein, p.42.

(āśraya);

Illusion is dependent upon the tathata (i.e. the āśraya)....Thus the tathāgatagarbha is the source of all phenomena.²¹²

In this sense only is there an eighth vijñāna.

Of the eight vijñānas seven lack substance^體 of their own, being merely separate functions^用 of the tathatā.²¹³

The ālaya as the source of the other six vijñānas is impure, but it is not the ultimate source (āśraya). It is only pure as a function of the ultimate source, the tathatā.²¹⁴ Fa-shang describes the ālaya as a harmony of the pure and impure²¹⁵, and says that the ālaya or mind is the key to liberation, for it is available to us as a function which leads, and is immediate to, the substratum, tathatā.

Enlightenment is in the mind, so it is said to be right in front of one.²¹⁶ Practice means the mind practice.²¹⁷

Sentient beings equally share the One Mind.²¹⁸

This function is the substratum and is also not separated from the substratum. It is correct to take the function for the substratum.²¹⁹

Fa-shang may have taught a sudden awakening like that of Tao-sheng. He provides a theoretical base by saying that "the first stage is all stages"²²⁰, and that stages only express a difference in depth²²¹ (This last is a gradualist idea).

212) T.85,771b-c.

213) Weinstein, op.cit., p.42; T.85,771c.

214) Cf. Weinstein, op.cit., p.43.

215) 染淨和合識 .Ajia, p.181; Cf. 'New Light...', pp.207 ff.

216) 曉在心府, 故曰現前 T.85,764b.

217) 行者謂心行, T.85,769a.

218) T.85,769b.

219) T.85,771c.

220) T.85,767a.

221) T.85,768b.

The Northern Faction, on the other hand, said that there were eight vijñānas. The seventh was called the vijñāna of falsity or ālayavijñāna, so it could not be the vijñāna of truth which they called the Truly So or tathatā. The ālaya is the source of all existence and is substantial (有實體 has a substratum), whereas the eighth vijñāna is empty of substance (空義). It is in these attributions of substance and śūnyatā (emptiness) to the ālaya that differences appear between the Northern and Southern Faction psychologies. Although the source of the above information comes from Hui-yuan's Ta-ch'eng i-chang 大乘義章 'The meaning of the eight vijñānas chapter', he simply says, "some say" 有人云²²² but a quote from Fu-jaku's 普寂 1707-1781) Shō-ron shaku-ryakusho 攝論釋略疏 seems to confirm that it indicates the Northern Faction.

Some establish seven vijñānas and call these the eye-vijñāna up to and including the ādāna. The eighth, ālaya, is the substratum, (but) is not a mental vijñāna (心論 or the mind-vijñāna) because it is the principle of emptiness. Such are Bodhiruci etcetera.²²³

Here again we have a contradiction concerning the position of the ālaya. In the Ti-lun the "ālaya, whether the seventh or eighth vijñāna is left undecided in the extant version, is impure. Only Cosmic Mind (i.e. One Mind), which is not a vijñāna, is pure. ālaya is identical with tathāgatagarbha, the āśraya of life and death."²²⁴

There is some reason to suspect that Fu-jaku is correct. In the quote from Bodhiruci's translation of the Lanka we can see that there are seven vijñānas plus an ālayavijñāna which is the source (āśraya) of the seven, and that the ālaya also has a pure aspect, the Tathāgatagarbha. In all other places in the

²²²) Ajia, p.182.

²²³) T.68,121; Takamine, Kegon, p.91.

²²⁴) 'New Light...', p.205; Cf. T.26,576b 依如來藏故有生滅心.

Lanka the ālaya is equated with the mind (citta), the eighth vijñāna and the Tathāgatagarbha.²²⁵ While ālaya is the āśraya, when the other seven vijñānas are eliminated, it no longer causes existence, and is in its pure aspect.²²⁶ In other words, the ālaya or Mind can be the source of phenomena when disturbed and the goal when calm. This idea was important in practice for it implies that the binder of oneself is that which sets one free. Thus the Lanka would seem to have been the authority for the Northern Faction in their interpretation of the Ti-lun.

This becomes clearer when we consider that a third group, the She-lun Faction, who supposedly proclaimed a ninth vijñāna, supported the Northern Faction. Chi-tsang 吉藏 (549-623) says of the situation;

Old Ti-lun teachers (the Southern Faction according to Liebenthal) considered the seventh vijñāna to be false, and the eighth vijñāna to be real. The teachers of the She Ta-ch'eng considered the eighth vijñāna to be false and and the ninth vijñāna to be real. Furthermore²²⁷, they say the eighth vijñāna has two meanings, one false and one true. In the meaning of the practice of understanding it is true, in the meaning of having recompense (results) it is false. They use the Ch'i-hsin lun which unites arisal and cessation with non-arisal or (non) cessation to from the ālaya substratum.²²⁸

Yuki claims that the nine vijñāna theory did not originate with Paramārtha or the early She-lun School.²²⁹ The theory probably derived from a verse in Bodhiruci's translation of the Lanka, for Yuki notes that Hui-yuan 慧遠 (523-592), the great eclectic pupil of Fa-shang, preaches a system of eight or nine

225) SL, pp.174-177.

226) Ibid., p.185.

227) I think this refers to Hui-yuan or the Northern Faction. Liebenthal, 'New Light...' thinks this refers to yet another group.

228) Chung-kuan lun shu 中觀論疏 (T.42,104c); Cf. 'New Light...' p.208 f.

229) Yuki, 'Ryōga chii', pp.32-35 and 38-41 where he proves that the connection of the Chiu-shih i-chi 九識義記 as a nine vijñāna theory began with a mistake by Yuan-tse.

vijñānas, quoting the Lanka as his authority.

One can also speak of nine, because the Lanka Sutra, 'Sagathakam' chapter says, "The eight or nine sorts of vijñāna are like waves in water." What are their states? There are two distinctions. One is that true and false are divided in order to preach the nine sorts. Within the false seven are distinguished, that is the six object (discriminating senses)²³⁰ vijñānas together with the false vijñāna (manas?). Within the true, two are distinguished, that is the Amala and the Ālaya.... So we get nine in all.... When the True is but one, i.e. the so-called originally pure Amalavijñāna, true and false combine to form eight sorts.... the original vijñāna, the ādāna-vijñāna (manas) and the productive six vijñānas correspond to the previous nine.²³¹

Hui-yuan is here combining the Lanka's suggestion of nine vijñānas with the She-lun's terminology. The She-lun was such an influence on Hui-yuan "that he can no longer be regarded as an orthodox exponent of the Ratnamati-Hui-kuang-Fa-shang tradition."²³² The following quotation from the She-lun by Hui-yuan shows that the She-lun Faction preached only eight vijñānas.

As the She-lun says, "One is the original vijñāna, two is the ādāna-vijñāna and three is the productive six vijñānas."

230) 事識 = object discrimination. Gunabhadra and Bodhiruci seem to differ here. Gunabhadra seems to have three groups of vijñānas, 略說有三種識: 廣說有八相 (識?). 何等爲三. 謂真識, 現識 (the pure and impure ālaya) 及分別事識 T.16,483. Bodhiruci has two groups, 有八種識, 略說有二種. 何等爲二. 一者了別識, 二者分別事識 T.16,552a. Cf. LS, p.33, "eight, two functions generally are distinguishable, the perceiving and the object discriminating." Seven seems to be the usual number.

231) 亦得說九, 故楞伽經總品云, 八九種識如水中之波, 其狀如何. 分別有二. 一真妄, 分別以說九種. 妄中分七, 謂大事識及與妄識, 真中分二, 謂阿摩羅及阿梨耶... 故合有九... 獨真爲一, 所謂本淨阿摩羅識. 真妄和合共爲八種... 共爲本識, 阿陀那識及生起大識通前九也. (Ta-ch'eng i-chang), 'Ryoga chii', p.29.
大乘義章

232) Weinstein, op.cit., p.43.

Hui-yuan's appears to be an original thesis. Although Fa-shang had studied the Lanka²³³, he preached only seven vijñānas, or eight if one counts the tathatā as a vijñāna.

The introduction of She-lun teachings thus had a twofold effect. Hui-yuan adopted its terminology to help create a new theory, and this in turn led to a collapse of the old Southern Faction. On the other hand, the She-lun Faction took over the Northern Faction by supporting its eight-vijñāna theory.

Paramārtha's pupils Chih (Hui)-k'ai 智愷 (518-568) and Fa-t'ai 法泰 (T.50, 431a) and their associates tried to establish a school in Chien-k'ang during the reign of Emperor Wu of Ch'en (r.557-560), but as the Emperor patronized the Mādhyamika, the school declined in popularity, and so they established relations with the Ti-lun Factions of Northern Ch'i. When the Northern Chou persecution reached Yeh, many of the Ti-lun people fled south to join the She-lun school.²³⁴

T'an-ch'ien 曇遷 (542-607) fled South during the persecution to Chin-ling where he studied the Vijñānavāda. He brought back a copy of the She-lun to the North and is reputed to have given lectures on it to Hui-yuan.²³⁵ He introduced the Cittamātra thought of Paramārtha into his own writings.²³⁶

Another Southern Faction monk, Ching-sung 靖嵩 (537-614) fled south in 577 and met one of Fa-t'ai's pupils at Chien-yeh. Ching-sung was thoroughly instructed by him. Note that he wrote a Chiu-shih hsuan-i 九識玄義.²³⁷ As Tao-hsuan comments (T.50,572b):

He propagated the She-lun first of all, and also preached the Lanka ...and was the pioneer of She-lun studies in the North.

233) The quotation is from 'Ryōga chii', p.28. For Fa-shang, p.30 and T.50,485a.

234) Ajia, p.183.

235) Ibid., p.181; Liebenenthal, 'Vajrasamadhi', p.378; T.50,571-4.

236) Bukkyō no shisō VI, (Kegon), p.97. E.g. the Wang shih-fei lun 亡是非論.

237) Liebenenthal, 'Vajrasamadhi', pp.379-382.

Of his pupils Hui-yuan was the most important (T.50,572c). Thus the opinions characteristic of Hui-yuan that we know of date from after 580A.D.

We do not know whether or not Hui-yuan got the idea of the nine vijñānas from his teachers. However, it still seems anomalous that it should be a member of the Southern Faction who created the nine vijñāna theory, for Fa-shang's seventh and eighth vijñānas seem to contain no ambiguity. For him, the eighth is ultimate and final. "The eighth vijñāna... is the final fruit,...²³⁸ (and is) equated with the Buddha-nature which is the true summit of existence."

I think that Hui-yuan, on encountering the She-lun teachings, examined the Northern Faction's contention that the eighth vijñāna, the final one, had a dual nature, and linked this concept, the Lanka's nine vijñānas and the She-lun's terminology together to form a compromise solution. Since of all the Southern Faction who were contemporaries or predecessors of Hui-yuan only two are reported in the HKSC to have studied the Lanka²³⁹, it was probably Hui-yuan who created a separate vijñāna, the Amala, from the dual eighth vijñāna of the Northern Faction. Hui-yuan's Amala was not simply another state of the eighth vijñāna as in the Northern Faction system; it was a separate vijñāna. It seems that Hui-yuan was confused by the Lanka passage. "The nine vijñānas, he contends, can be divided into two groupings; in the first grouping the eighth and ninth vijñāna (ālaya and amala) are pure, while the remaining seven are impure; in the second grouping only the ninth vijñāna is pure."²⁴⁰

The Northern Faction used the Lanka as an authority to say that the eighth vijñāna is the ambiguous Ālaya:

There is the highest Ālayavijñāna, and again there is the ālaya as thought-construction.²⁴¹

238) T.33,794c; 'New Light...', p.206.

239) I.e., Fa-shang (T.50,484a) and T'an-ch'ien (T.50,572b). Most of the others favoured the Nirvana and Vkn in addition to the Ti-lun.

240) Weinstein, op.cit., p.45. Cf. T.44,530c.

241) LS, p.231, v.59.

In the Lanka the ālaya is the mind, which as the line above shows, is dual.²⁴² Therefore for practitioners, the mind in the Lanka is the crucial element in the quest for release for "Tathatā is the Mind emancipated".²⁴³ The mind is also equal to the Tathāgatagarbha which, "holds within it the cause for both good and evil." The evil aspect arises when the manas and the vijñānas disturb the Mind's original calm, making it into the basis (āśraya) of existence.²⁴⁴ The manas is the seventh vijñāna and is false.

The getting rid of the discriminating Mano-vijñāna (sixth),—this is said to be Nirvana....The Manas...has no body of its own....the ālayavijñāna is its cause and support....With it (the Manovijñāna) for its cause and support the Manas secures its use.²⁴⁵

The Manas is thus doubly dependent, and so in Buddhist terms false. The Lanka's system in summary is as follows:

Eight vijñānas..the Tathāgatagarbha known as the ālayavijñāna, Manas, Manovijñāna and the system of the five vijñānas.²⁴⁶

In Bodhiruci's translation these are divided into "good and bad phenomena" (referring to the ālaya's duality), but in Guṇabhadra's translation they are all "the imaginations projected from one's own mind" (referring to the ālaya only in its āśraya aspect).²⁴⁷

The Northern Faction therefore seems to have supported an orthodox interpretation of the Lanka.

The following table tries to set out the psychological systems of the various factions. (I have left out all diacritical marks.)

242) LS, p.234, v.102 and p.235, v.103.

243) LS, p.94.

244) LS, p.190.

245) Loc.cit.

246) Ibid., p.203.

247) Cf. Tokiwa Daijō, Zoku Shina Bukkyō no kenkyū, p.56.

Tentative Reconstruction of the Faction's Systems.

Vijnana no.	South	North	She	Hui-yuan ²⁴⁸
				I II
9				
8	Tathata/Buddha- nature/asraya, 真	如來藏 佛性 { Tathata/empty, B.n. } { } { t'i, Alaya as } { asraya. 骨體 }	{ Tathata } { } { "" "" }	{ Amala, aspect of amala 相 } { is pure 真淨 } { } { impure, false } { function 用 }
7	False Alaya 妄	Adana (manas)	"" ""	"" "" "" ""
6	Manovijnana	Manovijnana	"" ""	"" "" "" ""

The study of the Lanka (especially in the Gunabhadra translation) and of the She-lun was important in some branches of Ch'an as early as Hui-k'o and his pupils.²⁴⁹ Furthermore, in the biography of Hui-k'o in the Leng-chia shih-tzu chi there are quotes from a Shih-ti lun 十地論, but they do not correspond to verses in any known Ti-lun. Quotes from the Ti-lun are also found in Hung-jen's Hsiu-hsin yao-lun²⁵⁰, so it is natural to infer that there was some connection between proto-Ch'an and the Ti-lun and She-lun Factions.²⁵¹ Yanagida even ventures to suggest that the early Ch'an monks used the Gunabhadra translation of the Lanka in order to distance themselves from the Northern Faction who used Bodhiruci's.²⁵²

There were other popular texts besides the Ti-lun and the Lanka. The growth in popularity of the Avatamsaka Sūtra, especially in the North, owes much to the study of it by the Ti-lun Factions.²⁵³ In a sense, the Ti-lun and Avatamsaka, being related and woven together by these groups, rose in

248) For Hui-yuan on t'i, hsiang and yung see Hokugi, p.248.

249) HKSC, T.50, 552b-c, and the Fa-ch'ung biog., T.50, 666b. Cf. SL, p.51 f.

250) Bukkyō no shisō VII (Chūgoku Zen), p.112.

251) Ibid., p.113. Cf. Goroku II, p.152 f., Suzuki II, p.304, line 1 ff. 十地論

252) Yanagida Seizan, 'Bodaidaruma Ninyūshigyōron no shiryō kachi' in IBK, 15-1, (1966), p.321.

253) Cf. Ch'en, p.183.

popularity together.²⁵⁴

Before the Ti-lun Factions arose, the Avatamsaka appears to have been treated as a book of magical powers, even to the extent of restoring the sexual organs of a eunuch.²⁵⁵ It had been studied earlier in the North by men such as Ling-pien²⁵⁶ and T'an-mu-tsui,²⁵⁷ but its early history, even within the Ti-lun Factions, was mostly related to ascetic practices and the belief that by merely reciting it one could get magical powers.²⁵⁸

"Up to the end of the Liang dynasty, it had been more popular in the South where it was studied by the She-shan Mādhyaṃika groups, but by the end of the Northern Wei, it enjoyed even greater veneration in the North."²⁵⁹ The foundations of the Hua-yen Sect began in the Ch'ang-an region, being spurred on by the Northern Chou persecution which forced many of the clergy, men such as the miracle-working Tu-shun, to flee to the nearby Chung-nan mountains 終南山, where an amalgam of the Ti-lun, She-lun and Avatamsaka appears to have taken place. The first so-called patriarchs of the Hua-yen Sect, Tu-shun 杜順 (557-640) and Chih-yen 智儼 (602-688) seem to have been especially involved with the She-lun and Southern Ti-lun Faction.²⁶⁰

254) T'ang, pp. 871 and 874; See Kamata I, p. 20 for a list of the Southern Faction, and p. 164 for Gunabhadra in the Hua-yen ching chuan-chi 華嚴經傳記 (T. 51, 158 ff.). The Daśabhūmika sūtra is part of the Avatamsaka.

255) Treatise, note, p. 56.

256) Loc. cit., Ling-pien 靈辯 (477-522) wrote a Hua-yen lun or shu, but T'ang, p. 873 says this cannot be verified.

257) 量無最 . Cf. T'ang, p. 873; T. 50, 642c; T. 51, 1005b (Hui-ning story).

258) Kamata I, pp. 13-18, for Tu-shun see p. 53, and the attitude of the Ti-lun followers to the Hua-yen ching see p. 21.

259) T'ang, p. 874.

260) Takamine, Kegon, pp. 145 and 156 f.; T'ang, p. 877 f. Chih-yen obtained the She-lun from Fa-ch'ang 法常 of the She-lun Faction, from Chih-cheng (T. 50, 536b, and 654a) a pupil of T'an-ch'ien, and from Ching-yuan 清淵 (T. 50, 511b) a pupil of Ling-yu of the Southern Faction. Cf. Kamata I, p. 81 f, and p. 86. Cf. also 'New Light...', p. 198.

Chih-yen, despite being a contemporary of Hsuan-tsang, favoured Paramārtha's works ²⁶¹, especially the She-lun, which he studied and quoted often. ²⁶² He quoted T'an-ch'ien's Wang shih-fei lun for some of his ideas ²⁶³, and he also valued the One Mind theory. ²⁶⁴ Chih-yen said, however, that Awakening is instant and not related to any of the stages of the Bodhisattva ²⁶⁵, an idea Hui-yuan and the proto-Ch'an probably shared.

Scholars have traced the Ch'an connection with the Avatamsaka to a very early precursor of the Hua-yen lineage, Hui-ming of Hsien-ch'eng. ²⁶⁶ The Hsiang-hsuan chuan 鮮玄傳 that is attributed in the Leng-chia shih-tzu chi to the third Ch'an patriarch, Seng-ts'an ²⁶⁷, is thought to be part of a commentary on Hui-ming's Hsiang-hsuan fu 鮮玄賦. ²⁶⁸ In later times, Shen-hsiu 神秀 (606?-706+) and his pupil P'u-chi 普寂 (651-739), Tsung-mi 宗密 (780-841) and Fa-yen 法眼 (885-958) were renowned for their Avatamsaka studies. ²⁶⁹

The Nirvana Sutra was very popular in the North from the time of the Emperor Hsiao-wen. ²⁷⁰ It seems to have been one of a basic set of inspired works, including the Śrīmālā, Vkn and Avtamsaka sutras, that formed the core

261) Taitetsu Unno, 'The Dimensions of Practice in Hua-yen Thought' in Yuki Fest., p.59.

262) Kamata I, p.81.

263) Bukkyō no shisō VI (Kegon), p.150.

264) Kamata I, p.93.

265) Unno, op.cit., p. 56 f.

266) 仙城慧命 (531-568). His teacher is said to have been Hui-ssu 慧思 of T'ien-t'ai, or a friend of Hui-ssu and Hui-pu 慧布 (515-587), a certain Hui-miao 慧貌. Cf. Darumadaishi no kenkyū, p.362.

267) Ibid., p.363. It may however be by Tao-hsin or Hung-jen.

268) Ibid., pp.345 ff; Kamata I, p.476.

269) Kamata I, p.476.

270) Hokugi, p.191.

of the canon at the time, for nearly all the important scholastics in the North wrote commentaries upon or preached on these books. The great majority of the Southern Ti-lun Faction masters wrote on all of them.²⁷¹ Unfortunately we know virtually nothing of the Northern Ti-lun Faction, but from a cursory examination of some of the She-lun Faction's teachers, including the post-T'an-ch'ien/ Hui-yuan lineage (neo She-lun), we find that they had an interest in much the same sutras.²⁷²

Other lineages also studied these sutras. The Satyasiddhi masters important in the reign of Emperor Hsiao-wen, Tao-pien and Tao-teng, both studied or made commentaries on the Vkn and Śrīmālā sutras. Moreover, Seng-yuan's other pupil T'an-tu 曇度 (- 489), went with Tao-teng to Hsiao-wen's court to preach the Nirvana Sutra.²⁷³ T'an-mu-tsui also studied the Nirvana.

In the North the Nirvana Sutra began its popularity as a Vinaya (discipline) text, but it also became a subject of academic discussion with the advent of the Ti-lun studies.²⁷⁴

The Vimalakīrti and Śrīmālā sutras may have been the most popular sutras because of the lay status of the hero, Vimalakīrti, and heroine, Queen Śrīmālā.²⁷⁵ The Emperor Hsuan-wu of Wei (r.500-516) favoured the Vkn above all other sutras, and had the Imperially sponsored cave at Lung-men, the Pin-yang cave 賓陽洞, carved with a scene of Vimalakīrti talking to the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, a scene that is a major theme of the sutra. Thereafter it was by far the most popular scene carved in the niches of the cave walls.²⁷⁶ Another

reason for their popularity was that both these sutras are brief and in terms

271) Cf. the list on Hokugi, p.45 and Ocho Enichi, 'Eion to Kichizō' in Yuki Fest, p.441.

272) Cf. the lineage tables at the end of this chapter.

273) Hokugi, p.183.

274) Ibid., pp.183 f. and 187 f.

275) The latter particularly so in Dowager Ling's time. Cf. Tsukamoto, p.414.

276) Tsukamoto, p.274 f.; Ch'en, p.159.

of Buddhist sutras are literary masterpieces. Note that T'an-lin wrote commentaries on the Śrīmālā and Nirvana sutras.

The only other important development at the end of this period was the foundation of the T'ien-t'ai Sect. As its beginnings are relatively unknown, I shall not consider it at length. The first two patriarchs of the sect, Hui-wen 慧文 (fl. 550) and Hui-ssu 慧思 (514-577) are obscure figures who seem to have centred most of their attention on meditation, Mādhyamika philosophy and the Lotus Sutra, a sutra that was hardly ever studied by the Ti-lun Factions.²⁷⁷ In any case, Hui-ssu left for the far south of China in 554,²⁷⁸ and there he promoted meditation and the Lotus Sutra rather than the Nirvana.²⁷⁹ There are passages in his works, however, that show knowledge of the Ti-lun's doctrines, particularly those we think were favoured by the Northern Faction.²⁸⁰

This proto-T'ien-t'ai group also used the Ta chih-tu lun 大智度論²⁸¹ which was studied in the North²⁸², but by few people. T'an-luan, the Pure Land Sect patriarch studied it, as did the Ti-lun masters, Fa-shang and T'an-yen.²⁸³ There seems to have been a small coterie of Mādhyamika students in the North who were connected with the Ti-lun Factions and who also revered the Chih-tu lun. Tao-ch'ang 道長, who studied under Hui-kuang 慧光 and a certain Ching-ai 靜藹 (534-578), probably did so because he wished to study the differences

277) Ocho, Yuki Fest., op.cit., p.444.

278) J.Takakusu, The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, pp.128 ff.; Ch'en, p.303 T.50, 562-3.

279) Hurvitz, 'Chih-i', pp.86-99.

280) Ocho, Yuki Fest., p.65; T.46, 661.

281) Sanmai, p.117.

282) Hokugi, p.39, Treatise, note, pp.44 and 102.

283) Tsukamoto Zenryū, 'Ware Hakushi no Gisho Shakurōshi yakuchū o hosei-su' in Haneda Hakushi Sojukinen, Tōyō shi ronshū, pp.649-52; Hokugi, p.195. Fa-shang only wrote on it in response to questions sent to him by the King of Koguryō.

between the Chih-tu lun and the Nirvana Sutra.²⁸⁴ Ching-ai's pupils, Tao-an 道安 and T'an-yen 曇延 (516-588)²⁸⁵, and Tao-an's pupil Hui-ying 慧影 appear to have formed a mini-Mādhyamika lineage.²⁸⁶ Note that Chih-nien 志念 (535-608), Tao-ch'ung's pupil, is also said to have studied the Chih-tu lun.²⁸⁷ In other words, the Ta chih-tu lun was nowhere near as popular as the Nirvana, Vkn and Avatamsaka sutras, and much less influential than the Ti-lun or Lanka Sutra.²⁸⁸

The T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen lineages are too obscure and unimportant to have had much of an influence between 500A.D. and the rise of the Sui. Many of their members were miracle-workers and meditators, but they sometimes reinterpreted some of the ideas of the Ti-lun and She-lun.

An important feature of the post-500A.D. Buddhism was that most schools, including the Ti-lun Factions, the T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen, promoted the development of the chiao-p'an 教判 system of ranking the Buddhist teachings. Each school or faction put its favourite sutra at the head of a list of sutras ranked in order of supposed profundity. This sutra was then considered to be the ultimate in the Buddha's teaching. This was irrelevant to the development of Ch'an, for it was little more than a pedantic squabble that falsely accentuated the differences between schools and led to sectarianism in the T'ang.

It was in this intellectual milieu that Ch'an developed, and I hope to demonstrate later that the Long Scroll authors and the early Ch'an people were connected to or influenced by the studies of the Vkn and Nirvana sutras, and perhaps by the Ti-lun and She-lun Factions.

284) Hokugi, pp.191 & 195; Tsukamoto, 'Ware Hakushi...', p.652; Treatise, note, p.102.

285) T'an-yen was also taught by T'an-ch'ien.

286) Hokugi, p.195.

287) Tsukamoto, 'Ware Hakushi...', p.653.

288) Hokugi, pp.36-39 for the reasons.

Charts of Lineages.

These tables only include the most influential members of the lineage. It is based mainly on the tables in Tokiwa Daijo's Zoku Shina Bukkyō no kenkyū, supplemented with information from the Hsu Kao-seng chuan (page numbers in brackets). Note that a monk may have had several teachers. Dotted lines indicate relations between a monk who has acknowledged a teacher and his lineage already, and another teacher.

Abbreviations.

p = preached. c = commentary.

Sutra Abbreviations

A = Avatamsaka

V = Vimalakīrti

D = Ti-lun (Daśabhūmikāsūtraśāstra)

N = Nirvāṇa Sūtra.

Sri = Śrīmālā Sūtra

L = Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra

Ch'i = Ch'i-hsin lun

Prajna = Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra.

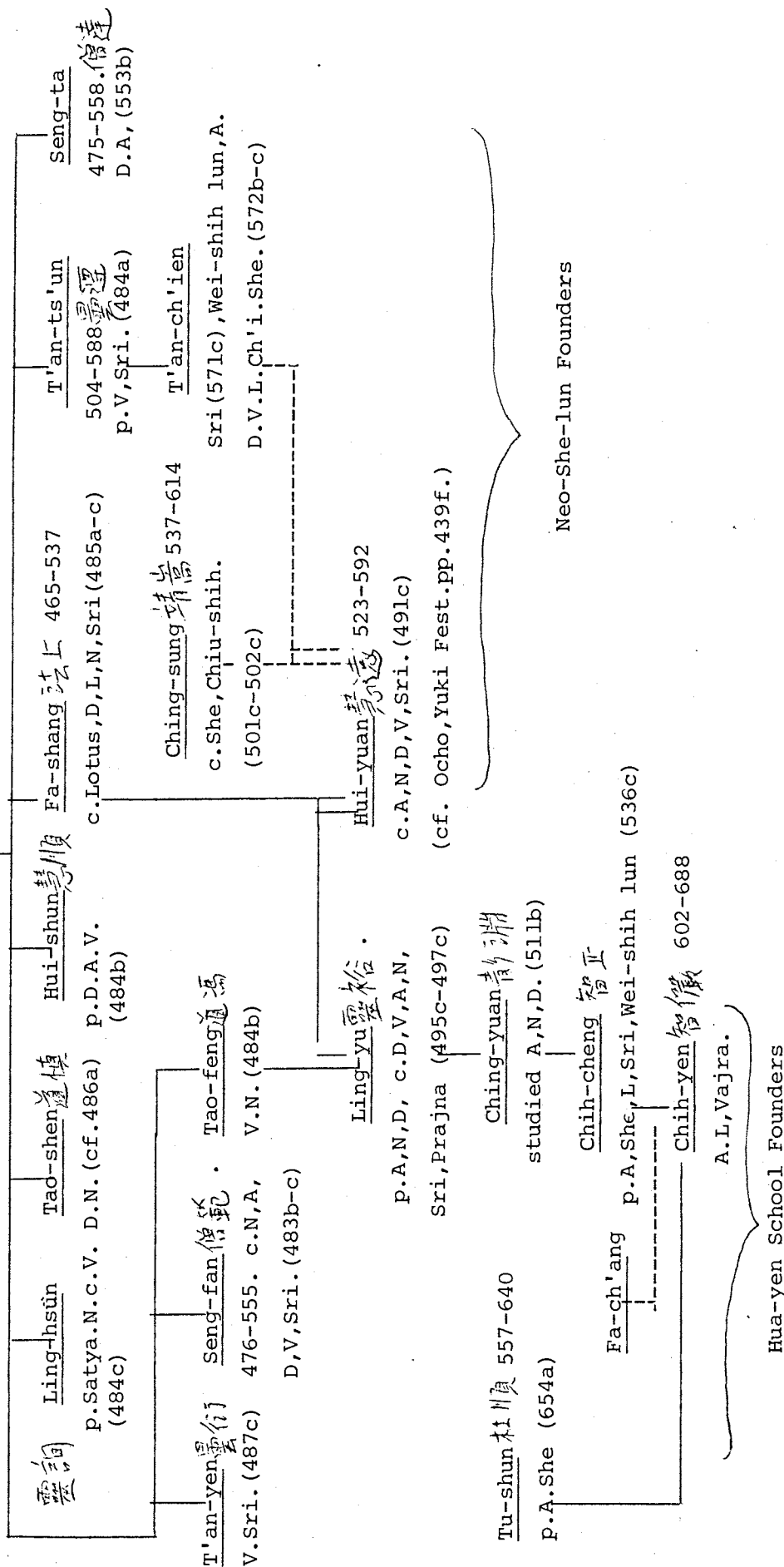
Vajra = Vajracchedika Sūtra

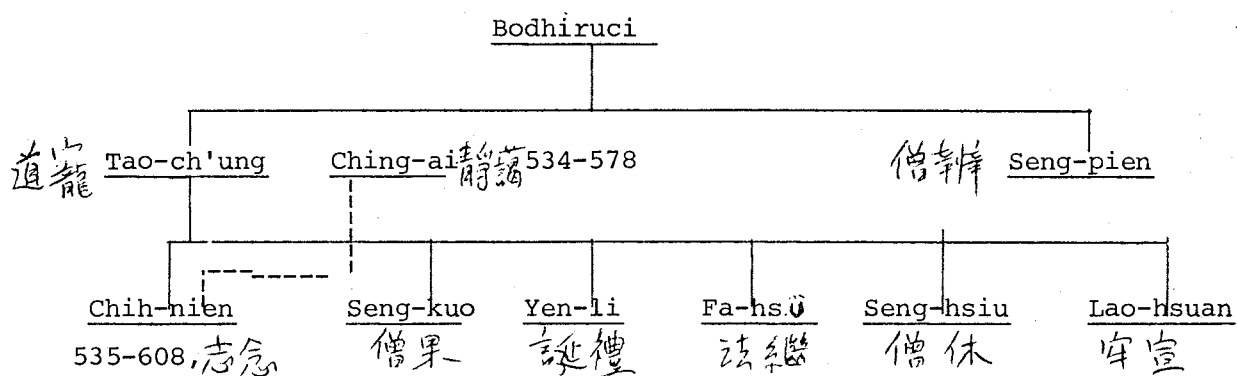
Satya = Satyasiddhi

She = She-lun (Mahāyānasamparigraha śāstra)

Ratnamati

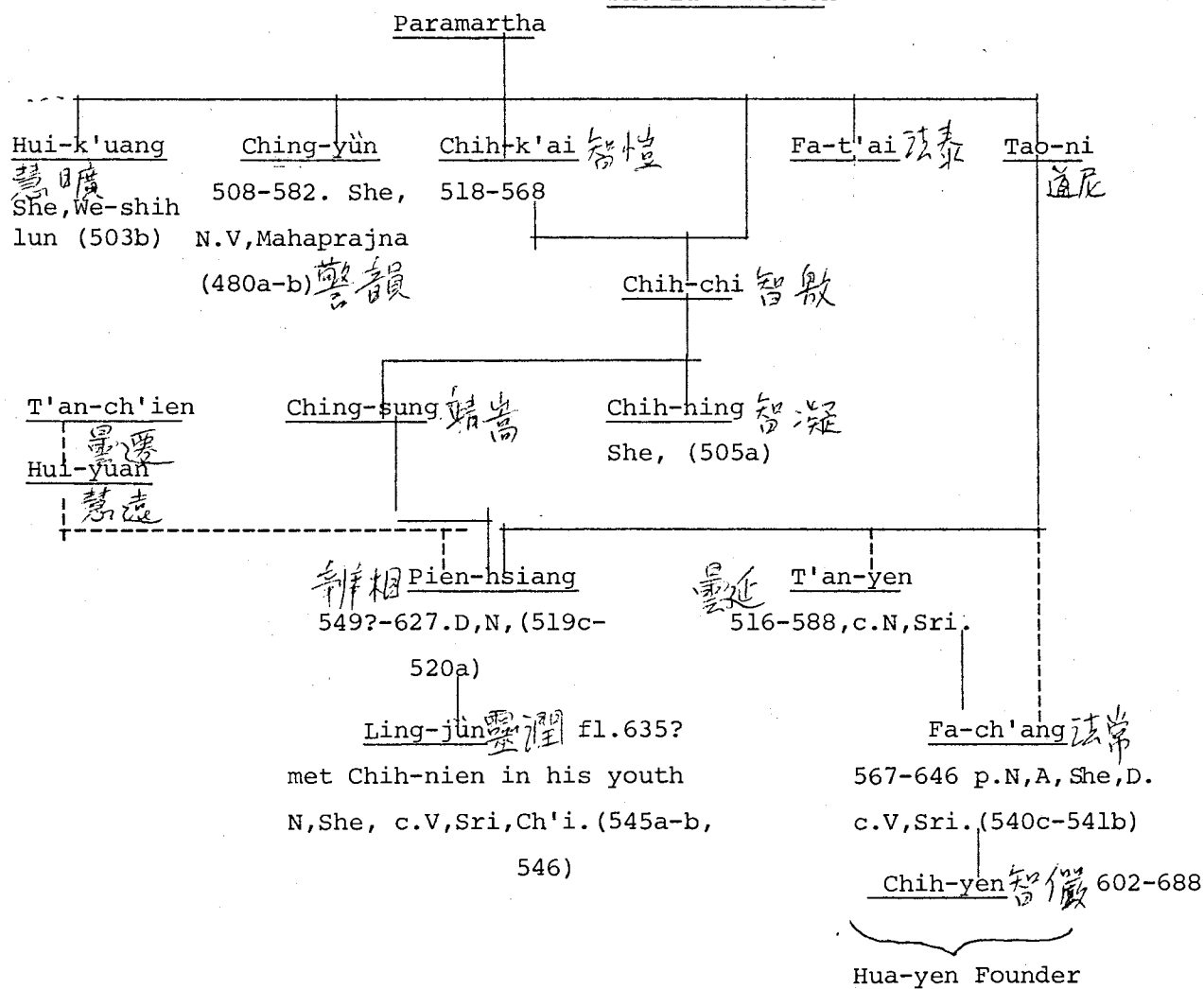
Hui-kuang 慧光 c. D, A, N, V (607c)



Northern Ti-lun Faction

Ta Chih-tu lun, D,

(508c-509c lists many pupils)

She-lun Faction

Chapter 3, Biographies and Lineages of the Proto-Ch'an Monks.

The Long Scroll, which is our primary source for the doctrines of the earliest Ch'an group, does not tell us very much about the monks who originated these teachings. This is because it is a compilation for instruction, not a collection of biographies. The only information about the founders of the proto-Ch'an school contained in the Long Scroll is in the Preface, which, we are told in the Leng-chia shih-tzu chi, is by a certain T'an-lin.¹

The Preface tells us a few things about Bodhidharma, but virtually nothing about his two named pupils, Hui-k'o and Tao-yü. In the body of the text there are some sayings attributed to individual monks², but Tao-yü is never mentioned. A number of paragraphs are attributed to a Master K'o³ who is probably the Hui-k'o of the Preface. The man who, from the amount of text under his name, appears to be the next most important monk after Master K'o, Dharma-teacher Yuan^{1/2}, remains unidentified.

Because of the lack of biographical information in the Long Scroll, we must turn to other sources in order to reconstruct the biographies of these monks. Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o and Tao-yü are easily identifiable in other sources because we know something about Bodhidharma, and because we know that Hui-k'o and Tao-yü were his pupils, but when we attempt to identify other people mentioned by name in the Long Scroll with individuals whose biographies appear in other sources, we are faced with the problem that, since we have no other information than part of their Buddhist name (usually the latter half) and title, linking the Long Scroll names to individuals who have biographies elsewhere is almost impossible.

1) Goroku II, p.127.

2) For a list of these monks see Appendix II.

3) Probably all paragraphs from LVII to LXIII, and possibly also LXXXIII.

The traditional lineages of the Ch'an Sect are not very helpful to us. They simply list a direct line from Bodhidharma through Hui-k'o, Seng-ts'an and Tao-hsin, and call them the first four patriarchs of China. The question of lineage was crucial in the theory of the Ch'an Sect after the dispute between Shen-hui and Shen-hsiu as to who was the 'real' Sixth Patriarch. In the Ch'an theory of "a special transmission outside the scriptures", which is the "transmission from mind to mind", or the "transmission of the lamp", the line of descent which could be traced back to the Buddha himself, was the guarantee 印可 that any Ch'an teacher was Aware, that for what he taught he had the approval of the Buddha via his spiritual antecedents.⁴

In this theory, Bodhidharma was the only direct link between the Buddha in India and the Ch'an monks in China. This link with India, and thus ultimately with the Buddha, was of utmost importance to the Ch'an Sect in countering the lineages claimed by the T'ien-t'ai Sect⁵, and in attacking the various sectarian chiao-p'an 教判 scripture-ranking schemes. Bodhidharma was therefore made the progenitor of the Ch'an Sect, the torchbearer to China of the flame which was embodied in every Ch'an teacher, who in turn could pass it on to his pupils. For this reason Bodhidharma was made the symbol of the sect.

Thus attempts to trace the history of Ch'an through the medium of traditional lines of descent are very risky. In the chaos that is Ch'an history, lineages were often forged or altered, especially after the Sixth Patriarch-controversy initiated by Ho-tse Shen-hui 荷澤神會⁶. There is even doubt as to the real existence of a so-called Third Patriarch, Seng-ts'an.⁷

4) D.T.Suzuki, Essays in Zen Buddhism, First Series, pp.164-178; Yampolsky, The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch, p.4.

5) Sekiguchi Shindai, Daruma no kenkyū, p.307. Cf. T'ien-t'ai chiu-tsu chuan 天台九祖傳, T.51, 97; Yampolsky, op.cit. p.6.

6) Yampolsky, op.cit., pp.23 ff.; ZSS, p.433 f

7) ZSS, p.421 f.

The idea of transmission and genealogical schemes connecting the founders with India probably gave a major impetus to conservatism in Ch'an Buddhism. Thus it was not until the twentieth century that the resultant entrenched legends, hagiographies and lineages were challenged, for to attack them was considered to undermine the whole basis of the Ch'an Sect. Probably the first important attempt to unearth the historical Bodhidharma and his pupils was Matsumoto Bunsaburo's article of 1911, Daruma.⁸ Partly in response to Matsumoto's work, further studies were made by scholars such as Suzuki Daisetsu, Ui Hakuju, Hu Shih, Sekiguchi Shindai and Yanagida Seizan.

These researches have shown that only three early sources on Bodhidharma and his pupils lack patent, hagiographical inventions and are of sufficient antiquity to be of use in the reconstruction of early Ch'an history. The most important of these is the Hsu Kao-seng chuan, which gives us most of our information. Unfortunately, the author of the Lo-yang chia-lan chi (which is the oldest work to mention Bodhidharma), Yang Hsuan-chih, who may have seen Bodhidharma personally, or at the very least have met someone who had⁹, was only interested in the glories of the monasteries and great edifices of Lo-yang, not in the monks and Buddhist personalities who inhabited them. Thus one of our possible eyewitness accounts is virtually useless. The third text, and other possible eyewitness account, the Long Scroll itself, had little need to write of its authors' lives.

The translations that follow are therefore mainly from the HKSC. The main Lo-yang chia-lan chi account of Bodhidharma is translated in chapter 1, and the other reference in it is below.

8) Possibly also Sakaino Kōyō, Shina Bukkyō shikō 支那佛教史綱 (1907). Cf. Matsumoto's preface to his Daruma no kenkyū and ZSS, preface, p.2.

9) Matsuda Bunyū, 'Bodaidaruma-ron, Zoku Kōsōden no Daruma', in IBK, LII (1978, March), p.84.

Translations

HKSC biography of Bodhidharma (T.50,551b-c).

Bodhidharma was a South Indian of the Brahmin caste. He was of divine intelligence, sagacious. He awoke to an understanding of all that he heard. He resolved to uphold the Mahayana, and he subdued his mind in quietude.¹ He was versed in the subtle, penetrating in his wisdom, and he excelled at the study of meditation.²

Pitying this remote region, he brought the Dharma to guide and help us.³ He first arrived in the Nan-yueh⁴ region on the borders of the (Liu) Sung. In the end he went further north and came to Wei. Wherever he stayed he instructed by means of the dhyāna teaching 禪教.

At that time the whole country was zealously propagating scholasticism.⁵ When his meditation method was heard for the first time, much slander was (directed at him). There were two śramaṇas, Tao-yü 道育 and Hui-k'o, who despite being younger⁶, were keen and their resolve was upright. When they first met the General of the Dharma⁷ they knew (him to be of the) Way and they committed themselves to him. They inquired of him personally and served him for four or five years. They provided for him and they consulted with him. He

1) 冥心虛寂 cf. Morohashi, 1588.52; a poem by Tu Fu says, "From of old the visitors to the River and Lake (districts) subdued their minds as if dead ashes." 自古江湖客冥心若死灰. The image of dead ashes is used in Chuang-tzu to symbolize the mind when it is not functioning.

2) 通微徹數定學高之. Translation tentative. 微 means atoms, and 數 according to Ting, 2640, is another name for wisdom.

3) 以法相導 : 相導 is a verb.

4) 南越 is the Kuang-chou or Northern Vietnam area, probably the former.

5) 盛弘講授 lit. lecturing and teaching.

6) 年雖在後?

7) 法將. As a general has charisma 德 for his troops, so does a Bodhisattva for believers. The Buddha is the Dharma King.

felt their mettle⁸ and so he instructed them in the True Dharma (which is as follows);

Thus calming the mind is called wall-contemplation. Thus putting (it?) into practice 發行 is called the four methods 法.⁹ The teaching of the thus agreeing 順 with things 物 (the masses) is to guard against vilification and hatred 讒嫌. Thus the expedients¹⁰ are to make sure one is not attached.

So the entrances to the Way are many, but essentially there are only two sorts, called Principle 理 and Practice 行. Rely on the teaching to awake to the doctrine.¹¹ Believe deeply that life¹² shares an identical true nature, which is screened off by adventitious contamination 客塵. Therefore one ought to reject the counterfeit 捨偽 and return to the true (by) stabilizing¹³ oneself in wall-contemplation, (in which) there is neither self nor other, the ordinary and the saint are equal, one. Stand firm and do not shift, do

8) 精誠 pure sincerity.

9) The Long Scroll has 四行 rather than the 四法 here. In Wei Shou's Treatise p.82, 入四行 is attributed to Kumārajīva, probably in order to show that he was, or aimed being a Bodhisattva. In Dharmakṣema's translation of the Bodhisattvabhūmi there are four practices; the pāramitās, the bodhyaṅgas (i.e. the four mindfulnesses, four right practices etc.), the supernatural powers (siddhis, for aiding creatures), and the (ability to) become a creature or release a creature, i.e. helping them (Treatise, note, p.83). This is gradualist.

10) 方便 = upāya or expedient means. Cf. Morohashi, 13620.415 which quotes a treatise by Asaṅga which says that expedients were taught "to destroy the grasping attachment creatures have for the appearances of the material body. Therefore the Buddha used metaphors, subtle and fine analysis."

11) 宗 the essence of something. In logic a proposition (siddhānta).

12) 含生 animate creatures.

13) 凝住. 凝 means to freeze, harden. Possibly related to 凝意 to make firm one's intention, or 凝然 to concentrate the mind fixedly upon an object. Cf. the following 聖住.

not be influenced by other teachings. To be merged¹⁴ with the Way, quiet¹⁵ and inactive is called Entering via Principle.

Entering via Practice is the Four Practices which subsume all practices. The first is the practice of the requital of resentment.¹⁶ When hardship arrives in (spite of?) your cultivation of the Way, you should be mindful of bygone eras. If you ignore the basis (source) and chase after (or be carried along by?) the ends¹⁷, love and hate will often arise. 'Now although I am without transgression, it is my (the ego's) past deeds (that have brought about the hardship).' Willingly 甘心 accept it without any resentment against it. A sutra says, "If you encounter hardship do not be despondent." This is because one can discern (the facts). When this mind arises, it is inseparable from the Way, because the embodiment of resentment advances one on the Way.¹⁸

14) 冥符 Cf. Goroku I, p.40. It was used by Tao-sheng, and appears in Seng-chao's reply to Liu I-min (cf. Liebenthal, Chao Lun, p.85, note 373). "In tune with"?

15) 寂然 The Vkn, "Phenomena do not have men, because former and latter periods are separated. Phenomena are always quiet because the attributes are extinguished (cease)." Tao-sheng comments, 'The above four verses (show) that creatures are empty, the 26 verses below (show) that phenomena are empty. To be quiet means they are tranquil, objectless. Attributes are the appearances of objects. Creatures (should) realize easily that to be attached to them is a burdensome delusion.'", (T.38,346b). Cf. the footnotes to II.

16) 報怨 To repay injury with kindness. Cf. footnotes to II.

17) 捨本逐末 . Compare the 本末 in the I-ching, 'Hsi-tz'u' (or Ta-chuan); "The beginning line is difficult to understand. For they stand in the relationship of cause and effect." (Richard Wilhelm, translated by Cary F. Baynes, 3rd. ed. p.349). Cf. Morohashi, 14421.316 易, 繫辭下, 其初難知, 其上易知, 本末也. Cf. also 舍本而事末 to give up farming for commerce. 末 is the consequences, the derivative, result, i.e. present events.

18) 隨緣 Cf. Śāntideva's teaching in his Bodhicaryāvatāra, "My enemy is to be appreciated as a helper on the path to Enlightenment". (Marion L. Matics, Entering the Path of Enlightenment, p.182, v.107. Cf. also p.55.

The second is the practice of being influenced by conditions.¹⁹ Creatures lack an ego, (so their) hardships and pleasures are influenced by conditions.²⁰ Although one attains honour and the like, it was formed from past causes²¹, and it is only now that one attains (this result). When the conditions are exhausted they revert to non-existence, so why rejoice in their existence? Attainment and loss are influenced by conditions and the mind (of the Way) is neither inflated nor deflated.²² The winds of adversity and fortune²³ are stilled, (and one is) in subdued agreement 冥順 with the Dharma.

The third is called the practice of seeking nothing. The men of the world have long been bewildered 迷 (infatuated) and so covet and are attached to everything 處處. This is called seeking. (When) the gentlemen of the Way²⁴ are awakened to the True, Principle and the empirical²⁵ are opposed. (They)

19) 隨緣 to be swayed by, or in an active sense to conform to conditions, or causes of a secondary nature. Usually it means the arising of phenomena due to conditions. E.g. as waves arise due to the conditioning by wind of water. Out of this comes the need to respond to conditions.

20) The ego itself arises from conditions, is in turn a condition, not a primal cause. Hardships etc. are due to conditions for there is no will.

21) 宿因 initiated in the past by oneself. Morohashi, 7195.8, Hua-yen ching LXXV, "Past causes are not destroyed."

22) Lit. does not increase or decrease, just as an ocean is so large that a river's discharge does not affect it. I.e. the mind is unaffected by achievement or failure.

23) 違順風 .Ting, 2374, "The realm in which one feels hardship is called the adverse field, where one feels bliss the favourable field."

24) 道士, i.e. monks. Later it came to be used for Popular Taoists. Ting, 2363 quotes the Fa-yuan chü-lin LXIX which says that up till Kumārajīva's time this was applied to monks, and that Kou Chien-chih was the first to use it of Taoists.

25) 俗 means the vulgar, the worldly, the untrue, the secular. Cf. 智者悟真理將俗反 II which Yanagida renders as 理として俗と反し (Goroku I, p.33). The 道士悟真理與俗反 he renders as 本質的に世俗と次元を異にし (ibid. p.33). Though not as grammatically correct, perhaps we could translate this

calm their minds and are inactive, and (leave the) form (形 body) to be swayed by the vicissitudes of fortune (形隨運轉). The three realms are all hardship, so who can be calm? A sutra says, "All seeking is hardship, (so) non-seeking is bliss."

The fourth is the practice of being in accord with phenomena (or Dharma)²⁶, which is the Principle of one's nature being pure 性淨.

Bodhidharma used this teaching 法 to convert the land of Wei. Scholars who recognized the Truth served him and they returned to Awakening. Books recording his words still circulate among the people. He said he was over one hundred and fifty years old.²⁷ He considered travelling and proselytizing to be his duty. We don't know about his end.²⁸

as "They awaken to the True Principle and are opposed to the empirical." In this case however, one would expect 反俗.

26) 稱法 cf. 稱心 to be in accord with the mind. Cf. also 稱法界, Ting, 2506b, "Also called 稱性. A theory of the Avatamsaka Sutra, praising (or in accord with?) the true nature of the Dharmadhātu." The Hua-yen chuan-chi I, (T.51, 153a) by Fa-tsang says, "This then is the complete wheel of the Dharma, which is a discussion praising the Dharmadhātu." 此乃圓滿法輪稱法界之談耳. This follows a description of the Avatamsaka Sutra as being unrecordable in pen and ink.

27) This comes from the 'Entry on the Yung-ning Temple' in the Lo-yang chia-lan chi.

28) 不測于終. This is a standard phrase that seems to relate to time and place. This is similar to the end of the biography of the obscure Seng-ching 僧景 who, "attained an age people could not fathom. Ts'ui said that he had asked him (of it) and (ching) replied, 'I am 300 years old.' We don't know where (he and it?) ended." 至於年記人所不測. 璿云, 曾問, 答云, 吾年三百歲, 不知所終 (T.50, 557a). Cf. Hui-ming's biography, 卒不測其所終 (T.50, 562c) or 不測終所 (T.50, 577a) which probably refers to time and place. Cf. also 亦不測其然 (T.50, 603c).

HKSC Biography of Seng-fu, (464-525 A.D.), T.50, 550a-c.

The monk Seng-fu 僧副 was of the Wang 王 family and was a native of Ch'i Prefecture in T'ai-yuan.¹ When he was young he did not play.² His perspicacity was unmatched by his fellows. When he had passed the age of minor studies³ he recognized and performed excellent works. The local community praised him as a prodigy, far removed from the ungentlemanly.⁴ His nature (was such) that he loved peace and tranquillity.⁵

He travelled (everywhere) without regard for distance.⁶ He wrapped up his travelling provisions and went in search of a teacher, but those he visited were not up to standard. There was a meditation teacher Ta-mo 達摩 =Dharma) who was good at elucidating meditation practice 觀行. He followed and pestered him in the cliffs and caves, and questioned him deeply and extensively, and so he obeyed him and became a monk.

He did not ask about the meaning of anything a second time for he comprehended it all at once. In the search for the entrance 尋立端 (?) the best clue 極緒 is the learning of meditation 定 (for) the doctrine 宗 is therein. Later he toured around giving lectures 講座 on all 備嘗 the sūtras and śāstras. He (then) knew that learning was only for oneself, that sages do not speak.

In the Chien-wu era of (Southern) Ch'i (494-498) he travelled south to the Yang capital⁷ and stayed at Ting-lin hsia Temple on Mount Chung 鍾山定林下寺.

1) 太原祁縣 Ch'i prefecture, south of present day T'ai-yuan city, Shansi.

2) 弱而不弄 or, "He was feeble and he did not play."

3) 小學 the study of characters, their meaning and pronunciation, that properly began at 8 sui 歲.

4) 不仁者 inhumane? 仁者 is a polite term of respect for a person (Ting, 713c).

5) 定靜 meditation and tranquillity?

6) 遊無遠近

7) 楊釐 i.e. Chien-k'ang. For Mt. Chung, which is just to the east of Chien-k'ang, cf. map on p.33 of Chūgoku no rekishi III.

Fu appreciated its groves and he had a mind to stay in such a scenic region.

He was very strict in his practice and he was a man of his word.⁸ He possessed nothing more than the six personal belongings of a monk.⁹ Whenever he needed to go to the village¹⁰ the laity and clergy looked up to him with reverence, and furthermore, when he was asked by the princes and dukes¹¹ about the Way, he relaxed and did not act.¹² (Even though) he lived close to the palace gates he did not go for an audience.¹³ When he walked around sight-seeing 物覽, the clergy and laity formed a retinue behind him. Liang Kao (-tsu) had looked up to his pure style¹⁴ and frequently admired him. (Emperor Wu) then ordered artisans to plan a chamber for him in K'ai-shan Temple 開善寺 in order to detain him, for (Wu) feared (Fu) would pine for the mountains and forests. Whenever Fu sauntered through the door (of his room), carrying his staff he would exclaim,

A room of four walls is quite sufficient for me to sit upright and be content in. Why should I value grand edifices and despise thatched shacks? Though I have settled down I may yet shift.¹⁵ Why must I remain in this

8) 行逾冰霜言而有信 Translation tentative. The above interpretation was suggested by Mr. Tso Sze-bong 曹仕邦.

9) 三依六物外無盈長. The three articles of dress or robe, bowl, stool and water strainer.

10) 里 = the capital?

11) 王候 members of the Southern Ch'i royal family. Cf. table 125, Chūgoku no rekishi, p. 89.

12) 請道顏然不作 or 作? He declined and was not ashamed of doing so.

13) 居尺宮闈未嘗謁觀. 宮闈 technically means the harem, the queen's quarters. 謁觀 is to have an audience. Ui I, p. 60 says it means he did not associate with royalty, nor visit the palace.

14) 深高素仰清風 Hu Shih, Wen-ts'un 4, p. 200 says this is Emperor Wu of Liang. He is called Kao-tsu in the Liang-shu.

15) 且安而能遷. Just because I have settled in a famous scenic spot, does not mean that it is the only scenic place. Perhaps the capital's luxuries were disturbing his concentration, and he desired to go into the wilds.

place that the ancients respected in order to appreciate¹⁶ what the eyes and ears love?

Then he had a mind to (go) to the peak of Mount Min¹⁷ to look across to Mount O-mei. He met the Duke of Hsi-ch'ang, Hsiao Yuan-ts'ao, who was leaving to subdue the district of Shu.¹⁸ Then he dusted off his clothes¹⁹, joined him and headed towards the star over Mt. Min.²⁰ Although his trail was over zig-zag mountain paths he did not forget the three mindfulnesses.²¹ He also took a few of his favourite sutras and held the scrolls in silence, turning them over in the morning light. So he brought it about that meditation was practised in Shu much from this (time on).

After a long time he returned to Chin-ling, and again stayed at K'ai-shan (Temple). Previously on the mountain of Hu I²² a divine man had appeared

16) 賞 praising, satiating oneself with.

17) Mt. Min is in Szechuan's north, probably near the source of the Min River which flows south past Ch'eng-tu (Shu) in the direction of Mt. O-mei which is about 120 kilometres south of Ch'eng-tu. O-mei was later famous as a Buddhist pilgrimage site. Cf. plate 25 in Chūgoku no rekishi III. An image of the Buddha is supposed to form on the clouds beneath the summit. (岷嶺)

18) 西昌侯蕭淵藻 (483-549). Liang-shu XXIII, p. 361 says he received this title in 502 and between 502 and 509 he went to pacify the Shu region. Cf. Kawajima Jōmyō, 'Sō-fuku ni tsuite' in IBK, L, p. 670 f. He was evidently pro-Buddhist, for Liang-shu, p. 362 says his pet name was Kaśyapa 迦葉 which was given to him by Emperor Wu because he liked to be in a quiet room and did not eat fresh game, nor listen to music.

19) 拂衣 prepare to leave.

20) 井絡 Ching-lo.

21) 三念, ie. mindfulness of the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha.

22) 胡翼文山. Hu I was an artist of the Liang dynasty who excelled at Buddhist and Taoist paintings. Probably a mountain near Yü-chang, mod. Nanch'ang, Kiangsi. Kawajima, op. cit., says this occurred in 515. Is this the spirit of the artist?

and transmitted the Hui-yin san-mei (ching) to the rustic Ho Kuei²³, saying, You can use this sutra with Kuàn, the Prince of Nan-p'ing²⁴ to perform a fast for three (times?) seven days.²⁵ If you do not understand, ask Fu about it.

When the time came to visit him it was just this method that he used. The (prince) of Nan-p'ing consequently performed the fasting ceremony齋祀. His disease was cured and he returned to health. Was it not that the inner cause and the outer completion were mutually brought forth?²⁶

Not long afterwards, in 525, Fu died in K'ai-shan Temple at the age of 61. They put his grave outside the city gates of Ting-lin hsia Temple. The Emperor (Wu) mourned him there and decreed a flood of presents be sent. At first, when the disease was severe, there was somebody who was diligently cultivating merit.²⁷ Fu overpowered his disease and rose, and in a harsh voice said,

23) 何規 is otherwise unknown. This sutra was translated by Chih-Chien 支謙 who flourished between 220 and ca. 253 A.D., i.e. 慧印三昧經 in T.15, Taisho number 632. Cf. E. Zürcher, The Buddhist Conquest of China, pp. 48 ff.

24) 南平王觀. No one with this title and name exists in the Liang-shu. Kawajima, op.cit., has shown from other entries in the HKSC and KSC that this man is Wei 偉, Prince of Nan-p'ing Yuan-hsiang 南平元襄王偉 (476-533), who was the eighth son of Emperor Wen of Liang. Cf. Liang-shu p. 346 f. In his later years he revered Buddhism (ibid. p. 348 晚年崇佛理).

25) 行齋三七日. Cf. 齋 the 7 times 7 days of services after a person's death. The sutra, T.15, 467b says, "If you wish to release all the men of the world who have fallen into hell, if you wish to teach them the truth and get rid of their lust and anger, ... you should through this sutra day and night assiduously perform the ultimate practice, always delighting in energy (to stay awake) for 21 days." 欲得解了一切世人, 隨於吳者, 欲諦教人, 除其嗔怒... 當於是經晝夜勤力作無上行, 常樂精進, 於廿一日. Kawajima, op.cit., has noted this passage.

26) 豈非內因外緣更相起乎. Mr. P. Harrison has suggested that the inner cause is the understanding of the sutra by Seng-fu, and the outer completion is the ceremony.

27) 修福 He is probably trying to get Fu a good rebirth.

Using wealth to prolong life is to be far from the Way. Give all the goods and chattels in the room to the monks of the monastery. After I have died, cast my body into the ravine and feed it to the birds and beasts. Isn't that all right? Do not go against my wishes by making a coffin for my burial.

His disciples wept and could not bear to obey him. They recorded his works on a stele and cited his virtues. The Princess of Yung-hsing²⁸ had had faith in (Fu) and she sent up a petition to the heir apparent 東宮 requesting that Fu's writings be copied out. An order was sent to the Prince of Hsiang-tung, I²⁹, to do it, and they erected a stele at the temple (with the writings on it?).

28) 永興公主 I cannot identify this person. The Chinese is also ambiguous for K'uai-chi 會稽 is sometimes called Yung-hsing kung 永興公. In this case it would read the Lord of Yung-hsing kung.

29) 湘東王 繹 Cf. Hu Shih, Wen-ts'un 4, p.200. This man became Emperor Hsiao-yuan. He was probably enfeoffed at Chiang-ling at the time. Cf. Chūgoku no rekishi III, p.89.

Hui-k'o and his Associates and Pupils, (HKSC, T.50, 551c-552c).

The monk Seng-k'o, also called Hui-k'o, had the lay surname of Chi ^姬. He was a native of Hu-lao.¹ Outwardly he perused the works of the sages and saints (of Confucianism)², while inwardly he versed himself in the Buddhist Canon. Finally he embraced the Way. In the capital (Lo-yang) he silently observed the fashions (intellectual trends?) of the period.

Alone he accumulated great illumination ^{大照} and a discernment³ that was unmatched by others. Although the realization of the Way is not a new thing, still the masses value a teachers guidance. (So) at one time all the dignities (of the Church) denied him. (However), only by relying on the Way without preconceptions is clear understanding not far off. Since he came to these conclusions about the essentials (of Buddhism) himself, who could restrict him?⁴

When he reached the age of forty he met the Indian Śramaṇa Bodhidharma, who was proselytizing in the Mount Sung-Lo-yang area. K'o had embraced the Jewel (of Buddhism) and knew the Way⁵ (so Bodhidharma) was pleased with him at first

1) 虎牢 mod. Ssu-shui prefecture ^{記水縣}, near K'ai-feng.

2) 墳素 refers to the works of the three sage-Emperors of the mythical past and to the laws of Confucius.

3) 解悟 . Ting, 2341, "to understand the Buddhist principles."

4) 雖成道非新而物貴師受一時令望咸共非之。但權道無謀顯會非遠。自結斯要誰能擊之 Translation tentative. 新 here may also mean 親, which can mean 堂授 (cf. Morohashi, 34918). 物 is the rabble. The suggestion that 令望 (can mean a source of hope as in 令聞令望) refers to Church authorities was kindly made by Mr. Tso Sze-bong. 無謀 in Buddhist usage means 'without preconceptions', which refers to the Tathāgata responding to conditions as they are (Ting, 2193). I owe my understanding of the second last line to a suggestion made by Mr. P. Harrison.

5) 可懷寶知道, or "He hid his ability of knowing the Way." 懷寶 also means to conceal an ability.

sight.⁶ He took (Bodhidharma) as his teacher, and devoted his life to receiving (Bodhidharma's) instruction. He studied under him for six years, and he investigated the One Vehicle in detail. Principle and (phenomenal) events are amalgamated, hardship and bliss are unimpeded (i.e. permeable)⁷, and his understanding was not of the expedient (type), his wisdom coming from the divine mind 神心. K'o had now reached the stage of the potter who grinds up (his clay) to cleanse it of impurities. It is only when the clay is thrown that one will know (whether or not it is) strong (enough to be) used, hard (enough)

6) The subject is not clear. Perhaps it is Hui-k'o who is overjoyed to meet someone who understood him. Mr. Tso thinks that this is the intention of the passage, and also that Bodhidharma 畢命 devoted the rest of his life to teaching K'o.

7) 理事兼融, 苦樂無滯 事 is the discrete element of existence in flux, whereas Principle is permanent and latent in everything. These two pairs interpenetrate, i.e. are non-dual. This idea may be found in early Hua-yen works. Tu-shun, in his Fa-chieh kuan-men 法界觀門 taught of 理事無礙 (unobstructed), cf. Goroku II, p.111, footnote. Chih-yen used 理事俱融 as a description of the doctrines of the Lanka and Śrīmālā sutras, and the Ch'i-hsin lun and Ratnagotravibhāga (Takamine, Kegon, p.234 f.). Hui-ming has the phrase 染淨於此俱融 in his Hsiang-hsuan fu, and this is quoted in the Hsiang-hsuan chuan attributed to Seng-ts'an in the LCSTC (cf. Darumadaishi no kenkyū, p.471). This idea also appears in the form 境智無二, 理事俱融, 真俗齊觀 in the LCSTC biography of Gunabhadra (Goroku II, p.102.). In the Hua-yen theory the Principle is likened to water and the events to waves (Ting, 2007). Note too that Tao-hsuan in his Shih-men kuei ching-i 釋門歸敬儀 has a passage similar to the above and to the opening lines of Bodhidharma's teaching (II), but from the view of ontology, not practice: "There are many gates through which to enter the Way, but they are no more than Principle and event. Principle means the Principles of the Way, to penetrate the holy mind's most distant desire. Events mean the circumstances (state) of events which determine the prolongation (of existence in samsara) or the liberation of sentient beings." 入道多門, 不過理事, 理為道理, 通聖心之遠懷, 事謂事局, 約凡情之近度.

not to be broken by conditions.⁸

Bodhidharma died on the banks of the Lo River. K'o then hid himself on the banks of the river⁹, but because he had been famed in the past a notification ^檄 was sent around the capital (to this effect), and so the clergy and the laity came respectfully to request to follow his example (i.e. to make him their teacher).¹⁰ K'o then aroused them with his brilliant oratory and disclosed the essential teachings ^{心要} to them. Thus his words filled the Empire, but their intentions were not established (did not take root) and so these profound books vanished from sight¹¹, for no notice was taken of them from the start.¹²

Later, in the beginning of the T'ien-p'ing era (534-538), K'o went north (?) to the new capital of Yeh which blossomed in academies of the abstruse.¹³ The believers (there) stagnated at (the level) of literary (study), and argued the toss over right and wrong.¹⁴ At that time there was a meditation teacher, Tao-heng ^{道恒}, who put the study of meditation in the foremost

8) 可就境陶研淨穢 挺植方知力用堅固不為緣陵 Tentative. Mr. Tso suggests ^{陶研} means to learn, as in "disciplined himself in the Mādhyamika" ^{陶陳中觀} (T.50,522b). This line tries to elucidate the previous lines. Hui-k'o is compared to a potter who is the only one to know whether his mix (Hui-k'o's understanding) is reliable.

9) 埋形河漢 Mr. Tso's opinion. This probably does not mean to bury Bodhidharma's body.

10) 請從師範.

11) 玄籍遐覽?

12) 經心 = pay heed to.

13) 秘苑 Mr. Tso suggests that this refers to preaching halls. Literally secret gardens. Perhaps this refers to the illegal use of city mansions in Yeh for monasteries. Cf. Treatise, p.100 which contains the edict of 538A.D. Cf. also ^{苑秘} places where people of ability gather, or ^{禪苑} meditation centres.

14) 帶文之徒是非紛舉 i.e. they were hampered by their scholastic studies and argued over the merits of various propositions.

position.¹⁵ Among the royal clan and in Yeh-hsia his pupils numbered in the thousands.¹⁶ When he heard K'o's sermon, without any basis in fact¹⁷, he regarded it as the words of Māra (the deluder). Then he sent one of his brightest students to go and put an end to K'o's school. When (the student) heard (K'o's) teaching he was dispassionately 泰然 won over. He was full of sorrow (at what had happened and so) was of no mind to return and report (to his former teacher). Heng repeated his summons but still he did not obey the order. (Heng) sent messenger after messenger (after this pupil) but none of them returned. On another day (the bright pupil) accidentally met Heng. Heng said, "I have made such an effort to open your eyes. Why did I (have) to send these messengers after you?"¹⁸ He replied, "My eyes were originally focussed (正 correct) of themselves. It was due to you master that they (were) in error !"

Heng consequently hated K'o intensely and slandered him, giving him trouble. He bribed a lay official¹⁹ to kill K'o unjustly 非里. (K'o) never had any hatred of (Heng) whatsoever, even though he nearly died.²⁰ Heng's assembly rejoiced, (thinking K'o dead). Therefore it caused those who had realized the

15) 先有定學, in contrast to the former groups?

16) 王宗鄴下徒侶千計 Tentative. Suggested by P. Harrison. Yeh-hsia is a division of Yeh?

17) 情事無寄 Mr. Tso suggests, "He thought it had no basis in fact and said it was the words..." Suzuki gives a free rendering of this, "As the words of a devil devoid of sense", Essays in Zen Buddhism, First Series, p. 192.

18) Following Suzuki's interpretation, op. cit., p. 193. 我用爾許功夫開汝眼目. 爾許 as in 如許, 'such', i.e. considerable. Cf. Goroku I, p. 206.

19) 俗府. Hu Shih, Wen-ts'un 4, p. 203 amends this to 官府.

20) 初無一恨, 幾其至死 Cf. 幾死 about to die. Hu Shih, loc. cit., interprets this passage to the effect that when Hui-k'o was injured, he was not angry at first, but just hoped that his death would bring Tao-heng's followers joy.

basis (of Buddhism)²¹ to give up study as vain.²² In taking up the sword the calumniators incriminated (injured) themselves.²³ For the first time I understood that (in) the exposition of the unique tidings²⁴ there is contained both the joyful and the fearful (i.e. good and bad results). The ocean and the hoof-print clearly show the depth that they have.²⁵

K'o then made allowances and adjusted to the world.²⁶ Occasionally he bestowed clear counsel and wrote poetry²⁷, or he relied on facts to sort it out.²⁸ Heng's idea of writing was to analyze the complex and the difficult.²⁹ Therefore (for him) the Correct Way was far off and difficult to reach³⁰, for he blocked off what was near and easy to come to fruition. This is the reason.

21) 了本 I owe my understanding of this passage from here to note 29 to suggestions made by Mr. Tso, especially the idea that it contains Tao-hsuan's comments, which can be seen from the last line in the paragraph about the ocean etc. It is, however, still tentative. I had thought that these words meant that Heng's pupils had realized the origin of the rejoicing.

22) 浮華 means vain, superficial. Perhaps it meant they drifted away.

23) 錦黠者操刀自擬. 擬 = to point at, cut in half, compare. Mr. Tso suggests that they are killing themselves spiritually because they scared off a good teacher.

24) 一音所演 Morohashi, l. 101, the teaching spoken by the Buddha. The Vkn, 'The Buddha Land' chapter; "The Buddha expounded the Dharma with one voice, (but) creatures attained it each according to their type."

25) 詢迹歸澄遠深斯在 . Cf. Vkn, "If you wish to practise the Great Way do not display narrow paths. Do not put the great ocean into the print of an ox's foot." 欲行大道莫示小徑. 無以大海內於牛跡 (T. 38, 353a).

26) 可乃縱容順俗 Tentative. To teach in accord with lay ways?

27) 時惠請獻作託吟謠 吟謠 means to sing or compose songs.

28) 情事 as in note 17. To teach through immediate examples?

29) 恒抱寫割煩蕪 抱 as 懷.

30) 希 = 睇, sight?

So (K'o) left Yeh and Wei and went wandering, and he was frequently exposed ^展 to the weather.³¹ (His?) Way was ultimately obscure and profound, so he died without leaving behind any illustrious successors.

There was a Layman Hsiang who hid himself away in the forests and wildernesses where he lived off wild fruit. In the beginning of the T'ien-pao era (550-559) this master of the Way³² sent a letter conveying his best wishes, saying;

Shadow arises from form (形 or the body), and echoes follow after the voice. If one sports with the shadow to belabour the body, one does not know that the body is the (source of the) shadow. If one raises one's voice to halt the echo, one does not know³³ that the voice is the source of the echo. Eliminating frustrations but yet searching for Nirvana is likened to dismissing the body whilst seeking the shadow. Separating oneself from creatures whilst seeking the Buddha³⁴ is likened to silencing the voice whilst searching out the echo. Therefore bewilderment and awakening are the same path, stupidity and wisdom are not separate. Name is created out of the nameless 無名, and because of this name, right and wrong are born. Principle is created out of non-Principle 無理³⁵, and because of this Principle disputations arise. Falsity is unreal, (so) what is empty and what

31) 遂流離於衛, 至展寒溫 Tentative. Wei is an area in northern Ho-nan just to the south of mod. An-yang, the old Yeh. 寒溫 Perhaps cold and warmth here are used figuratively for adversity and success.

32) 道味相師 道味 can mean the Taoist teaching, but T.50,554a15 uses it for Buddhism. 相師 means a physiognomist, but it may refer here to Fa-hsiang?

33) This passage appears in the Long Scroll IV, where 識 is 知. This letter and the supposed reply by Hui-k'o is translated in Suzuki, Essays in Zen Buddhism, First Series, p.194 f.

34) Here 者, which is needed for parallelism, is lacking. I shall give no more minor variants.

35) 作 is substituted for the phrase 處強爲立 in IV, "where there is no name a name is forcibly established". Suzuki, loc.cit. has "there is no name, we create name."

exists? Know that obtaining is obtaining nothing, losing is losing nothing.³⁶
 I have not got around to having a conversation with you, so for the time
 being I have set out my opinion^意. I hope you will answer it.³⁷

K'o took up his brush and wrote an account of his opinions;

I say all these true phenomena³⁸, as they are, are real³⁹,
 And ultimately identical with the true hidden Principle.⁴⁰
 Formerly bewildered, I believed the Jewel⁴¹ to be rubble,
 But suddenly⁴² was aware that it is a true pearl.
 Ignorance and wisdom are equal and do not differ^{無異}.
 You should know that the entirety of phenomena are so⁴³.
 Taking pity on the followers of the view of duality⁴³

36) 得無所得 or "in obtaining there is naught to be had."

37) IV has "How (can one) discuss the profound doctrines?" 詎論玄旨. For further notes on the letter see the notes to IV.

38) 真法 or true Dharma. However, the following words indicate phenomena. Ting, 1756, quotes the Hua-yen ching XVI, "Correct Awareness is far from discrimination. This is the Buddha's true Dharma." 正覺遠離塵數此是佛真法. Note that this section is a poem. Cf. Appendix III.

39) 如實 = real as they are = Yathābhūtam = Bhūtatathatā. Suzuki, On Indian Mahayana Buddhism, p.40 translates it as, "the essence of things as they are."

40) 真幽理. 真理 is the true Principle which is the non-activity underlying all activity, so the 幽 probably indicates that it is hidden by this activity. Ignorance arises because of the agitation of the mind which is caused by the movement of phenomena.

41) 摩尼 = manī, a pearl or gem. It is a symbol of the Buddhist teachings or the Buddha-nature.

42) 豁然 = the condition of mind when all doubts are swept away, and since the mind is then transparent, understanding can illuminate it. Used in phrases such as 豁然大悟 or 豁然開朗 which basically mean, "suddenly all became clear and I understood." Cf. chapter 2, note 47 and 忽然 in Y. Hakeda, The Awakening of Faith, p.50 f.

43) 二見之徒輩. Those Buddhist followers or tyros who don't think that wisdom and ignorance are the same in nature. "Dual-viewed tyros." It literally means to hold contradictory or dual views, e.g. existence versus non-existence. The Mādhyamika view is that neither of these is the Middle Way. Cf. Ramanan,

I have written out these verses to create this letter.

Observe that one's self and the Buddha are not discriminated,⁴⁴

(So) why must one seek elsewhere for the No Remainder.⁴⁵

He spoke out about entering Principle without cosmetic additions.⁴⁶ Sometime someone compiled it⁴⁷ and then made classifications (in it)⁴⁸ and drew it up as a separate volume.

At the time there was also a Mr. Hua 化公 and Mr. Yen 彦公, and the meditation teacher Ho 和禪師 who each penetrated the outer husk⁴⁹ of the profound mysteries 玄奧. What they said was pure and remote 清迥, and they relied on events (objects) to convey their convictions.⁵⁰ I have heard all sorts of stories⁵¹, and although the time of these people is not distant, I have rarely heard of (them having) tombstone inscriptions 碑記罕聞. Since Nāgārjuna's Philosophy, p.108, note 92 on p.342. The Śikṣānanda translation of the Lanka IV, says, "And why do you say they fall into two views?....Do not give rise to the distinguishing of the attributes of existence or non-existence." Cf. Morohashi, 247.289.

44) Cf. Vkn, "Seeing reality in one's body is how to see the Buddha" (Luk.p.120)

如自觀身實相，觀佛亦然 (T.38,410a). Cf. Tao-sheng's idea that "all creatures are the Buddha without exception," and LXXXIV.

45) 無餘 = 無餘涅槃 Nirvana in which there is no residual karma of suffering, the nirvana of an Arhat.

46) Or, "What he said enters the Principle without embellishment." 鉛墨 = 鉛黛 ?

47) 續之 as 纂之 or, "continued it" .

48) 部類 chapters or groupings by theme?

49) 通冠 cf. the Buddhist term 通覆 .

50) 托事寄懷 Tentative. 寄懷 means to convey one's feelings through a gift or thing. This idea is one of the central methods of Ch'an, and may be based on the Vkn, "'All phenomena are an aspect of release.' Chao comments, 'Although phenomena are diverse, all are an aspect of release. Why should letters alone be different?'" 一切諸法是解脫相 ... (T.38,388a-b; cf. Luk, p.75)

51) 口實 = cause for talk, or words not backed up by fact.

their subtle words were not transmitted, who (then can) detail⁵² their pure virtues? It is so very sad!

At that time the Dharma teacher Lin 林法師 frequently lectured on the Śrīmālā (sūtra) and wrote on the meaning of its passages at Yeh. Each time he lectured people assembled, and he selected those who were versed in the three types of scripture.⁵³ He got seven hundred men to participate in his sessions 席. When the Chou persecution of Buddhism (574-577) arrived⁵⁴, he and Hui-k'o, a fellow student 同學, together protected sutras and images.

Earlier the meditation teacher (Bodhi)dharma had given K'o the four chapter {Gunabhadra translation} of the Lanka, saying, "As far as I can see the land of Han has only this sutra. Sir 仁者, rely on the practice (of this sutra's teachings) and you will obtain release from the world for yourself."⁵⁵

Hui-k'o adhered single-mindedly to the profound principles (of it?) as has been related above. Hui-k'o met with bandits and had his arm cut off by them. He used this method 法 to control his mind so that he would not feel the pain. He cauterized the stump and when the bleeding stopped, he bound 裹 (kuo) it up in silk and begged food as before. He never told anyone.

Later Lin also had his arm cut off by bandits. He screamed all night. Hui-k'o bound 裹 it up to cure it, and begged food for Lin. Lin was annoyed that

52) 序 = to write.

53) 三部經 Cf. Morohashi, 12.1558: There are three different groups of three sutras, i.e. 3 Amida texts, 3 Maitreya texts, 3 Lotus texts. As Liebenthal says in his translation, 'Vajrasamadhi', p.352 f., this probably refers to the Tripitaka 三藏, for these sutras were probably grouped later.

54) Cf. chapter 1. It reached Yeh in 577.

55) 依行自得度世 .The other interpretation of this ambiguous phrase is, "You will certainly save the world"; in Liebenthal, 'Vajrasamadhi', p.352, SL, p.44, and Hokugi, p.169. Note that 自得 in Morohashi, 30095.468 is 自ら心にとりて .

K'o was so useless with his hand⁵⁶, and got angry at him. Hui-k'o said,

"The dumplings are in front of you! Why don't you wrap them ^裏 up yourself?"⁵⁷

Lin said, "I lack an arm. Don't you know?"

K'o said, "I also lack an arm. How can you be angry with me?"

Therefore they confided in each other, and so knew (each other) had merit.⁵⁸

For this reason he was known as 'One-armed Lin.'

Everytime K'o preached he concluded by saying, "After four generations this sutra will be converted into name and appearance."⁵⁹ How deplorable."

There was the meditation teacher Na ^那 whose lay surname was Ma ^馬. For twenty one years he lived at Tung-hai⁶⁰, and expounded on the Li (Book of Ritual) and I (Book of Changes). He travelled around studying all over the country.⁶¹ When he came south (?) to Hsiang-chou (Yeh) he encountered K'o's

56) 手不便 he was clumsy with the food, unhelpful.

57) 餅食在前何不自裹 Liebenenthal, 'Vajrasamadhi', p.353, "Is it not your cake?" Liebenenthal says that 餅 should be replaced with 餠 kuo, cake, so that 'cake' and 'wrap/bind' become a pun, and Lin consequently misunderstands this as, "Why don't you dress yourself?" 餅食 are pastry. However, cf. T.50,659c, "He made two wrapped pastries for them to chew. One pastry wrapped up a whole raw deer horn, the other five sheng of salt." 作兩裹餅略。一餅裹一具生鹿解。--- Whether it is a pun or not, the story is obviously apocryphal, for T'an-lin would surely have noticed that Hui-k'o was one-armed.

58) 因相委問方知有功 Tentative. "Vajrasamadhi", p.353, "They consoled each other and knew that they had acquired merit (by suffering)."

59) 名相 Cf. Morohashi, 3297.109 and Lanka, (Gunabhadra), T.16,487c, where it is one of two 'imaginings of a self-nature' that are due to clinging to appearances. It is to cling to inner and outer appearances: 計著有二種, 妄想自性... 謂名相計著相及事相計著相, 名相計著相者, 謂內外法計著, 事相計著者, 謂即彼如是內外自共相計著

60) 東海 a commandery 郡 est. under E. Wei, and in N. Ch'i, on the borders of Shantung and Kiangsu near the coast, mod. Tung-hai prefecture.

61) 行學四百 Tentative. 行覺, Morohashi, 34029.72, 'to travel and study'. Could this be an abbreviation for 行覺四百餘州? Yanagida, Hokugi, p.144, says, "he gathered 400 pupils."

preaching, and together with ten scholars^{學士} he became a monk and accepted the Way. All his pupils^{門人} in Hsiang-chou East (?) provided a maigre feast for their farewell⁶², and the sound of their weeping moved the town.

Na, since he had left the lay world^俗 behind, no longer took up his pen or lay books. He only wore a single robe and only had one (begging) bowl. He regarded one meal in a sitting (a day)⁶³ as enough for usual practice^{常行}. He also cultivated ascetic practices^{頭陀}. Thus, wherever he went, he did not enter the towns and villages.

There was a Hui-man^{慧滿}, a native of Ying-yang⁶⁴, whose surname was Chang^張. Formerly he lived in Lung-hua Temple^{隆化寺} in Hsiang-chou. When he encountered Na's preaching he accepted his Way, and disciplined himself exclusively in non-attachment. He had one robe and one meal (a day), and he only kept two needles (針?). In winter he begged for supplements (補; or patches?) and in summer he discarded them^{便通捨} and only covered his nakedness. He spent his whole life from then on⁶⁵ without any cowardice or fear. His body was free of fleas and lice.⁶⁶ When he slept he did not dream. He never stayed twice in the same place. When he arrived at a temple he split firewood and made shoes. He constantly travelled begging for food.

In the 16th year of the Chen-kuan era (642A.D.) he was staying amongst the cypress pines and graves⁶⁷ that were alongside Nan Hui-shan Temple of Lo-chou

62) 辭別 to pay a farewell visit. Here, to announce one's entry into the Order.

63) 一坐一食 . Cf. the Buddhist term 一坐食 .

64) 潁陽 Not far to the west of Cheng-chou^{陳州}, capital of Ho-nan.

65) 自述一生 or, "he said that in his whole life..."

66) E. Conze, The Large Sutra on Perfect Wisdom, p. 390, "Moreover the robe of the irreversible Bodhisattva is free from lice."

67) 宿柏墓中 To stay in graveyards is one of the twelve ascetic practices of Buddhism.

(洛州南會善寺 in Lo-yang region) where he encountered snow three feet^尺 deep. That morning he entered the temple and had an interview with the Dharma teacher T'an-k'uang^{曇曠}, who wondered where (Man) had come from. Man said, "Has a friend in the Dharma come?"⁶⁸ (K'uang) sent someone off to find out where Man had sat.⁶⁹ On all sides the snow was over five feet, and then it amassed to an unfathomable depth. Therefore, as there was this barrier (of snow that should have stopped him from) visiting, all the monks fled into hiding.⁷⁰ Man then took up his robe and bowl and toured the towns and villages, and there was nothing that could impede him.⁷¹ Whatever he was given (in alms) he distributed, and he sought only to be untrammelled.⁷²

Someone invited him to stay for a confession ceremony⁷³, but he told him, "There is nobody in the Empire to (who could) accept such an invitation." Therefore, whenever Man preached, he said;

The Buddhas spoke of mind so that we would know that the appearances (due to the operation) of the mind⁷⁴ are false phenomena.⁷⁵ Now (people) are reduplicating the appearances (due to the operation) of the mind, which is

68) He is asking to stay?

69) 坐處, or did he send someone off to find him a place to stay?

70) 故其間有詰訪, 諸僧逃隱. P. Harrison suggests that they were afraid because they thought him some sort of demon or supernatural being because he passed through the snow.

71) 無可滯礙 or, "there was nothing that could hamper him", or, "no-one could make him stay in a place."

72) 虛閑 = aranya, which is usually translated 空寂, still and uninhabited.

73) 宿齋 to stay overnight for an upavasatha, which is a fortnightly gathering of monks to reflect on and confess their sins.

74) 心相 or, mental attributes. Cf. XLV. Ting, 706 says it is the visible element of existence 見分.

75) 虛妄法, i.e. those phenomena we see, hear etc.

completely contrary to the Buddha's intention. To further add debate onto that is to contradict the Great Principle.⁷⁶

Therefore 故使, both the teachers Na and Man always took the four chapter Lanka with them, and they regarded it as the essential teaching.

Whatever he preached he practised, and he did not err by handing down mistakes.⁷⁷ Later, in Lo-yang, he died sitting up without having had an illness. He was about 70 years old.

These pupils are all in K'o's lineage, so there is no need for a separate account.

76) Yanagida, Hokugi, p.144 thinks that this is a criticism of the Yogācārin analyses of 心相 that were popular in this period, when Hsuan-tsang had aroused new interest in it.

77) 不致遺忘 Tentative. Alternatively, "did not err in forgetting his burden."

Miscellaneous References to Hui-k'o and his Pupils.

Hui-pu 慧布 (518-587), T.50,480c.

{Hui-pu studied the San-lun under Dharma teacher Seng-ch'uan of Chih-kuan Temple on Mt. She 攝山止觀寺僧詮法師 }

He always delighted in sitting in meditation 坐禪 and distancing himself from clamour and annoyance. He vowed not to preach or expound, and made his duty the maintenance (of the Dharma). Finally he travelled north to Yeh for further experience in what he had not yet heard.¹ At meditation teacher K'o's place he was soon versed in (K'o's) famous views.² He then expressed his understanding of their meanings.³ K'o said, "What the Dharma teacher (you) have said can be considered to destroy ego and eliminate views."⁴ One cannot go beyond this." So then he felt free to give lectures providing views on the essential guides.⁵ He surveyed the meaning of the literature and inscribed it in his mind.⁶ He also wrote out a chapter (章?) commentary to the extent of six donkey loads (馬大?) which were transported back south of the Yangtze 江表. He gave them to Mr. Lang⁷, who got him to lecture on them. Because there were some omissions he again went to Ch'i, wrote out in full what was lacking and brought it back to Lang.

He kept nothing for himself, only his robe and begging bowl. He devoted himself to cultivating 修 mindfulness and wisdom 智慧, and remained alone in the pine forests...

1) 更涉未聞. I owe this interpretation to Mr. Tso's suggestion.

2) 於可禪師所暫通名見 ?

3) 言忤其意 ? 忤意 means to hold a differing opinion, but here I think 悟 is the proper reading.

4) 可謂破我除見 or, "from what you have told me, I think that you have destroyed the ego and eliminated views."

5) 乃縱心講席備見宗領 .

6) 周覽文義並具胸襟 .

7) 朗公 is Fa-lang, who also studied under Seng-ch'uan, and was one of Ch'uan's 4 friends; cf. T.50,477c 初攝山僧詮受業朗公 .

{The above biography continues on to tell us that Hui-pu had discussions with T'ien-t'ai's Hui-ssu, and was an associate of a meditation teacher Miao. We can get confirmation of his interest in meditation and of his journey north from the biography of Pao-kung保恭 following.}

At the beginning of the Chih-te era至德 (583-587) of Ch'en, Hui-pu of Mt. She went north to Yeh, and as soon as he returned, he wanted to open a meditation centre禪府. He earnestly invited pure followers to set it up. Pao-kung⁸ bowed to Hui-pu, and stated the benefits in regard to this duty. He established a system of grades (綱位) to guide them in the essentials of meditation禪宗.⁹

Hui-k'o and the Pupils of Paramārtha.

{In the biography of Fa-t'ai, a pupil of Paramārtha, we have an account of a Hui-ko or Hui-k'o惠可 (these are alternative readings) who appears from all the coincidences of time and name to be Bodhidharma's pupil, Hui-k'o. However, some doubts must remain. For example, the pronunciation of the name is not exactly the same, but this may be due to scribal error or the differences in pronunciation that existed between the North and the South during this period. The name of his reputed teacher, Pa-mo-li, is a complete mystery.}

"At that time there was the śramana Chih-chi (智散 most texts have 敷 fu) of P'ing-teng Temple in Hsun-chou循州."

{ He later studied under various teachers. He learnt the Satyasiddhi, the Vajracchedikaprajñāpāramitāsūtrasastra金剛般若論, the Vibhāṣā婆沙 and the Mādhyamika-sāstra中論. Later he heard Chih-k'ai智愷 explaining Paramārtha's translation of the She-lun, and together with Tao-ni and some twenty other people came to be a member of Paramārtha's group. He vowed to continue

8) 保恭 (d. 621 at the age of 81).

9) T.50,512c.

to preach the She-lun and the Kośa.}

In the second month of the eleventh year of the T'ai-chien era 太建十一年 (579), there was a certain Hui-ko (慧可 other Chinese texts have 惠可), a pupil of the Tripitaka teacher Pa-mo-li¹⁰, who had lived originally in the Central Plains 中原. He there ran into the persecution of Buddhism by (Emperor) Wu of Chou, fled his country and came to Ch'en. Later he accompanied the envoy Liu Chang¹¹ to Nan-hai (南海 i.e. Kuang-tung). He had obtained a copy of the Nirvāṇa Śāstra.¹² Fu (i.e. Chih-chi) had been expounding this sutra, so he was delighted at K'o's having already learnt it¹³, and he sought (K'o's) help. Then (K'o) began to preach it, but they only got through the Preface Section and the Germinal Nature Section of the first half of the Profound Meaning of the Thirteen Chapters.¹⁴

Later Ko returned to Mt. Hou-ling in Yü-chang¹⁵, and Fu and Dharma teacher 法師 Chi 璉 accompanied him. So he continued to preach on the Third Section. They got through all of the 'Ten Oceans and Ten Paths' and they

10) 跋摩利? Liebenthal, 'Vajrasamadhi', p.353 tries to reconstruct this as Prabhāri. 跋摩 usually transcribes Varman, as in 訶利跋摩 Harivarman, and 磨利 Malli(ka). As far as I know, this name is not found elsewhere. Perhaps it is a mistake or another name for Bodhidharma.

11) 劉璋 unidentified.

12) 涅槃論 i.e. Nirvāṇa Sūtra Śāstra. There is a work with this title in one chapter attributed to Vasubandhu. Liebenthal, 'Vajrasamadhi', p.353 says that it was first catalogued in 604. The Chung-ching mu-lu 衆經目錄, T.55, 186a3 has 大涅槃經論一卷, 十一紙 in 11 pages by Dharmabodhi 達摩菩提. Tao-hsuan says that, "We are not clear as to its period 時代". Because it is doubtful, I have appended it." (T.55, 270b). T'ang, Feng suppl. p.39 says that Dharmabodhi flourished in the 550's. This problem is complex, so I shall discuss it at the end of the passage (note 12a).

13) 本習 or, "studied at the source", i.e. with the translator?

14) 十三章玄義 cf. note 12a at the end of the passage.

15) 豫章鶴嶺山, is this near modern Nan-ch'ang 南昌?

proceeded on to the remaining text. Because Ko fell ill he was not fit to teach, so he ordered Fu to go to the capital and look for the Dharma teacher Hai-ch'ao (海潮?), for he would (know) the meaning of the śāstra exhaustively.

In the 14th year (of T'ai-chien, 582) Fu went to Chien-yeh. He did not find the man he was looking for, but he came across the meditation teacher Hsiao¹⁶ of Hsi-hsuan Temple, who bestowed on him T'an-lin's Chieh Nieh-p'an shu which comments on the latter half of the sutra.¹⁷ Although this text was one with the meaning of the śāstra, he was still not wholly satisfied, and so he returned to his old temple. He always expounded on the new text of the Meanings of the Thirteen Chapters 新文十三章義, and (went through it) nearly twenty times. In the 12th year of the K'ai-huang era 開皇 (593), Wang Chung-hsuan¹⁸ raised a rebellion and burnt down the provincial capital, and Fu's room in the monastery (was burnt also). The text¹⁹ and the commentary (by T'an-lin) were both destroyed.²⁰

16) 栖玄寺曉禪師. This is probably the Hui-hsiao who was a friend of Pao-kung. Cf. T.50,512c; Hui-hsiao's centre in the South was Hsi-hsuan Temple, as the following shows. After 583, Hui-k'uang, one of Paramārtha's pupils, was living in Hsi-hsia Temple 西霞寺 at Tan-yang (near mod. Nan-king). "His room there was originally Hsi-hsuan vihara (i.e. temple 精舍)... The style (of building or Buddhism?) was that left by meditation teacher Hui-hsiao." 房本 栖玄精舍禪師慧曉之道風 (T.50,503c).

17) 解涅槃疏釋經後分 This does not refer to the Hou-fen Nieh-p'an, which is a supplement to the Dharmakṣema translation made in the T'ang Dynasty.

18) 王仲宣 unidentified. I can't find anybody of this name in the 593A.D section of the TCTC.

19) Liebenthal, 'Vajrasamadhi', p.355 says this is the śāstra.

20) T.50,431c.

12a) The Parts of the Śāstra.

Although a work exists with the title, Nieh-p'an lun (T.26,277c-281a), it is very short, being only 10 columns in the Taisho, which is roughly the same as the '11 pages' in the catalogue. Thus it is too short to contain all the sections and 13 chapters mentioned. There is no "Ten oceans and ten paths" in

it, nor can it be divided into 13 sections. Since it took them so long to study it, it cannot be the extant Nieh-p'an lun. Fu's copy at least was destroyed.

Liebenthal, ('Vajrasamadhi', p.354 f.) says that there are five parts to the lun; i) Preface 序分 ii) The Germinal Nature or Gotra Section 種性分, iii) the first 13 chapters 十三章 iv) a third part, v) the latter part 後分 on which T'an-lin wrote a commentary. Liebenthal tries to link these so-called five parts to the extant Nieh-p'an lun because the beginning of it has what Liebenthal calls a 'table of contents' of the lun itself. In my opinion, the extant lun is a survival of a section of the now lost lun, for the 'table of contents' corresponds to nothing in the extant lun. The extant lun, as Liebenthal notes, is just a commentary on the so-called '36 questions gatha' and nothing else. (Cf. 'Vajrasamadhi', p.354, and '...Tao-sheng', MN, XI, p.95) In fact it only deals with about 20 to 25 questions, depending on how one counts them, not with the full 36, and definitely not with 13 questions as Liebenthal suggests ('Vajrasamadhi', p.355).

I think that the 13 chapters referred to are the 13 chapters of the Dharmakṣema (Northern) translation of the Nirvana Sutra, and that the original lun followed this division (for this division see T'ang, pp.607 ff.). The commentary by T'an-lin would thus have followed this division. The Southern Nirvana Sutra in 36 chuan, is a revision of the translation by Dharmakṣema (Northern) in light of Fa-hsien's translation. It has a few modifications made for ease of comprehension by Hui-kuan 慧觀 and Hsieh Ling-yun (T'ang, p.606). It is divided into 25 chapters. It is noteworthy that the extant Nieh-p'an lun's divisions in the 'table of contents' of the original śāstra (?) follow the divisions of the Southern edition. (The lun's 1st chapter 不思議神通反示分 = Southern 序品 ; 2nd 成就種性遣執分 = Cunda 純陀 and 哀歎品 ; 3rd 正法實義分 = from 4th 長壽品 to the 17th 大眾所聞品 ; 4th 方便修成 = from 18th 現病 to 22nd 高貴德王菩薩品 {this is indicated by the 五行 and 十事功德} ; 5th 離諸欣逸入證分 = 23rd 師子吼品 ; 6th 慈光善巧住持分 = 24th 迦葉品 ; 7th 顯真相分 = 25th 憍陳如).

Thus the extant Nieh-p'an lun was probably either written by a Chinese, as Liebenthal suggests, or is a lun that explains only a few cryptic gathas of the original sutra, as does the Nieh-p'an ching pen-wu chin-yu chi lun 涅槃經本無今有偈論 in one chuan, attributed to Vasubandhu and translated by Paramārtha (T.26, 281-282c). I think that the extant Nieh-p'an lun probably originally contained the name of the gatha in its title. Alternatively, it is

The Lineage of the Proto-Ch'an School According to Fa-ch'ung, HKSC biog. of Fa-ch'ung 法冲 (587-665?), T.50, 666b-c.

Ch'ung thought the Lanka to be a profound text whose sun had long set.¹ He dreaded not the plains nor defiles² in his search for it. He happened upon K'o's descendants 後裔 who studied this sutra a great deal, and so he studied it through (their) teacher. He often struck important passages.³ Then (the teacher)⁴ took his leave from his disciples and left it to Ch'ung to pass on the teaching. So he continued to expound (the Lanka) over thirty times. Later he met someone who had been personally instructed (in the Lanka) by Master K'o 可師, and who relied on the South Indian One Vehicle doctrine 宗 to expound it. He (expounded it) one hundred times more.

This sutra was originally translated by the (Liu)Sung Tripitaka teacher
a surviving fragment of the original lun or T'an-lin commentary that has been later changed by another author (cf. 'Vajrasamadhi', p.355).

The fullest account of a work of this name is as follows: "The śramaṇa Dharmabodhi. This means 法覺. The Nei-tien lu 內典錄 (by Tao-hsuan) says, 'Dharmabodhi's translation of the Nieh-p'an lun. We are not clear as to the reign he belonged to, but it was compiled at the end of the Wei.' Now there is also (something) the same as that (in title or contents?) appended herein. {There is also a Nieh-p'an lun in 3 chuan, also captioned Dharmabodhi's translation. On investigation of its text 文, (we find that) it is a commentary on the former lun, or I doubt that this man (Dharmabodhi) made it.}." (K'ai-yuan Shih-chiao lu, T.55, 543b-c).

1) 以楞伽奧典沈湮日久. A similar phrase exists in T'an-yen's biog., T.50, 488a: "He looked around at his shadow and said, 'You have been hidden from me for a long time.'" 與爾沈湮日久.

2) 素險 = favourable and unfavourable conditions. A similar phrase is used of Paramārtha, T.50, 429c.

3) 大節 = important things that had to be remembered. Cf. SL, p.51, "had frequent occasions of spiritual realisation."

4) I have followed Hu Shih, Wen-ts'un 4, p.215, here, rather than Suzuki, SL, p.51, "The master then let him leave the company of his fellow students..."

Gunabhadra, and copied down by the Dharma teacher Hui-kuan ^{慧觀}. Because its wording and principles ^{文理} are in harmony, its practice and evidence ⁵ are consistent. It concentrates solely on the mindfulness and wisdom ⁶ that is not present in words.

Later the meditation teacher (Bodhi)dharma transmitted it to the North and to the South. (He regarded) its doctrine ^宗 to be 'the dismissal of words and concepts (or thoughts, or mindfulness), the correct contemplation of non-obtaining.'⁷ Later it was practised in the Central Plains.⁸ Meditation teacher Hui-k'o ^{惠可} was the first to get (得 understand) its connecting threads.⁹ Many of the literati (文覺 scholastic Buddhists?) of Wei could not get their

5) 行質 . 質 = the results of the practice?

6) 念惠 ? Mindfulness and wisdom. SL,p.52, "The entire emphasis of its teaching is placed on Prajñā."

7) 忘言忘念無得正觀為宗 . SL,p.52, "the gist of which teaching consists in attaining the unattainable, which is to have a right insight into the truth itself by forgetting word and thought." 念 may be memory or thought, cf. Ting, 1348, 念言 to think and say. For 無得正觀 see Ting, 2175a; also called the 'non-dual correct contemplation.' It is considered to be an aim of the San-lun School. Not taking any of the 8 extreme views Nāgārjuna (attacked), i.e. the Middle Way is the correct contemplation. The San-lun hsuan-i 三論玄義 by Chi-tsang (549-623), an encyclopedia of San-lun, says, "The sutras of the Greater and Lesser Vehicles share the clarification of the One Way. Therefore they take the correct contemplation of non-obtaining to be its doctrine (宗 essence). But the Lesser Vehicle teachings are still far from the correct contemplation. Therefore they realize the 4 truths to be the essence. The Greater Vehicle correctly clarifies the correct contemplation. Therefore the Mahayana sutras all regard the non-dual correct contemplation to be the essence." 大小乘經同明一道. 故以無得正觀為宗. 但小乘教者正觀猶遠. 故就四諦教為宗. 大乘正明正觀. 故諸大乘經同以不二正觀.

8) 中原 = the old central plains of China, i.e. Ho-nan west to Ch'ang-an.

9) 綱紐 lit. the net and the knots in it. The whole system?

teeth into it.¹⁰ Those who received the doctrine and could understand it¹¹ were then able to Awaken 啓悟. Now since it has been transmitted through many people and over much time¹², later scholars have erred. This is given in more detail in the separate biography of Mr. K'o 可公.

Now I shall describe what the teacher (Ch'ung) accepted as the lineages. I definitely have proof for what I have learnt.¹³ Following meditation teacher (Bodhi)dharma were Hui-k'o and Hui-yü.¹⁴ Master Yü accepted the Way and its mental practices¹⁵ and never spoke of it. Following meditation teacher K'o were meditation teachers Ts'an 榮, Hui 惠, Sheng 盛; old master Na 那老師, meditation teacher Tuan 端, Piṭaka teacher Ch'ang 長, Dharma teacher Chen 真 and Dharma teacher Yü 玉. {All the above spoke of the profound principles, but did not produce any literary works.}

Following Master K'o there was Master Shan 善 {who produced a precis 抄¹⁶ in 4 chapters}, meditation teacher Feng 豐 {who produced a commentary in 5 chapters}, meditation teacher Ming 明 {who produced a commentary in 5 chapters}, and Master Hu-ming 胡明 {who produced a commentary in 5 chapters}.

Those who succeeded to Master K'o's (line) through intermediaries¹⁷ were Master Ta-tsung 大聰 {who produced a commentary in five chapters}, Master Tao-

10) 齒之 Perhaps because of what Su Tung-po and others had to say of its difficulties, SL, pp.56 and 9.

11) 領宗得意 or, to get the meaning of the guiding doctrines.

12) 今以人代轉遠, cf. Hokugi, p.170.

13) 所學歷然有據

14) 惠育; in the HKSC Bodhidharma biog. it is 道育.

15) 受道心行 ambiguous. It is not the Buddhist 心行, the continual movement of the mind or 'stream of consciousness'. Ting, 703b says that in the later Ch'an Sect that it meant continually clearing the mind so that one could see the Buddha-nature. The Platform Sutra says, "This is necessarily a mental operation, and is not in verbal concepts." 此須心行, 不在口念.

16) A digest of the contents of the Lanka.

17) 遠承 LS, p.53, "indirectly following..."

ying道蔭 {a precis in 4 chapters}, Dharma teacher Ch'ung冲 {a commentary in 5 chapters}, Dharma teacher An岸 {a commentary in 5 chapters}, Dharma teacher Ch'ung寵 {a commentary in 8 chapters}, and Master Ta-ming大明 {a commentary in 10 chapters}.

Those who did not follow Master K'o but who independently relied on the She-lun¹⁸ were meditation teacher Ch'ien遷 {produced a commentary in 4 chapters}, Vinaya teacher Shang-te尙德 {produced a commentary on the Ju Leng-chia¹⁹ in 10 chapters}.

Following old master Na were meditation teachers Shih實 and Hui惠, Dharma teacher K'uang曠²⁰, and Master Hung-chih弘智. {It is said that he lived in Hsi-ming西明 (Temple) in the capital (Ch'ang-an)²¹, and that the Dharma was cut off when he died}.

Following meditation teacher Ming明 there was Dharma teacher Chia伽, Masters Pao-yü寶瑜 and Pao-ying寶迎, and Tao-ying道瑩 {who have all transmitted the lamp through to the present...}~

The Hsiu-fan Temple Entry of the Lo-yang chia-lan chi, (T.51,1004a)

Hsiu-fan Temple had a Vajra(pani)²², which the pigeons would not enter, and in which the birds would not roost. Bodhidharma said, "It has attained its true appearance."

18) I.e. they relied on the Mahāyānasamparigraha for their interpretation of the Lanka. This Ch'ien is probably T'an-ch'ien.

19) 入楞伽 This is the title of Bodhiruci's translation of the Lanka.

20) Is this K'uang the T'an-k'uang who appears in the HKSC Hui-k'o biog. with Hui-man, pupil of Na?

21) Tao-hsuan is said to have lived at this temple (T.50,790c).

22) A Vajrapani金剛手 is a statue of a guardian deity at the temple gates. For the text cf. also Fan, p.60 f. The text is; 修梵寺有金剛, 鳩鵲不入, 鳥雀不棲. 菩提達摩云, 得其真相也.

The Sources

Before we can analyse these biographies, we must evaluate our sources to determine their reliability, to find how much credence can be given to their accounts.

The earliest of the accounts is the Lo-yang chia-lan chi which was written by Yang Hsuan-chih in 547 or soon thereafter¹, to record the glories of the old capital of Northern Wei, Lo-yang. We know very little about Yang, except that before 538 A.D. he had been a Prefect, and later a military official.² The LYCLC, although it strives to be historically accurate at times³, is a very colourful work which relies on exaggeration, variety and exotica to impress the reader. It describes the conflicts of the T'o-pa rulers, foreign lands and customs, the bridges, gardens, art works and temples of Lo-yang, and the fortunes of the Buddhist religion. "It makes up for what Wei Shou did not record. It is an unofficial history of the T'o-pa."⁴

It is important to remember that the work draws on Yang's own nostalgic

1) 洛陽伽藍記 The Records of the Temples of Lo-yang, abbreviated LYCLC. The best edition to date is the Lo-yang chia-lan chi chiao chu 洛陽伽藍記校注 by Fan Hsiang-yung 范祥雄. Note Fan's commentaries on pages 1 and 2 of Yang's Preface, (after the characters 至武定五年歲在丁卯) arguing that 武定五年 (547) is the year of which Yang says, "Because of military duties I again saw Lo-yang. The city walls had crumbled, the palaces had collapsed, the temples were in ashes....Inside and outside the city (wall) there were once over 1,000 temples....Afraid that this would not be related to later generations, I have written this record." Therefore this account was begun in 547 or soon thereafter.

2) Fan, pp. 355 ff.

3) Ibid., p. 16.

4) Ibid., p. 15. This is a quote from Wu Jo-chun's 吳若謙 Lo-yang chia-lan chi chi-cheng 洛陽伽藍記集證 of 1834. Cf. Hatanaka Jyoen 畑中淨園 'Rakuyo Garanki no shohanbon to sono keito' 洛陽伽藍記の諸版本とその系統 in Otani Gakuho XXX (1950-51), p. 54.

memories and travels, supplemented with information from earlier works.⁵ Its interest is such that it "can be ranked slightly behind Li Tao-yuan's Shui-ching chu (Commentary on the Classic of Rivers)."⁶

Yang's exaggerations are numerous. In the Yung-ning Temple entry, in which Bodhidharma appears, we can find the following statements :

In the centre there is a nine-story pagoda built of a wooden framework, rising to a height of 90 chang (approximately 900 feet).

Contrast this with the more sober statements of the Wei-shu and the Ku River entry of the Shui-ching chu that the pagoda was over 40 chang (400 feet).⁸

Yang Hsuan-chih even occasionally indicates that he is using literary licence. Of the same pagoda he writes;

If one is one hundred li from the capital, one can still see it in the distance. They first dug the foundations to the bottom of the Underworld.⁹

Moreover, as Yang recorded not just the history but also the traditions and myths of the temples, some of the temple entries contain short unusual stories, analagous to the collections of mirabilia such as the I-yuan and the Sou-shen chi that date from the Wei-Chin period.¹⁰ An example of such a story is 'Hui-ning comes back to life.'¹¹

Our second dateable source is the Hsu Kao-seng chuan by the prolific Buddhist scholar Tao-hsuan 道宣 (596-667) of Ch'ang-an. Tao-hsuan wrote many works on various aspects of Buddhism, such as biography, bibliography, Vinaya

5) Fan, p.17 f.; cf. Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, p.256.

6) Fan, p.15; this is a quote from the Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao, chuan 70 四庫全書總目提要.

7) Ibid., chuan 1, p.1 or T.51, 1000a.

8) Fan, chuan 1, p.14. The Shui-ching chu 水經注, 穀水注 has 49 chang.

9) Ibid., chuan 1, p.1 f.

10) Cf. Fan, Introduction, p.19, 異苑 and 搜神記.

11) T.51, 1005b. Translated at the end of my chapter 2.

geography and Buddhism in general.¹² After 645A.D. he was one of the nine scholars ordered by the Emperor to assist Hsuan-tsang 玄奘 (ca.596-664) in translation.¹³

The HKSC is divided into ten sections; those of translators 譯經, exegetes 解義, meditators 習禪, Vinayists-disciplinarians 明律, guardians of Buddhism 護法, thaumaturges 感通, self sacrificers 遺神, hymnodists 讀誦, promoters of good works 興福, and miscellanea 雜料. Some of these sections are summed up with general comments 論. Tao-hsuan made his first draft in 645, and in the period until his death in 667, he added approximately two hundred further biographies^a, including those of Hsuan-tsang, the fourth Ch'an Patriarch Tao-hsin and Fa-ch'ung.¹⁴

Members of the Vinaya Sect such as Tao-hsuan wrote biographical works to promote the correct practice of Buddhism.¹⁵ While his work was as historically accurate as any of the works of the historians of his age, his faith in the powers attainable by religious discipline and meditation made him uncritical of the tales of miracles connected with certain monks.¹⁶ In fact, in his post-645 draft, he wrote more about the meditators and thaumaturges, despite his

12) Listed in the K'ai-yuan Shih-chiao lu 開元釋教錄, T.55, 561-562. The biographical works are the HKSC, Tung-Hsia San-pao hsien-t'ung lu 東夏三寶感通錄 (on thaumaturges): bibliography = Ta T'ang nei-tien lu 大唐內典錄 in T.55; Dharmaguptika Vinaya = 四分律刪補隨機羯磨; geography = Shih-chia fang-chih 釋迦方志 in T.51; general essays on ethics and the Order = Kuang Hung-ming chi 廣弘明集; debates between the Taoists and Buddhists = Chi Ku-chin Fo Tao lun-heng 集古今佛道論衡.

13) Tso Sze-bong, 'A Study on Chinese Buddhist Biographies and Bibliographies derived from the Vinaya Sect' II in Hsin-A Hsueh-pao VII (Feb.1965), p.307. (SKSC, XIV, 三藏英師正止, 詔與翻譯 T.50, 790c), p.324 (Tz'u-en chuan VI 又有綴文大德九人至...沙門道宣, T.50, 253).

14) ZSS, p.4 f.

15) Tso Sze-bong, op.cit., I, Hsin A Hsueh-pao VI (Feb.1964), English precis.

16) Cf. P.Lee, The Lives of Korean Monks, p.10 and A.Wright, 'Biography and

association with the work of such a theorist as Hsuan-tsang¹⁷, whose influence, one would think, would have dampened such a tendency. Tao-hsuan's friendship with the aged and widely-learned Taoist Sun Ssu-miao 孫思邈 (590?-682) suggests that Tao-hsuan had an inquiring mind, that he was especially interested in practice and not in theory.¹⁸ "There was the hermit Sun Ssu-miao, who had hidden in Chung-nan Mountains, and who had a relationship with (Tao)-hsuanEverytime he came they discussed things all night 終夕."¹⁹

Sun had considerable interest in Buddhism, especially the Avatamsaka.²⁰ The Chiu T'ang shu (chuan 191) says that he believed in Buddhism, and "deeply entered the non-dual, and so is the modern Vimalakirti!" Moreover, as Sun was very old and is supposed to have aided the compilers of the histories of the Northern Ch'i, Liang, Ch'en, Chou and Sui dynasties as an informant²¹, it is probable that Sun knew much that aided Tao-hsuan in the compilation of his biographies of eminent monks.

So despite its fault of credulity, the HKSC seems to be a carefully written and considered work, based on eyewitness accounts and consultations with his

Hagiography, Hui-chiao's "Lives of Eminent Monks" in Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun Kagaku Kenkyusyo, (1954), pp.385 f. and 389 f. concerning Hui-chiao, whom Tao-hsuan largely imitated.

17) ZSS, p.4 f.

18) Tso Sze-bong, op.cit., II, pp.307 and 312 f.

19) Sung Kao-seng chuan, T.50,790c.

20) According to Fa-tsang, "He wrote out the Hua-yen ching over 750 times", and he rejected the Emperor's praise of Hsuan-tsang's translation of the Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra in 600 chuan with the words, "The śūnyatā doctrine 空宗 of the Prajñā is within the Hua-yen ching, is a twig (offshoot) that grows from it." (T.51,171b-c). Cf. Kamata I, p.290.

21) The quote is from Kamata I, p.293. Some of his ideas in fact sound like Ch'an in a Taoist context. E.g., "The mind is the Way" 心是道, ibid., p.295. Fa-tsang also notes his great age; between 674 and 678, "He always talked with people and he spoke of personalities of Ch'i and Wei and the old capital of Lo-yang" (T.51,171c).

elders, which were cross-checked with various records. Moreover, he seems to have actively sought out sources of information such as travellers and famous monks.²² One therefore can accept most of his statements as being true, with the proviso that one take into consideration the fact that he shared the belief in the working of miracles that was common to most Buddhists of his day.

The third source is the introduction allegedly written by T'an-lin²³ to the Ta-ch'eng Ju-tao ssu-hsing lun²⁴, but since doubts have been raised on the question of its authorship, further consideration of T'an-lin's career is necessary at this point.

T'an-lin was an assistant to various translators in the period from before 535 until 543A.D.²⁵, and is said by Tao-hsuan to have written a commentary on the Nirvana Sutra.²⁶ T'an-lin probably knew some Sanskrit because most of the quotes from his commentary on the Śrīmālā Sūtra in Chi-tsang's Sheng-man Pao-k'u (Treasure Cave of Śrīmālā) are in connection with the proper translation into Chinese of Sanskrit terminology.²⁷ Because Chi-tsang occasionally

22) Tso Sze-bong, op.cit., II, p.324 f. Cf. HKSC Preface, 或博諮先達, 或取訊行人, 或即目舒之, 或討雋集傳, 南北國史一碑碣 (T.50, 425b).

23) Goroku II, p.127, i.e. the T'an-lin Preface, Long Scroll II.

24) Goroku II, p.127 (略章序) 大乘入道四行論. This is another name for the Long Scroll or at least the first sections of it.

25) Hokugi, p.140 has 525-543. The earliest dated work by him is of 538. However, the Miao-fa lien-hua ching lun (Taisho number 1519) 妙法蓮華經論 which is listed in T.55, 269a as having a preface by T'an-lin is thought to date from before 535. Cf. Hokugi, p.445 and Daruma no kenkyū (Sekiguchi), p.156. "In the twenty odd years until the T'ien-p'ing era (534-538) the lun of the...Fa-hua...were translated" (T.50, 428c). Ajia, p.180 gives its date as ca. 535. For a complete list of the prefaces he wrote see Liebenthal, 'Vajrasamadhi' p.384 f.

26) T.50, 431c.

27) 勝鬘經疏 in T.37. There are 15 quotes in all : pp.21c, 22a, 22b twice, 29b, 38b, 39b, 43a, 45b, 52c, 54b, 55a, 58b, 73a, 89c, under the names 林公, 曇林, 無臂林.

calls him 'One-armed Lin'²⁸, he is probably the Dharma teacher Lin of the HKSC biography of Hui-k'o. From the story of T'an-lin it is possible to conjecture that Tao-hsuan thought that the translator's assistant and commentary author T'an-lin was the same person as the author of the Preface. This would be a reasonable assumption, as T'an-lin is recorded by Tao-hsuan as having written many prefaces to translations.²⁹

However, the relationships between T'an-lin, Hui-k'o and Bodhidharma are problematic, and this must be taken into consideration when we contemplate whether or not T'an-lin wrote the Preface. The Preface is now attributed to T'an-lin because the Leng-chia shih-tzu chi of ca. 720A.D. calls it the "Preface by pupil T'an-lin to the Ta-ch'eng Ju-tao ssu-hsing."³⁰ This in fact is the only place in the early sources where T'an-lin is said to have been a pupil of Bodhidharma. All the manuscripts of the Long Scroll from Tun-huang have unfortunately lost their titles owing to the ravages of time.³¹

On the other hand, the HKSC says that Hui-k'o and T'an-lin first met in Yeh around the time of the Northern Chou persecution of Buddhism there in 577. If T'an-lin really was a pupil of Bodhidharma's, it would be strange then if Hui-k'o had not previously met T'an-lin, for the HKSC says that Hui-k'o was with Bodhidharma for the five or six years immediately preceding Bodhidharma's death in 534. So the evidence of the HKSC suggests that T'an-lin was not a pupil of Bodhidharma, but an associate of Hui-k'o's.³²

However, the story of T'an-lin's meeting with Hui-k'o becomes very doubtful when we calculate the ages Hui-k'o and T'an-lin would be by 577. Tao-hsuan

28) 無臂林

29) I.e., Ta T'ang nei-tien lu, (T.55,269-70a). Cf. Daruma no kenkyū, p.155 f.

30) Goroku II, p.127. This in turn may have come from the Leng-chia jen-fa chih 楞伽人法志 of ca. 708A.D. Cf. Yampolsky, op.cit., pp.16 and 18.

31) Goroku I, p.133. The Tun-huang texts are also the only ones that go further than the Korean text.

32) Sekiguchi, Daruma no kenkyū, p.156 f.

says that when Hui-k'o "was forty, he met the Indian śramaṇa Bodhidharma who was proselytizing in the Mt.Sung-Lo-yang area....he studied under him for six years....Bodhidharma died on the banks of the Lo River....Later at the beginning of the T'ien-p'ing era (534-538) he went north to the new capital of Yeh."³³ Thus, by Tao-hsuan's account Hui-k'o would have been at least eighty-nine in 577.³⁴

This argument, however, depends on Tao-hsuan's story and dating being correct. We are told that Hui-k'o went south to the Canton area in 580 and that he survived for a while after that when he came back to the Nan-ch'ang (?) area. We are also told that Hui-pu (518-587) twice visited Yeh before the persecution, and went back there again about 583A.D. In other words, Hui-k'o by Tao-hsuan's reckoning would have lived well into his nineties.

Therefore Tao-hsuan's use of "forty years old" in Hui-k'o's biography appears doubtful. Moreover, he seems to contradict the statement in his biography of Bodhidharma.

"The two śramaṇas Tao-yü and Hui-k'o, who despite being younger...served Bodhidharma for four or five years." Tao-hsuan's biography of Bodhidharma is made up for the most part of quotes and paraphrases of the Preface (I) and Ta-mo lun (II or Erh-ju ssu-hsing)³⁵ and paragraph (IV). The Preface confirms the latter statement.

At the time there were only two śramaṇas, Tao-yü and Hui-k'o, who despite being younger in years...served him for several years.

A possible reason for the apparent discrepancy in the ages that Tao-hsuan gives for Hui-k'o lies in the methods he used to compile the HKSC. When information about a monk appeared in the biography of another monk, and that

33) T.50,552a.

34) Cf. Hu Shih, Wen-ts'un 4, p.205.

35) Cf. Goroku I, p.25 and p.31 f.

information was derived from a source different from that used for the biography of that monk, Tao-hsuan did not bother to correlate the two sources.

Yanagida Seizan suggests that Tao-hsuan uses the words "forty years old" to allude to the statement by Confucius in the Analects II (Wei-cheng) v.4, "At forty I had no doubts", in order to illustrate Hui-k'o's faith.³⁶ Therefore, if we follow the statement of the Preface and Tao-hsuan's biography of Bodhidharma, there is a possibility that Hui-k'o wasn't as old in 577 as Tao-hsuan's biography of Hui-k'o would suggest.

The earliest dated works of T'an-lin in the catalogues date from 538, though an undated work may be from ca. 535 A.D.³⁷, so even if T'an-lin was born in 510, he would have already been sixty-seven by 577.

Moreover, Hu Shih considers that the section of the biography of Hui-k'o that includes T'an-lin's story is one of the additions made after 645 by Tao-hsuan, because of the seeming finality of the phrase midway through the biography; "His way was ultimately obscure and profound, so he died without leaving behind any illustrious successors."³⁸ Also the story of the Lanka probably was written only after Tao-hsuan came to know of the champion of the Lanka School, a man who used the Gunabhadra translation of the Lanka exclusively. Therefore the story probably belongs to the post-645 additions, for Tao-hsuan in his 'General Comments on the Contemplatives' 習禪總論 that is part of the first draft of the HKSC³⁹ does not mention the sutra or the name 'Lanka School'.⁴⁰

36) Hokugi, p.139. Cf. Morohashi, 4682.394 子曰, 後生可畏, 焉知來者之不如今也. The reference to forty years is in Analects, II, v.4 四十而不惑.

37) Cf. footnote 25; T.55, 268-270 and 542-43. The prefaces are collected in Yen K'o-chun's Ch'uan Shang-ku San-tai Ch'in Han San-kuo Liu-ch'ao wen 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文, Hou Wei 後魏 section, folios 5b-8b.

38) T.50, 552a. I shall discuss these problems in detail later.

39) T.50, 596c.

40) Wen-ts'un 4, p.212 f.

Thus the veracity of the story is in doubt, for the information was obtained later, by which time the strange co-incidence of both T'an-lin and Hui-k'o missing an arm, if true, may have engendred such a tale, especially amongst the fertile minds of religious myth-makers. In any case, it is my impression that Hui-k'o and T'an-lin were of approximately the same generation, born in the first decade of the sixth century.

The relationship between the texts also reflects on the question of T'an-lin's authorship of the Preface. Tao-hsuan summarises the Preface and paragraph II in his biography of Bodhidharma and he also quotes paragraph IV which he says is a letter by Layman Hsiang written about 550A.D. Furthermore, Tao-hsuan quotes, without attribution, the Lo-yang chia-lan chi's story that Bodhidharma was one hundred and fifty years old. He also quotes long sections of the LYCLC in his HKSC biography of Bodhiruci, this time with clear attribution;

Yang Hsuan-chih wrote the Lo-yang chia-lan chi in five chapters, and, in summary his preface says...⁴¹

In this biography of Bodhiruci he also mentions that T'an-lin wrote prefaces to translations, but is silent about any of his other activities.⁴²

Therefore, given Tao-hsuan's information about T'an-lin, if T'an-lin was a direct pupil of Bodhidharma's, Tao-hsuan's silence about this would be very unusual. Finally therefore, because the Leng-chia shih-tzu chi quotes the Preface under T'an-lin's name almost word for word, and because I can find no other person called T'an-lin before 667, there appears to be no reason for doubting that T'an-lin wrote the Preface.

Since T'an-lin was not really a spiritual heir to Bodhidharma, I shall give an outline of what we know of him here, rather than with the heirs of

41) T.50,429b. He proceeds to summarise LYCLC, T.51,999a.

42) T.50,429a.

Bodhidharma. T'an-lin probably wrote a preface to Bodhiruci's translation of the Saddharmapundarikasūtrasāstra 妙法華蓮經論 before 535, and in about 535 presumably went to Yeh where many other foreign translators had gone to avoid the impending invasion of Lo-yang and the fall of Northern Wei. From information gleaned from the catalogues and his prefaces, we know that there he aided the translators at Chin-hua Temple 金華寺 until 543. Later, before 577, we find him lecturing on the Śrīmālā Sūtra, on which he had written a commentary, to large numbers of students. It is possible that he succeeded Bodhiruci or one of the other foreign translators as head of the team of seven hundred translators and their assistants who had been ordered by Imperial decree to assist Bodhiruci at Yung-ning Temple, for Tao-hsuan mentions that T'an-lin gathered seven hundred persons versed in the sutras around himself. Although this may be nothing but co-incidence, T'an-lin may have inherited the position because of his ability in Sanskrit. In fact it appears that most, if not all the important foreign translators who were in Yeh died or left after 543.⁴³

Since Tao-hsuan says that T'an-lin first met Hui-k'o in 577, it would appear that the Preface was written after this. Moreover, if the Preface was attached to the Long Scroll from the beginning, and Tao-hsuan's dating is correct, the Preface would have been written after 550, the date given to the so-called 'Layman Hsiang letter'. Therefore I suggest that the Preface was written by T'an-lin sometime after his meeting with Hui-k'o in 577.

43) T.50,428a for Bodhiruci and his assistants: 宣武皇帝下勅... 處之永寧大寺, 四事將給七百梵僧 (梵僧 indicates that they knew Sanskrit?) For the dates of the translators I have used the HKSC and catalogues, plus T'ang, Feng supplement, pp.37 ff. 543 seems to be the last year translations were made in Yeh before 577+.

Tao-hsuan's Hagiographical Techniques and the HKSC Biographies.

Before I make any statements about the lives of the proto-Ch'an monks, it is necessary to further examine our main source, the HKSC, to discover the nature of Tao-hsuan's hagiographical technique, his attitudes towards his sources, and the sequence in which the elements that make up the biographies were written.

I think Tao-hsuan uses the traditional Chinese technique of writing history, 'concealing yet revealing.' The historian using this technique, for example, concealed something considered bad about a person by not putting it in his own biography where all the praiseworthy deeds are mentioned, but revealing it somewhere else, either in another person's biography or in a non-biographical part of the book. This was partly due to the great respect the Chinese historian had for his sources, always quoting them verbatim, or almost so, and never synthesizing these various sources into a single cogent account.⁴⁴

In any case, Tao-hsuan, like other traditional Chinese historians, expected his readers to read the whole book, and not just investigate the biographical details of one monk or lineage of monks.⁴⁵ Tao-hsuan probably adopted these techniques of history writing from his predecessor Hui-chiao (author of the Kao-seng chuan), who introduced the conventions of Chinese Confucian historiography into what would otherwise have been purely Buddhist hagiography.⁴⁶

This technique of 'concealing and revealing' was used in addition to the other technique of 'praise and blame',⁴⁷ which operated either by including or excluding people from a biographical work, or by adding personal

44) E. Balazs, Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy, pp. 130 ff. Cf. A. Wright, 'Hui-chiao...', p. 387.

45) Cf. Denis Twitchett, 'Problems of Chinese Biography' in Confucian Personalities, ed. A. F. Wright and D. Twitchett (1962), p. 33.

46) Wright, 'Hui-chiao...', p. 385.

47) Ibid. p. 384.

judgements.⁴⁸ Thus Hui-chiao said, "If men of real achievement conceal their brilliance, then they are eminent (kao) but not famous (ming). When men of slight virtue happen to be in accord with their times, they are famous but not eminent."⁴⁹ That is why Hui-chiao wrote but little on the great metropolitan clerics, especially those official monks of the North who were also separated from him by distance.

Tao-hsuan uses the technique of 'concealing and revealing' in a somewhat different fashion from the Confucian historian. In one place he will describe the academic abilities, especially the translation activities, of a monk, and in another place describe his other abilities such as meditation and magic, abilities Tao-hsuan certainly did not disparage. The sources for the former were generally more reliable, sources such as prefaces to translations or stele inscriptions, whereas the sources for the latter seem often to have been oral, tales and legends told about certain monks. This divergence is most marked in the biographies of foreign monks. The best examples of those are Ratnamati and Buddhaśānta. For example, he gives a more or less factual biography of Ratnamati in T.50,429a, but in T.50,644a-b tells a tale that was probably current among the people, about his abilities and the besting of an official. I dispute Matsuda Bunyū's contention that Tao-hsuan confused two people.⁵⁰ I think it was a deliberate separation of two types of material.

Tao-hsuan's use and appraisal of his sources shows that he was somewhat selective (praise and blame) in his use of them. The most relevant example I can see is his use of Yang Hsuan-chih's Lo-yang chia-lan chi. Of all of the LYCLC's story about Bodhidharma, Tao-hsuan selects only the statement (without attribution) that Bodhidharma said he was one hundred and fifty years old.

48) Ibid., p.387 f.

49) Ibid., p.393.

50) Matsuda, 'Bodaidaruma ron, Zoku Kōsoden no Daruma' in IBK, LII, (1978, March) p.88.

In Bodhiruci's biography he quotes the Yung-ning Temple entry at length, but substitutes the part about Bōdhidharma with the words,

All those who have passed through many countries from Western China (西夏?) to East China (東華) say no pagodas or halls equal to this exist in Jambudvīpa (this world).⁵¹

He does not even allude to the differences between his sources about Bodhidharma's place of origin.

Tao-hsuan knew that Yang had a Confucian official's view of the wastage of resources that Buddhism induced⁵², and yet was not advocating its total proscription. Yang's attitude to Buddhism seems a little ambiguous. While condemning its material excesses, the LYCLC is devoted to recording the glories of Lo-yang, especially the Buddhist temples. He does not for instance describe the Imperial palaces, and only refers to mansions in comparison with the temples.

(Buddhism) was known in detail in the Western Regions, but in the East was not recorded.... By the (Western) Chin's Yung-chia era (307-313) there were only 42 temples (in Lo-yang?).⁵³ By the time the Imperial Wei received the mandate and made their capital (光宅) in the Sung-Lo (region), sincere belief was replete, and the Dharma teaching was flourishing surpassingly. Royalty, nobility and ministers abandoned their elephants and horses⁵⁴ as if stepping out of their shoes, the common folk and the wealthy families gave away their wealth as if leaving behind footprints. So the temples⁵⁵ were serried, the bejeweled pagodas (寶塔) stretched out in

51) T.50,428c. Cf. Appendix VIII.

52) Cf. chapter 1, note 111.

53) There were 1,768 temples throughout Eastern Chin. Cf. Ch'en, p.136

54) Fan, p.8 thinks this refers to wealth, and is based on the Vkn, 'The Buddha Path'. Cf. Luk, Vkn, p.85, "Where are your slaves and servants, elephants, horses and Chariots?" 奴婢童僕象馬車乘皆有所在.

55) 招提. Cf. T.50,435a; An abbreviation for 招闍提奢 = caturdiśya or-deśa, 四方. "Monks come there from the four directions."

rows, contending in the depiction of heavenly forms....Inside and outside the city (walls) there were once over 1,000 temples....Afraid that this would not be related to later generations, I have written this record.⁵⁶

Although there is no direct statement to this effect, when we consider the import of his memorial which says that, "Buddhism's works are a waste of money. They do not take up arms to protect the country",⁵⁷ it is quite probable that the LYCLC was written to show that the profligate waste of manpower and wealth on Buddhism led to the dismemberment of the country. Since the LYCLC was written after 547, when Lo-yang was in ruins, this would not have been an unusual hindsight.

Tao-hsuan seems to attribute Yang Hsuan-chih's attitude to Buddhism to, "seeing that the temples and houses were grand and imposing, that much was wasted on the gaudy. The princes and nobility competed with each other to appropriate the property of the people. So he compiled the Lo-yang chia-lan chi to say that they did not sympathise with the masses."⁵⁸ Still, it is difficult to gauge Tao-hsuan's opinion of Yang. After the above quotation and Yang's memorial, Tao-hsuan says, "This is still the despondency of a misled literatus, and is not something a man of understanding will pay attention to."⁵⁹

Sources for Tao-hsuan's Biographies.

It is important for our study of the history of the proto-Ch'an school to discover when and from whom Tao-hsuan got his information for the biographies. We know for example that the biography of Fa-ch'ung was added after the first draft of 645, probably not long before Tao-hsuan's death in 667. The biographies

56) T.51,999a.

57) T.52,128b (Kuang Hung-ming chi), cf. chapter 1, note 111.

58) T.52,128b.

59) Ibid. 斯仍世士之沈鬱, 非通人之留意曲士, literally means 'country-man'. Mr. Tso suggests that it means 'narrow-minded'. Tentative translation.

of Bodhidharma and Seng-fu are fairly straightforward, both having been completed as a cogent whole in the 645 draft. The problem biographies are those of Hui-k'o and Fa-ch'ung. Hu Shih noted that the sentence, "Therefore (Hui-k'o) died without leaving behind any illustrious successors" appears to be the natural conclusion to the biography, and that what follows is probably a later addition. Perhaps the section about Hui-k'o's pupils Hua, Yen and Ho can be included as part of the first draft because Tao-hsuan mourns the lack of information upon them, despite the fact that they lived until not long before 645. Thus this complaint agrees with the above sentence.⁶⁰

The letter supposedly by Layman Hsiang and the reply to it appear to date from the first draft, for the letter is part of paragraph IV of the Long Scroll, and the poem that is the supposed reply to the letter is in the same verse form as the poem that precedes the letter in the Long Scroll (i.e. the poem in III and IV).⁶¹ Since it seems that the complete Long Scroll probably predated 645 and was available to Tao-hsuan, and because Tao-hsuan says immediately after the poem that "sometime someone compiled it and then made classifications (in it) and drew it up as a separate volume", the HKSC poem in reply was probably contained in a version of the Long Scroll slightly different to the manuscripts of the Long Scroll found at Tun-huang, or perhaps in another of the works on Bodhidharma that Tao-hsuan indicates were in circulation.

The story of T'an-lin does not flow on from the previous section and so is probably the first of the additions. The story is almost certainly apocryphal, for T'an-lin could not have failed to notice that Hui-k'o was missing an arm before the time his own arm was cut off. It looks as if it is a later tale told to demonstrate Hui-k'o's meditation powers.

60) Wen-ts'un 4, p.211.

61) See Appendix III.

The stories of meditation teachers Na and Hui-man which follow the T'an-lin tale are probably also later additions. All these stories, and those in the Fa-ch'ung biography are further complicated by the problem of the passages in them concerning the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra in 4 chapters.

Hu Shih has noted how out of context each of these Lanka paragraphs are. Certainly the prediction that "after four generations this sutra will be converted into name and appearance", and the statement, "Therefore 故使 both the teachers Na and Man always took the four chapter Lanka with them", are incongruous. The latter appears right in the middle of Hui-man's biography, breaking up its continuity. Hu Shih suggests that these Lanka passages are a third addition. Although Tao-hsuan's biographies are somewhat ill-constructed because of his additions and use of sources, Hu Shih thinks that the positioning of the Lanka passages is so clumsy that it cannot be due to Tao-hsuan. He suggests rather that Tao-hsuan had made a comment in the margin about the use of the Lanka, and that this had been broken up and inserted into the original text by a copyist.⁶² Thus the paragraph in his reconstruction would read;

First the meditation teacher (Bodhi)dharma gave the four chapter Lanka to K'o, saying, "As far as I can see the land of Han has only this sutra. Sir, rely on the practice (of this sutra's teachings) and you will obtain release from the world for yourself." Everytime K'o preached it he concluded by saying, "After four generations this sutra will be converted into name and form. How deplorable!"

Therefore both the teachers Na and Man always took the four chapter Lanka with them, and they regarded it as the essential teaching.

The prediction looks like a criticism by a contemporary in one line of descent from Hui-k'o of another person or persons in the fourth generation of another line. This information (or attack) may have been told to Tao-hsuan by Fa-ch'ung who was in the fourth generation from Hui-k'o, although somewhat

62) Wen-ts'un 4, p.212 f.

indirectly.⁶³ Tao-hsuan may have met Fa-ch'ung, for Fa-ch'ung is said to have had an argument with Hsuan-tsang, with whom Tao-hsuan collaborated in a translation project.

The Tripitaka teacher Hsuan-tsang did not permit the expounding of the old translations of the sutras. Ch'ung said, "You depended on the old (translations of the) sutras to become a monk. If you do not allow the propagation of the old sutras, you may return to the laity and then rely on the new translations of the sutras to again become a monk. Then I would allow of your idea." Tsang listened and desisted.⁶⁴

Tao-hsuan added the Fa-ch'ung biography towards the end of his life for he says, "(Fa-ch'ung) was 79 years old by the present Lin-te era 麟德 (664-666).⁶⁵

Thus it is quite likely that all the information on the Lanka, along with the Fa-ch'ung biography itself, was related to Tao-hsuan by Fa-ch'ung or one of his associates in the so-called Lanka School.⁶⁶ Tao-hsuan tells us as much in the sentences below.

I shall describe what the teacher (Ch'ung?) accepted as the lineage. I definitely have proof for what I have learnt.

Moreover, Tao-hsuan links the Fa-ch'ung account of the transmission of the Lanka by Hui-k'o to that in the Hui-k'o biography (especially the prediction) by saying in the Fa-ch'ung biography;

Now since it has been transmitted through many people and much time, later scholars have erred. This is given in more detail in the separate biography of Mr. K'o.⁶⁷

Although it may be purely a mistake of omission, it seems unusual that Hui-man's name is missing from Fa-ch'ung's genealogical lists. It could be a form

63) Wen-ts'un 4, p.213.

64) T.50,666c. Cf. Wen-ts'un 4, p.216.

65) T.50,666c.

66) ZSS, p.21; Yanagida Seizan, 'Bodaidaruma Ninyūshigyōron no shiryō kachi' in IBK, 15-1, (1966), p.321.

67) T.50,666b; ZSS, p.24.

of veiled criticism, but perhaps Tao-hsuan had yet another source for his story of Hui-man, for Hui-man had died not long before in 642.

Tao-hsuan tells us that he had met Pao-kung (542-621), who may be considered to be in a branch line from Hui-k'o via Hui-pu. Tao-hsuan says that whenever he met the meditation teacher Kung he was complaining of old age.⁶⁸

Thus it is not certain who is being criticised in the prediction. It has been suggested that Fa-ch'ung was criticising Hui-man's pupil, if he had one, or others in the second generation from Na who are listed in the Fa-ch'ung biography. This line seems to have died out, however.⁶⁹ T'an-k'uang may be a possible candidate.⁷⁰ Other monks in the list produced voluminous commentaries, and so may be possible targets of the criticism.

We must look elsewhere to see if we can identify the group or person attacked. Although both the Leng-chia shih-tzu chi (ca.720) and the Chuan-fa-pao chi (ca. 712) quote the HKSC, only the latter quotes Hui-k'o's prediction. In fact, the Chuan-fa-pao chi, while repeating or creating imaginary tales about Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o, and attacking the HKSC for attributing the 'wall contemplation and the four practices' to Bodhidharma, repeats the prediction from the HKSC twice.⁷¹ The author attacks the use of words⁷² and praises K'o, Seng-ts'an and Tao-hsin for not relying on them.⁷³ He also praises Hung-jen and his own teacher, Fa-ju 法如 (d.689), and Shen-hsiu, who incidentally

68 恭禪師 in Tao-hsuan's Kuan-chung ch'uang-li chieh-t'an t'u ching 關中創
立飛土壇圖經, (T.45,819a). Cf. ZSS, p.21.

69) SKSC, T.50,790c tells us that in 648 Tao-hsuan was living in Hsi-ming Temple 西明, where one of this line had lived.

70) Cf. ZSS, p.26.

71) Goroku II, pp.365 and 420, cf. Yampolsky, op.cit., pp. 9 ff. and p.14.

72) Goroku II, p.408.

73) Ibid., p.415.

-lly was a great commentator. He says;

But present day students take it (the Dharma) to be talk of grievances
 未甚 and think ignorance to be knowledge....The pure nature is already
 calm, so why purify the mind ?....Seng-k'o had a saying, "After four
 generations, it will change into name and appearance." I believe it.⁷⁴

Perhaps then it was Fa-ju who initiated this attack against his doctrinal
 enemies. Since he attacked the HKSC so much, (this is conjecture based on the
 attacks made in the Chuan-fa-pao chi), perhaps he is using Fa-ch'ung's own
 attack against him.⁷⁵ The other possible enemy was Hsuan-tse, who championed
 the transmission of the Lanka, and whose theories are quoted in the LCSTC.

The history of the proto-Ch'an school is complex because of the conflict-
 ing accounts and paucity of source material for the reconstruction of the
 biographies and lineages of the proto-Ch'an monks. I shall concentrate my
 attention primarily on the first few figures in the history, and then recons-
 truct the lineages that proceeded from them to try and help show how Tao-hsuan
 may have obtained conflicting and confusing reports, especially about the
Lanka Sutra.

Bodhidharma.

As I have mentioned previously, the biography of Bodhidharma has been
 obscured by later tales, but even in our three earliest sources, where the
 information is very limited, the problems of Bodhidharma's dates and route to
 China are complicated. According to Tao-hsuan, Seng-fu had a meditation
 teacher by the name of Dharma before he went south ca. 494-497A.D., probably
 when the capital was shifted to Lo-yang in 494. On this basis, Hu Shih
 calculates that Seng-fu was taught by this 'Dharma' somewhere between the
 years 484 and 490A.D.⁷⁶ Yanagida wonders whether there is a possibility that
 the co-incidence of Seng-fu and Dharma meeting near P'ing-ch'eng, and Fo-ta's

75) Cf. ZSS, p.54

76) Wen-ts'un 3, p.303.

arrival in Ping-ch'eng (Heng-an) via what was probably the Central Asian route, linked with the LYCLC's hint that Bodhidharma came via Central Asia (both use a set phrase), provides a clue to Bodhidharma's route. By this comparison, Yanagida also seems to imply that Seng-fu's teacher, Dharma, was Bodhidharma. Yet Yanagida does admit that Tao-hsuan does not even say that this Dharma was a foreigner, or that Seng-fu and Dharma necessarily met near T'ai-yuan.⁷⁷

Hu Shih, on the other hand, thinks that the early date of Seng-fu's relationship with this 'Dharma' is confirmation that Bodhidharma arrived in South China before the end of the Liu Sung dynasty in 479.⁷⁸

I feel, however, that the Seng-fu biography is of little assistance. The Preface only lists two pupils, Hui-k'o and Tao-yü, who studied with Bodhidharma. Tao-hsuan, although he calls Bodhidharma simply meditation teacher Dharma 達摩禪師 in several places⁷⁹, does not list Seng-fu as a pupil of Bodhidharma anywhere in the Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o biographies, naming only Hui-k'o and Tao-yü. Nor does Seng-fu's name appear in the Fa-ch'ung biography where an exhaustive list of the spiritual descendants of Bodhidharma is given.

Although Seng-fu's teacher was, "good at elucidating meditation practice", similar phrases can be found pertaining to other people.⁸⁰ Sekiguchi rightly points out the possibility of confusion with someone else with a name compounded with 'Dharma', just as Bodhiruci was confused with Prajñaruci, for there was a teacher named Dharmabodhi in North China about this time.⁸¹ In the

77) Hokugi, pp.136 ff.

78) Wen-ts'un 3, p.302 f.

79) I.e. T.50,552b and 666b.

80) T.50,550b 善明觀行, T.50,512c 深明觀行 .

81) Daruma no kenkyū, pp.156 and 205; T'ang, Feng supplement, says ca. 550 for Dharmabodhi's activity. Cf. Fukujima Shunō Chosaku III (1974), p.128 f. listing monks with the element Dharma in their names.

same period we find foreign monks with names such as Dharmaruci⁸², and Dharmadeva, a meditation teacher in North Vietnam.⁸³ Tao-hsuan may have been unable to give more information about Dharma, the teacher of Seng-fu, because his account was based on the stele that he mentions was put up for Seng-fu⁸⁴, and so he himself perhaps could not differentiate between 'Dharma' and Bodhidharma, and so remained silent on the subject.

If, as I have argued in Appendix VIII, Bodhidharma was a Pallava, it is more probable that he came by sea, hence to South China. Some evidence exists to suggest that by the fifth century, the Pallava engaged in considerable trade with South-east Asia, the Sumatra area in particular. Sanskrit inscriptions in Pallava Grantha letters exist in Malaya⁸⁵, Java⁸⁶, Borneo⁸⁷ etc., and the script demonstrates the same changes in South-east Asia as in the Pallava records. Even the architecture of the two regions changed similarly.⁸⁸ Buddhism existed in the Sumatra/Java region from the fifth century A.D.⁸⁹

Before Bodhidharma had arrived in China, Gunavarman, who had gone from Ceylon to Java, was invited by the founder of the Sung dynasty to visit his court. There appears to have been some semi-regular traffic in both

82) T.50,429b.

83) T.50,550c 炎陟, ... 外國禪師達摩提婆, 學諸觀行.

84) Ibid. Cf. Wen-ts'un 4, p.220.

85) B. Chhabra, 'Expansion of Indo Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule' in Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal I (1935), p.20. The inscription by a sea captain, Buddhagupta. Cf. P. Wheatly, The Golden Khersonese, p.193.

86) Chhabra, op.cit., p.32.

87) Ibid., p.39, ca. 400A.D., with Buddhist statuary.

88) Ibid., p.56.

89) Ibid., p.61.

directions.⁹⁰ Fa-hsien sailed back from India via the Malay Archipelago even earlier, and the translator of the Lanka, Gunabhadra, a Central Indian, sailed from Ceylon to Kuang-chou, arriving there in 436.⁹¹

Wolters has even suggested that " as a result of the Hephthalite occupation of Central Asia in the first half of the sixth century, southern China may have been for some years the main access to the outside world for much of Northern China."⁹² As we have seen above, the Hephthalites probably^b controlled the land routes from India and Iran to China from 484 at the latest. In this year, the Hephthalites defeated and killed the Sassanian king, Peroz.⁹³ There is a considerable gap between the last embassy sent to the Wei court by Peroz in 479, and the next embassy from his son Kavad I in 507,⁹⁴ Kavad himself having been installed as the King of Iran with Hephthalite aid in 499. The Hephthalite power was perhaps broken by the campaigns of Kavad ca. 503 to 513.⁹⁵ There are some indications that the routes opened up after ca.507, for the ruler of Gandhāra sent a white elephant in 509⁹⁶, and Bodhiruci arrived ca. 508.⁹⁷

The journey that Sung Yun made in the period between the end of 518 and the

90) O.Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, p.35 f.

91) Lo Hsiang-lin, T'ang-tai wen-hua shih, p.117. Cf. T.50,344a.

92) Wolters, op.cit., p.79. This theory is partly reliant on Gupta art influences seen in North China. However, Wang Gung-wu, 'The Nan-hai Trade', in Journal of Malay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, XXXI, p.125 f. notes that there is no evidence of Persians in South China, with the exception of 3 missions to the Liang court, 530-535 A.D., and that they might not have come by sea.

93) Sykes, A History of Persia I, p.438 f.; A.Tashakori, Iran in Chinese Dynastic Histories, p.44. Peroz = Firoz (459-484).

94) Sykes, op.cit., pp.441 ff. and Tashakori, op.cit., p.47. Kavad = Kobad I.

95) Sykes, op.cit., p.443.

96) Fan, p.161 永平二年. Is this ruler of Toramana's family?

97) T.50,428a.

beginning of 521 through Hephthalite territory demonstrates that the route was open to at least some travellers. Sung Yun of course was an emissary of the Wei court, not just an ordinary traveller. It appears from the route that he followed that he was sent to reconnoiter, to spy out the Hephthalite controlled domains, for he did not venture far into India.⁹⁸ His accounts show that he was particularly interested in that region, probably more for political than religious reasons.

All this seems to confirm Tao-hsuan's contention that Bodhidharma came via South China to Wei. Tao-hsuan may have received this information through such people as Hui-man or Fa-ch'ung.

However, one need not necessarily believe that Tao-hsuan meant the 'Sung' of, "he first arrived in the Na-yueh region on the Sung border"⁹⁹ to be a time indicator. The word 'Sung' may only refer to place. After all, the Liu Sung borders may have been better known than those of the Liang. It is not impossible, however, for Bodhidharma to have arrived before the fall of the Sung in 479, for Tao-hsuan would have us believe that Bodhidharma died sometime just before 534, and one can calculate from the LYCLC that Bodhidharma was in Lo-yang between 516 and 526. So if Bodhidharma was born ca. 450, and died before 534, it is quite feasible that he came to South China before 479.

If we are correct in believing that Bodhidharma arrived in Liu Sung times, this would of course support the LYCLC tale which indicates that he was remembered to be extremely old between 516 and 526, although he need not have been much more than seventy at the time.

Bodhidharma may have travelled north from the Liu Sung territory to the

98) Fan, p.251. 神龜元年十一月終 p.342, 正元(光)二(三)年二月 . Cf. his accounts of the Hephthalite country, p.288, and of Gandhara, pp.317 ff.; cf. Hokugi, pp.436 and 444.

99) T.50, 551b. Cf. Daruma no kenkyū, p.111, "If this means the border of Sung in the Sung period, he must have arrived before 478."

vicinity of P'ing-ch'eng, where he lived an eremitic existence in the surrounding hills. He may then have gone south to the Lo-yang region when the capital was shifted in 494, and stayed there preaching until his death.

His preaching seems to have upset the Buddhist scholastics, particularly on the question of meditation. It appears that because of the opposition directed against him, he did not stay long in Lo-yang itself. This is hinted at in the biography of Hui-k'o which says he was "proselytizing in the Mt. Sung/Lo-yang area," and that he "died on the banks of the Lo River." He may have stayed occasionally in Lo-yang, possibly in the Yung-ming Temple, which was set aside for foreign monks. He probably only visited Yung-ning and Hsiu-fan Temples, for they were inside the city walls where foreigners and lower-class people could not stay long.¹⁰⁰ He did not receive the same official respect and patronage as the translators Bodhiruci and others, who were Imperially commissioned to translate and reside in Yung-ning Temple.

Certainly his emphasis on meditation and the style of his teachings must have appeared unorthodox to the Buddhists of Lo-yang, and so only a few of the most daring and open-minded students followed him.

There were two śramaṇas Tao-yü and Hui-k'o, who despite being younger, were keen and their resolve was upright. When they first met the General of the Dharma they knew (him to be of the) Way and they committed themselves to him.

This is very similar to the account in T'an-lin's Preface.

There was not one of the open-minded gentlemen who did not have faith in him, but that faction that grasps at appearance and upholds views slandered him....

I feel that all of Bodhidharma's pupils were young when he taught them. Perhaps he met T'an-lin also, but I think T'an-lin was a pupil or friend of Hui-k'o, for as Hu Shih points out, it was only the extraordinary

100) Matsuda, op.cit., p.86. Cf. chapter 1 for Ho Ping-ti's comments.

circumstances that brought T'an-lin and Hui-k'o together.¹⁰¹ T'an-lin was a scholastic, not an ascetic meditator. It appears that Bodhidharma only accepted the very best for his disciples. Perhaps his teachings were not palatable to the general public.

However, Tao-hsuan records that books about his teachings survived him. One wonders whether the book or books referred to was the Preface and the Ta-mo lun (II). The Ta-mo lun is preceded by the Preface in most of the Ch'an collections and Tun-huang manuscripts. Perhaps he was referring to the entire Long Scroll in which the Preface and the Ta-mo lun are usually found in Tun-huang.

Summarizing, I tentatively conclude that Bodhidharma was the son of a Pallava king¹⁰² who came by sea to South China in the 470's, and who, after spending a while in South China, moved to the region around Lo-yang, where he taught a meditation technique based on Mahayana philosophy, but rejected conventional scholastic and moralistic Buddhism. After much teaching and opposition, he gained two competent disciples who later transmitted his teachings, six or more years before his death near Lo-yang.

Seng-fu.

Seng-fu's biography is probably based on the stele written by the Prince of Hsiang-tung, I, and judging from its style much of the biography is quoted from the stele. Seng-fu appears to have been an ascetic and a scholar, but because the stele was written by a member of the ruling family, most of

101) Wen-ts'un 4, p.207.

102) Some works make the same conclusion, but seem to be unsupported guesswork i.e. The History and Culture of the Indian People, The Classical Age, (ed. R.C. Majumdar), p.601; P.C.Bagchi, India and China, A Thousand Years of Cultural Relations, 2nd ed. (1950), p.103; J.Takukusu, The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, p.159, which is probably based on the CTCTL.

the account is taken up with his relationships with high officials and we learn very little about his teaching or meditation.

Even if Seng-fu was Bodhidharma's pupil, the biography tells us nothing about what he learnt. A Hui-yin san-mei ching is mentioned, but there is no proof that it represented the core of Seng-fu's Buddhism. The account tells us only that Seng-fu understood the method taught in the sutra of curing disease and human vices.

Matsumoto describes the sutra as a Prajñāpāramitā or Mādhyamika text.¹⁰³ From a cursory reading, the sutra seems to describe a contemplation in which all the 162 features of the Buddha's body are seen as unreal and uncreated,¹⁰⁴ and so the body cannot be seen or known. This contemplation should be applied to all things, especially oneself. By doing so all one's sins are removed¹⁰⁵, and one cannot be harmed in (or because of?) this samadhi.¹⁰⁶ When it is applied one realizes that all is void¹⁰⁷, and so, "if one attains this samadhi...the devil (Mara) will not get you....If you have committed sins over innumerable (asaṅkhyā) eons, and if your head aches, then this is the removing of the sin....throughout one's life ^{~u~}one is always removing these past sins."¹⁰⁸ One proceeds from the realization that things are unmade to 'there is no mind or thought.'¹⁰⁹ It cautions one against seeking Nirvana for; All phenomena are naturally like a dream....all will become Buddha. What the Buddha is aware of is nothing...that which liberates man is that there is nothing to be saved....There is no ego, no man, void, nothing to be

103) Matsumoto Bunsaburo, Daruma no kenkyū, p.139.

104) T.25,461.

105) T.15,462,

106) T.15,463a,

107) T.15,464b.

108) T.15,465c

109) T.15,466c. 無心, 無念

attached to, this is Nirvana.

This samadhi is offered by Bodhisattvas to those who wish to become Buddhas quickly.¹¹⁰

Thus Seng-fu probably understood the doctrine of the void and the acceptance of the results of one's past deeds. We are not told whether he had any pupils, so even if he was Bodhidharma's pupil, no lineage is known to have begun with him.

Hui-k'o.

Of Bodhidharma's two definite pupils, only Hui-k'o had heirs. Hui-k'o is known to us from the Preface and possibly paragraphs LVII to LXIII, and from the HKSC.

He appears to have been born into a literati or gentry family not far from Lo-yang, and to have become a monk after some study of Confucianism and Buddhism. He came to an independent realization of some of the more abstruse doctrines, and in so doing came into conflict with the authorities of the Church.

Later he met Bodhidharma near Lo-yang. Bodhidharma, sensing his unusual abilities, took him as his pupil. Hui-k'o had found someone at last who understood him, and so he studied under Bodhidharma for five or six years until Bodhidharma's death.

Soon afterwards, probably in 534, he went to Yeh, where his teaching of meditation conflicted with established meditation teachings. Hui-k'o won over a number of the pupils of the doyen of meditation teachers in Yeh, Tao-heng. The jealous Tao-heng had an attempt made on Hui-k'o's life, but he survived it, and afterwards left the city. Perhaps it was due to this event and his radical non-establishment views that he came to be regarded as a great

110) T.15,467b. Note that some of this sutra is similar to ideas in the Long Scroll, but its emphasis and methods are different.

teacher, and so attracted numbers of pupils. Most of his earlier pupils at least appear to have been minor figures. However, his fame seems to have spread, for he corresponded with a Layman Hsiang in the 550's, and had three other pupils, Ho, Yen and Hua. Before he left Yeh, Hui-k'o is said to have converted a Confucian scholar, Na, along with ten other scholars. This is the foundation of one line from Hui-k'o. Before 577, he instructed the Southerner Hui-pu in his meditation and "famous views". From this entry it appears that Hui-k'o taught the meaning of the sutras.

When the Northern Chou captured Yeh and persecuted Buddhism there in 577, Hui-k'o had returned to Yeh and was studying with 同修 the scholastic, T'an-lin. Hui-k'o, and possibly T'an-lin, fled south from the persecution.¹¹¹ That T'an-lin went south, perhaps as far as Chien-yeh, is suggested by the fact that in the account of Hui-k'o's sojourn in the South, a certain meditation teacher Hsiao is said to have given a copy of T'an-lin's commentary on the Nirvana Sutra to Chih-fu, who had been a pupil of Paramārtha and Hui-k'o (?).

In any case, Hui-k'o at first fled to Ch'en, possibly to Chien-yeh, and then by 580 he arrived in Kuang-tung and there instructed Chih-fu on a commentary on the Nirvana Sutra. Hui-k'o then retreated to a mountain near modern Nan-ch'ang, where he continued to preach. In 582 or thereabouts, Hui-k'o fell ill. We do not know whether he died in this region from this illness or not, for the HKSC accounts do not tell us where he died. Perhaps he managed to return north to Yeh, for Hui-pu is said to have gone north a third time to Yeh ca. 583, and when he returned he taught meditation. Perhaps he had gone to see Hui-k'o again.¹¹²

In any case, none of our sources on Hui-k'o (HKSC, Preface, Leng-chia shih-tzu chi, Chuan-fa-pao chi) knows the circumstances and date of his death.

111) Kamata Shigeo, 'Hoku-Shu haibutsu to Zen', (1964), p.62.

112) For the Chuan-fa-pao chi's account of Hui-k'o and Seng-ts'an, see Yampolsky, op.cit., p.11 f.

Seng-ts'an

Now I shall examine Hui-k'o's descendants. First of all we should look at the traditional genealogy that makes Seng-ts'an the Third Patriarch.

According to the Fa-ch'ung biography lists, "following meditation teacher K'o there was meditation teacher Ts'an ⁵² 榮." This is the only connection between Hui-k'o and Seng-ts'an made in the HKSC, and it is repeated by both the LCSTC and Chuan-fa-pao chi.¹¹³ The only other mention of the meditation teacher Seng-ts'an¹¹⁴ in the HKSC is in the biography of Pien-i 辯義 (541-607).

At the end of the spring of the fourth year (of the Jen-shou era, 604A.D.) he also received the Imperial order to erect a pagoda 塔 (stupa) at Liang-ching Temple on Mount Tu in Lu-chou.¹¹⁵ This place is a high plateau and water was scarce, and the monastic community had trouble drawing water.

Originally there had been a spring. Then the meditation teacher Seng-ts'an had burnt incense seeking water, and thus the water had poured out. After Ts'an had died 亡 (disappeared?) the spring had dried up (and remained so) year after year. When they had determined the place (to erect the stupa), that night the dry spring flowed again.¹¹⁶

This Mt. Tu is near the Wan-kung Mount (皖公山 or Huan 皖) where the LCSTC and Chuan-fa-pao chi say that Seng-ts'an met Hui-k'o during Hui-k'o's Southern exile, and later met the Fourth Patriarch, Tao-hsin.¹¹⁷ These

113) LCSTC, Goroku II, p.167 按續高僧傳曰,可後榮禪師

114) There was a famous academic monk with the name Seng-ts'an who was a contemporary, and was titled the Śāstra Teacher of the 3 Kingdoms 自號三國論師 (T.50,500c).

115) 廬州獨山深靜寺 Lu-chou is modern Lu-chiang 廬江, and Mt. Tu is either several li east of Feng-yang Pref. 鳳陽 or 70 li west of Liu-an Pref. 六安縣 in Anhwei.

116) T.50,510a.

117) Cf. Yampolsky, op.cit., p.12 f.; Wen-ts'un 4, p.218; Ui I, p.64; LCSTC in Goroku II, p.167, 舒州思空山榮禪師 and p.168 終於皖時. Yanagida, Goroku II, p.169 thinks that it should be 司空山; CFPC in Goroku II, p.372 f. 至開皇初(581-601)與同學定禪師,隱居皖公山在舒州,一名思空山

mountains are very close to each other in south-west Anhwei.¹¹⁸

Later authors such as those of the Pao-lin chuan 寶林傳 and the Shen-hui Yu-lu 神會語錄 extrapolate from this information that Hui-k'o had gone to Mt. Wan-kung where he met Seng-ts'an. In fact, the Pao-lin chuan quotes the Long Scroll LIX almost word for word, but it adds that the questioner of Hui-k'o is Seng-ts'an, who is called a layman, so there is the possibility Seng-ts'an was Layman Hsiang.¹¹⁹ Tao-hsin has a biography in the HKSC, in the post-645 supplement to the meditators section, where he is said to have studied under two unknown monks who had "entered Mt. Wan-kung in Shu-chou... for ten years. His master(s) left for (Mt.) Lo-fu and did not allow him to follow after them."¹²⁰ He, like Seng-ts'an, is credited with even more magical powers when a city surrounded by rebels was desperate for water. Tao-hsuan says he died in 652 and had a pupil called Hung-jen. Note however that Tao-hsin's name does not appear in the lineages given in the Fa-ch'ung biography. However, it is this lineage that came to be accepted by tradition, and probably was first propounded by the lineages springing from Hung-jen and going via Shen-hsiu and Hsuan-tse to Ching-chueh (683-750?), the author of the LCSTC of ca.720, and via Fa-ju 法如 (d.689) to Tu Fei 杜鵬 author of the Chuan-fa-pao chi of ca.712.¹²¹

The Other Pupils of Hui-k'o.

Of the three pupils Hui-k'o had in Yeh, presumably before 577, Hua, Yen and meditation teacher Ho, only meditation teacher Ho 和 has been tentatively

For Tao-hsin, LCSTC in Goroku II, p.372 唯僧道信, 奉事梁十二年, CFPC, p. 376, 開皇中, 往皖山歸璨禪師

118) Mt. Ssu-kung is north-west of T'ai-hu Pref. 太湖縣, Wan-kung is to north-west of Ch'ien-shan Pref. 潛山縣. All are south of mod. Ho-fei and mod. Shu-ch'eng 舒城. Cf. Wen-ts'un 4, p.219 and Ui I, p.64.

119) Pao-lin chuan, pp.148 and 150. Cf. LIX notes.

120) T.50, 606b.

121) Cf. Yampolsky, op.cit., p.23 and passim.

identified. Ui Hakuju tries to identify him with the meditation teacher Ho 和禪師 who taught Ching-ai 靜謐 (534-578) and Hsuan-ching 玄景.¹²²

Unfortunately Ho has no biography of his own. Hsuan-ching, a scholar who had come to Yeh, heard Ho preaching the Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra and Vkn, and so parted from his family and became Ho's pupil. Hsuan-ching died in 607 大業二年六月. He had a pupil, Hsuan-chueh 玄覺 (n.d.).¹²³

Ching-ai, who seems to have formed a mini-Mādhyamika lineage in the North¹²⁴, was ordained as a monk in Pai-kuan Temple 百官寺 (in Yeh?) by Ho ca.551 when he was 17 years old. He also studied the Ta-chih-tu lun under Dharma teacher (Hsuan)-ching 景.¹²⁵ Note that Ching-ai, like Hui-man, came from Ying-yang. Ching-ai taught Tao-an¹²⁶, who is said to have had a dispute with the Ti-lun master T'an-yen.¹²⁷

Thus there is the remote possibility that Hsuan-chueh is the meditation teacher Chueh of paragraph LXXIV and Tao-an is the meditation teacher An 安 of LXXI. Tao-an, however, was more important as a scholar and protector of the Dharma than as a meditator.

Meditation Teachers Na and Hui-man

Nothing more is known of these two than is provided in the Hui-k'o biography. Na is probably the old master Na who is listed in the Fa-ch'ung biography as a pupil of Hui-k'o.

It is strange that Hui-man's name is missing from the list of Na's pupils in Fa-ch'ung's biography. He may have been called the meditation teacher Hui

122) Ui I, pp.76 ff.

123) T.50, 569a-b.

124) Cf. the end of chapter 2.

125) T.50, 625c.

126) 通安 T.50, 628a-630b, cf. Hokugi, p.194.

127) Cf. T.50, 626b 沙門曇延通安者世號玄門二傑. Cf. also Hokugi p.195. They went to Ching-ai to solve the dispute.

惠 in this list. The Dharma teacher K'uang in the list may be the Dharma teacher T'an-k'uang whom Hui-man met in 642. The pupils of Na all seem to have died before 667, when Tao-hsuan died.¹²⁸

Fa-ch'ung's Lineage (San-lun to Lanka?)

We probably have to trace Fa-ch'ung's link to Hui-k'o through two lines. In the list Tao-hsuan says that Fa-ch'ung "succeeded to Master K'o through intermediaries." He is also said to have succeeded to the position of teacher from one of Hui-k'o's descendants, and also to have met someone who had been taught by Hui-k'o himself. His first teacher, however, is said to have been the Dharma teacher Hao of An-chou.¹²⁹

We have to trace Fa-ch'ung's indirect line to Hui-k'o via Hui-pu (518-587). Hui-pu had studied under the San-lun teacher Seng-ch'uan 僧詮, and later under Hui-k'o. When he brought the books he had written out when he was with Hui-k'o back to Mt. She, he taught them to his colleague Fa-lang (d.581). Later, after the persecution, Hui-pu again went north to Yeh, and when he returned he taught meditation and the San-lun to Pao-kung (542-621),¹³⁰ and together they set up Hsi (Ch'i)-hsia Temple 栖霞寺 on Mt. She in the Chih-te era (583-587).^{131a} The meditation probably was essentially that taught by Hui-k'o.^{131b} Hui-pu's Buddhism was similar to that of Hui-k'o's other pupils. "He kept nothing for himself, only his robe and begging bowl. He solely cultivated mindfulness and wisdom, and stayed alone in the pine forests."¹³²

128) Cf. Wen-ts'un 4, p.218, ZSS, p.24.

129) 安州 景法師 (T.50, 666a). An-chou is either to the east of Mi-yun Pref. 密雲 near Peking or An-lu Pref. 安陸 north-west of Wu-han, Hu-pei.

130) T.50, 512c 恭又從布聽採三諦

131a) T.50, 481a, cf. Ui I, p.41.

131b) Cf. ZSS, p.29, note 5.

132) T.50, 480c.

Fa-ch'ung's teacher, Hui-hao of An-chou 安州慧高 (547-633) was a pupil of Ta-ming of Mount Mao 茅山大明; who unfortunately has no biography.¹³³ This man in turn was a descendant, a pupil 遺囑 of Fa-lang of Hsing-huang.¹³⁴ In the biography of Fa-hui 法敏 (579-654), a pupil of Ta-ming, we are told he was first converted by Mr. Lang.¹³⁵ Lang in fact praised Ming as his best pupil. Ta-ming had sat in the same place for eight years without speaking.¹³⁶

This Ta-ming is probably the Master Ta-ming 大明 or the meditation teacher Ming of the lists in Fa-ch'ung's biography. Thus Fa-ch'ung's indirect lineage is Hui-k'o, Hui-pu, Fa-lang, Ta-ming, Hui-hao, Fa-ch'ung. We don't know what his main lineage, the Lanka transmission line was.

The Pupils of Paramārtha and the She-lun School

During his stay in the South, Hui-k'o taught part of a commentary on the Nirvana Sutra to a Chih-fu, who had been a pupil of Paramārtha's. Since the Fa-ch'ung biography lists a meditation teacher Ch'ien 僊 who produced a commentary on the Lanka in four chapters, and, independently of K'o, relied on the She-lun for its interpretation, this is probably the famous T'an-ch'ien 曇遷 (542-607) who fled south to Chin-ling during the persecution and who brought a copy of the She-lun back north on his return.¹³⁷ He is known to have written a commentary on the Lanka.¹³⁸ Perhaps T'an-ch'ien studied with Chih-fu when he was at Chin-ling. This is suggested by the fact that Fu obtained T'an-lin's commentary on the Nirvana Sutra from the meditation

133) T.50,522c 承苞(茅)山明法師與皇遺屬 Cf. Wen-ts'un 4,p.218; ZSS, pp.119 and 135.

134) T.50,477c 朗在與皇 ;Wen-ts'un 4,p.214; ZSS,p.444.

135) T.50,538b 明即與皇之遺屬也。初朗公將化

136) T.50,538c. Cf, T,50,536 where Ming and Hao are linked again.

137) T.50,572a;cf. ZSS,p,23 and chapter 2.

138) T.50,574b; cf. Wen-ts'un 4,p.218.

teacher (Hui)-hsiao of Hsi-hsuan Temple in Chien-yeh, who also knew T'an-ch'ien during his stay in Chien-yeh.

T'an-ch'ien fled to Chin-ling....When he first arrived at the Yang capital 楊都 he stayed at Tao-ch'ang Temple 道場寺....At times he discussed the meaning of the 'vijñāna only' with his companions. There were present the śramaṇas Hui-hsiao and Chih-ts'ui (智瑄 or 瑄) etc. who were the doyens of Ch'en court Buddhism, the hope of the monks south of the Yang-tze. Hsiao studied both Confucianism and Buddhism, and was superbly able at meditation 定門.

Hsiao even wrote T'an-ch'ien a farewell poem when Ch'ien returned to the North.¹³⁹

Hui-hsiao also appears as one of Pao-kung's teachers. Sometime after 553 when Pao-kung "had received all the precepts, he followed the meditation teacher Hui-hsiao 惠曉. He comprehensively practiced the meditation methods (定業 the meditation and its result?) and he had a deep understanding of the contemplation practises and so soon received his (teacher's) seal of approval."¹⁴⁰

Hui-hsiao was also associated with Hui-ming, the man who wrote the Hsiang-hsuan fu, which, according to the LCSTC, was commented on by Seng-ts'an in a Hsiang-hsuan chuan.

At the time there was the śramaṇa Hui-hsiao. His surname was Fu. He showed his abilities in his meditative achievements. His literary talent was inferior to that of Hui-ming. He travelled north to the land of Ch'i and stayed at Ling-yen.¹⁴¹ Hsiao later visited all the famous peaks....We do not know about his end.¹⁴²

139) T.50,572a-b.

140) T.50,512c.

141) Liebenthal, 'Vajrasamadhi', p.354, note 2 thinks this is a temple in Ho-peì. All other temples and mountains of this name 靈巖 are in the South. It is a mountain in Ch'ang-ch'ing Pref. 長清 in Shantung. The temple was founded in the Cheng-kuang era (正光 519-525) by the monk Fa-k'ung 法空.

142) T.50,562b-c.

It has been posited that this man may be the same as the Hui-yao^{慧堯} of paragraph LXXXV of the Long Scroll or meditation teacher Yao^{堯禪師} of the Tsung-ching lu.¹⁴³

The only other person in the Fa-ch'ung biography list on whom I have any information is the Vinaya teacher Shang-te^{尚德} who wrote a ten chapter commentary on the Ju Leng-chia ^{入楞伽疏} (on the Bodhiruci translation?) In the Nara catalogues of Buddhist literature, which had nearly 10,000 scrolls listed, more than the K'ai-yuan Shih-chiao lu¹⁴⁴, there is listed a Ju Leng-chia ching-shu ^{入楞伽經疏} in 13 chuan by a Dharma teacher Shang-te.¹⁴⁵

Conclusions.

From the above it is clear that all the lineages of proto-Ch'an stem from one man, Hui-k'o. These lineages are often complex and interrelated, sometimes even being roundabout and indirect. We can see that Hui-k'o's teachings influenced people who are customarily thought to have been members of lineages which formed other schools or sects.

On the San-lun side we have Hui-pu, whose associate Fa-lang was the teacher of Chi-tsang, who is usually called the founder of the San-lun Sect proper. Chi-tsang's fellow pupil, Ta-ming, is alleged to have been one of the teachers of Niu-t'ou Fa-yung ^{牛頭法融} (594-657), and was the teacher of Hui-hao, the teacher of Fa-ch'ung, the man who specialised in the Lanka.¹⁴⁶

143) T.48,941b. This suggestion was made by Tanaka Ryōsho, 'Shigyōron chōkenshi no ichi-ihon' in Shūgaku kenkyū, XII, (1971), p.40.

144) S.Ishida, Shakyo yori mitaru Narachō Bukkyō no kenkyū, p.3

145) Ibid., pp.100,172, nos.1947-8. Perhaps some of the other commentaries attributed to Bodhidharma may be ones written by people in our list.

146) The attempt to identify the ^{冥法師} who is said in the HKSC (T.50,603c) and Liu Yü-hsi's Niu-t'ou shan Ti-i tsu Yung Ta-shih hsin-ta chi ^{牛頭山第一祖融大師新塔記} to have been Fa-yung's teacher is pure guesswork. As

is unknown, and Ming is the only famous 'San-lun' master there, the attempt by Kuno Hōryū, 'Gozu Hoyu ni oyoseru Sanronshū no eikyō' in Bukkyō kenkyū, san-ken XII, p.59 to show by elimination that Ming was his teacher is questionable.

Meditation teacher Ho also favoured the San-lun, in particular the Ta chih-tu lun, but his line appears to have died out after several generations.

On the Lanka, or Yogācāra/Cittamātra side we have Seng-na and Hui-man, who preached the Lanka translated by Gunabhadra. We do not know who was in the generation after Hui-man. If they were the sole line emphasising the Lanka, perhaps Fa-ch'ung was one of their heirs. Later Hsuan-tse emphasised this sutra also, and he is known to have been one of Hung-jen's pupils. There is another possible line from Hui-k'o to Chih-fu, and perhaps this influence was channelled via T'an-ch'ien or T'an-yen into the Ti-lun and Neo-She-lun Schools.

The majority of these proto-Ch'an monks exhibit several common factors. Most of them appear to have been born into literati families and to have studied Confucianism. Hui-pu's family held military positions¹⁴⁷, and Fa-lang's grandfather had been a high court official.¹⁴⁸ Pao-kung's father was a District Governor.¹⁴⁹ Fa-ch'ung's father and grandfather had served the courts of Northern Wei and Ch'i, and Ch'ung himself took a post when he was 24, ca. 611. When he was 20 he was friends with the famous Fang Hsuan-ling, ca. 607.¹⁵⁰ T'an-ch'ien came from an eminent family also.¹⁵¹

There is no doubt that there is some San-lun influence on Fa-yung, but in the Chueh-kuan lun attributed to him one can also see quotes from the Lanka, plus references to Tathāgatagarbhin and even Yogācāra thought. Cf. ZSS, p. 148, and the Kuan-hsing fa section (Kuno, *ibid.*, p. 72 f.). The only real evidence for saying that Ta-ming was his teacher is in the Hung-ts'an Fa-hua chuan 弘讚法華傳 (T. 51, 18c), 依第山豐樂寺大明法師. Cf. Hirai Shunei, 'Shoki Zenshūshisō no keisei to Sanronshū' in Shūgaku Kenkyū IV (1961), pp. 76 ff.

147) T. 50, 480c 家門軍將.

148) T. 50, 477b. 黃門侍郎, 青州刺史

149) T. 50, 512c 州刺史

150) His post was Falcon-soaring General 鷹揚郎將, cf. Morohashi, 39431.28. Fang Hsuan-ling 房玄齡 (578-648) was one of T'ang T'ai-tsung's trusted ministers, made Lord High Chamberlain. Cf. T. 50, 666a, Giles, Biog. Dictionary, no. 553.

151) T. 50, 571b.

It is interesting to note that these monks, the majority of whom were from literati families (if a native place and surname is given, the monk almost certainly came from such a family), turned to a strict practice of asceticism. This was probably part of Hui-k'o's practice. He too had studied Confucianism originally. He was tolerant of everything he suffered from Tao-heng, and the story of the loss of his arm, even if apocryphal, demonstrates the idea that these monks had of the powers of meditation.

Seng-na and Hui-man both appeared to have been strict ascetics, following the Buddhist practice of the dhūta-guṇas.¹⁵² Practitioners of the dhūta-guṇas only made robes of rags, had only three robes, only ate food begged once a day and lived as tramps, living under trees and in graveyards. Hui-pu also seems to have practiced the dhūta-guṇas. Fa-ch'ung was praised as "the dhūta monk of the realm of phenomena (the universe)."¹⁵³

We can also see a concomitant distrust of the authority of words, despite the fact that Hui-k'o, Hui-pu and Fa-ch'ung and some of the others in the indirect lineages wrote commentaries and lectured on sutras. This academic aspect no doubt is due to their literati background. Also, a thorough knowledge of the theories that appear in the sutras is both a precondition for and a test of the results of practice. Thus this distrust of verbal authority was only relative, a condemnation of the slavish following of sutra-exegesis. Therefore Tao-hsuan says of Hui-k'o that "he spoke out about entering Principle without cosmetic additions." Hua, Yen and Ho "relied on events to convey their convictions", and Seng-na "no longer took up his pen". Hui-man condemned the proclivity to debate and commentary as a "contradiction of the Great Principle". Even Fa-ch'ung is represented as having written a five chapter commentary on the Lanka.

His students begged him earnestly to produce a (commentary) on the meaning.

152) 頭陀 cf. Wen-ts'un 4, pp. 203 and 209.

153) 法界頭陀傳也 (T. 50, 666c).

He told them, "The meaning is the Principle of the Way. To speak of it is vile (lit. 'crass') already. To go further and express it on paper is the vilest of the vile."

He gave in to their demands, however.¹⁵⁴

These ostensibly contradictory tendencies can be traced back to the teachings attributed to Bodhidharma. Bodhidharma, like Hui-k'o, put up with the criticisms made of his teaching. He said "that when hardship arrives (you should)...willingly accept it." He advises one not to seek anything, and "to agree with the rabble to guard against vilification." This acceptance of hardship may be the source of the practice of austerities that is associated with proto-Ch'an. On the other hand Bodhidharma advises one to "rely on the teaching to awaken to the doctrine." This precondition is necessary for one to know the theory on which Buddhist practice is based. It is the source of faith. This is more than likely the origin of the 'academic' tendencies that can be found in the proto-Ch'an, such as the use of the Lanka and Hui-k'o's preaching on a Nirvana Sutra commentary.

Several other features clearly distinguish the main figures of the proto-Ch'an movement from the majority of their contemporaries that we have information on. Firstly, none of them is known to have sought Imperial patronage (Seng-fu had it thrust upon him), or to have indulged in temple-building. Only Hui-pu is said to have built a temple, and that was presumably to house the meditators he instructed. This rejection of authority and its works is a natural corollary of asceticism. Fa-ch'ung went so far as to resist being officially registered as a monk.

In the first year of the Chen-kuan era (627), although unlicensed monks¹⁵⁵ were to be executed by Imperial decree, Fa-ch'ung with desperate resolution shaved his head. At that time many refugee monks had gathered at Mount

154) 言說已罷,況舒在紙,籠中之罷矣(T.50,666b).

155) 私度 i.e. not to obtain a licence to become a monk from a state official.

I-yang,¹⁵⁶ and all their resources were rapidly used up. Fa-ch'ung went to the local official and said, "If there is to be capital punishment, take me. By the way, if you distribute the government office's grain store, you will surely get divine protection." The official, moved by his fighting spirit, violated the law and decided to donate the grain. The monks were split into two areas, and each built a rice granary and were given only 10 hu³³. On one hand there were over forty genuine Mahayana monks. Because they practised the meditation method earnestly, their food had not run out even after a year had passed. But the other group of fifty to sixty people used up all their food supplies in only two days.¹⁵⁷

In these primary sources for their biographies, we find no mention of Bodhidharma or any of his immediate heirs being thaumaturges. Seng-ts'an's obtaining water by burning incense was probably not seen so much as magic, as that his request was sincere enough to move the Buddha to respond to it. The first in the magician category was probably Tao-hsin.

When the regional walled capital of Chi-chou was besieged by insurgents, the water in the city dried up and the people suffered. When Tao-hsin arrived, the water instantly bubbled forth, and when he had the people chant the Prajñā (Sutra) in loud voices, the rebels saw manifestations of awesome and huge warriors, and so they fled.¹⁵⁸

The story of Hui-k'o's use of meditation to overcome the pain of having an arm cut off and the subsequent cauterizing of it, is not an example of magic, but an illustration of the effectiveness of meditation. This power of meditation to overcome fear, rain and hunger is commonly seen in many of the monk's biographies.¹⁵⁹

It is not until the first Ch'an histories cum hagiographies appear almost 180 years after Bodhidharma's death, or nearly fifty years after Tao-hsuan's

156) It is south-east of Tsou Pref., Shantung.

157) T.50,666a.

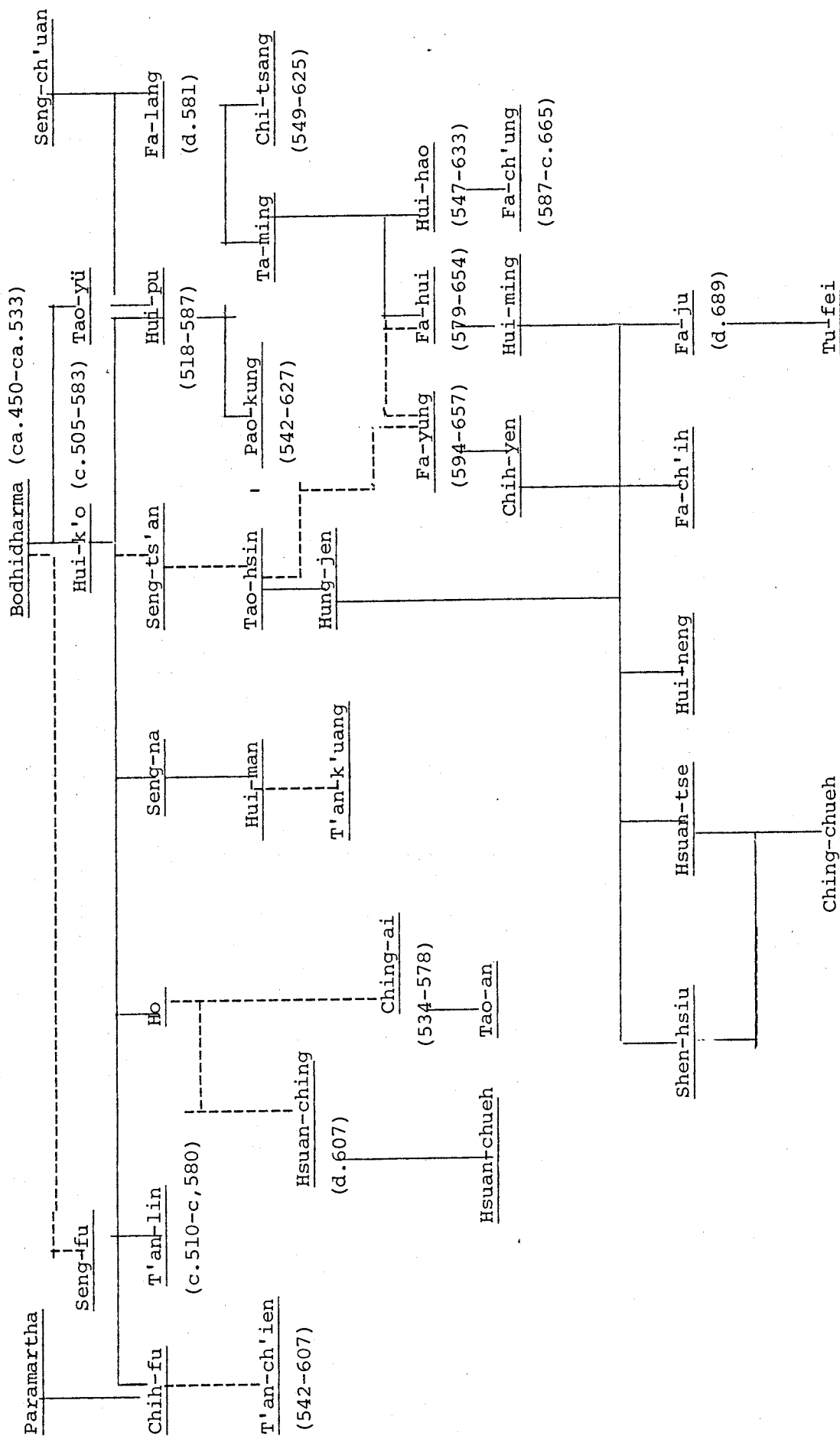
158) T.50,606b. Cf. Yampolsky, op.cit., p.13.

159) Cf. T.50,666a on Fa-ch'ung.

death in 667, that legends are recorded of the extraordinary powers of Bodhidharma and his successors. These works arose around the time of Hui-neng's death in 713. Examples are the Chuan-fa-pao chi (ca.712) and the writings of Ho-tse Shen-hui, who began his first public attack on Shen-hsiu in 732.¹⁶⁰ The exception to this tendency is the Leng chia shih-tzu chi of 720, in which there is still preserved a much more realistic approach. This work is valuable because it uses both the Long Scroll and the HKSC as sources, and because it claims to be heir to the Lanka School 楞伽宗 tradition.

Thus it appears that the direct line of Ch'an teaching from Hui-k'o favoured the Lanka, whereas the indirect lines favoured the Sa-lun/Mādhyamika, perhaps thereby leading to the first doctrinal disputes within the Ch'an School.

160) Yampolsky, op.cit., pp.23 ff.



author of CFPC

author of ICSTC

(Based on table on ZSS, p. 31)

Chapter 4, Meditation and Philosophy in the Long Scroll.

The proto-Ch'an groups seem to have been involved with two streams of thought, the Prajñāpāramitā or Mādhyamika/San-lun stream, and the Laṅkāvatāra/Cittamātra or even Vijñānavāda (She-lun) stream. However, one cannot say that they were of one stream of Buddhist philosophy rather than another simply because they taught people who belonged to lineages from which schools subsequently sprang up that favoured a certain line of philosophy. It seems that at this time varying teachings generally existed in harmony within the same group or even within the same individual, for sectarian and doctrinal differences had not yet hardened, and the Chinese had not fully realized the implications of the differences amongst the Buddhist philosophies contained in the sūtras and śāstras. Certainly, with the introduction of the new wave of Yogācārin and Vijñānavādin thought from India by such translators as Bodhiruci and Ratnamati a consciousness of such implications soon developed, and this paved the way for the development of the Sects in the early T'ang dynasty. Therefore, the period in which the first few generations after Bodhidharma lived was a fluid and formative one.

It would appear from the lineages of the followers of Bodhidharma that Ch'an, as a number of authors have suggested, is a selective amalgam of Mādhyamika and Yogācāra.¹ This has led to a dispute over the philosophical underpinnings to the Long Scroll. Yanagida Seizan claims that the basis is the Prajñāpāramitā of the type taught by the founders of Chinese Mādhyamika/San-lun, Kumārajīva and Seng-chao², whilst Ui Hakuju and Suzuki Daisetsu point

1) David Kalupahana, Buddhist Philosophy, A Historical Analysis, U.P. of Hawaii, (1976), p.167.

2) ZSS, pp.440-445; Hokugi, p.142; Shikan, p.260; Bukkyō no shisō VII (Chūgoku Zen), p.76; 'Bodaidaruma Ninyūshigyōron no shiryō kachi', p.322 where he says that it is PrajñāP rather than the Lanka, though they are not necessarily contradictory.

to the Laṅkāvatāra, and Ueda Daisuke describes the Long Scroll's background as a mixture of Cittamātra, Vijnānavāda and Tathāgatagarbha thought.³ It is therefore necessary to examine the Long Scroll and the HKSC to try and resolve this issue. The salient features of the problem involve states of mind, meditation and the philosophical interpretation of phenomena.

Background

The earliest² paraphrases of the Long Scroll are in the Hsu Kao-seng chuan by Tao-hsuan, who is also the first person to evaluate the Long Scroll. In his 'General Comments on the Contemplatives' 習禪論 he has this to say about Bodhidharma and his contemporaries;

Under the Kao Ch'i, Seng-ch'ou 僧稠 (480-560) held the dominant position in Ho-pei. Seng-shih was venerated and given rank in Kuan-chung. They were valued leaders (冠?) and rivalled each other in clarifying what the divine Way communicates, subjugating and resisting evil forces. It caused Emperor Hsuan (Ch'i, Wen-hsuan) to take responsibility for the solvency (化負?) of a treasury at Yun-men (Temple).⁴ The Chancellor (冢宰?) descended from his throne to extend his faith in Fu-(t'ien) Temple.⁵.... Only these two saints repeatedly transmitted the lamp, and their influence spread without intermission, and they abandoned the wilds to return and rest in the palaces. This was the preservation (挾 as 夾?) of the examples 蹤 of former great hermits (大隱?).... There too Bodhidharma spiritually converted (神化?) and spent his time explaining to and guiding the people of the Chiang-lo region 江路. His Mahayana wall-contemplation is a most excellent achievement. Lay scholars streamed to him as if to a market. But his teachings were difficult to comprehend. Only a few were encouraged (厲 = 勵?) by them. Judging from the models he followed (admired), he banished those of dissipated wills and kept (the determined) with him. On examining his words, (one can see that) he

3) Suzuki II, p.133; Ui I, pp.26 and 52; Ueda Daisuke, Zen no shinri, p.20 f.

4) Cf. T.50,554b 令於寺中置庫,貯之以供常費. This temple was built for Seng-ch'ou.

5) Cf. T.50,558a 置桓因寺. N.Chou T'ai-tsu Wen-huang 周太祖文皇 built Fu-t'ien Temple for Seng-shih.

rejected the twin concepts of sin and merit.⁶ That is, the True and the empirical are (as) a pair of wings, void and existence are two wheels (i.e. inseparable). Indra's net⁷ was unable to catch him, compassion^{愛見} was unable to attract him. Dhyana tallies with this. Therefore he cut off words! When we examine these two doctrines (of Seng-ch'ou and Bodhidharma) we can see that they are the two ruts of the Vehicle (of Buddhism).

Seng-ch'ou favoured the four mindfulnesses^{念處} (that have) clear definitions, (and so) they became popular. Bodhidharma's is the śūnya doctrine^{虛空}, a profound concept that is difficult and abstruse. When the facts of something are easily demonstrated, it becomes popular. When it is subtle and abstruse, the essence of the principle is hard to understand. Therefore the masses fell into the trap (of only understanding his words but not their meaning).⁸ At first they shared in his (thought) unreservedly⁹, but when they thought it over, it obstructed them and just gave them trouble, it is said.

This group's ^(文傷?) differences are difficult to describe. Their meaning is long gone.¹⁰

As we have seen in Fa-ch'ung's biography, Tao-hsuan says that;

K'o's descendants studied this sutra (Lanka) a great deal....Later (Fa-ch'ung) met someone who had been personally instruted (in the Lanka) by Master K'o, and who relied on the South Indian Vehicle doctrine to expound it....(Bodhidharma regarded) its doctrine to be 'the dismissal of words and concepts, the correct contemplating of non-obtaining.¹¹

These two paragraphs allude to nearly all the problems involved in the interpretation of the Long Scroll.

6) 罪福 . 罪 or faith motivated by fear, 福 is the doing of good deeds to build up merits for a good rebirth?

7) 帝網 A net in which the pearls at each juncture reflect in themselves all the other pearls and their reflections. A symbol for the unlimited interlocking and interdependent nature of all phenomena and viewers.

8) 得其筌 Cf. chapter 2 note 11 for Tao-sheng's use of this image.

9) 披洗 as in 披瀝?

10) T.50,596c. This passage is an example of the idea that one must read the book as a whole.

11) T.50,666b.

First of all, Tao-hsuan sets Bodhidharma and his 'heirs' apart from their contemporaries. We have already seen in chapter 1 the corruption of the Church and the condemnation in the cautionary tale of Hui-ning of the exposition and the copying of sutras, manufacture of statues and the funding of temples. As Tao-hsuan says, Bodhidharma rejected the popular notions of hell-fire and brimstone ^罪, and the pursuit of merit through good deeds ^福. The Long Scroll consistently writes of the unreality of hell and sin.

If a person breaks the precepts and commits murder...and fears that he will fall into hell, (if) he sees his own King of the Dharma (the mind) he will obtain release. (XIX).

The hells and heavens are only imagined (cf. XVII) for,

He who has fallen into hell (has done so because) he has contrived an ego out of his mind. (XLI).

Since there is no true ego,

Who is it that falls into hell?... Since it is truly an existence contrived from the imagination, you have a hell. (LXI)

Thus, the proto-Ch'an, like Tao-sheng, "no longer believed that the heavenly mansions were other countries and that Hell was elsewhere." (III).¹²

For the reason that "when one understands, the mind is the Buddha" (LXXXV), or "is the Way" (XVIII), the Long Scroll, like Tao-sheng, rejects the idea of a saviour Buddha. This devotional aspect of Buddhism had gained great currency by the time of Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o, resulting in the messianic revolts of late Northern Wei and the carving of the images of the saviour Buddhas at Lung-men. This is rejected, for as the popular Vimalakīrti Sūtra says, "Seeing reality in one's body is how to see the Buddha."¹³ Since one's own mind is the Buddha, "how can the Buddha liberate creatures?" (LX). An earlier sutra describes the delusion of seeking aid in liberation:

12) Cf. M. Matics, Entering the Path of Enlightenment (Bodhicaryāvatāra), p. 162 f. Hereafter Bca.

13) T. 38, 410a.

The Buddha...does not liberate creatures. Ordinary people forcibly discriminate, creating a Buddha to liberate creatures.¹⁴

Moreover, as we have seen in chapter 3, the proto-Ch'an monks had very little to do with officially sponsored Buddhism, and unlike the famous translators and their descendants such as Seng-ch'ou and Seng-shih, were not connected with the ruling houses. Seng-ch'ou, for example, was sponsored by the Northern Ch'i rulers, and Tao-hsuan records that he debated with the Emperor, and had many friends who were high officials. His obituary was written by the historian Wei Shou on Imperial order.¹⁵ Seng-shih 僧實 (476-563) had the patronage of Emperor Hsiao-wen of N. Wei¹⁶, and later twice received the patronage and praise of Emperor Wen of the Western Wei (535-552), and was also given high official posts in the Buddhist Order.¹⁷ In contrast, the proto-Ch'an monks avoided this patronage and seem to have mostly lived the lives of ascetic tramps or eremitic scholars.

However, it is the contrast made by Tao-hsuan between the meditation of Bodhidharma and that of Seng-ch'ou that is our main concern. Tao-hsuan probably picked Seng-ch'ou and Seng-shih as typical of the mainstream of Buddhism in the North at the time, for they were both pupils of Indian monks, and in turn had numerous disciples, unlike the small numbers of the scattered proto-Ch'an groups. As Mizuno notes, meditation became increasingly popular after 500A.D. For the 350 years that the Kao-seng chuan covers, there are only twenty one meditators with biographies proper 正傳, whereas for the 250 years that the HKSC covers, there are ninety five meditators, of whom

14) T.15,760b.

15) T.50,554b-c.

16) T.50,557c.

17) T.50,558a. Cf. Mizuno Kōgen, 'Zenshū seiritsu izen no zenjō shisōjosetsu' in Komazawa Daigaku kenkyū-kiyo XV (1957), p.40. His titles were 昭玄三藏 and

國三藏.

only five or six are of the proto-Ch'an groups.¹⁸

The most important of these non-Ch'an meditators were taught at some time or other either by Fo-ta or Ratnamati. Seng-ta 僧達 (475-556), whose biography immediately follows Hui-k'o's, studied under Ratnamati and Hui-kuang, and he was honoured by Emperor Hsiao-wen.¹⁹

Seng-shih studied meditation 禪法 under Ratnamati, who said of his ability, "Since the Way spread to China 東夏, there has been no-one who has had such a taste for dhyana as you."²⁰ Seng-shih practised the nine grades of dhyana 九次調心 in which one progresses from the four dhyanas on to those samadhis of the immaterial realms and the final extinction of sensation 受 and thought 想.²¹ This was probably what Ratnamati taught.

It is said of Fo-ta that he usually meditated in a closed room:

(One day) a child looked through a crack in the door and saw that the room was ablaze. Amazed, he told the abbot. All the monks crowded around but could see nothing.²²

This meditation is the fire-meditation, and as the following story relates, was only one of a group of meditations on the elements that could supposedly produce spectacular effects. When a messenger from one of the Princes of the Liang house came to visit Fa-tsung 法聰:

On arriving at the temple side (of the valley) all he could see was the whole valley lit up with a blazing inferno. He stood and watched for a long time, when suddenly there was a transmutation and water flooded the place, extinguishing the flames. When the water disappeared he could see the temple hall. When he enquired about this, he was told that at such times (Fa-tsung) had entered the fire or water samadhi.²³

18) Ibid., p.38.

19) T.50,552c.

20) T.50,557c. 味靜乃斯人乎

21) Cf. Ajia, p.158 and Conze, Buddhist Meditation, pp.17 ff.

22) T.50,551b.

23) T.50,555c. Yanagida quotes as a scriptural basis for this meditation the

Seng-ch'ou was ordained at Fo-ta's insistence by Tao-fang.²⁴ He first studied chih-kuan²⁵ under Tao-fang, but although he "composed his mind for a long time, he completely failed to realize any control"²⁶, so he "relied on the method of the four mindfulnesses of the 'Saint's Practice' (chapter) of the Nirvana (sutra)."²⁷ In this one contemplates, 1) the body as impure, 2) sensation as suffering, 3) mind as impermanent and non-eternal, and 4) phenomena as conditionally existent.²⁸ Later he was taught the sixteen Victories 十六持勝法 by meditation teacher Tao-ming 道明.²⁹ This is a number of practices connected with the four mindfulnesses that begin with breath control and lead on to a lack of desire or fear.³⁰ This appears to

Sūraṅgama Sūtra (pseudo) which says that this meditation is a transformation of the body. A pupil of the meditator looked into his master's room only to see clear water. Being ignorant, he tossed a pebble in, with the result that the master felt a pain in his heart when he came out of the samadhi. When he found out what had happened, he got his pupil to come in and take the pebble from the water the next time he entered the samadhi. The pain ceased. (Hokugi p.149 f.; T.19,127c.). However, this work is a forgery of the T'ang dynasty, and has been linked to Chih-i in the Lin-chien lu 林間錄 of 1107, and Shen-hsiu in the SKSC, T.50,738c, (cf. Tokiwa Daijō, Zoku Shina Bukkyō no kenkyū, p. 20 f.). I think that the sutra may even be connected with the Chin-kang san-mei ching and Sui-tzu-i san-mei.

24) T.50,551b.

25) śamatha-vipaśyanā. Usually translated as to calm the mind (śamatha) and meditation on a single subject, or clear observation (vipaśyanā). Cf. SL, p. 444. P. Demiéville, Le Concile de Lhasa, p.79 renders them as 'via purgativa' and 'via illuminativa'.

26) 斂念久之全無攝證, cf. 斂念 in LVI.

27) T.50,553c 當依涅槃聖行四念處法. For the Nirvana Sutra reference cf. T.12,447b and ZSS, p.440.

28) Probably the best description is in the Ta chih-tu lun, T.25,203b-204a. Cf. Shikan no kenkyū, (ed. Sekiguchi Shindai, 1975), pp.255-259.

29) T.50,553c.

30) Ting, 213c.

have been successful, for Seng-ch'ou lost consciousness of his environment and always concentrated on the thought of death, remaining in samadhi for nine days. Fo-ta approved of his success, saying that:

You are the finest student of meditation east of the Pamirs.³¹

The reason Tao-hsuan chose Seng-ch'ou to be the representative of the antitype to Bodhidharma was that Seng-ch'ou was probably the most influential meditator of his time, being invited in 532 by Emperor Hsiao-wen of N.Weï to preach. He taught Emperor Wen-hsuan of N.Ch'i the four mindfulnesses (ca. 552).³² The Emperor consequently tried to enforce the rules of Buddhism, and set up temples to encourage the practice of Buddhism.³³

It appears that Seng-ch'ou did not abandon the chih-kuan meditation that he began his career with, for he wrote a Chih-kuan fa 止觀法 in two chapters in response to a request from high officials and clerics.³⁴ Seng-ch'ou's influence was considerable, for he had at least one thousand pupils, and several lineages derived from him.

Of all the famous scholars of the Ti-lun who were descended from Ratnamati, the She-lun student, T'an-ch'ien (542-607) was the most famous as a meditator.³⁵ He was very influential with the first Emperor of the Sui, Yang Chien, and aided greatly in the restoration of Buddhism. The Emperor erected Ch'an-ting Temple in Ch'ang-an for the pursuit of meditation, with T'an-ch'ien in charge.³⁶

Unfortunately, we do not know what sort of meditation he practised. However, his contemporary Hui-yuan (523-592), who also studied the She-lun, seems to have used a meditation technique like that of Seng-ch'ou. Once, when Hui-yuan had been lecturing and strenuously defending his ideas day and night,

31) T.50,553c, 自葱嶺已東, 禪學之最, 汝其人矣...

32) T.50,554b

33) Loc.cit. Cf. Mizuno, 'Zenshu izen', p.44.

34) T.50,554c.

35) Mizuno, op.cit., p.42.

36) T.50,573a-c.

The functioning of his mind was a hardship, and he became very enervated. For fifteen days his attention and reflection ^{覺觀} continued and he could not get to sleep. His mind was pained in spirit just as if it had been cut with a knife... (Finally he) went to visit the famous meditation centres and schools ^{名山} and received all their transmitted methods. Thus he learnt the counting of the breath and halted ^止 his mind (operating) towards sense data.... Then his attention gradually lessened and he got some sleep and rest.... When he had a realization, he asked Seng-ch'ou, who said, "This mind rests in the realm of sharp faculties ^{利根}. If one can control (it) properly, that is adequate for the practice of contemplation ^{觀行}." ³⁷

None of these meditations practised by the mainstream of N. Wei Buddhists are attributed to Bodhidharma or his followers by Tao-hsuan, nor can they be found in the Long Scroll. The Long Scroll, on the contrary, roundly condemns the dhyanas ^{禪定}, especially the four dhyanas.

The wisdom of the Buddhas... cannot be fathomed by meditation. (XXXVIII).

Even the four dhyānas ^{四禪定} are just single stages of tranquillity that can be disturbed again. One cannot value them. (LVI).

So what then is this 'Mahayana wall-contemplation' that is characterized by Tao-hsuan as Bodhidharma's meditation technique? T'an-lin, in his Preface describes it as follows:

This is the Mahayana method of calming the mind which keeps one from error. Thus calming the mind is wall-contemplation, thus putting it into practice is the Four Practices.

This theme is further elaborated in paragraph II.

Entrance via Principle means to rely on the teaching to awake to the doctrine. ³⁸ Believe deeply that life, ordinary (people) and saints, share an identical true nature, but due to adventitious contamination, it is

37) T.50,491c. Cf. Yanagida, 'Hokushū-Zen no shisō', p.69. Chueh-kuan is that function of the mind 'racing', intellection that gets out of control after hard intellectual activity.

38) ^宗, cf. SL, p.452, siddhānta, 'intuitive truth' to be distinguished from the teaching itself?

covered in falsity and cannot shine forth. If one rejects the false and returns to the true, stabilizing oneself in wall-contemplation, self and other, ordinary person and saint, will be equal, one. (If one) stands firm and does not shift, and moreover is not influenced by literary teachings, this is to be merged with Principle, to lack discrimination, to be quiet and inactive.³⁹

There are many interpretations of this term 'wall-contemplation' by the Ch'an Buddhists themselves, and by modern scholars, for all we know from the above passages is that it was a method of calming the mind that was used in conjunction with a faith that is the start of one's path to proper understanding through meditation, and which is confirmed by that meditation.⁴⁰

1) The first interpretation appears in the Chin-kang san-mei ching 金剛三昧經 (*Vajrasamādhi Sūtra) in a line remarkably similar to the one quoted above from II, where it substitutes 凝住覺觀 for the original 凝住壁觀.⁴¹ Mizuno Kōgen has shown that this work is a forgery that was compiled between 649 and 665 A.D.,⁴² in order to justify a combination of the She-lun⁴³ with various early Ch'an teachings. Chueh-kuan 覺觀 or vitarka-vicara

39) Paraphrased in HKSC biog. of Bodhidharma.

40) Cf. Conze, Buddhist Meditation, p.27

41) T.9,369c. Tibetan, Lhasa Kanjur LVI, tha 257b5-6, "tshor-shugs-pa-la ting-nge-hdzin gnas-nas", "the samadhi that remains in perception"?

42) 'Bodaidaruma no Ninyūshigyō-setsu to Kongosanmai-kyō' in Komazawa Daigaku kenkyū-kiyo, (March 1955). Liebenthal, 'Vajrasamādhi', pp.60 ff. contends that the extant sutra contains the remains of a sutra of this name translated much earlier, but it is based partly on a misunderstanding of a simile of the 3 rivers of Śrāvaka (Huai), Pratyeka (Huang-ho), and Bodhisattva (Yangtze) flowing into the ocean of the One Vehicle (T.9,371c). The chapter in which this line appears has the theories of Tao-hsin 道一, Shen-hsiu 神秀, in chronological order (T.9370a). Its use of nine vijñānas (370b) shows that it is of the Neo-She-lun tendency. The proposed Sanskrit original (MBT, II, p.119) is more likely to be a translation from Chinese. Cf. Demiéville, Concile pp.55 ff., Obata, 'Chibetto no Zenshū to Zōyakugikyō ni tsuite', IBK, XLVI (1975), p.688 for Chinese forgeries in Tibetan translation.

43) Liebenthal, 'Vajrasamādhi', p.377 suggests Northern Ti-lun.

尋伺 are two states of mind, forms of concentration usually translated as 'reflection and investigation'.⁴⁴ In the Abhidharma, vitarka " is the initial stage of concentration, a process of positing, implying examination leading up to judgement... (and the) ensuing subtler activity is called vicāra and denotes the steadily moving reflection, the quiet and serious consideration of that which has been brought into the circle of interest by the gross vitarka... (both) refer to the cognitive aspect in the process of concentration."⁴⁵ The sources the proto-Ch'an used also castigate chueh-kuan as inimical to meditation. The Chih-tu lun XXIII says, "this attention and reflection disturbs samadhi.... Although they are good, they are the enemy of samadhi."⁴⁶ The Vimalakīrti also dismisses its use.

'Phenomena have no speech, because they are divorced from attention and reflection.' Chao commented, "Attention and reflection are the gross mind that is the basis of speech. True phenomena have no appearances and so are divorced from attention and reflection. Once one is divorced from attention and reflection, there is no speech. Because there is no attention and reflection beyond the second dhyana, it is called the silence of the saints."⁴⁷

This is standard Buddhist doctrine, for Śāntideva says;

The second Dhyana discards both conscious attention (vitarka) and the constant examination (vicāra) of the object of one's intention.⁴⁸

The Laṅkāvatāra says that "the Thus Come is without attention or reflection."⁴⁹

In the Lanka the four dhyanas are linked to attention and reflection and have a positive role:

44) SL, p. 442, 'speculation'.

45) H. Guenther, Philosophy and Psychology in the Abhidharma, second ed. Delhi, (1974), pp. 49 ff.

46) Ting, 2904; Goroku II, p. 254.

47) T. 38, 346b. Both quotes are referring to the same function, not to different ones, as Ting infers.

48) Matics, Bca, p. 69.

49) SL, p. 442.

The Dhyanas...the Samadhis, and the complete extinction of thought... do not exist where the mind alone is....There are two kinds of intellection, the intellect that examines, is that act of intellect which examines the self-nature of things, finding it...unattainable...the intellect which functions in connection with the attachment to ideas of discrimination.... is the intellect with which the Mind is discriminated and the ideas arising therefrom are adhered to (as real); and this adherence gives rise to...conceptions....(Bodhisattvas using them) will attain the first stage (of Bodhisattvahood) and acquire one hundred Dhyanas.⁵⁰

Thus the Chin-kang san-mei ching is mistaken. 'Wall-contemplation' could not be one of the condemned four dhyanas. The Long Scroll has no mention of chueh-kuan, and later Ch'an works relegate it to a negative, or at least preliminary meditation. In the Leng-chia shih-tzu chi, Tao-hsin warns tyros;

Constantly examine 觀 the support⁵¹, attention and reflection 覺觀, deceptive vijñānas 妄識, pondering and disordered thoughts, (and so) not give rise to a confused mind.⁵²

Moreover, the Kuan-hsing fa 觀行法, a supplement to the Chueh-kuan lun 絕觀論, says the "wisdom (intellect) of non-discrimination" is "the manifesting vijñāna⁵³ not being produced, the chueh-kuan not arising."⁵⁴

The use of chueh-kuan in our passage was possibly due to the Chin-kang san-mei ching's commentator, Wōnhyō 元曉 (617-?), who clearly misunderstood the passage that corresponds to II, interpreting it in terms of the 52 stages of the Bodhisattva⁵⁵, for he glosses chueh kuan as 觀察, the term for chueh-

50) LS, p.105 f., cf. T.16, 495b-c, 537c. Here the term is 觀察.

51) 攀緣 that on which the mind relies, grasps and so conditions.

52) Goroku II, p.249, cf. p.192; Suzuki II, p.266. For a similar passage in T'ien-t'ai, see Sekiguchi Shindai, Tendaishoshikan no kenkyū, p.341.

53) 現識 = ālayavijñāna; in the Lanka (Gunabhadra), T.16, 483a16 and SL, p.189 which likens it to a mirror that supports all the images reflected in it.

54) A Dialogue on the Contemplation-Extinguished, Institute of Zen Studies, (1973), p.100.6

55) 金剛三昧經論 T.34. These stages are outlined in the Brahmajāla and Pūrvakarma-keyūra sutras, T.24, 1002, ('Vajrasamadhi', p.362; Mizuno, 'Kongosanmai')

kuan that appears in the Lanka.⁵⁶ Note too, that in the bSamyas debate, the Chinese side condemns reflection (rtog) and examination (dpyod).⁵⁷

2) It has been claimed that 'wall' is a simile for keeping out all contaminants, by making the mind dull and unaware, unconscious. Tsung-mi 宗密 (780-841) says that;

Bodhidharma used wall-contemplation to teach people to calm their minds. This means, outwardly one halts 止 conditions 緣, (so?) inwardly the mind is without disturbance (lit. panting 喘). When the mind is like a screen wall one can enter the Way.⁵⁸

Further,

Bodhidharma skilfully selected a word to transmit mind, and he extolled its name; mind is the name; and he silently indicated its substance 體 and for a simile he took 'wall-contemplation' to make one cut off conditions.⁵⁹

This interpretation may be influenced by Taoism. Lieh-tzu IV says, "The perfect contemplator does not know what he has before his eyes,"⁶⁰ and a contemporary of Hui-k'o, Yen Chih-t'ui, used the words 'wall-faced' of ignorant people.⁶¹

It is claimed that Tsung-mi's is an underestimation of the value of 'wall-contemplation', because Tsung-mi, who was a patriarch of both Ch'an and Hua-yen, seems to have based his interpretation on the Hua-yen ching nei-chang

p.57 f.).

56) Mizuno, op.cit., p.53.

57) G.Houston, Sources for a History of the bSamyas Debate, (Ph.D. thesis), Indiana, (1976), p.45.

58) T.48, 403c. Suzuki II, p.68 has an incorrect quote, adding "a mind like dead ashes" 心如死灰, which is from the Chuang-tzu, meaning the inoperative mind.

59) T.48, 405b. Cf. ZSS, p.427.

60) Max Kaltenmark, Lao-tzu and Taoism, (translated by Roger Greaves, Stanford U.P., 1969), p.96.

61) Teng Ssu-yu, Family Instructions for the Yen Clan (Monographies du T'oung Pao), p.83.

men tsa k'ung-mu chang 華嚴經內章門等雜孔目章, a work by the second patriarch of Hua-yen, Chih-yen 智儼 (602-668), which regards 'wall-contemplation' as a Hinayana method.⁶² Of the lists of meditations he says; "These clearly are only methods of initially making up one's mind to enter the Way....are all the start of the cultivation of the Way."⁶³

3) Sekiguchi Shindai tries to show that the use of the simile of a closed room illuminated by a lamp for the mind obtained by chih-kuan in Chih-i's T'ien-t'ai hsiao chih-kuan 天台小止觀⁶⁴, is equal to the same simile used by Hui-k'o for "purely sitting without any distraction (事 object)" in the LCSTC.⁶⁵ The T'ien-t'ai hsiao chih-kuan says:

When sitting in meditation 坐禪, because of cultivating vipaśyana 觀 or śamatha 止...one obtains a settled mind 定心. Because one has attained a settled mind, (the mind) is like a lamp in a closed room. It can destroy the darkness and shine on things so one can see them distinctly.⁶⁶

This is a very apt description of what would happen if one removed the cover, and let the "true nature shine forth" of II. On the contrary, Tao-hsuan seems to have separated 'wall-contemplation' from chih-kuan, and in Tibet, where the bKah-thang sde-lnga translates 'wall-contemplation' as 'clarity',⁶⁷ the

62) ZSS, p.428.

63) T.45,559a-b. Cf. Kamata I, p.101. I find this list strange. It is 真如觀, 通觀, 唯識觀 (probably Vijnānavādin), 空觀, 無相觀 (Mādhyamika), 佛性觀, 如來觀, 壁觀 (the first 2 are Tathāgatagarbhin, but pi-kuan?) 盲觀, 苦無常觀, 無我觀, 數息觀, 不淨觀, etc are Hinayanistic, and four mindfulnesses. Chih-yen says all are Hinayanistic!

64) 'Tendaishū ni okeru Daruma-Zen', IBK, XIV, p.5.

65) T.85,1285c; Goroku II, p.146.

66) Sekiguchi, 'Tendaishū ni okeru Daruma-Zen', p.5; Tendaishoshikan no kenkyū p.343.

67) MBT, II, p.86. This term is also found in Pelliot tib.116. See Obata Hironobu, 'Chibetto no Zenshū to Rekidaihōbōki', p.160.

Indian opposition had as their basic technique śamatha and vipaśyanā (chih-kuan) as taught by the Mādhyamika, being mostly the contemplation of impurity and the four dhyanas that are so despised by the Long Scroll.⁶⁸ Thus it would seem that 'wall-contemplation' and chih-kuan are not the same.

However, the Vimalakīrti, which is quoted so often in the Long Scroll, does favour chih-kuan. It lists chih-kuan as one of a number of practices that produce the Buddha-body or the Body of Phenomena (Dharmakāya). Kumārajīva comments:

When one first contemplates, bind the mind to one place. This is called chih止. When the tranquillity is complete there is clarity明. Clarity is wisdom慧. Wisdom is called kuan觀. Seng-chao commented, "Chih is samadhi定, and kuan is wisdom."⁶⁹

Elsewhere it is given as one of the methods of enlightenment used by the Bodhisattvas:

Although he practices chih-kuan, which is a method to assist one on the Way助道之法, he ultimately does not let himself fall into quietude寂滅 (Nirvana). Seng-chao commented, "Binding the mind to a condition緣 (or object) is called chih止 (halting). Discriminating and discerning deeply is called kuan (contemplation). Chih-kuan is an important method in assisting one to Nirvana. Bodhisattvas thus practice it. By not being in accord with it, one falls into Nirvana."⁷⁰

This meditation still seems to be against the whole tenor of the Long Scroll, which frequently warns against being bound by things:

"What if I compose my mind in dhyana and it does not move?"

"This is to be bound by samadhi. It is useless". (LVI).

If the mind rests on something, it will not escape its bondage. (XVII).

68) MBT, II, pp. 88, 117 and 164 ff.; Houston, bSamyas, p. 66.

69) T. 38, 343b. See, Shikan, p. 192; Conze, Buddhist Meditation, p. 16 f. for its position. Cf. Matics, Bca, p. 194, "By means of tranquillity, (śamatha) one achieves clarity of vision (vipaśyanā)."

70) T. 38, 380c-381a. Cf. Shikan, p. 192; SL, p. 444 f. for a definition.

4) Is it possible that the samadhi called the 'Adamantine wall (cliff) samadhi' 金剛壁定三昧 in the Sui-tzu-i san-mei 隨自意三昧 written by Hui-ssu 慧思 (515-576), the teacher of Chih-i, has some relation to 'wall-contemplation'? This samadhi is so strong that when Śāriputra, who was in the samadhi, was hit by a Piśāca demon with a club so hard that the reverberations were felt in all worlds and times, he was not aware of it 不覺不知. When Śāriputra came out of the samadhi, the only reaction that he had was that the skin on his bald pate felt a bit unusual. The Buddha told him that all samadhis have such strength, and that in this particular samadhi, any demons or gods that approached one would be naturally pulverized, but in this instance, the Buddha had allowed the demon to hit him in order to demonstrate to people that all samadhis are sensationless, thoughtless and mindless 無受念心.⁷¹

The Shoren-in manuscript with the title, "Also named the method of wall-contemplation samadhi", attributed to Dharmabodhi, may have given us more clues as to whether there was any relation between the two.⁷²

The name of this samadhi is reminiscent of the Vajravimbopana samadhi, the supreme samadhi of the Lanka and the Ratnagotravibhāga, and which is sometimes synonymous with Vajrasamadhi.⁷³ It is "according to Asanga, ...being among all

71) Zoku Daizōkyō, vol.98,350d-351a (chuan 1). I do not know the scriptural source for this, though I suspect that it is from PrajñāP literature. It is probably to this passage that the pseudo-Śūraṅgama Sūtra is referring to in the passage it has about 'water meditation'. Cf. Charles Luk, Secrets of Chinese Meditation, p.28, note 2 and Śūraṅgama Sūtra, p.131.

72) Sekiguchi, 'Tendaishū ni okeru Daruma-Zen', p.10 青蓮院, 京都, 吉水藏, 菩提大乘坐禪法, 亦名壁觀三昧, 葉波國師達摩菩提說

73) SL, p.436; Takasaki, Ratnagotra, p.280; Demiéville, Concile, p.55.

learned samadhis the chief, best, most hard, most firm, overcomes all defilements."⁷⁴ The Sui-tzu-i san-mei says however, that there is a ranking of samadhis, and that the final one is the Śūraṅgama.⁷⁵ The Śūraṅgama is often identified, however, with the Buddha-nature and the Vajrasamadhi.⁷⁶

No conclusion can be drawn from this resemblance because the Long Scroll says, like Tao-sheng, that;

Those who practice this nowadays use this (theory) to smash all delusions. The mind is like the sky which cannot be destroyed, and so it is called the Adamantine mind 金剛心 Such interpretations are imagination, an inversion of the truth, one has not realized that one's own mind is projecting the realms of the senses. (XLVIII).

5) Occasionally 'wall-contemplation' is explained as to face a wall or mural 面壁. Grammatically this would require the word order 觀壁, but in the term 佛身觀, the meditator concentrates on a Buddha statue, just as mandalas are sometimes used in Shingon.⁷⁷ The earliest mention of this 'facing a wall', and in a negative sense at that, is in the Kuan-hsin lun 觀心論 which is now usually attributed to Shen-hsiu.⁷⁸

How can sitting in meditation contemplating (it? 坐禪觀行) by simply focussing the mind 安心 on the nasal ridge, contemplating the impure and breathing, and by facing a wall 面牆 be called the Way.⁷⁹

Huang-po 黃檗 (d.850) also uses a similar phrase in his Wan-ling lu 宛陵錄, but he gives it a different meaning.

74) Wayman, The Lion's Roar..., p.95, note 77.

75) Zoku Daizōkyō, vol.98, 344b. Cf. Sanmai, p.118.

76) E.g. Nirvana Sutra, T.12, 509b f. Cf. Goroku II, p.197. Another Nirvana passage has ideas like those of Long Scroll II: "The One Vehicle is called the Buddha-nature. Therefore I preach that all creatures have a Buddha-nature... but because of ignorance they cannot see it... The Buddha-nature is the Śūraṅgama-samadhi nature, translucent... it has 5 names, 1) Śūraṅgama-samadhi, 2) Prajñāpāramitā, 3) Vajrasamādhi, 4) Lion's roar samādhi, 5) Buddha-nature." (T.12, 524c)

77) Sekiguchi, 'Tendaishū ni okeru Daruma-Zen', p.7

78) Sekiguchi, op.cit., attributes it to Chih-i, but in his Darumadaishi no

Even if some teacher allows you to understand a little of the Principle of the Way, that which you have obtained is only a mental phenomenon. The Ch'an Way has no relation to it at all. Therefore, Bodhidharma faced a wall to prevent people from having any false views.⁸⁰

the literal translations of 'facing a wall' or 'wall-gazing are obviously wrong.

6) Yet another similar expression can be found in Chinese literature. The phrase, "standing on the fortifications watching on", which comes from the Annals of Hsiang Yü, Shih-chi VII is now used for "to be an onlooker, to be uninfluenced by what is going on around you."⁸¹

7) The bKah-thang sde-lnga translation of 'wall-contemplation' by the word lham-me, 'clarity' or 'light'⁸² reminds me of the image supposedly used by Hui-k'o as recorded in the LCSTC.

If one purely sits without any distractions, one can destroy the darkness as if one were a lamp in a closed room, and shine on things so that they are clear and distinct.⁸³

Hui-k'o also quoted an unknown version of the Daśabhūmi 十地經⁸⁴

kenkyū, pp.213-234, to Shen-hsiu. Cf. L.Hurvitz, 'Chih-i', p.169.

79) T.46,549a. Cf. Sekiguchi, 'Tendaishū ni okeru Daruma-Zen', p.4

80) T.48,386b, Goroku VIII, p.135. 任汝會得少許道理,祇得箇心所法,禪道總沒交涉,所以達磨面壁都不令人有見處. This last could mean "to have anything to see."

81) Takigawa Kametarō, Shiki kaichū kōshō, vol.2, Hsiang Yu Pen-chi (VII), p.21 史記,項羽本紀; (諸將)皆從壁上觀

82) ལྷ་མེད་ = 晃曜, brilliant, or 光明照光耀. Tibetan definition; hod-kyis rnam-par bkra-ba lta-bu, "brilliant with light". Cf. hod lham-mer mdzad-pa, "shine with a bright light".

83) T.85,1285c; Goroku II, p.146.

84) 十地經 Cf. Yanagida's comment, Goroku II, p.152. The same passage appears in the Hsiu-hsin Fa-yao and Kuan-hsin lun.

There is an Adamantine Buddha-nature 金剛佛性 within creature's bodies, just like the solar orb, whose substance is entirely light 體明圓滿, vast, without limit. It is simply obscured 覆障 by the clouds of the five elements of the body 五陰, and so creatures do not see it. If they are blown away by the wind of wisdom... the Buddha-nature shines entire 圓照, a brilliant clarity 明淨.⁸⁵

He also uses an example from the Hua-yen ching:

It is also like the lamp light inside a vase that cannot shine forth.⁸⁶

This reminds me of paragraph II:

Life, ordinary people and saints, share an identical true nature, but due to adventitious contamination, it is covered in falsity and cannot shine forth,

and of the Tibetan translation's,

the light that is really so wide that the sides cannot be seen.

This image is a central one to the Tathāgatagarbha stream of Buddhist thought, appearing in many forms in its sutras.⁸⁷

The idea of luminous thought or mind can be traced back to early Buddhism. There is "an old tradition that 'thought in its substance is luminous through and through, but has become defiled by adventitious taints'. (Anguttara Nikaya

85) Ibid., p.146. The Chinese in the bSamyas debate used a similar example for the pure mind. "For those of acute senses and previously cleansed minds, when one is obscured by the two: sin, or virtue, it is like the sun which is equally obscured by white or dark clouds" (Houston, bSamyas, p.45).

86) Goroku II, p.146, cf. p.154 on the Hua-yen ching source.

87) Ibid., p.152. Cf. Ogawa Kōkan, Chūgoku Nyōraizō-shisō kenkyū, p.16 f.: the Ju-lai-tsang ching (T.16, 457c-459b), p.22; the Ta-fa-ku ching 大法鼓經, "If one can divorce oneself from all the kleśa cloud coverings, the Thus Come's nature will be as clear as the full moon" (T.9, 297b); and a T'ang translation, the Ta-ch'eng fa-chieh wu ch'a-pieh lun 大乘無差別論 is even closer: "It is just like the bright moon 明淨月, which is obscured by clouds. If one eliminates the clouds of frustration, the clear moon of the Body of Phenomena will be manifest" (T.31, 893a), p.25.

1,8-10). Such a self-luminous thought is at the heart of reality."⁸⁸ This idea is connected to the Tathāgata in the Hua-yen ching:

The wisdom of the Thus Come is present in all creatures, and is covered by ignorance,⁸⁹

It is connected with a concept like Ch'an Buddhism's 'No-mind' ~~無心~~ 无心 in the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra:

That thought is a non-thought, since in its essential original nature it is transparently luminous.⁹⁰

The Nirvana Sutra then (?) linked that idea with the Buddha-nature:

All creatures have a Buddha-nature. Because frustrations (kleśa) cover it, they do not know or see it.⁹¹

This concept was taken up by the Yogācārins also. "As interpreted by the Yogacarins, the Aids to penetration aim at first to remove the belief in separate outer objects, and the inclination towards them, and thereafter to bring about a concentration in which 'the light of gnosis appears without the distraction caused by the separate representation of a perceiving subject'".⁹²

This image was no doubt popular amongst Chinese Buddhists because of the similarity with some Taoist ideas. Chuang-tzu says,

Look into that closed room, the empty chamber where brightness is born.
Fortune and blessing gather where there is stillness.⁹³

Taoism is probably the source also of the term shou-i ~~守一~~ 守一 used by Tao-hsin.⁹⁴

88) Conze, The Large Sutra on Perfect Wisdom, p.9

89) T.9,624a : Ogawa, op.cit., p.11.

90) Conze, Large Wisdom, p.97

91) T.12,646a : Ogawa, op.cit., p.22. Cf. Bukkyō no shisō IV (Yuishiki), p.190.

92) Conze, Large Wisdom, p.8.

93) Burton Watson, The Complete Writings of Chuang-tzu, p.58.

94) Tanaka Ryōsho, 'Shōki Zenshū to Dōkyō' in Yoshioka Hakushi kanekikinen, Dōkyō Kenkyū, pp.409 ff.

The Meditation of Light and Buddhist Philosophy.

If the Tibetan translator had the correct interpretation of 'wall-contemplation', this would be a clue to Bodhidharma's thought. It has been said that the "Vijñānavādin especially compared the self-luminous citta (mind) to a lamp which shines in darkness," and that this idea was attacked by the Mādhyamikas.⁹⁵ Śāntideva argues against it, for in his opinion,

As the blade of the sword does not cut itself, neither does the mind know itself. If it is thought that the self is like a lamp which illuminates, that lamp cannot be illuminated, since it is not covered by darkness.⁹⁶

The Long Scroll would seem to support this contention:

Since phenomena are Nirvana, how can Nirvana seek Nirvana? Also one does not seek phenomena because the mind is the realm of phenomena. How then can the realm of phenomena seek the realm of phenomena? (XIX).

However, the above passage concludes that one can see one's mind. Moreover, the mind seeing the mind is a prime doctrine of Ch'an. As Suzuki remarks in connection with Hui-neng's ideas, "mind can be only comprehended by the mind directly and without a medium."⁹⁷ However, the Korean text of the Long Scroll has the line:

The Buddha-mind cannot be known through having a mind. (XXXVII).

Thus the Long Scroll seems to be proposing two sorts of mind: the ultimate mind, or mind in its pristine state, and the empirical or deluded mind, which is divided, allowing meditation and reflection to take place.

If the conscious mind 識心 is quiescent, and has no place for a single moving thought, this is called correct Awareness. All that which has not extinguished the mind and the vijñānas 心識 is a dream. (XIII).

The Mādhyamikas, because of their doctrine of śūnya, said that there could

95) Matics, Bca, p.116, cf. p.117, the sayings of Ma-tsu and Hui-neng differ from the tenets of Śāntideva.

96) Ibid., p.213.

97) D.T.Suzuki, The Zen Doctrine of No Mind, (1969 ed.), p.15.

be no thought without an object, and that no thought can know itself.

Even the sharpest sword cannot cut itself....Citta does not know itself.⁹⁸

They proclaimed this because:

The eye does not see its own seeing. If it cannot see itself, how can it see other things?⁹⁹

However, even the Mādhyamikas had to admit that there were divisions in the empirical mind, and that these were due to objects:

As it is said that a child is born out of the father and mother relationship, so also does consciousness arise from the bond between the eye and material.¹⁰⁰

Therefore I think that the Mādhyamikas misunderstood the Yogācāra position, for they confused the Yogācārin's pure Mind with the discriminating mind.

The Lanka makes this clear:

Mind is grasped by mind, it is not something produced by a cause; Mind is by nature pure.¹⁰¹

Furthermore, there are conditions, which not being separate from the Mind, are also empty:

The mind is evolved dependent upon a variety of conditions, just as a painting depends upon the wall (on which it is painted)....An individual mind is evolved by clinging to Mind in itself; there is no visible world outside (Mind itself); therefore, (it is declared that) Mind-only exists.¹⁰²

98) Matics, Bca, p.115 f.; from the Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā vṛtti, II, verse 21.

99) Chung-lun III, v.2 ; Teramoto, Chūron, p.61 and K. Inada, Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā, p.52.

100) This is not in the Chinese, cf. Teramoto, op.cit., p.67; Inada, op.cit., p.53

101) LS, p.234. Cf. T.16, 567c 心取於自心, 無法無因生, 心法體清淨, which differs somewhat from Suzuki's translation.

102) Ibid., p.234, cf. note 2. It is not in the Guṇabhadra translation. Cf. T.16, 567c 種種念觀法, 若但心中生, 如虛空壁中 ... 虛妄取自心, 是故心現生, 外法無可見, 是故說惟心. The T'ang is closer.

Thus in the Lanka, Mind is not dual, it is the $\bar{A}layavijñāna$.¹⁰³ The aim of the meditation would appear to be the elimination of both the empirical mind and of empirical phenomena or conditions, and there fuse together in the Mind as it truly is, the $\bar{A}laya$ or No-mind. As the Long Scroll says:

If one knows that the mind and $vijñānas$ (mind consciousness) has been empty and calm from the beginning and does not recognise any basis for it, this is the practice of the Way....If one awakens to the fact that the mind has been empty and calm from the beginning, one will know that the mind is not material, and that the mind is not subject to it. Material is not this material (as we usually see it), for it is a creation of one's own mind. Just know that it is not real and one will obtain release. (XVIII)

This idea no doubt goes back to very early Mahayana Buddhism, for the

Kāśyapaparivarta LVIII in the Ch'in^秦 translation says:

If there is no mind or $vijñāna(s)$, and no mentally functioning phenomena, that is called...the Real Contemplation of Phenomena.¹⁰⁴

This idea is shared by some of the $Vijñānavādins$ as well, where mind is converted into the $vijñānas$. In the Chuan-shih lun 轉識論 translated (?) by Paramārtha this is explained as follows:

"If one banishes the sense data into the $vijñānas$, can this be called the meaning of $vijñānas$ -only? When both sense data and $vijñānas$ are banished, what $vijñānas$ can exist 成?"

"To establish the meaning of $vijñānas$ -only, at once 一往 banish sense data and preserve the mind (留心)Empty mind (空心) is its correct meaning. Therefore the obliteration of both sense data and the $vijñānas$ is the realization 成 of that meaning...the $Amalavijñāna$."¹⁰⁵

This is probably akin to what the Long Scroll means by,

"settled down sense data (into or and) the mind-king 定境心王." (III)

103) Cf. LS, p.268 and p.234.

104) A.von Stael-Holstein, The Kāśyapaparivarta, A Mahāyānasūtra of the Ratnakūṭa Class, (ed. Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese) Shang-mu yin-shu kuan (1926), p.88.

105) T.31, 62. Takamine, Kegon, p.124. 'Empty mind' implies empty of sense data or its representation 成?

Paramārtha's translation of the She-lun has a similar passage:

If the settling of the realm of sense data and the appearances of material are no different from the settling of the mind, how does this vijñāna take this vijñāna to be sense data?....The Buddha (replied)..."There are no phenomena that can grasp another phenomenon. Even though it cannot grasp this vijñāna, it thus transforms 變生 and is manifested as a contaminant. It is for example like (my) face seeing (my own) face, which means I see my reflection. This reflection manifests an appearance like another face. Settling the mind is likewise. If there is the manifestation of (something) like a contaminant, it means it is different (not) from settling the mind....If one sees green, yellow etc. omnipresent in the appearances of material, this is seeing one's own mind, it is not seeing other sense data such as the colours green and yellow..."¹⁰⁶

Thus the Long Scroll is closer to the Vasubandhu/Paramārtha line of Vijñānāvāda in which both the vijñānas and sense data are non-existent, rather than the Dharmapāla/Hsuan-tsang line in which the vijñānas only exist.¹⁰⁷ Note that the latter doctrine is attacked by Śāntideva as well:

If that which is seen as unreal as illusion, then so is the one who sees the mind.¹⁰⁸

Therefore, because the world is a creation of one's mind, one can point at one's own mind, and yet because sense data and the mind are a unity, no seeing or pointing can be done.¹⁰⁹ Thus the Long Scroll can say both that,

"The mind is the realm of phenomena"(XIX), and

It was through your mind that it was created.(LXII).

"Because no phenomena are subject to each other, this mind and all phenomena do not know each other." (LXXIV).

106) Ui Hakuju, Shōdaijōron, p.35 f.; T.38,182c 若定境界色相與定心不異, 云何此識取此識...

107) Bukkyō no shisō IV (Yuishiki) pp.171 ff. and Ueda Yoshifumi, Yuishikishisō nyūmon, Asoka Shorin, (1964), p.35.

108) Matics, Bca, p.214.

109) Ueda, op.cit., p.160 f.

Therefore:

the deluded... take mind to eliminate mind. (LXXXI).

(When) creatures do not understand, they think that the mind is not the Buddha, and they pursue mind with mind. Whenever one understands, the mind is the Buddha....Therefore I say, "The pristine mind is the creature's own nature, which from the beginning lacked frustrations." (LXXXV)

All phenomena are the Buddha. (LXXXVII, cf. LXXVII)

This is the meaning of VII in which the existence of or non-existence of phenomena and of mind are shown to be relative.

Since the Long Scroll says that the mind is the Buddha, it is closer to the Cittamātratā of the Lanka and Avatamsaka which "does not deny the existence of mind itself"¹¹⁰, for "there is nothing but Citta, Mind, in the world and that world is the objectification of Mind", whereas the (Dharmapāla?) Vijñānavāda maintains that there is only pure, "undefiled consciousness without object." To them "the world is nothing but ideas, but there are no realities behind them.... The one (Vijñānavāda) is pure idealism and the other (Cittamātra) idealistic realism."¹¹¹

One other difference, according to Suzuki, between the Cittamātra and Vijñānavāda is over the nature of the Ālaya or Tathāgatagarbha. The Lanka says:

The Tathāgatagarbha holds within it the cause for both good and evil, and by it all the forms of existence are produced. Like an actor it takes on a variety of forms, and (in itself) is devoid of an ego-soul and that which belongs to it.¹¹²

The Vijñānavādins, on the contrary (according to Suzuki), claimed that the Ālaya was absolutely pure.¹¹³ However, as we have seen in chapter 2, the

110) SL, p.181.

111) Cf. LS, xl; SL, p.279 ff. and Matics, Bca, p.114.

112) LS, p.190, cf. T.16, 510b (Gunabhadra).

113) SL, p.182.

Northern Ti-lun and the Neo-She-lun schools took the Ālaya to have two aspects: one pure and undefiled; the other defiled and the producer of the three realms of existence. This is probably the position of the Long Scroll, which on one hand states;

Whenever one understands, the mind is the Buddha, and the Buddha is just the mind, (LXXXV),

whilst on the other hand it says;

(they) are objectifications out of one's own mind, and one does not know that the realms of the senses arise from one's own mind. Even if one knows that no phenomena exist, it is likewise.... (Even though it is) one's own mind that creates existence and non-existence, it is still deluded. (XIX).

The duality of the mind is described as follows:

The Mind is the substance of the Way....Because mind lacks a nature it does not exist. Because it is produced from conditions, it does not not exist. Because mind lacks form and appearance, it does not exist, and since it functions and yet is not destroyed, it is not non-existent. (LXVII)

The ultimate is described as no-mind:

Because there is no mind there is no need to cut it off. (LXV).

This is because it ultimately has no substratum or graspable reality, i.e. it is empty, as is what its deluded aspect creates.

The substance of mind is the substance of the realm of phenomena. This realm of phenomena is substanceless...invisible. (XLIII).

This is the reason the Śrīmālā Sūtra says that "to know the Tathāgatagarbha is said to be the same as to know śūnyatā."¹¹⁴

Therefore the aim of Ch'an meditation appears to be the elimination of the deluded mind which creates the world as we know it, leaving only the pure Mind, for the illusory world disappears with the deluded mind. This does not, however, mean that phenomena do not have some reality. This pure Mind illuminates all phenomena as they truly are. They are not the world the deluded mind

¹¹⁴) Takasaki, Ratnagotra, p.37.

imagines.

I conclude, therefore, that the Long Scroll's meditation, 'wall-contemplation' is the Yogācārin or rather Cittamātrin 'lamp of gnosis'. However, the Prajñāpāramitā/Mādhyamika thesis cannot be entirely ruled out either, for its texts have passages very similar to those above. The Ta Chih-tu lun describes two aspects of mind also:

Whatever is in the three realms, all that is the construction of the mind (citta). How is it so? It is in accordance with one's thought that one realizes all things. By mind does one see the Buddha and by mind does one become a Buddha. The mind itself is the Buddha, the mind itself is my body. (Under ignorance) the mind does not know itself....it is due to ignorance that one seizes the determinates (appearances) of the mind....All (these) things arise from ignorance.¹¹⁵

This in turn is a quote from the much older Pratyutpanna Sūtra 般舟三昧經¹¹⁶, so even if the Chih-tu lun is thought to be a Buddhist encyclopedia written by Kumārajīva, this concept has a pre-Nāgārjuna authority. Moreover, the Chih-tu lun's aim in meditation is possibly quite similar to that of the Yogācārin's:

Everything is produced from mind. If you know that phenomena are unreal, this mind is also empty.¹¹⁷

This however, reveals the fact that a slightly different approach is being taken to reach the same end. The Mādhyamikas seem to be teaching that one must first of all realize the emptiness of all phenomena, thereby simultaneously demonstrating that the mind itself is an empty phenomenon. The Yogācāra

115) T.25,276b 三界所有皆心所作。何以故。隨心所念悉皆得見。以心見佛。以心作佛。心即是佛。心即是我身。心不自知亦不自見。若取心相。悉皆無智。皆從無明出。 Translation by K.V.Ramanan, Nāgārjuna's Philosophy, p.71 f. This contradicts the Mādhyamika thesis.

116) Cf. E.Lamotte, Le Traite de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse, p.482; and T.13, 905c-906a; Sanmai, p.103 f.

117) T.25,118a, 一切從心生,若知法,無實,是心亦復空。

approach seems to be to show that the mind is empty and thus all phenomena are likewise empty.¹¹⁸ Therefore, the Yogācārins are more psychological in approach, tackling the source of the problem directly. As Thomas says, "though retaining the fundamental concept of the void, (they) made a great advance by starting from a psychological standpoint."¹¹⁹ The Mādhyamikas did not understand this latter position. Śāntideva, taking up the idea that the mind creates the world, cannot understand how the Mind can be self-luminous.

If it is thought that the self is like a lamp which illuminates, that lamp cannot be illuminated, since it is not covered by darkness....Thus when light is seen by others, it is seen irrespective of darkness. It may not make itself dark by itself when it is not dark....The experience of knowing that a lamp illumines is affirmed by knowledge. The experience of knowing that intelligence illumines, by what is this affirmed?....The self (it is argued) is illuminated by observing its association with proximate causes....If that which is seen is as unreal as illusion, then so is the one who sees the mind.¹²⁰

Matics thinks that this could be a misunderstanding of Suchness (Tathatā)¹²¹, which is a central theme in the Long Scroll. The Long Scroll, while not denying emptiness, does not deny phenomena as such either.

To understand phenomena as they are and (so) respond to things. Therefore we say, 'as it comes (Tathāgata)'....To be aware of phenomena as they are (is) to be aware without an object of awareness. Therefore we say, 'Buddha (the Aware)'....The mind, being a phenomenon as it is, is not produced... nor annihilated. Therefore we say that it is a phenomenon (dharma). (X).

The Long Scroll's interpretation here is entirely psychological, and its philosophy accords with the traditions about the meditation of light in Buddhism.

118) Cf. Bukkyō no shisō VI (Kegon), p.96.

119) E.Thomas, A History of Buddhist Thought, p.227. Cf. Takasaki, Ratnagotra, p. 59.

120) Matics, Bca, p.213 f. This is derived from the Chung-lun VII, vs.7-12. Cf. Bca, p.119 and Teramoto op.cit., pp.114-119.

121) Matics, Bca, p.117

The Contamination of the Pure Mind and the Overcoming of it by Meditation.

The darkness or the obscuration of the light of the Pure Mind in the Cittamātra is said to be due to accidental or extrinsic contaminants:

Although one's own nature is pure, accidental contaminants 客塵 ('guest dust) cover it, so one only sees impurity.¹²²

As Suzuki explains, "since this dust is not native to the Ālaya, it is called āgantū, the guest."¹²³ This is a term used in the Long Scroll II, so in this the Long Scroll differs from the Vijnānavādins who are said to have thought that "since the pollutants of the mind are not considered to be accidental because they are thought to have a basis, it is necessary to transform 轉換 that basis."¹²⁴ This adventitious contamination is a theme found in the Anguttara Nikaya that is quoted above, and may also be found in the Chih-tu lun:

Because adventitious frustrations (kleśa) attach (相著?) to it, it is called the impure mind, (and this) mind does not know itself. Why? Because this mind and appearances (due to the operations) of this mind 心相 are empty. This mind originally had no real phenomena.¹²⁵

122) T.16,510c, (Gunabhadra).

123) SL,p.186.

124) Bukkyō no shisō IV (Yuishiki), p.190, but cf. the Ta-ch'eng chuang-yen ching lun 大乘莊嚴經論 by Asaṅga: "The nature of the mind is basically pure, but of old adventitious contaminants tainted it. Only after the adventitious contaminants are eliminated is it pristine. The purity does not come from the outside because basically the nature is pure" (T.31,622c-623a) 心性本淨客塵故染, 後時清淨除客塵取淨非外來, 本性淨故 (Ogawa, op.cit., p.173).

125) T.25,204a; cf. Katsumata Shunkyo, Bukkyō ni okeru shin-shiki-setsu no kenkyū, p.488.

It is once one accepts there are accidental contaminants that there arises the problem of gradual versus instantaneous awakening, as seen in the fictional gathas of Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng. Shen-hsiu is alleged to have written:

The mind is like a clear mirror,
At all times we must strive to polish it,
And must not let the dust collect.¹²⁶

This reminds me somewhat of a verse in the Chih-tu lun which probably reflects this concept of gradualism.

For example, the mirror is by its nature bright, but due to the dust on it (its brightness) cannot be seen, but if the dust is washed away, then it shines bright as ever before.¹²⁷

As Ramanan says, however, the Ch'an "differed from the School of the Three Treatises (San-lun) in so far as it chose the way of direct insight and sudden illumination."¹²⁸ Hui-neng's gatha said:

The mirror also has no stand.
Buddha-nature is always clean and pure.
Where is there room for dust?¹²⁹

This looks at first as if he was denying the covering, but elsewhere in the Platform Sutra we can find the image supposedly used by Hui-k'o in the LCSTC:

All the dharmas are within your own natures, yet your own natures are always pure. The sun and moon are always bright, yet if they are covered by clouds, although above they are bright, below they are darkened....But if suddenly the wind of wisdom should blow and roll away the clouds and mists, all forms in the universe appear at once....If you cling to external environments, the floating clouds of false thoughts will create and cover, and your own natures cannot become clear.¹³⁰

126) P.Yampolsky, The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch, p.130.

127) T.25,347a: Ramanan, op.cit, p.120.

128) Ibid., p.328.

129) Yampolsky, op.cit., p.132.

130) Ibid., p.142.

Both sudden and gradual awakening can be found in the Lanka. The sudden seems to be the closest to the Ch'an texts:

It is like a mirror indiscriminately and instantaneously reflecting in it forms and images (Gunabhadra, 'formless images'); in the same way... the purification by the Tathagata of all beings is instantaneous...and leads to the state of imagelessness....it is like the sun or the moon revealing all forms instantaneously by illuminating them with its light, in the same way...the Tathagata, by making all beings discard the habit-energy which issues from the erroneous views they entertain in regard to an external world which is of the mind, instantaneously reveals to all beings the realm of unthinkable knowledge which belongs to Buddhahood.¹³¹

The Long Scroll does not have any definite statements as to whether awakening is instantaneous or gradual:

In the cultivation of the Way...for those who take the mind to be (the Way) it is rapid疾 (not instantaneous?). (XVIII).

To 'sit in meditation'坐禪, a widely used term in the HKSC, only appears twice in the Long Scroll. It seems to have led to a Cittamātra type of experience:

You are sure to see your basic nature by sitting in meditation....For the first time I knew that in my heart (mind) there was nothing that did not exist. This bright gem (of the mind) pierces luminously...(III).

Immediately暫...即便 upon hearing the eight word verse, the Buddha awoke to the Principle. (IV).

There is, however, evidence in the so-called HKSC 'Hui-k'o reply to Layman Hsiang' that the awakening was sudden:

Formerly bewildered, I believed the Jewel to be rubble, but suddenly was naturally aware that it is a true pearl.

If the Long Scroll, like Tao-sheng, considered that the Principle cannot be understood partially, the awakening to it would therefore have to be instantaneous and complete. The Tibetan translator of the Long Scroll definitely makes 'wall-contemplation' or the entrance into Principle 入理

instantaneous:

This is the immediate (cig-car) entrance into the meaning (don,i.e. Principle).¹³²

However, this may have been only a later understanding by either the Tibetan or Chinese followers of Ch'an, for they were engaged in a debate in Tibet with Indian Buddhists over sudden versus gradual enlightenment.

The Long Scroll's method of realization was not one of simply cutting off sensation by mind control:

"What is the demon mind?"

"Shutting one's eyes and entering samadhi ^止."

"What if I compose my mind in meditation and it does not move?"

"This is to be bound by samadhi, it is useless....If one can understand that the nature lacks tranquillity and disturbance, one then has attained freedom." (LVI)

In fact, the method of calming the mind seems to have been a rather more active technique:

"Will you calm my mind for me?"

"Bring your mind to me..."

"Just calm my mind!"

"What you are asking is analagous to requesting a tailor to cut the cloth for your clothes. Only when the tailor gets your silk can he begin to use his scissors. Before he had seen the silk, could he have cut up the sky for you? Since you could not bring your mind to me, how could I calm any sort of mind for you? I really can't calm the sky." (LVIII).

The reason for such an answer is that you cannot depend on outside help in the calming of one's mind.

"How does the Buddha liberate creatures?"

"When the image in a mirror liberates creatures, the Buddha will liberate creatures." (LX).

132) MBT,II,p.86. As G.Houston shows cig car here definitely means instantaneous ('Cig Car,Cig Char, Ston;Note on a Tibetan Term'in Central Asiatic Journal,XX, 1973,p.43). Note that this term only occurs in the bKah-thang sde-lnga and not in Pelliot tib.116 or Poussin 710. Cf. Obata,'Chibetto no Zenshū to Rekidaihōboki',p.610.

A calm mind seems rather to have been due to nothing more than a mental attitude:¹³³

"What is the Great Way that is easy to recognize and easy to practise, but which no-one in the world can recognize and practice?"

"...living apart from the world, indifferent to it, not doing a single thing." (XXXI).

It is clear that it is the discriminatory, sophisticated mind that is to be avoided by meditation:

If the mind does not arise, what use is there in sitting in meditation?
If sophistry is not produced, why trouble yourself about right mindfulness? (XC).

Rather it is the straightforward mind that is praised, as in LXXI:

The direct mind is the Way....One who is directly mindful and directly responsive, will neither contemplate emptiness nor seek the expedient.... look directly but do not observe....be directly mindful but do not think.

So indifferent, so calm is the state of mind that is achieved that it is described as follows:

If you utilise the Dharma-Buddha to cultivate the Way, your mind will be like a rock, inanimate, unaware (unfeeling), unknowing, non-discriminatory, totally apathetic, just like that of an idiot. (XIX)

This is not an isolated description. It appears once again in XVIII, and is quoted twice in the Po-chang kuang-lu¹³⁴ :

Relinquish the body and the mind, let them be free. The mind is like wood and stone.¹³⁵

Such descriptions are not lacking in Indian Buddhism;"two of the secondary meanings of dhyāna are 'insensibility' or 'dullness'".¹³⁶ Śāntideva says:

If one would see his mind disciplined and blunted, then he should not act

133) Cf. Conze, Buddhist Meditation, p.16.

134) 百丈廣錄, cf. Ui II, p.241. Po-chang lived 720-814.

135) Ibid., p.420.

136) Matics, Bca, p.68.

or speak. He should remain like a piece of wood."¹³⁷

But this description has not the same implications as it has in the Long Scroll, which says:

If one can preserve the mind and establish an intention of not wishing (to be) a sage or saint, and of not seeking release, and of not fearing birth and death, and also of not fearing hell, and of mindlessly carrying out one's duty directly, one has only then formed a mind that circumscribes dullness (規鈍心?). (XXI)

The Indian description seems to correspond to the 'dead wood' 枯木 meditation of Shih-huang Ch'ing-chu¹³⁸, as opposed to the more 'activist' meditation of Ma-tsu and his followers who inherited the Long Scroll tradition. They said, "Make full use of great opportunities 大機大用", and Layman P'ang said, "Spiritual power and divine function lies in the carrying of water and the carrying of firewood."¹³⁹ Although this dull, indifferent mind is described as no-mind, it is not a mind that is not operating:

Those who see the Dharma through (the medium of) events 事 (objects) do not lose mindfulness anywhere....(if you are patient) the Way-Mind gradually becomes stronger....it naturally has no mind 無心 towards all incompatible and compatible (sense data). (XX).

As Asaṅga says in the She-lun VIII:

(Perfect Wisdom) is not lack of mental activity, because then it would be found in sleep and madness, where one does not think at all, and that cannot be, because then one would without effort arrive at the loss of perverted views.¹⁴⁰

Aside from the question of lack of effort, this describes the Long Scroll's position:

137) Ibid., p.166.

138) 石霜慶諸, SKSC, T.50,740c.

139) Chang Chung-yuan, Original Teachings of Ch'an Buddhism, p.175.

140) Conze, Large Wisdom, p.30. Cf. Kamalasīla's criticism of Ch'an on this point, Houston, bSamyas, p.46 f.

If the conscious mind 識心 is quiescent, and has no place for a single moving thought, this is called Correct Awareness. All that which has not ~~extinguished~~ the mind and the vijñanas is a dream. (XIII)

Therefore mind is ambiguous, indescribable, both functioning and empty, yet 'aware'.

Mind is the substance of the Way....Because mind lacks a nature, it does not exist. Because it arises from conditions, it does not not exist, and since it functions and yet is not destroyed, it is not non-existent. (LXVII)

Mind, Phenomena and Philosophy.

Before we turn to the complex problem of the relationships of the various aspects and states of mind with phenomena, and the ensuing problem of the reality of phenomena, it may be helpful to examine Tao-hsuan's opinions on the thought of Bodhidharma and his followers, and then examine the canonical sources for the Long Scroll to try and find its philosophical orientation concerning these questions.

The critical words in Tao-hsuan's description are, "śūnya doctrine 虛宗", "the correct contemplation of non-obtaining" and the "Laṅkāvatāra explained through the South Indian One Vehicle doctrine." Yanagida considers 虛宗 to mean the Prajñāpāramitā philosophy, but all the quotes from San-lun treatises used to try and prove this are somewhat ambiguous and obscure. T'an-ying's Chung-lun shu 中論疏 says,

The transformations are not without an essence 宗, and that essence is non-appearance 無相. The essence of emptiness 虛宗 is not without a meaning 非無契 (?) and that meaning is without an essence 無宗. Therefore excellent people use the marvellous wisdom of no-mind to mean 契 that essence of the emptiness of non-appearance. ¹⁴¹

141) Quoted in T.55,77a. The translation is very tentative and some words may be rendered in several ways, e.g. 宗 as 'proposition'. 夫萬化非無宗, 而宗之者無相. 虛宗非無契, 而契之者無宗. 故至人以無心之妙慧, 而契彼無相之虛宗.

It is also ambiguous in Seng-chao's Pu-chen-k'ung lun 不真空論 :

That is the reason why in the discussions of today everyone has his own opinion as soon as the subject of śūnyatā is touched upon.... (The first school...defines śūnyatā as) 'emptiness of mind'...which means that there is no mind (thought) about things.¹⁴²

It is even unclear what Tao-hsuan means by the term when he uses it elsewhere.¹⁴³

Yanagida says that 'the correct contemplation of non-obtaining' also refers to the San-lun School¹⁴⁴, but I find this difficult to understand seeing that Tao-hsuan regarded it as the doctrine of the Lanka. Chi-tsang 吉藏 in fact uses the term for the Mahayana sutras in general, not the Mādhyamika in particular.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, we cannot make any decisive conclusion based on Tao-hsuan's opinion, and so we must return to the Long Scroll itself.

In ascertaining the stream of Indian Buddhist thought that formed the basis of a Chinese Buddhist Sect, as distinct from an Indian School in China, one must be careful to discriminate between those works, especially sutras, that are the common property of Mahayana Buddhism as a whole, and those works influenced by the more scholastic schools of 'philosophy'. Some Chinese sects make this easier by declaring their adherence to a particular sutra or class of sutras by the partisan grading system known as p'an-chiao 判教. Of all the Chinese sects, Ch'an is the most eclectic, having set no standard corpus as an authority.

Unfortunately therefore, quotations from the Buddhist scriptures in the

142) 故頃爾談論至於虛宗每有不同...何則心無者無心於萬物
Cf. Liebenthal, Chao Lun, p.55.

143) T.50,508c in the Ti-lun teacher Chih-nien biog., probably refers to Chih-tu lun themes. For these three references, cf. Hirai Shunei, 'Shoki Zenshushisō no keisei to Sanronshū' in (Komazawa daigaku) Shūgaku kenkyū V (1963), p.116 f.

144) ZSS, p.444.

145) Cf. note 7 in my translation of the biog. of Fa-ch'ung.

Long Scroll provide no conclusive evidence. On the Prajñāpāramitā side there is one quote from the Astasāhasrikā (LXXVII), three from the Sarvadharmāpravṛttinirdeśa 諸法無行論 (V,XII,XLI) and one from the Vajracchedikā 金剛經 (LXXXVII?). Perhaps we should include in this group the longest quotation in the Long Scroll, that from the Kāśyapaparivarta 大迦葉品 or 普明菩薩品 (XVIII). However, the simile from this sutra is used in a somewhat different manner in the Long Scroll, being rather closer to Cittamātrin or Yogācāra emphases.¹⁴⁶ There are three quotes of the purely Mādhyamikan Chung-lun¹⁴⁷, (twice in V, T.30, 18c and 24c; and XL, with a reference to it in XV). Of the Chinese Mādhyamika followers' works, there is a quote from Seng-chao's Wu pu-ch'ien lun 物不遷論 (XXX) and one from his commentary on the Vimalakīrti (XXIX). There are miscellaneous quotes, one from the Fo-tsang ching 佛藏經 (LXVIII) and three from the Tao-te ching (XV,XXX,XXXII). On the Tathāgatagarbha side there is a quote from the Śrīmālā Sūtra (XVII) and some allusions to the Nirvāṇa Sūtra (II and III).¹⁴⁸ On the Cittamātrin side there is one direct reference to the Lanka (LXIII) and several passages that have terminology of a distinctly Lanka hue.¹⁴⁹

The overwhelming number of quotes, however, come from the Vimalakīrti Sūtra, so much so that parts of the Long Scroll resemble a Ch'an commentary to it. The Vkn is a sutra that was very popular amongst both the Mādhyamikas and Yogācārin, and had an evident influence upon them. It is a pre-Nāgārjuna sutra, and is usually described as Mādhyamika in tenor.¹⁵⁰ In fact, in

146) Note that this image also appears in the Mahāyānavimśikā 大乘二十頌論 T.30,256b, which is probably post-Nāgārjuna. Cf. Ramanan, op.cit., p.34.

147) I.e., Mādhyamikakārikā.

148) Cf. Ui I, p.25.

149) E.g., 自心現量, XIII, XLIX. Cf. Ui I, p.52, Suzuki II, p.133 法佛?, XIX, XLVIII?

150) Etienne Lamotte, L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti, Louvain (1962), p.40. Cf. Hashimoto Hōkei, Yuimakyō no shisōteki-kenkyū, Kyoto (1966), p.43

Lamotte's opinion " the Vimalakīrti is purely Mādhyamika, and the Yogācārins cannot appeal to it as a foundation for their system."¹⁵¹ But even if it could not be a source of the doctrines peculiar to the Yogācārins, they certainly used it. Vasubandhu is credited with having written a commentary on the Vkn and many other sutras.¹⁵² Thus although it was used in India by Mādhyamikas such as Śāntideva¹⁵³, it was not a monopoly of theirs.

When the Vkn was translated by Kumārajīva¹⁵⁴ it gained in popularity; commentaries were written by Seng-chao, Kumārajīva and Tao-sheng.¹⁵⁵ These commentaries were the first to be made and thus were "recognised by the entire Buddhist church from the Northern Wei to the Northern Ch'i...as the authoritative commentary to that scripture."¹⁵⁶ Thus, it is quoted in the Long Scroll once in Seng-chao's version. However, unlike Yanagida, who thinks that Seng-chao was the 'remote cause' of the practical flavour that is peculiar to Ch'an¹⁵⁷, I feel that the flavour of the Long Scroll is closer to that of Tao-sheng's thought. Tao-sheng's commentary, which was incorporated into the Chu Wei-mo-chieh ching, was probably more important to the proto-Ch'an than Seng-chao's, especially when we take his other treatises into consideration.

152) The Biography of Vasubandhu 婆薢槃豆法師傳 translated by Paramārtha 解釋諸大乘經華嚴,涅槃,法華,般若,維摩,勝鬘等 (T.50,191c). This list includes most of the important Mahayana texts. Cf. Hashimoto, op.cit., p.16.

151) Lamotte, op.cit., p.60.

153) Hashimoto, op.cit., p.26; Matics, Bca, p.84.

154) This was not the first time it was translated. Cf. Hashimoto, op.cit., p.27.

155) All of these survive in part at least in the Chu Wei-mo-chieh ching 注維摩結經 Taisho no.1775 in T.38.

156) Treatise, p.31.

157) Bukkyō no shisō VII (Chūgoku Zen), p.89

Although both Seng-chao and Kumārajīva are considered to be the precursors of the Chinese San-lun Sect, I do not think that we can include Tao-sheng (who was Kumārajīva's pupil for a while) among them, for Tao-sheng was more of an independent thinker, linking the Mādhyamika-style doctrines with those of the Tathāgatagarbhin Nirvana Sutra. This is what prompted his pupil Tao-yu to say that the ideas of the Śrīmālā Sūtra coincided with his master's ideas.¹⁵⁸

By the time of Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o, academic interest in the Vkn seems to have been revived in the North and in the South. The Southern Ti-lun group and the Neo-She-lun founders nearly all preached, studied or wrote commentaries on the Vkn.¹⁵⁹ Hui-kuang wrote a Wei-mo ching shu 維摩經疏.¹⁶⁰ Hui-yuan wrote a Wei-mo i-chi 維摩義記¹⁶¹, and made the interesting observation that the sutra teaches the sudden (awakening) doctrine¹⁶², and that all methods are divided into the method of Principle and the method of Practice.¹⁶³

This reminds me of the Long Scroll's paragraph II. Hui-yuan says:

This sutra's doctrine of unbelievable release....although it subsumes 攝 many methods 法 (dharma), they fall essentially into two types 種. One is the teaching of Principle 理法, the second is the teaching of Practice 行法. Principle means the Truly So 真如. In accordance with the explanations of the different sections 門, it takes on different forms 別種種. Therefore the text below sometimes speaks of the Nature of Phenomena 法性 or limit of reality 實際 as the teaching of Principle, or three emptinesses 三空 or two truths 二諦 or the two non-ego's (of people and phenomena) and non-dual gate etc.

Practice means cause and effect. Cause means the cause of the Body of Phenomena (Dharmakāya) and the Pure Land. Effect means the effects of the

158) T.50,374c. See chapter 2.

159) See the genealogical tables at the end of chapter 2.

160) Hashimoto, op.cit., p.120.

161) Taisho no.1776

162) Hashimoto, op.cit., p.121: 此經頓教 (T.38,426b)

163) Hashimoto, op.cit., p.122. T.38,422c.

Body of Phenomena and the Pure Land.¹⁶⁴

Interestingly, in the above passage and elsewhere, we can see terms such as the 'three emptinesses' 三空 and 'Mind-king' 心王 (495a) that appear in the Long Scroll II and III, which shows that the Long Scroll may have shared an interpretation of the Vkn similar to that held by the Ti-lun Factions. Later, the founder of the Fa-hsiang Sect in China, Hsuan-tsang, retranslated the Vkn, and his pupil K'uei-chi wrote a commentary on it.¹⁶⁵

In the South, Chih-i wrote two commentaries on it, as did the San-lun Sect founder, Chi-tsang.¹⁶⁶ Yanagida claims that the Prajñā doctrine of the Mādhymikas influenced the proto-Ch'an, including the Long Scroll, because the following verse of the Vkn is present in both the Long Scroll and the San-lun Sect founder's maxims.

A sutra says, "Travelling on the wrong (non-Buddhist) Ways is the penetration of the Buddhist Way." (XXVII).

Chi-tsang (549-623) in his Ching-ming hsuan-lun 淨名玄論 says that Fa-lang 法朗 (507-581) always told his pupils;

If practitioners discard the wrong ways and seek the Correct Way, they are bound by the Way. If the followers of meditation avoid confusion and seek calm, they are already bound by meditation.¹⁶⁷

This line reminds me of the Long Scroll's LVI:

"What if I control my mind in meditation and it does not move?"

164) T.38,422c. Unfortunately I have not had time to read this commentary, which may provide many clues to the Long Scroll because it reflects the ideas of the Ti-lun of the day about the Vkn. E.g., it uses the Lanka ideas in the commentary, as well as Mādhymika ideas. Cf. T.38,496.

165) Hashimoto, op.cit., p.20; Kamata I, p.336.

166) I.e., the Ching-ming hsuan-lun 淨名玄論 and Wei-mo ching i-shu 維摩經義疏 (Kamata I, p.336).

167) Bukkyō no shisō VII (Chūgoku Zen), p.76.

"This is to be bound by samadhi."

However, as I have shown in chapter 3, it is more likely that this teaching was transmitted from Hui-k'o via Hui-pu and Pao-kung to Fa-lang, not vice-versa.

The emphasis on the psychological that appears in the Long Scroll also appears in the Vkn, and this is possibly one reason why it is quoted so often.

"Where should the liberation of the Buddhas be sought?" Vimalakirti answered, "It should be sought in the actions of the mind ^{心行}." ¹⁶⁸

Likewise it can say that a Bodhisattva's illness,

Is not brought about by the mind, for the mind is like an illusion. ¹⁶⁹

The meditations described in the Vkn have some similarities to the Long Scroll's ideas:

To be attached to the taste of dhyāna is the bondage of the Bodhisattva. ¹⁷⁰

The Long Scroll says that one must not be bound by anything, not even meditation (LVI). This is why the Vkn cautions;

If one rests in an undisciplined mind, this is the method of a stupid person. If one dwells in a disciplined ^{調伏} mind, this is the method of a śravaka. Therefore a Bodhisattva should not dwell in either... ¹⁷¹

Despite these similarities however, the Vkn, as we have already seen, also advances methods opposed by the Long Scroll:

The four dhyanas are his bed, which derive from a pure life. ¹⁷²

Therefore we must look elsewhere to find the truly distinctive elements in the Long Scroll. It was probably natural for the authors of the Long Scroll to have used such a widely read sutra, for it is open to various interpretat-

168) T.38,373.

169) T.38,374b.

170) T.38,378a.

171) T.38,379c.

172) T.38,394c.

ions, and thus is a sutra common to all Mahayana Buddhists.¹⁷³ Moreover it is unique in Buddhist literature for its dramatic scenes and dialogues¹⁷⁴, and it is brief and relatively clear, unlike the massive, repetitive Nirvana, Avatamsaka or Lanka sutras, nor as diverse and long as the Chih-tu lun. In fact, the Vkn remained popular with the Ch'an Sect throughout its history, especially chapters five to nine.¹⁷⁵ Hashimoto, for instance, finds 26 quotations from the Vkn in Hui-hai's Tun-wu yao-men 頓悟要門 and 25 quotations in Huang-po's Chuan-hsin fa-yao 傳心法要.¹⁷⁶

Another problem in the attribution of textual bases to the Long Scroll's thought can be perceived when we examine Yanagida's attempt to link the four mindfulnesses of the Chih-tu lun with the 'Four Practices' of the Long Scroll by saying that the latter is only a Mahayanization of the former.¹⁷⁷ Both the works championed as major sources of the Long Scroll, the Chih-tu lun and the Lanka, are encyclopaedic. The Chih-tu lun has 100 chapters, and may have been composed by Kumārajīva himself, or at least by someone influenced not just by the Mādhyamika.¹⁷⁸ There are passages that are similar in content to the Long Scroll¹⁷⁹, and some that are completely opposite in spirit to it.¹⁸⁰

173) Yanagida Seizan, 'Hokushū-Zen no shisō', p.70.

174) Hashimoto, op.cit., p.25.

175) Ibid., p.40.

176) Ibid., p.161 f.

177) Cf. Shikan, p.255 f., (T.25, 203b-204a). There are some similarities, but I do not think that they are related.

178) Hurvitz, 'Chih-i', p.67 f.; Ogawa, op.cit., p.216 on 法身 and 佛性. Cf. also Robinson, Early Madhyamika in India and China, p.36 referring to the dispute between Demiéville and Lamotte.

179) E.g., the above quoted "Whatever is in the three realms, all that is the construction of the mind", which is from the Pratyutpanna.

180) E.g., "The three doors to the dharma, Analysis, criticism and the cultivation of moral life" (Ramanan, op.cit., p.141), or "If one does not pursue one's

On the other hand, the Lanka is a complex and difficult "collection of notes unsystematically strung together."¹⁸¹ It is "actually a collection of various theories among Mahayana Buddhism, among which the garbha theory and the Vijñānavāda are prominent, and these two are combined under the theory of cittamatra taught in the Avatamsaka."¹⁸² Although in some ways the Lanka is most similar to the Avatamsaka¹⁸³, Yasui Kosai thinks that the Lanka was closely connected with the development of post-Nāgārjuna Mādhyamika.¹⁸⁴ Although it preaches the Yogācāra doctrine of the three forms of knowledge (三性說, or levels of truth), it also preaches the Mādhyamika two levels of truth 二諦.¹⁸⁵ Therefore a Long Scroll passage such as XV on the two truths cannot be said to be from either the Lanka or the Mādhyamika texts exclusively.

In fact there is considerable debate even as to how much the Yogācāra/Vijñānavādins (the latter a more Abhidharmic form), the Cittamātrins, and the Mādhyamikas differ from one another¹⁸⁶, not to mention their relationships with the Tathāgatagarbha theory. Yogācārins wrote commentaries on works cherished by the Mādhyamikas, and even wrote commentaries on Mādhyamika

inquiry in accordance with reason 理 one cannot understand anything" (p.162).

181) SL, p.17.

182) Takasaki, Ratnagotra, p.53. Cf. Katsumata, op.cit., pp.337, 601 and Yasui Kosai, Chūkanshisō no kenkyū, (1970), p.83. This is a reversal of Suzuki's opinion that the Vijñānavāda derived from the Lanka.

183) LS, p.xlix.

184) Yasui, op.cit., p.84.

185) SL, pp.157-65; Yasui, op.cit., p.84 f. Cf. Suzuki, Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism, p.94 f. for how they overlap.

186) E. Thomas, A History of Buddhist Thought, pp.227 and 230; SL, pp.280-286; Conze, Buddhist Thought in India, pp.215 and 250 f.

treatises.¹⁸⁷

Therefore, given that the Long Scroll warns against basing oneself on the scriptures (cf.XX), I am suspicious of attempts to use sutra quotations alone as proof of its philosophical allegiance. Moreover, as many monks of this period had studied and often committed sutras to memory, it is not surprising that diverse scriptures are quoted, sometimes incorrectly or under another title.

Moreover, there were so many ideas and teachings in the hot-house atmosphere of the Buddhism of this period that a chance coincidence of phrase is not enough to provide evidence of the ideological/doctrinal persuasion of a text.¹⁸⁸

As we cannot rely on the information given by the HKSC, nor on that obtained through sutra quotations, we must search the Long Scroll for indications of its general tenor, and compare that with those of Mādhyamika, Yogācāra and the Lanka. The Mādhyamika is usually characterised as epistemological or even logical¹⁸⁹, and the Yogācāra-Lanka as psychological.

The Long Scroll clearly emphasises the psychological. It even gives a psychological interpretation in its descriptions of the three jewels of Buddhism (X) and the pāramitās (XLVI). Therefore we must discover what 'mind' is in the Long Scroll and what its relation with phenomena is. This relation-

187) Cf. Hokugi, p.304; MBT I on the Vajracchedika commentaries and K.Inada, Mūlamadhyamakakārikā, p.29, diagram 2.

188) Cf. T'ien-t'ai hsiao chih-kuan 天台眞法入乃解途, 論其急要, 不出止觀二法 (Tendaishoshikan no kenkyū, p.321), and II, 夫入道解途要而言之, 不出二種, 一是理入, 二是行入. Cf. note 7, translation of HKSC Hui-k'o biog. Yanagida, Hokugi, p.165 finds Ratnamati's 無自無他, 月墜一如體同用融 like parts of II,

189) Cf. Inada, op.cit., p.18 for the need for caution on this characterization. Matics, Bca, p.114, 'takes no position' is the Mādhyamika tenet.

-ship is described variously as follows. On the subject of constructive imagination:

It is just as if there was a great rock in the front of the courtyard of your home, which you had the habit of snoozing on or sitting upon. You did not feel apprehensive about it. Suddenly you make up your mind to make it into a statue of the Buddha. The mind, interpreting it as being a Buddha, no longer dares to sit on it, fearing that to be a sin. It was originally a rock and it was through your mind that it was created (as a statue). What sort of thing then is the mind? Everthing is painted by your volitional¹⁹⁰ (manovijñana[~]意識) brush....In the stone there is no punishment or reward^{罪福}, it is all created by your own mind....How can there be anything that is not created by your imagination? (LXII).

This theme is taken up in greater detail in XVIII.

"What mind is the embodiment of the Way (Way itself)?"

"The mind that is like wood and stone. For example, (the mind) is like a man who paints a picture of tigers and dragons with his own hands, yet when he sees it he scares himself. A deluded man is like this. The brush of the mind-consciousness (心識[~] citta and the vijñānas[~]) paints the mountain of knives and the forest of swords (hell) and yet the mind-consciousness is still afraid of them. If one can negate the mind's fear, imagination will be swept aside. Although the volitional brush discriminates and paints material, sound, smell, taste and touch, there still arises greed anger and stupidity when one sees them. Whether one considers them to exist^見 or reject them, still the mind, manas and the vijñānas[~] (心意識) are discriminating, producing all sorts of karma. If one knows that the mind-consciousness (心識[~]) has been empty and calm from the beginning, and does not recognise^見 any basis^{處所} for it, this is the practice of the Way."

190) I have called it the 'volitional' brush because of its relation with the manas or will; it is what the manas works through, depends on for survival. Hamilton, Wei Shih Er Shih Lun, Americal Oriental Series XIII, p.59, note 111 calls it the "intellective consciousness...which discriminates immediate awareness of an object, making us aware of its objective reference."

To understand the mind in this fashion is described as being a rapid method of enlightenment. In these passages we can see that there are different states of mind being described, but the problem lies in discriminating between them. Firstly there is the Mind of the Way, empty and calm. It is described as indifferent, or like wood and stone. As the Lanka says,

(Nirvana is) where the idea of truth is not adhered to, but treated with indifference because of its causing a bewilderment.¹⁹¹

The problem in understanding these passages is with the role of the words 意 and 識. These three are synonymous in earlier Buddhist texts¹⁹², but in the Lanka and Yogācāra texts, citta 心, manas 意 and the vijñānas are differentiated.

Now there are some other teachers who take 心, 意 and 識 to be just different in name, but same in meaning. This is not so.¹⁹³

The Long Scroll is unsystematic in its references. For example, in LXXIX and LXXX, it mentions six vijñānas. The manovijñāna 意識 is probably what is referred to above. It is the sixth vijñāna. Elsewhere there is a mention of the manas (LXXIII, LXXIV, LXIX, LXXV), which may be considered the seventh vijñāna. The manovijñāna above is described as volitional and appears to work with the mind and the vijñānas. Elsewhere it is said to be knowing or recognizing (LXIX):

When the manovijñāna 意識 knows 知, it knows everything (LXXVII).¹⁹⁴

The manas is said to "condition the realms of the senses" (LXIX), and also "to experience all phenomena" (LXXIV). The system as a whole is the five

191) LS, p.160, lit. "Stupidity towards true reality, not responding by controlling sensations"? 愚於真實, 不應攝受 (T.16, 505a). Bodhiruci is somewhat different, T.16, 549b.

192) T.28, 810b, A-pi-t'an hsin lun (阿毘曇心論), 心者意, 意者識, 實同而異名: Katsumata, op.cit., p.195.

193) Ui Hakuju, Shōdaijōron, p.10.

194) Cf. LS, p.185, 'even what is seen in dreams'.

vijñānas of the five senses, with the sixth, the manovijñāna as the coordinating intermediary of thought/recognition between the senses and the manas, and Mind or Ālaya. The manas is the accompanying self-consciousness and has an ambiguous role.¹⁹⁵ According to the Lanka,

The function of the manovijñāna is to recognize, and that of the Manas is to reflect upon (that which has been passed on to it via the manovijñāna from the senses).¹⁹⁶

The Manas is in a sense the ego, which disturbs the indiscriminating, yet functioning Mind. The pure Mind is described as a dancer, and "a solitary dance is the same as no dance whatever", but when there is an onlooker, the dancing is done to impress. This onlooker is the manas, and it brings an audience and a stage (the vijñānas and visayas) with it. The conundrum is that the manas is created out of the pure Mind itself. the manas is depicted as the will or volition, but it is not certain what causes its arising out of the undisturbed Mind.¹⁹⁷ The explanation given is that the manas arises out of the Mind when adventitious contaminants 客塵 impinge upon the Mind, but what these are is not described. It may be karma. In the example above the Mind exists, as does the rock, but it is only when "one suddenly makes up one's mind" that the rock takes on a disturbing nature for the mind. In any case, the manas makes the Mind conscious of itself. The manas has two functions; "to reflect on the Citta and (2) to make the Citta visualise itself as object."¹⁹⁸ Concurrently with the arising of the manas, there is the arising of the manovijñāna, and thus the other five vijñānas. The manas thus needs both the Citta from which it is precipitated, plus the manovijñāna to to exist, or at least to perpetuate itself, for the Lanka says:

195) Bukkyō no shisō IV (Yuishiki), p.26.

196) T.16,484c; cf. LS,p.43 and T.16,523c-524a.

197) LS, pp. 249 ff.

198) SL, p.250.

The getting rid of the discriminating Manovijñāna, this is said to be Nirvana...

With the Manovijñāna as cause and supporter...there arise the seven vijñānas (including the manas and Ālaya?)....The Manovijñāna is kept functioning, as it discerns a world of objects and becomes attached to it, and by means of...memory it nourishes the Ālayavijñāna. The Manas is evolved along with the notion of an ego...to which it clings....It has no body of its own,...the Ālayavijñāna is its cause and support. Because the world which is the Mind itself is imagined real and attached to as such, the whole psychic system evolves mutually conditioning...with it (i.e., the Manovijñāna) for its cause and support, the Manas secures its use; the Vijñāna causes the Citta to function, and is supported (by it).¹⁹⁹

It is important to note that in the Gunabhadra translation that the manovijñāna is called the imagining consciousness 妄想識. This is why LXII concludes that everything is created by the imagination. With the removal of the imagination or manovijñāna, the manas too has to cease functioning, for its support for continuation, the imagined world, is removed. Therefore the Lanka says:

When the manovijñāna is turned over, the citta frees itself from turbidity; by understanding (the nature) of all things (as they are?), the mind becomes the Buddha.²⁰⁰

The imagination, or manovijñānas, is self-perpetuating.

The unreal imagination is said to be appearance continuing on (from) appearance.²⁰¹

However, the imaginations are not the initiators of the world itself, nor of the troubled mind, as Suzuki would have us think. He says that the realms of sense data²⁰² are the waves that agitate the tranquil mind, and only then

199) LS, p.109. Cf. T.16, 469a. Note that Guenther, op.cit., p.29 f. thinks that the manovijñāna is a redundant and confusing concept.

200) LS, p.245.

201) 不真實妄想, 是說相續相 (T.16, 501c). Or "aspect of continuance"

202) 境界 = viṣaya, "outer realm of perception...a generic term for the total external realm involved in the perceptual process" (Inada, op.cit., p.32).

does it "evolve into eight vijñānas; Ālaya, Manas, Manovijñāna, and the five senses; and simultaneously with this evolution the whole universe comes into existence." Rather, as the Lanka suggests, "mind is set in motion by being seen."²⁰³ This is the reason XLVII states:

If one makes such an interpretation, it is imagination, an inversion (of truth), and one has not yet realized that one's own mind is projecting the realms of the senses. This is called the wave (disturbed) mind.

However, the Mind has to be disturbed before it will project itself.

Therefore:

It is for the sake of the ignorant that mind is described as evolving due to appearances. There is no evolving in mind, mind in itself is free from what is perceived.²⁰⁴

Perhaps it is memory that is the ultimate cause of the rise of the manas, and with it imagination.

(The ego, manas?) is not existent from the very beginning, but perversely one remembers and discriminates, thinking because of this that ego exists. (XLI).

This explanation of the rise of the manas is reminiscent of the argument about the chicken and the egg. The Mind sees phenomena as they are, but,

If one sees appearances and remembers and discriminates, then one will experience...Hell (or phenomena as they are not). XLII

In any case, 'mind' has two meanings²⁰⁵; the pure Mind of "Citta is the Buddha"²⁰⁶, and the one that is disturbed and imagining. Therefore,

The Aware (Buddha) is the mind, but not the unaware mind. The mind's relationship to Awareness is like that of eye and eyeball^{眼, 目}, different names (for the same thing). LXXXV.

203) SL,p.174 f.

204) Ibid.,p.172.

205) Ibid.,p.179. Cf. Conze, Buddhist Meditation,p.17. This is the assumption behind the practice of meditation.

206) SL,p.253.

When the world is described as empty because it is imagination, it does not mean that there is nothing in existence whatsoever, a void, as the following seems to imply.

If one knows that all phenomena are ultimately empty, the knower and the known are also empty. The intelligence of the knower is also empty.

Therefore it is said, "Phenomena and intellect are both empty". (LXVIII).

As in the analogy of the rock and the statue, both the person and the rock exist; it was only the imagined statue and the divided mind that were empty of reality. This is what is meant by the following passage in the Lanka:

Thus all is unborn, but that does not mean that there are no objects; they are seen to be like the city of the Gandharvas, a dream....objects are here, but causeless.²⁰⁷

Emptiness (means its)...self-nature is false imagination. Because of one's attachment to false imagination...we have to talk of emptiness...²⁰⁸

One simply must see things as they are, without significance.

If one understands all phenomena as they are, this is as it comes (Tathāgata). A sutra says, "Creatures are as they are...and phenomena are also

207) LS, p.172. Cf. T.16, 507b-c 一切法不生, 無性無所有, 乾闥婆幻夢有性者無因

208) T.16, 488c. Cf. LS, p.65. Cf. Hamilton, Wei Shih Er Shih Lun who explains the verse, "It is not because the inexpressible nature of the element which is the domain Buddha is also wholly non-existent that we indicate the 'insubstantiality of elements'" etc. (p.40 f.) as follows: "The objection (of absolute non-existence) assumes too absolute an interpretation....It does not mean that every class of elements is denied. There still remains the final nature of things which is the true representation immediately apprehended in the perfect intuition of...Buddhas....What the 'realization of the insubstantiality of elements' 法無我 actually denies is any and every form of element falsely conceived by the common, unenlightened consciousness...(which are) seemingly outer objects as well as inner sensory capacities (that) are nothing but representations in consciousness itself" (p.10).

as they are". (LXXIII)²⁰⁹

According to the Lanka, the material world, like the mind, has two levels of meaning.

The mind is evolved dependent upon a variety of conditions, just as a painting depends upon the wall (on which it is painted); if otherwise, why is not the painting produced in the air?²¹⁰

The painting that is produced, of course, is the imaginations created by this mind. From every individual's standpoint, the evolution of the deluded mind begins at birth, and that is probably initiated by his inherited karma.

When the baby is just born, it is like a worm growing in dung; like a man waking from sleep, the eye begins to distinguish forms, and discrimination goes on increasing.²¹¹

Furthermore, the vijñānas[~] arise from this interaction with the given world.

They (the non-Buddhist philosophers) maintain that there is a first cause from which continuation takes place, and do not maintain that the eye-vijñāna[~] arises from the interaction of form and light.²¹²

Thus karma has no beginning. The eye here seems to have been taken as an important illustration of the way our empirical mind arises.

The reasons whereby the eye-consciousness arises are four...1)The clinging to an external world, not knowing that it is of mind itself;2)The attaching to form and habit-energy accumulated since beginningless time by false reasoning and erroneous views;3) The self-nature inherent in the vijñāna[~]; 4) The eagerness for multiple forms and appearances. By these four reasons

209) Cf. Conze, Buddhist Meditation, p.22, "Wisdom 'penetrates into dharmas as they are in themselves and destroys the darkness of delusion, which covers up the own-being of dharmas'".

210) LS, p.234. Cf. Conze, op.cit., p.35, "Fundamental to all the meditations which are guided by wisdom is the antithesis between conditioned and unconditioned dharmas."

211) LS, p.239. This is the point of the later Ch'an question, "What is your original mind before you were born?"

212) LS, p.35; T.16, 483b 外道說流生因非眼識色集會而生.

...the waves of the evolving vijñānas are stirred on the Ālayavijñāna which resembles the water of a flood. The same (can be said of the other sense consciousnesses) as of the eye-consciousness.²¹³

The Long Scroll thus says that seeing should be done in a non-discriminatory manner:

The eye that sees all the colours does not obtain any colours. (LXIX)
When the eye sees material, there is nothing it does not see....No phenomena constitute an object to the eyes and ears...because phenomena do not see phenomena....A sutra says, "(When) the vijñānas are not produced from material, they are said not to see material." (LXXVII).

This is probably the condition called the no-mind (Mind) or mindless.

Phenomena are basically (originally) non-existent...because basically there is no mind 本無心 and because (that is) the mind as it is 如心, it is basically non-existent. (LXXII).

Because of this interaction Bodhidharma (?) analyses the three realms in terms of the relations between mind and material:

(When) the mind needs something, it is called the realm of desire. (When) the mind is not mind of itself, (but) is a mind produced from material, it is called the realm of material. (When) material is not material of itself, (but) is material because it is from mind, the mind and material are immaterial, it is called the realm of the immaterial. (VII).

In other words, both mind and existence are created simultaneously. They create each other.²¹⁴ So likewise, "whenever one loses the self, all is basically naught" (XXV). This imagined existence is our ordinary perception of the world. The 'real world' is not perceived as it is. The stone in the

213) LS, p.40; cf. T.16,484a and T.16,523a, and Conze, Buddhist Meditation, p. 150 f.

214) Ueda Yoshifumi, 'The Status of the Individual in Mahayana Buddhist Philosophy' in The Japanese Mind, p.171. Cf. Inada, op.cit., p.32, "The so-called 'consciousness only (vijñaptimātra 唯識)' is inviolably bound with the outer realms (viśaya) and yet, in the strict sense, it is not the result of any so-called 'external objects', nor is it responsible for the existence of the 'objects' themselves."

garden may be real in a relative (though ultimate) sense, for it is dependent and depended upon. What we see though is the imaginative vision, an all embracing eidetic image. The famous story of Fa-yen (885-958) shows that in later Ch'an, the (imagined) world is only a vision.

Hearing some monks arguing about subjectivity versus objectivity, he asked them, "Is that boulder in your mind or not?"

"From the Buddhist viewpoint all is the manifestation of the mind, so it must be in my mind."

"Your head must feel the load with a boulder like that inside it."

To counteract these tendencies to misinterpretation, all types of existence are described as empty (*śūnya*).

If one knows that all phenomena are ultimately empty, the knower and the known are also empty. The intelligence of the knower is also empty, and the phenomena of the known are empty. (LXVIII).

One of the ways to put this theory into practice is to consider while giving or receiving, that the giver is empty, as is the gift and the receiver. This is the three emptinesses 三空 (tri-mandala) of the 'Four Practices' (II). In other words, with the denial of the ego (the *manovijñāna* in particular), the illusory world is eliminated also. To my mind the best summation of this psychological aspect of the Long Scroll is found in the Lanka:

The Garbha of the Tathāgatas is indeed united with the seven *vijñānas*; when this is adhered to, there arises duality, but when rightly understood, duality ceases. The mind, which is the product of intellection since beginningless time, is seen like a mere mirage; when things are viewed as they are in themselves, there is neither objectivity nor its appearance.

As the ignorant grasp the finger tip and not the moon, so those who cling to the letter, know not my truth.

The Citta dances like a dancer, the Manas resembles a jester; the (Mano) *vijñāna* together with the five (*vijñānas*) creates an objective world which is like a stage. ²¹⁵

215) LS, p.193. As the Chinese is slightly at variance, I shall give Gunabhadra's translation, T.16, 510c 甚深如來藏而與七識俱，二種攝受生，智者則遠離。如鏡像現心，無始習所薰，如實觀察者，諸事悉無事。如愚見指月，觀指不觀月，計著名字者，不見我真實。心為工使兒，意如和使者，五識為伴侶，

It is evident from the above that the Long Scroll is a text of the 'Mind School' 心宗. It seems to have been compiled by people who were nurtured in an environment that was greatly influenced by Yogācāra-type ideas. It seems closest of all to the Cittamātra in thought and style. The Long Scroll shares with the Lanka more than just occasional terminology. It shares basic concepts, though the Long Scroll has pared away quite a lot of the non-essential scraps of philosophy and numerical categories such as lists of Bodhisattva vows and the large numbers of synonyms that the one concept was given in Indian sutras. There is a definite dislike of the complex terminologies of the Vijñānavādins.

The Long Scroll of course, has many Mādhyamika elements in it. However, I suggest that this is like the Lanka, in which a psychological system with Yogācārin elements is founded upon a base of older Prajñāpāramitā concepts of of emptiness etc.²¹⁶ Certain Prajñāpāramitā ideas are central to all Mahayana. It is only the added emphases which give each stream of thought its flavour, and here in the Long Scroll it appears to me to be the Cittamātrin psychology.

One of the reasons that the Long Scroll's thought is difficult to grasp is that it shares with the Lanka the same jumbled, scrapbook appearance, and accompanying changes in themes, because it aims at the preservation of some especially illuminating phrases, particularly those that are pithy or vivid. Unfortunately for us, this means that the people for whom it was probably intended were assumed to have had some grounding in experiences and ideas that are no longer easily accessible to us. We are not 'qualified Buddhists'. (III). We do not have a clear idea of exactly what many of their terms meant.

妄想觀伎象。

216) Thus T'ang Yung-t'ung (op.cit., p.784) can suggest that Bodhidharma's teaching is an amalgam like that of Tao-sheng's between Prajñā doctrines and the Nirvana's Buddha-nature thought.

These are not systematic textbooks of philosophy with clearly defined terms, but records of episodes in a religious quest. However, it would be natural for anyone trying to teach an already abstruse teaching to try and remove the unnecessary verbal baggage.

Despite the very abstruse nature of the philosophy-cum-psychology of the Long Scroll, this does not mean that the proto-Ch'an teachings did not have a practical side. We are told for example that "Hui-k'o clarified (his teachings) through facts (or immediate examples) " (HKSC). Moreover, Tao-hsuan says of Hua, Yen and meditation teacher Ho that " they relied on events to convey their convictions." Certainly, as Tao-hsuan often tells us, the proto-Ch'an followers were wary of words. This is consistent with the Long Scroll.

Those who rely on literature to understand are weak. Those who get an understanding through the medium of events 事 (objects?) are strong. Those who seek the Dharma through the medium of events do not lose mindfulness anywhere. When those who understand through the medium of literature meet with an event their vision is beclouded. To discuss events through the sūtras and śāstras is to be alienated from the Dharma (Phenomena as they are). Discussing events verbally and hearing about events aurally is not as good as personally regulating (experiencing?) events bodily and mentally(Therefore the practice is described as) having no mind towards compatible and incompatible (sense data,i.e., one endures them patiently). (XX).

In fact the sutra literature can be counterproductive:

All the sūtras and śāstras are phenomena that give rise to mind. If one gives rise to the mind of (or for) the Way, then sophistry produces intellect and other events. If the mind does not rise, what use is there in sitting in meditation... for events and Principle both disappear. (XC).

Therefore, as Suzuki implies, the LCSTC may not be far from the truth when it says that Bodhidharma pointed at objects and asked about them.

The great teacher also pointed at objects 事 and asked of their meaning 義. He would just point at a thing and ask, "What is it?" He asked of all sorts of things, and would substitute the names of things, (while) changing his

question about it. He would also (又 sometimes) say, "Does this body exist or not? What body is it?", or he would say, "Ultimately the clouds and mists in the heavens cannot taint the sky, but they can conceal it, so it is not clear."²¹⁷

Further examples of this are (falsely?) attributed to Gunabhadra.

Is there water in the jar or jar in the water?²¹⁸

This technique of questioning could well be the basis of the koan and other like methods of classical Ch'an. It may have its origin in the Lanka, whose second chapter (or first in Gunabhadra's translation) contains 108 questions of the most varied sorts.

"What is meant by emptiness?....Whence does sexual desire originate?.... Where are the clouds in the sky?...How are horses...caught?" (The Buddha replied), "You should ask me thus O son! Why do you ask me otherwise?"²¹⁹

Perhaps objects are useful for the liberation of beings as recorded in the Vimalakīrti, where not only fragrant rice香飯 in one Buddha-land (which in some interpretations is the mind of the student), but also "dreams, illusions, reflections, echoes, images in mirrors, the moon in the water, mirages etc. do the Buddha's work."²²⁰ The Long Scroll thus states:

By contemplating phenomena one is released....If one sees that the nature of the realms of phenomena is the nature of Nirvana, one will be without memory and discrimination, which is the substance (essence) of the realm of phenomena. (XLIII)

My conclusion about the characterization of proto-Ch'an teachings is that, when this technique is taken into consideration along with the psychology and philosophy that the Long Scroll professes, the 'idealistic realism' Suzuki uses to characterize the Lanka is equally applicable, rather than the 'positivism' 實証主義 (or phenomenism) that Suzuki ascribes to the

217) Suzuki II, p.79 f. and Goroku II, p.140.

218) Goroku II, p.122.

219) LS, pp.23-29.

220) C.Luk, The Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra, p.111; T.38, 404b.

Long Scroll.²²¹

Postscript: Transmitters of the Long Scroll.

When we compare the lineage and thought of the transmitters of the Long Scroll and relate them to those who opposed it, we discover that its supporters seem to have favoured Yogācāra ideas, and some of its opponents, the Mādhyamika.

The earliest Ch'an history to quote the Long Scroll was the Leng-chia shih-tzu chi, compiled by Ching-chueh about 720. It quotes paragraphs I and II as part of Bodhidharma's biography. Ching-chueh 淨覺 (683-750?) had studied under both Shen-hsiu and Hsuan-tse 玄蹟 (nd.). Hsuan-tse wrote a Leng-chia Jen-fa chih 楞伽人法志 which is no longer extant. It is thought to have been a major source for the LCSTC. Hsuan-tse may have been the monk of that name who was a proof reader of Hsuan-tsang's translation of the Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra 瑜伽師地論 and an acquaintance of Tao-hsuan's.²²² Ching-chueh wrote a commentary on the Prajñāpāramitā in which he used both the Chung-lun and Ch'eng wei-shih lun 成唯識論, as well as the Nirvana, Avatamsaka and Lanka sutras.²²³

The Chuan-fa-pao chi 傳法寶紀 (ca.712) champions the cause of Fa-ju 法如 (d.689), a fellow pupil with Hsuan-tse under Hung-jen. Yet it dismisses the 'wall-contemplation' and 'four practices' (which was probably only known to the author from the HKSC) as biased or opportunist (掌餘傳有言壁觀及四行者, 蓋是當時權化, 一隅之說). Because it puts so much effort into creating tales about Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o that oppose those of the HKSC, it seems that its opposition was due, in part at least, to a desire to destroy the credibility of works that contained evidence that could be used

221) Suzuki II, p.79.

222) ZSS, p.59.

223) Ibid., pp.616 ff.

against its genealogical claims for Fa-ju.²²⁴

The strongest attacks upon the story of the transmission of the Lanka by Bodhidharma were made by Shen-hui. He substituted the Vajracchedikā for it. He claimed that, "the great teacher Bodhidharma relied on the Chin-kang p'an-jo ching...and he transmitted it to Hui-k'o," who in turn transmitted it to Seng-ts'an.²²⁵ Although this sutra is usually considered to be a Mādhyamika favourite, it was used by the Yogācārins also. However, by displacing the Lanka, Shen-hui shows that he disapproved of it. Shen-hui seems to have ignored the Long Scroll in his polemic against the Northern School, even though we know that it was valued by some of Shen-hsiu's pupils.²²⁶ Shen-hui's group is often characterised as being heavily influenced by the Mādhyamika.

The Long Scroll seems to have survived mostly through the efforts of people who came from the two Szechwan schools of Ch'an, the Pao-t'ang and Ching-chung 淨衆. This Szechwan Ch'an has played a very important role in the history of Ch'an, but because most of its works were lost, very little information concerning Szechwan Ch'an was available until the discovery at Tun-huang of their history, the Li-tai fa-pao chi 歷代法寶記 (written between 774 and 781) which calls Bodhidharma, 'Bodhidharmatala'. This group were in conflict with Shen-hui over the correct transmission of the mythical robe.²²⁷ It now seems fairly certain that it was the Szechwan schools that introduced Ch'an into Tibet. The biographical details of the earliest Chinese Buddhists in Tibet show signs of their having come from this tradition. In Tibet the Chinese Ch'an of the Long Scroll was pitted against an Indian (Prasangika) Mādhyamika opposition.²²⁸

224) ZSS, pp. 54 and 564.

225) Suzuki II, p. 33.

226) Ibid.

227) Yampolsky, op. cit., p. 44 f.

228) MBT II, pp. 39, 101 and 170.

In China itself the role of the Szechwan schools was often obscured by their own members. Ma-tsu, one of the most influential of all Ch'an monks, denied his own connection with the Szechwan Ch'an (which, in my opinion, influenced him greatly), and connected himself with an obscure pupil of the Sixth Patriarch, whom he may never have known. Ma-tsu's pupil Po-chang 百丈 (720-814) quotes the Long Scroll several times (XVII, XVIII). Po-chang's pupil Huang-po 黃檗 (d.850) discusses Bodhidharma's 'wall-contemplation' and quotes a line from the Long Scroll.²²⁹

Tsung-mi was also originally a member of one of the Szechwan schools, but he too claimed no connection. As we have seen above, he may have known of the Long Scroll, for he wrote that "Dhyana is Principle and practice".²³⁰ He was a Hua-yen master.

The clearest evidence of the continuing use of this work is from Yen-shou's 延壽 (904-975) Tsung-ching lu²³¹, which quotes several sections of the Long Scroll at length, including the simile of the stone in the courtyard. Yen-shou was a prolific writer, but his characteristic theories have been summarised as, "the three realms are only mind, all things are consciousness only, mind only is the Pure Land." His copy of the Long Scroll must have been one that had passed through the Szechwan schools for he uses the name Bodhidharmatala.

Yet opposition to the Long Scroll persisted. A great systematizer of the history and teachings of Ch'an, a man who tried to harmonize Ch'an and Confucianism, Fo-jih Ch'i-sung 佛日契嵩 (1008-1072) wrote in his Chuan-fa cheng-tsung chi 傳法正宗記 a passage that seems to be even hostile in its attack on wall-contemplation and the T'an-lin Preface. When asked about the

229) Goroku VIII, p.97; T.48,386b.

230) T.48,399a.

231) 宗鏡錄 chapter 97, T.48,939 ff.

correctness of calling 'wall-contemplation and the four practices' Bodhidharma's teaching, he replies that all the works containing these ideas are based on T'an-lin's Preface, and that since T'an-lin was not a meditator, how could the Preface be thought to be Bodhidharma's teachings.²³²

Conclusion

I feel that the Long Scroll played a very important role in Ch'an. Not only is it the first of our sources for early Ch'an but it also seems to have played a part in the spread of Ch'an to areas outside of China. It set the tone for the Ch'an of the future by being eclectic and by opposing the sort of textual analysis that was popular when it was written. I think that its mode of expression was the beginning of that movement in Ch'an that led to the use of concrete examples in teaching very abstract ideas.²³³ It shows a preference for that psychological emphasis (Yogācāra or Cittamātra) that usually produced complex and involved theories, but it avoided that pitfall. It does, however, suffer the fault of being only suggestive of its meaning, for it is not a reasoned, structured textbook, but rather a collection of dialogues between seekers of a religious goal. As such, it is not a coherent literary work that moves step by step along a reasoned path of development. In this, and in other respects also, the Long Scroll truly deserves to be called the first of the Yü-lu 語錄, the collected sayings of the monks of the School of Mind.

232) T.51,743c-744a.

233) Cf. Houston, bSamyas. This form of debate or teaching by symbol may not necessarily be native to China, for Kamalāsīla uses it in an exchange with the Chinese representative who came to the bSamyas debate (p.42 f.). In the Fan-seng Chih-k'ung Ch'an-shih chuan-k'ao 梵僧指空禪師傳考 it is claimed that Indian teachers used various methods of teaching such as burning down grass huts and then yelling for help etc. (T.51,983b). Note the caution advised by Waley about this being possibly invented in order to prove that Ch'an practices had a legitimate Indian background; Arthur Waley, 'New Light on Buddhism in Medieval India' in Melanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, (1931-1932), *passim*.

PREFACE

The Dharma teacher was a South Indian of the Western Regions. He was the third son of a great Brahmin king.¹ He was of divine intelligence, sagacious. He awoke to an understanding of all that he heard.² He resolved to uphold the Mahayana Way, so he discarded³ his secular clothes^{素衣} and adopted those of a monk^{袈裟}. He succeeded to the seed of sainthood.³ He subdued his mind in quietude and took thorough lessons⁴ from the affairs of the world. Both the inner (Buddhist) and outer (non-Buddhist teachings) were clear to him. His virtue transcended the models of the age.⁵

Deplo⁶ring^{悲悔} that the correct teaching had fallen into decadence⁶, he was thereby able to traverse a great distance over mountains and oceans, and travel and proselytize in the Han and Wei (region). There was not one of the open-minded⁷ gentlemen⁸ who did not have faith in him, but that faction^流 that grasps at appearance (i.e., is taken in by appearances) and upholds views^{存見} (has opinions) slandered him. At the time there were only two śramanas, Tao-yü and Hui-k'o, who despite being younger in years⁹, were keen and of upright resolve. Fortunately they met the Dharma teacher and served him for several years. They reverently requested him to inform them, and they were very good at absorbing their teacher's ideas. The Dharma teacher felt their mettle and so he instructed them in the True Way, (which is as follows).

Thus Calming the Mind, thus Putting it into Practice¹⁰, thus Agreeing with the Things (the masses)¹¹, and thus Expedient.¹² This is the Mahayana method of calming the mind which keeps one from error. Thus calming the mind is wall-contemplation, thus putting (it) into practice is the Four Practices, thus agreeing with the masses (or things) is safeguarding (oneself) against vilification and hatred.¹³ Thus expedient is to banish it (so as to) not be attached (to it).

This short preface is based on the meaning of the following text^{後文}.

1) 大波羅門國王 or "the king of a great Brāhmaṇa country."

2) 悟, in the HKSC 悟.

3) 聖種, of the Buddha clan (gotra), i.e., to enter on the Path and practise the Jewel of the Sangha.

4) 通鑑 to see through. Y, p.28 says that to understand the world 世間解 is one of the attributes of the Buddha.

5) 世表 Morohashi 31.333: The Pei-shih 北史 biography of Lu Ch'ang-heng says, "His virtue was a model of the age, his actions were those of a gentleman"

德為世表, 行為士.

6) Or gone into decline. Cf. chapter 1 on the state of the Order.

7) 亡心 lit. mindless, as in 無心.

8) 士, scholars or 道士, monks.

9) Y.p.29 quotes the Lun-yü 論語, "I fear those who are born later 後生 (i.e. are younger), for we do not know whether those to come will be as (able as) those of the present."

10) 發行 Y.p.29, "to start to practice." He quotes the following verse from the Vkn; "The putting (of the straightforward mind?) into practice is the site of the Way, for one can manage events."; cf. Seng-chao's commentary: "Once the mind is truly straightforward, one can step out and act 發迹造行. Once one has stepped out and acted, events and deeds are managed, and the practices are all present" (T.38,364a)

11) 順物 Y.n.p.29, "to respect the customs of the world, and accord with people's feelings.... If 物 is literally 'things', it calls to mind the 'mindlessly according with things' 無心順物 propounded by the Hsuan-hsueh philosophers of the Wei-Chin period." From Tao-hsuan's use of 物 in his biography of Hui-k'o, I think that the former meaning is intended.

12) Cf. HKSC, Bodhidharma biography, note 10.

13) Y.n.p.30 f. notes that in the Nirvana Sutra there is a list of precepts to halt the vilification and hatred of the world 息世言議兼戒. These include not selling short measures, sleeping with the lights on, keeping slaves and servants, or wild animals (T.12,432c).

II (Erh-ju Ssu-hsing or Ta-mo lun)

The entrances to the Way are many, but essentially speaking there is no more than two sorts. The first is the Entrance via Principle¹, and the second is the Entrance via Practice.

Entrance via Principle means to rely on the teaching to awake to the doctrine.² Believe deeply that life, both ordinary people and saints, share an identical true nature³, but due to adventitious contamination⁴ it is covered in falsity and cannot shine forth. If one rejects the false and returns to the true⁵, stabilizing oneself in wall-contemplation, self and other, ordinary person and saint, will be equal, one.⁶ (If one) stands firm and does not shift, and moreover is not⁷ influenced by literary teachings, this is to be merged with Principle, to lack discrimination, to be quiet and inactive⁸, (which) is called Entering via Principle.

Entry via practice is the so-called 'Four Practices'. All other practices are included in these practices. What are the four? The first is the practice of the requital of resentment.⁹ The second is the practice of being influenced by conditions. The third is the practice of seeking nothing. The fourth is the practice of being in accord with the Dharma 法 (or phenomena).

What is the practice of the requital of resentment? Whenever a practitioner of the Way undergoes hardship, he should be mindful of and say (to himself)¹⁰, "I, from the bygone past through countless eras, have discarded the basis (source) and followed after the ends¹¹, and drifted through existences, often giving rise to resentment and hate, causing unlimited harm.¹² Now, although I am without transgression, it is my past offences and evil karma ripening. It is not something that heaven (gods) or man can grant to me."¹³ Willingly endure it without any resentment against it. A sutra says, "If you encounter hardship do not be despondent."¹⁴ Why? Because one can discern its origin 本. When this mind (attitude) arises,, it is united 相應 (yoked) with Principle. The embodiment of resentment advances one on the Way.¹⁵ This is the reason I preach of the practice of the requital of resentment.

The second, the practice of being influenced by conditions (is that) creatures lack an ego, and are all reincarnated by (their) conditions and karma.¹⁶ Receive hardships and pleasures equally, (for) they have all arisen from conditions. If one obtains excellent rewards ^報 such as honour and the like, it is the response ^感 of causes initiated in the past by myself¹⁷, and it is only now that one attains (this result). When the conditions are exhausted they revert to non-existence, so why rejoice in their existence? Attainment and loss come from conditions, and (so?) the mind is neither inflated nor deflated.¹⁸ (When) the winds of joy do not move (it), one is in subdued agreement with the Way. This is the reason I preach of the practice of being influenced by conditions.

The third is the practice of seeking nothing.¹⁹ The men of the world have long been bewildered ^迷 (bewilderment), and (so) covet and are attached to everything. This is called seeking. The wise awake to the Truth (that) Principle is opposed to the empirical.²⁰ (They) calm their minds and are inactive²¹, and (leave the) form ^形 (body) to be swayed by the vicissitudes of fortune. All existence ^{萬有} (the universe) is empty, (so) there is nothing to desire or enjoy. 'Merit' and 'Dark'²² always accompany each other. (Even though one has) lived in the three realms for ages, it is still like a burning house.²³ The possession of a body is entirely hardship²⁴, so who can be calm? By clearly realizing this situation (lit. place ^{此處}), one thereby puts an end to thoughts²⁵ (about it) and are without seeking towards any existence. A sutra says, "All seeking is hardship, so non-seeking is bliss"²⁶, (so we can) judge that non-seeking is truly a practice of the Way.

The fourth is the practice of being in accord with the Dharma (or phenomena)²⁷ which is the Principle of (one's) nature being pure, and seeing it as being the Dharma. This Principle is that appearances ^{象相} of creatures?) are empty, untainted and unattached, without a here ^此 or a there ^彼. A sutra says, "Phenomena (Dharma?) are without creatures and so are divorced ^離 from the defilements of creatures. Phenomena do not have egos, and so are divorced

from the defilements of ego."²⁸ If the wise can believe and understand²⁹ this Principle, they are certain to practice (act) in accordance with the Dharma. The embodiment of the Dharma³⁰ does not begrudge 無慳於 his life 身 or wealth. He practices donation³¹ and gives alms 捨施, and his mind is not stingy.³² If one comprehends 達解 the three emptinesses³³, one will be neither dependent 倚 nor attached, but due to (having) disposed of defilements (one can) aid 攝化 (control and convert?) creatures and yet not grasp at appearances.³⁴ This is for one's own benefit, and it can also benefit others, and moreover, it can also adorn 莊嚴 the Way of Bodhi.³⁵ When charity is so, the other five are likewise. In order to eliminate imagination, practice the six liberators,³⁶ but there is nothing to practice. This is the practice of being in accord with the Dharma.

1) 理入 Y.n.p.37 points to Tao-sheng's comment on a verse of the Vkn, "Through the lack of discrimination emptiness is therefore empty." Sheng commented, "When we speak of the wisdom 'emptiness' 空慧, it does not mean that discrimination creates the wisdom of emptiness. (It means to) leave it up to the Principle to attain Awakening."; Note that Kumārajīva comments, "The above emptiness is the emptiness of wisdom. The latter wisdom is the emptiness of phenomena." The emptiness of wisdom according to Kumārajīva means that there is no discrimination, so there is no ego, and phenomena are empty of themselves and do not depend on the emptiness of the self. Tao-sheng continues, "If one leaves it up to Principle for Awakening and one attains this, afterwards (one?) is empty, so how can Principle not be likewise?" 以無分別空故空 --- 生日, 向言空慧者, 非謂分別作空之慧也, 任理得悟者耳. 若以任理為悟而得此, 然後空者, 理可不然乎哉 (T.38, 373a). Cf. note 28 below for the "emptiness of phenomena and of creatures."

2) Y.n.p.38 . This is quoted as Fo-ta's words in Tsung-ching lu, T.48, 942a

伏陀禪師云: 籍教明宗... to 名為理入 .

3) Y.n.p.39, 'This is quoted at the start of Huang-po's Wan-ling lu 宛陵錄': "The Great Way is basically equable, so believe deeply that life shares an identical true nature" (Suzuki II, p.63; Goroku VIII, p.97).

4) 客塵 = klesās. Yanagida quotes the comments of Kumārajīva and Seng-chao on a verse of the Vkn. "'A Bodhisattva excludes adventitious contaminants and

and (or as?) frustrations." Kumārajīva commented, "The mind is basically pure and does not have any contaminating pollutants. The contaminating pollutants arise from the contact with events (objects), and so they become adventitious to the mind."...Chao commented, "The mind comes across outer conditions, so frustrations perversely arise. Thus they are called adventitious contaminants.""; As Tao-sheng comments, even the view of love a Bodhisattva has for creatures, "is a deluded concept which arises to become an adventitious contaminant" (T.38,378b). Cf. Seng-chao's comment that the illness of a Bodhisattva is his pity for others (T.38,372a). The Gunabhadra Lanka says, "Although one's own nature is pure, it is covered by adventitious contaminants, so one only sees it as impure" 雖自性清淨，客塵所覆，故猶見不淨 (T.16,510c). Cf. SL,p.186, "Since this dust is not native to the Ālaya, it is called āgantū, the guest."

5) The remainder of II exists in Tibetan translation, for which see the last note of this paragraph. Y.n.p.39 quotes Tao-sheng's Nieh-p'an ching chi-chieh 涅槃經集解, which I give here at greater length and with reference to Liebenthal, '...Chu Tao-sheng'p.245: "The True Principle is self-so (nature), (with which) the Awakened are also merged. The True Principle has no distinctions, so how can Awakening allow of change? The unchanging substance (basis) is clear (unruffled) and constantly reflecting. But through infatuation one disturbs it, and events are no longer in one's control. If one can transcend seeking, then turn one's back on infatuations and return to the ultimate." 夫真理自然，悟亦冥符，真理無差，悟豈容易，不易之體為湛然常照，但從迷起之，事未在我耳，尚能誦求，便反迷歸極。

6) Y.n.p.39, The Vkn says, "The Thus (so) is non-dual, not differentiated." Chao commented, "Ordinary people and sages are one, thus (as they are). How can you have the divergences of gain and loss?"; (T.38,362a).

7) Yanagida takes 更不 to be an emphatic negative; 'definitely not.' As he says, this is a theme that dates from even before the time of Tao-sheng. He quotes the Kao-seng chuan biography of Tao-sheng: "Symbols 象 are for the comprehension 盡 of a meaning. Once you get the meaning forget the symbol. Words are for the explanation of the Principle 理. Once you have entered the Principle 入理, put a stop to words. Since the sutras have spread east, the translators have redoubled the barriers (to understanding). They have often kept phrases 滯文 that prevent one from seeing clearly the complete meaning. Only when (as in the case of) forgetting the trap once one has got the fish, can one speak of the Way (可與言道 ?)"; (T.50,366c).

8) 寂然無爲. Cf. note 15 to HKSC Bodhidharma biog. Y.n.p.40, 'In the I-ching

,Hsi-tz'u treatise 1 : "The changes have no thought, are quiet and unmoving."
(Cf. Wilhelm, Changes, p.315; Morohashi 7200.17 易无思也, 无为也, 寂然不动).
As Yanagida notes, 'inaction' was used as a translation of Nirvana.

9) 報怨 Y.n.p.41, Lao-tzu XIII: "Take the mean to be great, the few to be many, and requite (someone who has given one cause for) resentment with virtue" (大小多少, 報怨以德, i.e., do good to one who has done you harm).
The Lun-yü XIV, v.36: "Recompense injury with virtue" (以德報怨).; This term can also be found in the She-lun, but in the opposite sense: "Through the pāramitā of patience, one can calmly accept the slander of another, and not give rise to a mind(desirous) of repaying it with vengeance" (由忍波羅蜜, 能安受彼毀, 不起報怨心) (Ui, Shōdaijōron, p.74).

10) 念言 Morohashi, 10390.22, to think and say, or words formed during thinking.

11) Cf. note 17, HKSC Bodhidharma biog. In Hua-yen 本 means the subject in unity with all, and 末 means diverse entities.

12) 違害 Morohashi, 39013.10 = avoid or leave behind harm. Chuang-tzu, Ch'i-wu lun: "does not pursue profit, does not dodge harm" (Watson, Chuang-tzu, Basic Writings, p.42 不就利, 不違害). Y.p.35, "Unlimited harm has arisen due to opposition to others."

13) 見與 Yanagida says that he can only cite one example of this, i.e., Ta Chih-tu lun XII, "When in a previous life Śāriputra was devoting himself to the practice of charity, a beggar asked for Śāriputra's eyes, Śāriputra said, 'I cannot give you my eyes, but I will give you my body and valuables.' The beggar said, 'I do not want your body or valuables, I just want your eyes. If you are really practising charity, give me your eyes.'" (眼を以て与ふと); Morohashi 34796.168 says it means to take part in something superficially, pretence.

14) Unidentified. Occurs again in XXV.

15) Cf. HKSC biog. of Bodhidharma. The Ssu-wei yao-lueh fa 思惟要略法 translated by Kumārajīva gives some reasons for this: "The disciple should always contemplate all three classes (of parents and friends, enemies, and those neutral) with a 'friendly mind' 慈心 and regard them as his relatives.

Enmity 怨 in a person springs from evil causes 惡緣. When the evil causes come to an end, the spirit of friendliness will grow. So friendliness and enmity are not fixed. Why? Because one who is an enemy in this world... may become a friend or relation in another world.... He whose mind is full of anger and hatred... obstructs the way... which leads to Buddhahood. Therefore, I would not have anger and ill will against the evil doer 怨賊.... These

evil doers are the means by which I reach the way (causes and conditions) which leads to Buddhahood. If the evil-doers had no evil intention towards me, how could I have (the merit of) endurance? So they are my benefactors who make me obtain the virtue of endurance." Translated by Sujit Kumar Mukherjee, 'Methods of Meditation' in Visva Bharati Annals III (1950) p.130 f. from T.15,298a.

16) 並緣業所轉 here conditions = frustrations, karma = influence of past deeds.

17) 我過去宿因 Cf. Vkn, "A sick Bodhisattva should think, 'Now my illness arises from the imaginations, inversions and frustrations of previous ages 前世. There is no real phenomena, so who undergoes this illness?'" (T.38,376a)

18) Conze, Large Wisdom, p.303, "Space does not increase through praise, nor does it diminish through non-praise."

19) 無所求 lit. 'lacking anything to seek'. Cf. 無所得 LXIX. Y.n.p.42, Vkn, "If one seeks phenomena (Dharma) in any phenomena there will be nothing to seek"; 若求法者於一切法應無所求. Seng-chao commented, "Since the appearance (attribute) of phenomena is like this, how can one seek?" Tao-sheng commented, "Seeking phenomena (Dharma) does not mean seeking..." (T.38,381c).

20) 將 indicates the direct object.

21) 安心無爲 Y.n.p.43, Vkn, "Phenomena are called 'inactive' (or uncreate). If you practise the active (create) you are seeking the active, and are not seeking phenomena (or Dharma?)." 法名無爲若行有爲是求有爲非求 T.38,381a)

22) 功德黑闇 As Yanagida points out, this probably refers to the story in the Nirvana Sutra of two inseparable sisters, who are goddesses. The first, 'Merit' 功德, confers wealth on any household she stays in, and being beautiful, a householder invites her home. While she is there, an ugly, dirty and deformed woman called 'Dark' 黑闇 appears at the door, and she tells the householder that she causes any house she stays in to squander its wealth. "The householder took up a sword, saying, 'If you do not go I will take your life,' She said, 'You are foolish....My sister is in your house, and since I always accompany my sister, if you drive me off, you will drive away my sister.'" (T.12,677a)

23) Y.n.p.44, Fa-hua ching (Lotus), Parables chapter, "The three realms are unsafe, just like a burning house."; cf. Morohashi, 18850.311 三界無安猶如火宅

24) 有身皆苦 Y.n.p.44, Lao-tzu XIII, "What is meant by saying that high rank is, like one's body, a source of great trouble? The reason that I have great

trouble is that I have a body. When I no longer have a body, what trouble have I?" (D. Clau, p. 69): Seng-chao, Nieh-p'an wu-ming lun, "There is no misfortune like having a body. Therefore extinguish the body in order to return to (the) non-existence (of misfortune). There is no greater tribulation than intelligence. Therefore cut off intelligence in order to be engulfed in (the) emptiness (lack of) tribulation." (夫大患莫若於有身, 故滅身以歸無勞, 勤莫先於有智, 故絕智以徧虛). Cf. also Vkn, "What is the basis of good and not good?" Answer, 'The body is the basis.' 'What is the basis of the body?' 'Greed is the basis.'" (T. 38, 386b)

25) 息想 cf. 息念 Morohashi, 10603.84. In a poem Po Chü-i says, "Dharma transmitted the mind in order to put an end to thought." 達磨傳心令息念

26) Y.n.p.45, sutra unidentified. Found in Huang-po's Wan-ling lu (Goroku VIII, p. 94 有求皆苦) and in the Tsung-ching lu: "Therefore a sutra says, '(If) you have a mind, all is hardship. If you lack a mind, then it is bliss.'" (T. 48, 681a)

27) Y.n.p.45, "action based on the principle of emptiness, not to conjecture an object." He takes 後 to be as in 後心, 'to be content', and 法 as the Principle.

28) Y.n.p.45 f. As Yanagida and Luk, The Vimalakirti Nirdeśa Sutra, p. 21 say, creatures and ego (or an innate nature in phenomena) are two of the four illusions man creates. They are listed in the Vkn and Chin-kang ching (Iwanami ed. p. 50) and are ego, man (individual), creatures, and (eternal) life 我, 人, 衆生, 壽. Yanagida quotes Tao-sheng's commentary on the Vkn, which I have given at greater length: "Tao-sheng commented, '...There are two sorts of Dharma. Creatures are empty, phenomena are empty. There is truly no difference between creatures being empty and phenomena being empty in (the) Principle.... Creatures themselves come from 自生出 the emotions 情 of he who is attached 著者. It is not so of the Principle. When the emotions are not in accord with the Principle 不從理, it is called pollution 垢. If one can see the Principle, the polluting emotion must disappear. By experiencing being divorced from pollution, one will know that there are no creatures. Creatures are born of the concatenation of events 衆事, so they are called the master who controls one 衆之主也?)." (T. 38, 346a); Kumarajiva explains, "To falsely see and grasp at appearance whilst phenomena are ultimately without an appearance" (T. 38, 345c).

29) 信解 Morohashi, 707.57 refers to the Lotus.

30) 法體 In XLVIII = substance of phenomena. Here it seems to parallel 形體 in XLVI. Morohashi, 17290.226, "The true attribute of eternal existence." (八宗綱要「三世實有, 法體恆有」). It probably refers to monks.

31) 檀 Y.n.p.46, Dāna here is simply an example of the six pāramitās.

32) 心無憍惜 cf. LXVI.

33) 三空 or trimandala. Y.n.p.46, the emptiness of the donor, recipient and the gift. He quotes the Hsiang-fa chueh-i ching 像法決疑經: "When a Bodhisattva is giving donations he does not look for good (religious) recompense 福田 or non-recompense. If one sees a poor, suffering creature, give everything to it. One should take this view when practising donation; do not see a recipient or a donor, and the gift is not to be seen also. These three things are empty, equable, unattached. Why? Because all phenomena have no ego of ego-produced-things. When donating, do not hope for reward (now), do not hope (to be born) in future as a man in the heaven of delights." (T.85,1338c); Note also that this sutra says that donation is the first of the paramitas, for, "The Buddhas also attained Buddhahood through donation" (1336b). This idea probably derived from the PrajñāP sutras. Cf. Conze, Large Wisdom, p.50, "The perfection of giving is fulfilled when gift, giver and receiver are not taken as a basis." Ibid., p.129, "His perfection of wisdom consists in that he sets up the notion that everything is made of illusion, and in that he gets at no giver, recipient or gift."

34) 取相 cf. Preface. Perhaps to be taken in by appearance.

35) 菩提之道 Y.n.p.47, Seng-chao's Nieh-p'an wu-ming lun, "In a sutra it says, 'The path of bodhi cannot be fathomed. There is naught higher than this, one cannot reach such height; there is naught deeper than this, one cannot fathom its depth.'"; (cf. Liebenthal, Chao Lun, p.111 f.)

36) 度 i.e., pāramitās, that which ferries one across to Nirvana.

Note that the bKah-thang sde-lnga has a translation of this paragraph, though the second, third and fourth practices are summarised. The first section is attributed to Bodhidharma:

(Thus) the great master (mk'an-po) Dharmottara said, 'Really wide, unrelated to space, wide when one stays in clarity, there is neither a self nor another; consider the lowest ones and the noble ones as being equal; beyond the state of an unchangeable concentration, do not tread on the steps of the written teaching. This (we call) abiding in a place which is the foundation, the perfect meaning; no subjective representation, quietude, inactivity, this is the immediate (cig car) entrance into the meaning (don). (MBT, II, p.86).

The first line, /yang dag yangs phyog mi ltos yangs/lham mer gnas na.../ is difficult. Paul Harrison thinks it should be rendered as; "If one stays in the light that is really so wide that the sides cannot be seen", which would make it a commentary on 'wall-contemplation'. Perhaps the Tibetan is corrupt and the problem word yangs is from the verb གློམ་པ་ to 'look away', which would

possibly then be a translation of the preceding sentence. I have been informed by a lay adherent of Tibetan Buddhism that lham me is a rDzogs-chen meditation. The quotation of our text is continued, this time attributed to Mahayana (Mo-ho-yen), the monk who came from China to represent the Ch'an at the bSamyas debate. It is preceded and followed by what looks like commentary on our text:

The entrance into practice leans on the fourfold practice; one is the practice to pay back ill will. The second is the practice of following the concomitant causes, the third is the practice of striving for something, the fourth is the practice in accordance with the Law (chos). First: the practice to pay back ill will: meditating on one's own actions, when a pain arises, in one's mind, one should remember and think: I, formerly, from aeons without beginning, have abandoned the perfect reality (the truth); pursuing external objects, I wandered in various forms of existence; much ill will and hatred have come into being; therefore there were innumerable enmities, beating, chopping, offences; in this time, though I did not offend or wrong anybody, now the pain derived from previous sinful actions ripens- (this pain) is not caused by gods, nor by men; it derives from myself, I should not be worried. I should be patient, not wrong (anybody) and accept that pain; one who beats (you) beat him with no anger; when incurring a pain do not be sorry. Do not oppose the thing that so originated from your own mind.

As to the second, the practice of following the concomitant cause: all beings, though unsubstantial (selfless, bdag med), are derived from concomitant causes; all experiences of pain or happiness are derived from concomitant causes; that fruit which consists in fortune, wealth, to get or to lose, happiness or unhappiness (all this) does not exist. (This) is the practice of following the concomitant causes, and it is in accordance with the meaning of the Law.

The third is the practice of striving for something. Men in this world continually (try) to achieve happiness; there is nobody who (wants) to achieve pain; when happiness is achieved, pain goes; when there is destruction of body this is for all a pain. There is nobody who gets happiness. When beings are in a state of happiness they are inactive and happy; the idea of whatever exists (then) ceases.

The fourth is the practice in accordance with the Law. In Dharma all beings are devoid of defilement. When by the eye of knowledge one investigates the things (don, truth ~~is~~ ?) and believes, one does not place wealth in a palace; good dress, sweet food, precious things are only (cause of) defilements. Just as when poison is exorcised by a medical herb and (a proper) mantra, even if one drinks it, one does not die, so also when a thing is taken hold of by a man clever in means and knowledge, even if he practices defilements, he remains faultless. (MBT, II, pp. 99 ff.)

It is strange that the third practice is called 'striving for something' (ci yang htshol rjes, seeking whatever) when all the Chinese texts agree that it is 'seeking nothing'. How the last few lines of the Tibetan follow the Chinese is not clear, for some errors and additions seem to have been made.

Note that I and II have been translated by D.T. Suzuki, Essays in Zen Buddhism, First Series, pp. 179-183.

III and IV

I customarily revered the former philosophers and practised the disciplines extensively. I consequently looked up to the Pure Land and hallowed the teachings bequeathed to us. I have met the Śākya (Muni) and experienced the Great Way an immense number of times. I have acquired the fruits of the four grades of saintship¹ countless times. I really used to believe that the heavenly mansions were other countries and that Hell was elsewhere. (Even if one) attains the Way and obtains the fruits thereof, one's form is different and one's body is unfamiliar.²

I perused the scriptures seeking happiness, and I purified my conduct.³ I bustled around in confusion, swayed by my mind, creating karma⁴, passing many years doing so, too preoccupied to even take a rest. Only then did I return to correctly dwelling in solitary tranquillity, and settled down sense data (into, or and?) the mind-king.⁵ But I had long cultivated imaginations, being swayed by my emotions and (thus) seeing appearances.⁶

In the midst of this I changed and longed somewhat for these adversities to end. Eventually I clearly perceived the nature of phenomena⁷ and became roughly conversant with the Truly So.⁸ For the first time I knew that in my heart there was nothing that did not exist. This bright gem (of the mind)⁹ pierces luminously, subtly penetrating into the deepest courses of existence.¹⁰ From the Buddhas above to the insects below, every one of them is another name for imaginations¹¹ which designate and contrive under the influence of the mind.

Therefore I have poured forth¹² my innermost cryptic thoughts which I shall illustrate for the time being through the 'Gatha of the Methods of Entering into the Way',¹³ etcetera, so as to caution qualified people who are likewise awakened followers.¹⁴ If you have time, read them.

You are sure to see your basic nature by sitting in meditation.¹⁵ (Suzuki

Even if¹⁶ you fuse your mind¹⁷, bringing it to purification,

para.10)

(Thoughts still) arise fleetingly. This is the way of reincarnation.¹⁸

Out of such memories is created transgression.¹⁹

Even if you seek Dharma and contrive the mind,²⁰ karma remains.²¹ (IV)

Evolving , increasing defilements, the mind struggles to reach perfection.

Immediately upon hearing the eight word verse^{2.2}, the Buddha awoke to reason (the Principle),

And for the first time knew that his six years of austerities were in vain.^{2.3}

The world is jostled and bemobbed by diabolical people

Who thoughtlessly rant and rave, engaged in pointless disputations.

They convert the masses by making preposterous explanations,

And talking glibly of medicines, while not effecting a cure.²⁴

Tranquil from the beginning, basically there is no characterisation.²⁵

How could there be good, bad, or even orthodoxy or aberration?

For it is arising and yet not arising, ceasing to be and yet not ceasing.

It is settled, so it is unsettled; it is moving, so it is unmoving.²⁶

(Layman Hsiang's letter; Suzuki paragraph 11)

Shadow arises from the body^{2.7} and echoes follow after the voice. If one sports with the shadow to belabour the body, one does not know that the body is (the source of the) shadow. If one raises one's voice to halt the echo, one does not know that the voice is the source of the echo. Eliminating frustrations but yet searching for Nirvana is likened to dismissing the body whilst seeking the shadow.^{2.8} Separating oneself from creatures whilst seeking the Buddha is likened to silencing the voice whilst searching out the echo. Know therefore that bewilderment and awakening are the same path, stupidity and wisdom are not separate. Where there is no name a name is forcibly established, and because of this name right and wrong are born. Where there is no principle a principle is forcibly created, and because of this principle disputations flourish over it. Illusion is not true²⁹, (so) who is right and who is wrong? Falsity is unreal, (so) what exists and what does not? One should

know that obtaining is obtaining nothing, and loss is losing nothing.

I haven't got around to having a conversation with you, so for the time being I have set it forth in these sentences. How (can one) discuss the profound doctrines?³⁰

1) The four grades of sainthood are: the srotāpanna, one who has taken up Buddhism and begun the battle against transmigration; the sakrdāgāmin, one who is to be born only once again; the anāgāmin, one who will be reborn in the heavens; the arhant, one who enters Nirvana but does not save others.

2) This is probably a criticism of the Pure Land doctrine. Even if you are reborn in a Pure Land, you are nonetheless reborn.

3) Abiding by the rules of the Vinaya?

4) 隨心 is to obey the whims of the mind.

5) Y.n.p.50, "定境心王 means the installation of the subject 'oneself' in the position of the mind-king. The mind-king, in contrast to the functions accompanying the mind 心所, is the subject itself. In Ch'an the mind is often likened to a king. E.g., Fu Ta-shih's Hsin-wang ming 心王銘. (T.51, 456c f.).

The mind-king is the mind in its pure state, and is sometimes equated with the Ālayavijñāna. The Mind is like the king who co-ordinates all sense data 境, whereas the functions of the mind 心所 are likened to the retainers or subjects who only control their own special sense realms. They give rise to the emotions.

Suzuki II, p.142 punctuates the sentence 定境心王但妄想. However, the mind-king does not cultivate stray notions. Cf. the Lanka; "One who is removed from thought and knowledge perceives the Mind-king" (LS, p.227). In Bodhiruci's translation this is rendered as: 此觀心王法, 離心境界識相 (T.16, 565c). Cf. also the She-lun quotation in chapter 4, note 106.

6) Y.p.49 translates 見相 as "to be enslaved by appearances." In the Ch'i-hsin lun 見相 is the state of visibility that arises from the motion of phenomena: "The second is being able to see appearances. One can see because of movement. If they didn't move there would be nothing to see." This is quoted from the Ch'i-hsin lun in Ting, 1133.

7) Y.n.p.50, "Without a nature of its own, empty."; SL, p.411 = Dharmatā, "the ultimate essence of things existing." It equals the Truly So.

8) D.T.Suzuki in his Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism devotes all of chapter 5

to a discussion of Bhūtatathātā or 真如, which he defines as "the suchness of existence" (p.99).

9)明珠朗徹 Yanagida quotes the Ch'i-hsin lun as an example of this (Y.n. pp.50-1). Cf. Y.Hakeda, The Awakening of Faith, p.82 f.

10)深趣 = the deepest realms of existence. 趣 means the destinies or planes of rebirth, of which there are five. This may refer to hell or Nirvana, which is the ultimate destination.

11)妄想 Y.n.p.51 quotes the General Comments on the Contemplatives in the HKSC: "What the intellect seeks is nothing but false sense data that delude the mind. By doing so one cannot reflect on those wave (disturbed) vijñānas that grasp at sense data and condition the mind. Waves being excited out of the calm give rise to many hindrances to samadhi (a settled state)." 智之所圖, 無非妄想境心. 斯是不能返照其識浪執境緣心. 青波驚多生定障 (T.50,596c).

12) Y.n.p.51, "Express inner thought in writing. 瀉 as in 瀉情 and 瀉憂 etc., to pour out one's inner thoughts to the outside, i.e., expression."; Suzuki II has 寫 (p.143).

13) The gatha is in the four stanzas that follow. See Appendix III.

14)簡有緣同悟之後. This is a tentative translation. Y.n.p.51, "I send a letter to friends who are blessed with a knowledge of the Dharma 法緣, who know their original minds. 簡 is to send a letter. Compare this with the sentence at the end of the Chueh-kuan lun, 'A method of Meditation Practice, a Collection for Qualified Nameless Gentlemen' (觀行法, 為有緣無名上士集 in A Dialogue on the Contemplation Extinguished, p.101) and that of the Tao-hsin chapter of the Leng-chia shih-tzu chi: 'and he compiled the Dharma Gate of the Essential Methods of Entering the Way by Calming the Mind, preached for qualified people whose potential has ripened.'"; (Goroku II, p.186)

The early Ch'an teachers seem to have only taught learned or qualified students, and I think that the Long Scroll is only meant for such students. Later, during the time of Tao-hsin some texts were written for beginners too. Cf. 簡有緣根熟者, the same phrase as that about Tao-hsin with 簡 meaning to select only qualified people as students (Goroku II, p.93) 簡 also = admonish.

15) Although Yanagida thinks that the characters 坐禪 are doubtful, they appear in Pelliot 4795, para. CL. Moreover, the Ch'an-men ts'o-yao definitely has 坐禪.

16) Y.n.p.52, "會也 = if.... Same as the 會是 which appears later."; All previous scholars have regarded this as the start of the gatha. The Ch'an-

men ts'o-yao takes this to be the end of the previous sentence, but that is grammatically impossible.

17) Y.n.p.52, "融心 = to soothe the mind."; Yanagida refers to the Yung-hsin lun by Hui-ming of Hsien-ch'eng. Cf. Sekiguchi, Darumadaishi no kenkyū, p.351: "If you fuse (contradictory propositions in your) mind you can understand, but if you understand by fusing the mind, this is not fusing the mind. The mind is always real as it is, so what is to be fused? In reality, not establishing a mind is called fusing the mind." Cf. Goroku II, p.273, "He fused his mind in the sense data that is empty of matter." 融心於色空之境

18) Y.n.p.52, "瞥起 = the discriminating mind, arising only in the slightest, moves momentarily. In the Ch'i-hsin lun the 'sudden arising of thought is called ignorance 忽然念起, 名為無明'; Cf. Hakeda, op.cit., p.50 and the discussion that follows. 瞥地 in Buddhist terminology means 'suddenly'. The Ch'an-men ts'o-yao has 片起 instead.

19) 邪命. Improper means of obtaining a livelihood by monks.

20) Y.n.p.53, "覓法計心". All the original texts lack the character 心, which I have added for convenience."; Cf. Appendix III.

21) Y.n.p.53, "業不遷". One cannot escape the control of karma."; The Ch'an-men ts'o-yao has 業不亡 'karma does not perish'.

22) 智者轉聞八字. The characters 智者 are probably a gloss. As Yanagida notes, this probably refers to a famous gatha that appears in the Nirvana Sutra. The Buddha tells of a previous incarnation: "When I was living in the Himalayas...living alone and eating only wild fruit. After eating I controlled my mind and thought only of sitting in meditation, passing innumerable years. ...When I was practising such austerities, Indra, the chief of the gods.... (who told me that) such heretics, in practising austerities, have many desires" (T.12,499b-c). Indra then changes himself into a fearsome demon (raksasa) and preaches the following first half of a gatha that he had earlier preached to a former Buddha who was delighted and not at all afraid: "All practices are impermanent (in their effects), for they are phenomena that arise and cease." 宣過去佛所說偈, 諸行無常, 是生滅法. The hero says that he is not afraid, and offered himself to the demon as food. "The demon answered, 'Who would believe your words? Would you discard your beloved body for just eight words 八字?'" (450c). Having proof that he meant what he said, Indra tells him the remaining half of the gatha: "Arising and cessation (samsara) is already extinguished, quiescence is bliss" 生滅滅已, 寂滅為樂 (451a).

The last half of the gatha is called the 'eight words of the Himalayas' 雲

山八字. This story is referred to in the Shen-hui Yü-lu where Shen-kuang (Hui-k'o), who has cut his arm off while standing up to his waist in snow in order to show his desire to be taught by Bodhidharma, is compared to the youth of the Himalayas 雪山童子 who discarded his life in seeking half a gatha. (Shen-hui Ho-shang i-chi, p.263).

23) Y.n.p. 56, "Indicates the Buddha, who knowing that the six years of austerities were meaningless, entered meditation."; There is a strange gap here between the Buddha in an early incarnation and the historical Buddha.

24) Y.n.p.56, "口談藥方不除一病 ...Although it may be a simile from some sutra, I am not sure of its source....(For example) the Nirvana Sutra XXV says, 'For example, even though a sick man hears a doctor's instructions and the names of the medicines, this will not cure the illness. Despite having heard of the deep principles of the twelve links in the chain of causation, one cannot cut off all frustrations.'"

25) In my reconstruction 無見相 is changed to the Ch'an-men ts'o-yao's 無相, a lack of appearances or characteristics.

26) Y.n.p.56, "生亦不生 = the basic standpoint of prajñā." For the quotation Yanagida uses, see Liebenthal, Chao Lun, p.112, section 68.

27) Y.n.p.56, "Quoted in the HKSC, Leng-chia shih-tzu chi and the Nien-fo san-mei pao-wang lun II 念佛三昧寶王論, and the Tsung-ching lu XXXII (T.48, 603b). The argument that the body and its shadow are inseparable can be seen... in the 'Tsai-yu' 在宥 chapter of Chuang-tzu, the 'Gung-ming' 功名 chapter of Han-fei-tzu, and in the 'Shuo-fu' 說符 chapter of Lieh-tzu. It is said that Kuo Hsiang wrote a Hsing-ching tu-hua lun 形影獨化論; Yanagida then quotes Chang Chan's 張湛 Lieh-tzu chu 列子注 to the effect that the image of shadows and echoes is used to demonstrate that when things function the basis is lost, and that one needs to be calm to find the source of the action.

The Nien-fo san-mei pao-wang lun (T.47, 134-144) was written by Fei-hsi 裴錫 (ZSS, p.180). His biog. is in the SKSC, T.50, 721c. Cf. also ZSS, p.425 f.

28) Y.n.p.57, "...Layman Hsiang's letter and Hui-k'o's reply to it are quoted in the Nien-fo san-mei pao-wang lun II: 'These two great scholars added introspection from the standpoint of principle by Bodhidharma's practice of being in accord with the Dharma 禪法行, and they were both mindful of the primal truth of the Middle Way and the Dharmakaya Buddha. They neither divorced themselves from thoughts 念 in order to seek non-thought, nor did they divorce themselves from birth 生 (life, arisal?) in order to establish non-birth. If they had divorced themselves from these and established the others, they would not have

known that frustrations as they are are Nirvana, and living beings as they are are the Buddhas. How did they awaken (to the fact that) the rubble is like a pearl?"; This is a quotation from the HKSC.

29) Y.n.p.57, "幻化非真 . Everything is illusory changes, is unreal, is empty. 非真 is in the sense of Seng-chao's 不真空 , meaning 'without substance.'"

30) The HKSC (T.50,552b) has the more probable ending, "I hope you will answer it."

V

The Buddhas preached that phenomena are empty in order to destroy all opinions. But if one is then attached to emptiness the Buddhas cannot change (convert) you.¹ Only emptiness arises when there is arising.² Only emptiness ceases when there is cessation. In fact not a single phenomenon arises and not a single phenomenon ceases.³ All phenomena arise because of craving. Craving is neither within nor without, nor in between. Discrimination is an empty phenomenon, (but) ordinary people are burnt up by it. Heterodoxy and orthodoxy are neither within nor without, nor in any of the directions. Discrimination is an empty phenomenon, (but) ordinary people are burnt up by it.⁴ All phenomena are likewise.⁵

1) Y.n.p.59, "This verse is quoted from the Chung-lun XIII v.8, 'The great saints preached the emptiness of phenomena in order to keep (people) from opinions. But if you still consider that there is emptiness, you have not been converted by the Buddhas.'"; Cf. Teramoto, Churon, p.232. 大聖說空法, 為離諸見故, 若復復見有空, 諸佛所不化

2) Y.n.p.60, "In the Chung-lun XVIII v.6, the verse, 'Sometimes the Buddhas say that there is an ego, and at other times they say that there is no ego. In the real aspect of phenomena there is neither ego nor non-ego', has a commentary by Piṅgala, a part of which is identical to this line."; Cf. Teramoto, Churon p.324, 諸佛或說我, 或說於無我, 諸法實相中, 無我無非我

3) Y.n.pp.60-61, "The Ju-lai chuang-yen chih-hui kuang-ming ching 如來莊嚴智惠光明經, 下 (translated by Dharmaruci) says, 'There is not a single phenomenon that is either arising or ceasing.'; i.e., 無有一法若生若滅 (T.12,245b).

4) Y.n.p.61, "From a verse like that in the Sarvadharmapravṛttinirdeśasūtra 諸法無行論, 'Greed has no inner or outer, nor any direction. Discrimination is an empty phenomenon, (but) ordinary people are burnt up by it.' (T.15, 760b); 'Without an inner or an outer' is Prajñā[~] thought, a set phrase that completely denies existence. For example, the Vkn says, 'Sin is neither within nor without, nor in between.'"; Seng-chao commented on this as follows, "Not within is that it is not in my mind... 'not without' is that it is not in other events " (T.38, 355c).

5) Y.n.p.61, "This verse is probably a later commentary."

VI

Because the Body of Phenomena is formless¹ one sees it by not seeing.² Because phenomena are noiseless, one hears them by not hearing. Because prajñā[~] is knowledgeless³, one knows it by not knowing. If you consider seeing to be seeing, then there is something that you do not see.⁴ If you consider non-seeing to be seeing, then there is nothing that you do not see. If you consider knowing to be knowing, then there is something that you do not know. If you consider non-knowing to be knowing, then there is nothing that you do not know. (If) one cannot know oneself, it is not (because) there is something to be known, but if one knows of things, it is not (because) there is nothing to be known.⁵ If you consider obtaining to be obtaining, then there is something that you do not obtain. If you consider non-obtaining to be obtaining, then there is nothing that you do not obtain.⁶ If⁷ you consider right to be right, then there is something that is not right. If you consider the not-right to be right, then there is nothing that is not right. One gate of wisdom enters (gains one entrance to) one hundred thousand gates of wisdom.⁸ If one sees a pillar and interprets it to be a pillar, this is to see the appearance of a pillar, and so interpret it to be a pillar.⁹ Observe that the mind is the phenomenon of 'pillar' without the appearance of the pillar. Therefore, as soon as one sees a pillar, one will obtain the phenomenon of 'pillar'. See all forms and material 形色 likewise.

1) Y.n.p.63, quotes Seng-chao's Nieh-p'an wu-ming lun. Liebenthal's translation is as follows: "A sutra says, 'The dharmakāya has no form, but it assumes different forms according to the needs of beings. Prajñā does not cognize but merely reflects the state of maturity of beings.'" (Chao Lun, p.113.)

Cf. the Vkn, "Phenomena lack form or appearance, like the sky" (T.38,346b) 法無形相如虛空。

2) Y.n.p.63 again quotes the Nieh-p'an wu-ming lun: "The Blessed Path leads where there is no path. It is not attained by 'attaining'. The Blessed Knowledge is ignorant of facts. Knowing 'it' is knowing not. The Cosmic Shape is hidden in the shapeless, seeing 'it' is seeing not. The Cosmic Sound is concealed in silence, hearing 'it' is hearing not." (Chao Lun, p.129);

Just after the line, "Seeing reality in one's body is how to see the Buddha" of the Vkn, Tao-sheng comments, "If one considers seeing the Buddha to be seeing, this Principle is basically non-existent. The Buddha also does not see. Not seeing that there is a Buddha is seeing the Buddha" (T.38,410a) 若以見佛為見者,此理本無。佛又不見也,不見有佛乃為見佛身。

3) Y.n.pp.63-4, "The Viśeṣacintā-brahma-paripṛcchā 思益經 says, 'Since prajñā is not something that can be known, there is nothing that cannot be known.'"; Yanagida compares this to Seng-chao's Pan-jo wu-chih lun 般若無知論. Cf. Liebenthal, Chao Lun, p.66.

4) Y.n.p.64, "Following this verse the Ch'an-men ts'o-yao has the following 21 characters: 若以聞為聞,則有所不聞,若以無聞為聞,則無所不聞。"

5) Y.n.p.64, "Just because one cannot know oneself, it does not mean that there is something to be known. In contrast to the line of 'if one knows of things, it does not mean there is no knowing', the subject here is ignorance, and it is clear that 有知 functions in regard to things."; Yanagida quotes the Pan-jo wu-chih lun. Cf. Liebenthal, Chao Lun, p.73 from "The Mind of the Sage" to "imply a split in the Mind of the Sage."

6) Y.n.p.65, "Vkn, 'The goddess said, "Śāriputra, have you attained the Way of the Arhat?" He said, "Because there is nothing to be attained, I have attained it." The goddess said, "The Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are likewise, because there is nothing to be attained, they have attained (their position)."'"; Kumārajīva commented, "Through this understanding that phenomena are not (something) to be attained, then Principle is comprehended in phenomena. Therefore, what is comprehended is conveniently called attaining" (T.38,390a-b) 什曰,以其解法,無得,則理會於法,故因其所會假名為得。

7) Y.n.p.65, "From this (point to the end of the paragraph) is quoted in the

Hsin-fu chu IV 心賦注 and the Tsung-ching lu (T.48,950c). The contemporary Wang shih-fei lun 七是非論 by T'an-ch'ien 曇遷 discusses the standpoint transcending right and wrong. According to the Hua-yen ching nei-chang-men teng tsa k'ung-mu chang IV 華嚴經內章門等雜孔目章, this work started, 'If one takes oneself to be right and others wrong, oneself as fine and other people as bad, none of the people will agree. Since everybody is so, all the world is confused in discussion, so there is nobody correct of himself.'"; This work is also quoted in the HKSC, T.50,573a 夫自是非彼美己惡人, 物莫不然, 以皆然故, 舉世紛紛無自正者也. Cf. Kumārajīva's comment that follows not long after the quote from the Vkn on sin in note 4, V: "If one takes sin to be sin, then the mind naturally produces defilementIf one does not take sin to be sin, then the mind is pure" (T.38,355c) 什曰 以罪為罪, 則心自然生垢...不以罪為罪此即淨心.

8) Y.n.p.65, "...An unlimited knowledge of the world arises from fundamental knowledge."

9) Y.n.p.66 f., "Although this is difficult to understand, the pillar is probably an example of the existence of a phenomenal appearance....Chi-tsang, in his Ta-ch'eng hsuan lun I and Chung-kuan, lun-shu III 中觀論疏 and elsewhere, takes the pillar as an example of something without a nature of its own, being a union of four fine substances (colour, smell, taste, touch), for the spiritual man. Here, what gives it the appearance of a pillar is people's discrimination, mental concepts. The pillar itself is not a concept."; As Yanagida points out, the preface by Paramārtha to the Ta-ch'eng wei-shih lun 大乘唯識論 says, "Seeing a pillar, one gives rise to the concept of a pillar, one does not give rise to the concept of material." Other examples are of the ox, horse and all matter. (T.31,70b) 見柱起柱想, 不起色想.

VII and VII.

Someone said, "No phenomena exist."¹

This was criticised: "Do you see existence or not?"² (Whether or not you think that phenomena) do not exist by existing (or) exist by not existing, it is still your (idea of?) existence."³

Someone said, "No phenomena arise."⁴

This was criticised, "Do you see arisal or not? (Whether or not you think that phenomena) do not arise by arising, (or) arise by not arising, it is still your (idea of) arisal."

Again he said, "I see (that) all is without mind."

This was criticised: "Do you see mind or not? (Whether you think that there is no mind ~~無心~~ from (due to) mind, (or) mind due to there being no mind, it is still your (idea of) mind."⁵

VIII

The Tripitaka Dharma teacher⁶ said, "When he does not understand, man pursues phenomena; when he understands, phenomena pursue man. If one understands, the vijñānas control material, if one is bewildered, material controls the vijñānas.⁷ Not relying on material to produce the vijñānas is called not seeing material.⁸ (Whether one) does not seek by seeking, (or) seek by non-seeking ~~無求~~, it is still your seeking. (Whether one) does not grasp by grasping, (or) grasp by non-grasping, it is still your grasping.⁹ (When) the mind needs something (lit. has something necessary) it is called the realm of desire (kāmadhātu). (When) the mind is not mind of itself (but) is a mind produced from material¹⁰, it is called the realm of material (rūpadhātu). (When) material is not material of itself, (but) is material because it is from mind, the mind and material are immaterial (lit. without material), it is called the realm of the immaterial (arūpadhātu, lit. the immaterial heavens, the mind-only in contemplation)."

1) Y.n.p.67, "In the Ch'an-men ts'o-yao this becomes ~~一切聲不有~~."; This can also be rendered 'all dharmas do not exist.'

2) ~~汝見有不~~ This 'existence' probably includes phenomena.

3) ~~不有於有~~ This is a tentative translation. This sentence pattern recurs throughout VII and VIII, sometimes with the noun ~~有~~. It is followed by the antithesis ~~有於不有~~. In VIII this ~~不~~ is changed to ~~無~~. I think that ~~於~~ does not mean 'in', but 'by' or 'due to'.

There appear to me to be two ways of understanding the topics here. As Yanagida indicates, this 'existence' is relative. The first understanding **probably** thinks that that which exists through 'conditional arising' (緣起 a chain of being, dependent origination) does not truly exist. The second may think that it is just because of this non-ultimate chain of being that there is existence. Perhaps this is an attack on the Prajñāpāramitā logic of the

sort that says, "Therefore the Thus Come preached that all dharmas are the Buddha-dharmas....When he says, 'all dharmas', this is not all dharmas. Therefore it is called all dharmas " (Chin-kang ching, Iwanami, p.95 f.).

In any case, the idea is that both of these antitheses are concepts created by one's own mind. Later this way of thinking is described as the "calculations of one's own mind."

4) 一切法不生 is ambiguous, for it means to arise, be produced or born.

Yanagida points to a verse of the Chung-lun (XXI, v.13) which seems to indicate that it is the two false ways of thinking that is being criticised:

(v.12) Dharmas are not produced (Skt. born) from dharmas,
Nor are they produced from non-dharmas.
Dharmas are not produced from non-dharmas,
Nor are non-dharmas.

(v.13) Dharmas are not produced from themselves,
Nor are they produced from others.
They are neither produced from themselves or other,
So how is there production? (Teramoto, Churon, p.386 ff.)

5) 無心. Mind here seems to mean the deluded mind or even thoughts. Perhaps the criticism is of ideas about which came first, the mind (as in One Mind or, "The three realms are only mind" 三界唯心 of the Hua-yen ching), or no-mind (in which mind arose from the material world).

6) 三藏法師 This is probably Bodhidharma. As Yanagida (p.69) says, the following two lines were included in the An-hsin fa-men (T.48, 370b and in TCL, T.48, 939b) in the belief that this was Bodhidharma, for the An-hsin fa-men is attributed to him. These lines are also quoted in the Wu-hsing lun 悟性論 (T.48, 371b) and in the Tun-wu yao-men 頓悟要門 by Ta-chu Hui-hai 大珠慧海 (Goroku VI, p.190 迷時人逐法, 悟時法由人). Yanagida also notes that similar lines are found in the Wu-t'ai shan Chen-kuo Ta-shih Ch'eng-kuan ta Huang-t'ai-tzu wen hsin-yao 五臺山鎮國大師澄觀答皇太子問心要 (CTCTL, T.51, 459c, also similar lines to II and XXXVIII), i.e., 是知迷則人隨於法, 法法萬差而人不同, 悟則法隨於人, 人人一智. Cf. Kamata I, p.209, Ch'uan-T'ang wen chuan 919 for Ch'eng-kuan (738-836?), and Darumadaishi no kenkyū p. 20 and p.334 f.

Yanagida thinks that the earliest trace of this idea of Bodhidharma's can be found in the Chiu-ching ta-fei ching 究竟大悲經 (thought to date from the first half of the 7th century) lines: "When unaware, phenomena follow after phenomena. When awakened, phenomena are of themselves phenomena as they are, (for) phenomena do not move."

Yanagida (p.70) says that 三藏法師 was used of people like Bodhiruci (T.50, 428c) who transmitted works of the Tripitaka. Although it was not an appropriate title for Bodhidharma who did not transmit any works of the Tripitaka

this title was probably used in the sense that he came from India. He is also called 三藏法師 in the stele inscription commemorating Fa-ju 法如 (638-689), cf. ZSS, pp. 488 ff. The LCSTC also uses it of him. Note that exactly the same title recurs in LXXX.

7) I do not know where the Master's words finish. Yanagida ends them here, probably because all the quotations only give this much. I think that it probably should go to the end of the next line at least. Yanagida seems to have the speech resume with "when the mind needs something." As the previous paragraphs are monologues, with the exception of VII (which gives the first indication of a speaker, perhaps the Tripitaka teacher is answering some of the following lines or even paragraphs.

8) The Chin-kang ching says, "One must not rest on material to produce the mind...you should rest on nothing to produce this mind" 不應住色生心 ... 應無所住而生其心 (Iwanami ed. p. 64).

9) As Yanagida says (p. 70), the following is an explanation of the three realms in terms of the mind. Normally the *kāmadhātu* refers to the world of sensuous desires (i.e., the hells, the human world and 6 lowest heavens of desire), the *Rūpadhātu* to the heavens in which there is still material but no desire, and *Arūpadhātu* to the immaterial realm. Cf. the Lanka: "All the various doings in the triple world...are nothing but the manifestations of Mind" (SL, p. 245; SL, p. 184).

10) For the two sorts of mind and their relations to matter see chapter 4, notes 100 to 101's passages.

Note that the first part of VIII is translated into Tibetan:

If one does not know, one follows the dharma of men; if one knows, one does not follow the dharma of the gods; if one knows, consciousness shrinks into matter; if one is excited consciousness shrinks into matter; in that cause (of the perception of the) visible objects consciousness does not arise. This is what we say viz. that it (consciousness) does not see matter; the mind of the saint is like the void of the sky. Enlightenment is called (that condition when) neither birth nor obstruction (cessation?) are seen (MBT, II, p. 95).

Note that the last two lines have been taken from somewhere else.

IX and X

"What is called the Buddha-mind?"

"A mind that lacks the attributes of difference¹ is called the Truly So. The mind that is unchangeable is called the nature of phenomena (dharmatā). The mind which is subject to nothing is called release. The mind whose nature is unhindered is called Bodhi. The mind whose nature is quiescent is called Nirvana."

X

"What is called 'as it comes' 如來 (Tathāgata)?"²

"To understand phenomena as they are and (so) respond to things.³ Therefore we say, 'as it comes'."

"What is called Buddha?"⁴

"To be aware of phenomena as they are (or to be aware in accordance with the Dharma), to be aware without an object of awareness (lit. to be aware that there is nothing to be aware of). Therefore we say 'Buddha' (the Aware)."

"What is called (爲 to be) Dharma 法 (phenomena)?"

"The mind being a phenomenon as it is (or the mind in accord with the Dharma) is not produced, the mind being a phenomenon as it is is not annihilated. Therefore we say it is phenomena."

"What is called being a monk?"

"To come together in accordance with the Dharma (Phenomena as they are are in agreement). Therefore we say to be a monk."

1) Y.n.p.72, "心無異相" = the mind is non-segmented. In response to the question about the Buddha-mind he gives a reply analysing the various ways of being of the mind."

異相 is a teaching that appears in the 6 相 theory of the Hua-yen ching and the Daśabhumikasūtra. These are six aspects of existence. The 異相 is such things as the differences between the six senses that operate in 'forming' a phenomenon. Many objects perceive each other and so differ from each other. Therefore 無異相 is the mind that does not discriminate, and in which all particulars merge and do not act against one another. This idea became very

important in the Hua-yen with Chih-yen (602-688).

2) The discussion of the Tathāgata, Buddha, Dharma and the Sangha seems to be based on the roots of the Sanskrit words, i.e., Tathāgata = Just as it comes; Buddha = to be aware; Dharma = both the Law and phenomena; and Sangha 僧 = saṃ (together) and gam (to come) which is defined as to be in agreement 和合. Note that the Nirvana Sutra describes all these as equivalent:

"The Buddha-nature is the Thus Come. The Thus Come is Dharma. Dharma is constant....Constance is the Thus Come. The Thus Come is the Sangha. The Sangha is constant" (T.12,445c).

3) Y.n.p.74, "解如應物. 應物 is to yield (follow) to things, to agree with people....The Nieh-p'an wu-ming lun says, 'Nirvana with residue and Nirvana without residue are names for the two aspects of going and coming and so are nothing more than expedient names that 應物 respond to things!"; (cf. Liebenenthal, Chao Lun, p.110).

The phrase literally means to "understand as if one were responding to the masses", but here I have followed Suzuki who amended the text from the Korean text to 解如法應物, because of the consistent use of 如法 and 如心 in this and the following passages. 如法 means to be in accordance with the Dharma or Principles (Ting, 1092b). The Vkn says, "The preaching of the Dharma should be preached according to the Dharma" 夫說法者當如法說 (T.38,345a); and 此華不如法,是以去之. The context of the latter shows that there ^{are} ~~is~~ two ways of understanding 如法: A goddess scattered flowers which did not stick to the Bodhisattvas but stuck to Śāriputra who says, "I want to shake off these flowers which are not 如法." The goddess says that they are 如法, and it is only due to his discrimination that he sees them otherwise. Seng-chao commented, "To wear fragrant flowers is not the śramana's way, and so he shakes them off. In one meaning the flowers (as) phenomena should fall if scattered on the body. (As they) do not fall they are not the phenomena 'flowers'." Tao-sheng commented, "Not in accordance with the Law of the Vinaya." 答曰,此華不如法是以去之. 肇曰,香華著身非沙門法,是以去之. 一義華法散身應隨,不隨非華法也. 生曰,不如律法 (T.38,387a). E.Lamotte translates this line as; "Śāriputra répondit, 'Devī, les fleurs ne conviennent pas (ayoga) à des religieux.'" (L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti, p. 272). Thus 如 or 如應 can mean yoga or yathā. Therefore 如法 could mean 'in accord with the Dharma' here, but cf. XI where the author seems to be playing with the meanings of 法 or 如法. Cf. also XII 若如法經, XIV 如法心斷.

Note that Yanagida's quote of the Chin-kang ching; "The Thus Come means phenomena are thus" 如來者即諸法如義 (Iwanami, p.94) is appropriate here.

Compare this line with that which appears in the Large Wisdom, (Conze, p.350):

"It is thus that the Tathagata cognizes the Suchness of all dharmas, their non-falseness, their unaltered Suchness. And it is because of this Suchness that the Tathagata is called a Tathagata."

4) Y.n.p.75, "何名佛" Explanations of the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha as the ways mind should be is a common theory in the early Ch'an Sect. In Tun-huang literature there exist several San-pao wen-ta 三寶問答. It may also be seen in the Platform Sutra and in the Tun-wu yao-men (Goroku VI, p.146)."

XI

"What is called the meditation on emptiness 空定?"¹

"To observe that phenomena rest on emptiness² is called the meditation on emptiness."

"What is called resting on phenomena?"³

"Not resting on a rest⁴ nor resting on a non-rest, (but) resting on phenomena as they are 如法住 is called resting on phenomena (Dharma)."

1) Y.n.p.76, "空定" Examining by meditation that all existence is empty." Ting, 274 says that it is a meditation that dwells on emptiness. The Ta-jih Ching 大目經 says, "Naturally expel all causative karma, so that only one's own nature exists, and then to the point that not a single thing enters the mind, which is the realization of 空定. It is the ultimate principle in worldly existence."

2) Y.n.p.77, "有法住定" = to remain at the stage of 空定. Meditating on the truth of emptiness and persisting with dhyana. 住 here, is to be shackled."; i.e., he renders it 'to observe phenomena while resting in emptiness.'

I think that from the way the rest of the text uses 如法住 that this has a positive tenor.

3) This can have a negative sense also. The Chin-kang ching says: "If a Bodhisattva rests his mind on phenomena and practices charity, he is like a person who enters the dark and can see nothing. If the Bodhisattva's mind is not resting on phenomena while he practices charity, he is like a man whose eyes see all matter shining in the sunlight" (Iwanami, p.82).

4) Y.n.p.77, "不住前住" etc. = not to dwell in dwelling nor non-dwelling. In Shen-hui's Nan-yang Ho-shang Tun-chiao chieh-t'o Ch'an-men chih-liao hsing. T'an-yu (in Hu Shih, Shen-hui Ho-shang i-chi, p.235 f.): 'For example, it is

like a bird flying in the sky. If it rests in the sky, it is sure to fall. Likewise, if practitioners cultivating the mind of non-resting rest the mind on phenomena, that is resting on attachment 住著 and is not release. A scripture says, "Even when there is not even the slightest remains of an illness only the illness 'emptiness' remains. To be without the illness 'emptiness' is emptiness." This topic is explained in detail in XVII."

XII

"What is to be a man and yet not be a man?¹ What is to be a woman and yet not be a woman?"

"One cannot ascertain the attributes of male and female through analyses of phenomena 依法推求. How can one know them when material is not an attribute (distinguishing) male and female? If material is the attribute of the male then all grasses and trees must be male; and female likewise. Deluded people do not understand that the male and female that they imagine they see are illusory men and women, which are ultimately unreal. The Chu-fa wu-hsing ching² says; 'Know that all phenomena are like illusions and you will rapidly become the best of men.'³

1) Y.n.p.78, "即男非男 The Nirvana Sutra XXIV says of the Vajrasamadhi; 'When a Bodhisattva dwells in this samadhi, even though he sees creatures, from the first there was no attributes (appearances) of the creatures in his mind. Despite seeing men and women, there is no attributes of men or women; despite seeing material phenomena, there are no attributes of material (in his mind), even when he sees the vijñānas, he still does not have the attributes of the vijñānas (in his mind).'; (T.12,510a).

A similar idea lies behind the dialogue between the goddess and Śāriputra: "Then the goddess used her divine powers to transform Śāriputra into a goddess like herself, and herself she changed into a body like that of Śāriputra's. She asked him, 'Why don't you convert your female body?' Chao commented, 'She created an illusion which means it has no fixity'.... (The goddess tells him) 'Like Śāriputra who is not a woman but yet manifests a female body, all women are likewise, in that they manifest a female body but are not women.' Chao commented, '...men and women are without fixed appearances.' Therefore the Buddha said all phenomena are neither male nor female." (T.38,389b-c).

2) Y.n.p.79, "諸法無行經" Sarvadharmapravṛttinirdeśasūtra. It preaches the way of real life for practitioners from the standpoint that all phenomenal existence is empty, formless, inactive, unborn, non-existent and without a self-nature. It is a sutra that explains that craving as it is is nirvana.... It was also used by the Saⁿ-lun School in this period."

3) Y.n.p.79, "知諸法如幻化". The sutra quote is: 'If a man seeks Bodhi he will not have Bodhi, and is as far away from Bodhi as heaven is from earth. When he knows that phenomena are like illusions, he will become the best of men.'"; A similar view is taken of the precepts: "The precepts and non-precepts are of one attribute, so know it as the guiding teacher. For example, if you dream of the five desires, and of enjoying yourself with (sexual) amusements, and you discriminate and see female beauty 女色, there is no woman there really..." (T.15,751b).

XIII

"Those who realize 證 Incomplete Nirvana¹ and attain the fruit of Arhat, are they Aware or not?"

"This is a dream realization 夢證."²

"Is the practice of the six paramitas, the fulfillment of the ten stages (of the Bodhisattva) and all their disciplines 萬行; and the awareness that all phenomena neither arise nor cease³, are neither aware nor knowing, are mindless and without understanding; Awareness or not?"

"These are also dreams."

"How can the ten powers and four fearlessnesses (of a Buddha), the eighteen characteristics that distinguish a Buddha from a Bodhisattva 十八不共法, the Correct Awareness that completed the Way under the Bodhi-tree, the ability to liberate creatures and even the entrance into Nirvana not be Awareness?"⁴

"These are also dreams."

"The Buddhas of the three ages equally converted creatures, and those (creatures) that attained the Way are (as numerous) as the sands of the Ganges. Can this not be Awareness?"

"This is also a dream. Still⁵ the discriminations and calculations of mentation 有心⁶ and the objectifications out of one's own mind⁷ are all a

dream. When one is Aware (i.e., awake) there is no dream, and when one is dreaming there is no awareness. These imaginations of the mind, manas and the vijñānas are the wisdom in a dream, lacking an agent of awareness and an object of awareness (無能覺所覺). Whenever one is aware of phenomena as they are 如法覺, one is aware of the true reality 真實覺 (or is truly aware)⁸; there is no self-awareness 自覺 at all, (for) ultimately there is no awareness 無有覺. The Correct Awareness of the Buddhas⁹ of the three ages are only the memories and discriminations of creatures. Therefore I call them dreams. If the conscious mind 識心 (the highest mind) is quiescent and has no place for a single moving thought 念, this is called Correct Awareness.¹⁰ All that which has not extinguished the mind and the vijñānas 心識¹¹ is a dream."

1) Yanagida quotes the Nieh-p'an wu-ming lun. Cf. Liebenthal, Chao Lun, p.107 from "With the attainment... (to) ...radiating spiritual light." Cf. also the following paragraph for "That was the Nirvana with residue."

2) Y.n.p.82, "Satori is awakening from sleep, but to dream of satori in a dream is another form of sleep."

3) Y.n.p.82, "Is either one of the six negations... of the Heart Sutra 般若心經 or the eight negations of the Chung-lun."

4) Cf. the Large Wisdom (Conze, p.211): "Buddhahood also... is like a dream.... If I could cognize any dharma more distinguished than Nirvana, of that also I should say that it is like a dream... because dream and illusion on the one side and Nirvana on the other are not two and divided."

5) Y.n.p.82, "The following 30 characters are quoted in the An-hsin fa-men (T.48,370b) and Hsin-fu chu."; It leaves out all the rest of the passage until "If the conscious mind..." and ends "called Correct Awareness."

6) 有心 or 但有心? Does 有心 = 有心位, 'when the mind king arises'. The Tsung-ching lu XLV says, "The Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra says, 'Mañjusrī said, "It is like a man who learns archery and becomes skilful after long practice. Although later he is mindless 無心, because of his long practice, his arrow hits the bull's-eye everytime."' ...Therefore a sutra says, 'Having a mind 有心 (mentation) is hardship, not having a mind is bliss'" (T.48,681a).

For 有心 cf. LV, LVI.

7) Y.n.p.83, "自心現量" = One's own mind projects the outside world, to discriminate." As Yanagida indicates, this is a central term in the Lanka: "The Buddha informed Mahamati, 'I deny the theory of no cause and the theory of random causation. The (theory that) "this exists (so) that exists" (implies that) the controller and the controlled are not innately aware 性覺 that it is an objectification out of one's mind. If one is attached to controller and controlled, one is not aware that (they) are projections out of one's own mind'" 佛造大慧, 我非無因說及因緣雜亂說, 此有故彼有者, 攝所攝非性覺自心現量, 大慧若攝所攝計著, 不覺自心現量 (T.16,493a Gunabhadra).

I have found a clearer definition in the Gunabhadra Lanka:

"They cannot conceive that it is an objectification out of one's own mind. It is for example like a man who dreams that he sees men and women, elephants and horses walking in a city....his own self enters into it, and he awakens and remembers it. Mahamati, what meaning does this have? Thus what this man previously dreamed were memories that he had not discarded. Is it wise or not?' Mahamati said to the Buddha, 'No, World Honoured.' The Buddha informed Mahamati, 'Thus are the evil views that ordinary people gnaw on. The wisdom of the non-Buddhists does not inform (them) that they are like a dream that is an objectification from one's own mind.'" 不能了知自心現量, 譬如有人夢見男女象馬車步城邑...自身入中覺已憶念, 大慧, 於意云何, 如是士夫於前所夢憶念不捨, 為黑結慧不大慧自佛言, 不也世尊, 佛告大慧, 如是凡夫愚見所噬, 外道智慧不知如夢自心現量 (T.16,491a).
Note that in the parallel passage, Bodhiruci uses 自心見, i.e., the man sees himself in the dream (T.16,531c).

Therefore Suzuki's definition of 現量 or pratyakṣa as 'immediate perception' seems inappropriate here. He takes his definition from the Mahāvīyutpatti CCCII,1, but I think he places the wrong emphasis on the Chinese (SL,p.421).

8) Y.n.p.84, "When one awakes to the truth, there is no such thing as realized or realizer."; Cf. X and XLV.

9) Yanagida p.85 quotes the Chin-kang ching in the Sanskrit (Iwanami,p.95). I shall translate the Chinese: "The Thus Come means phenomena are thus.... Really there is no reality or vacuity in the annuttarasāmyaksambodhi that the Thus come attains. Therefore the Thus Come preached that all phenomena are Buddha-phenomena." 如來者即諸法如義...如來所得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提, 於是中無實無虛, 是故如來說一切法皆是佛 法 (Iwanami,p.94).

10) Y.n.p.85, "解有 ...已來 since...all is, all that comes from that."

11) 識 = vijñāna, that function that receives, classifies and recognizes objects.

XIV

"What intellect (lit. wisdom and mind)¹ is used in cultivating the Way and cutting off delusion?"

"One uses the intellect of expedience."

"What is this intellect of expedience?"

"It is contemplating and knowing that delusion originally has no place of arising. With this expedient (method) one can cut off delusions, so it is called intellect."

"What delusion does the mind that is in accordance with the Dharma cut off?"

"The delusions that ordinary people, heretics, śrāvakas, Pratyeka Buddhas and Bodhisattvas etcetera are released from."

1) Y.n.p.86, "心₁₃ is the original wisdom that is latent in men's minds." Yanagida quotes the Nieh-p'an wu-ming lun: "Opponent: The sutras say that when the dharmakāya has been formed (the Bodhisattva enters) the land of asamskrta. What his mind then contains cannot be comprehended by (ordinary) knowledge and his body cannot be compared with any mundane body. His 'body' is free from the skandhas and āyatana, his mental faculties have ceased to function" (Liebenthal, Chao Lun, p.123).

Ting 707c says that "mind is the substance and wisdom the function. (When) substance and function are present together we talk of the intellect."

XV.

"What are the two Truths?"¹

"They are for example like a mirage², which the deluded see and interpret as water. In reality it is not water, it is a mirage. The meaning of the two Truths is likewise. Ordinary people see the primal Truth and consider it to be the worldly (empirical) Truth, whereas sages see the worldly truth and consider it to be the primal Truth. Therefore a sutra says,³ 'The Buddhas always rely on the two Truths to preach the Dharma.'⁴ The primal Truth is the worldly Truth, and the worldly Truth is the primal Truth, and the primal

Truth is empty 空. If you see that there are appearances (attributes), then you must manage them.⁵ (If you consider that) there is a self, and there is a mind, and there is arising and cessation, these also must you manage."

"What is 'managing'?"

"If you rely on the Dharma (or phenomena?) to observe⁶, then you will lose your penetrating (lit. truth) sight and not see a thing. Therefore the Lao-tzu says,⁷ 'Vigorous virtue is like indolence'." (It draws one into sky (emptiness)).⁸

1) Yanagida, p.88 notes that 世諦 and 第一義諦 are characteristic of the Nirvana Sutra, and the Chung-lun uses 世俗諦 and 第一義諦. Note that the Lanka also uses 世諦 and 第一義諦, T.16,496c; SL, p.163 ff.

2) Y.n.p.89, "陽炎 = mirage. The Nirvana Sutra XXII says: 'O good son, it is for example like a small child in the height of summer, who, seeing a mirage 見熱時焰 thinks it to be water. A wise person will never give rise to the idea that this mirage was really water. It is just that this empty mirage deceives people's eyes that this unreality is water. All ordinary people, śrāvakas, and Pratyeka Buddhas see all phenomena likewise, and think that all is real" (T.12,494a)."; As Yanagida notes T.12,443a refers to the worldly truth in terms of 熱時之炎.

3) Y.n.p.89, "= a verse from Chung-lun IV, Examination of the Four Truths: 'The teaching of the Dharma by the various Buddhas is based on the two truths; namely the relative (worldly) truth and the primal truth. Those who do not know the distinction between the two truths cannot understand the profound nature of the Buddha's teaching. The worldly truth produces the deluded world because of the inversion of the worldly knowledge; although all existence is empty, and although it is taken to be real in the world, the saints clearly know the nature of this inversion. So all existence is empty, and (one) knows there is nothing born. For saints, this is the primal Truth, and is called True Reality....But, if one thinks that the secondary Truth, worldly Truth, is not necessary because the non-arising of all existence is the primal Truth, one is incorrect. Why? Because 'Without relying on the worldly Truth, the primal Truth cannot be attained. Without attaining the primal Truth, Nirvana cannot be attained. The primal truth is (taught) via words, but words are worldly. Therefore, if it is not (taught) via the worldly, one cannot preach the primal Truth. If one cannot obtain the primal Truth, one cannot in any

way reach Nirvana. So, although various existences were not born there is still said to be two truths."; The italics are the Chung-lun verses, and the remainder is some commentary. For the verses see part XXIV, verses 8, 9 and 10 (Teramoto, Churon, pp.461-464).

4) Y.n.p.89 f., "第一義諦即世諦The Nirvana Sutra XIII has, 'O good son, the worldly truth is the primal Truth....it is a good expedient to follow people's ideas and preach that there are two Truths....'; (T.12,443a).

5) Y.n.p.90, "併當却 = to settle, manage....却 is a postposition indicating completion. It is colloquial".

6) As Yanagida suggests, if this means the Dharma, as soon as one practises from the standpoint of the Dharma, it becomes the subject. The Sarvadharmapravrttinirdeśasūtra says, "If one covets and is attached to the Buddha Dharma one is far from the Buddha Dharma" (T.15,760a).

Y.n.p.90, "諦視 is difficult to understand. Although it does have a meaning that admits of the standpoint of the two Truths, this word seems to 'gaze', to see clearly. There is an example in the HKSC biography of Ming-ch'e 明徹: 'He studied without a teacher or friend and decided with his own mind. Whenever he saw an excellent thing, he never took heed and gazed at it.'" (T.51,473a) 學無師友從心自斷每見勝事未曾下留心諦視 .

7) Yn.p.90, "Lao-tzu XLI, 建德若偷 = True virtue is like laziness.... is an established, immovable virtue. There is a theory which says 建 should be 健 'healthy'. In context it is as follows: 'The Way that is bright seems dull, the Way that leads forward seems to lead backwards. The Way that is even seems rough, the highest virtue is like the valley. The sheerest whiteness seems sullied. Ample virtue seems defective; Vigorous virtue seems indolent....' (Cf. D.C.Lau, p.102). The idea is in Buddhism that after the eighth stage the Bodhisattva appears to be idle, whereas in fact he is acting, i.e., all his actions seem effortless. Cf. LS, p.156 which says that he is "sovereign master of all things by virtue of a life of effortlessness."

8) Y.n.p.91, "引入虛空 is probably a later commentary, meaning that the words of Lao-tzu will draw people into the world of emptiness."

XVI

"What sort of a mind is called craving?"

"The mind of ordinary people."

"What sort of a mind is that which leads to non-birth?"¹

"The Śrāvaka mind."

"What sort of a mind is that which understands that phenomena² are without a nature of their own?"

"The Pratyeka Buddha mind."

"What sort of a mind is that which does not create understanding or delusion?"

"The Bodhisattva mind."

"What sort of a mind is that which is not aware and does not know?"

There was no answer. The reason that there was no answer is because Dharma (or phenomena?)² cannot answer. This is because Dharma is mindless, and with an answer there is mind. Dharma is wordless³, but with an answer there is words. Dharma is without understanding, but with an answer there is understanding. Dharma is without knowing and seeing⁴, but with an answer there is knowing and seeing. Dharma is without this or that⁵, but with an answer there is this or that. Such minds and words are all prejudices⁶. Because mind is not material it is not subject to material. Mind is not immaterial, so it is not subject to the immaterial.⁷ A mind not subject to anything so it is release. When one transgresses the prohibitions one is distressed, yet if one knows that this apprehensive mind cannot be attained, one can still attain release, and also one knows that birth in a heaven cannot be attained. Despite knowing of emptiness, emptiness still cannot be attained. Despite knowing that it cannot be attained, the unattainable still cannot be attained.⁸

1) Y.n.p.93, "作無生是何物心" ...probably means that all existence is thought to be non-birth."; Note that the Korean text adds 法 i.e., 法作無生.

For the Unborn see SL, p.381. According to Ting, 2151 this is the first

understanding on the Buddhist Path.

Perhaps this has a similar meaning to the Wisdom of the Unborn ^{無生智}, which is the tenth of the ten wisdoms that are the fruit of the Śrāvaka, or the highest wisdom of the Arhat in which one has cut off all the frustrations of the three realms (Ting, 2152).

2) Here ^法 is probably Dharma as the Principle, or phenomena in their true state. Note the ambiguity of the following verse from the Vkn: "In preaching the Dharma you should preach in accordance with the Dharma (or, preach of the dharmas as they are)." Chao commented, "Dharma is to be considered as the one aspect (attribute) of truly real phenomena." ^{夫說法者當如法說。譬曰，法謂一相真實法也} (T.38, 345c). Cf. ^{如法} in X.

3) Y.n.p.94, "^{法無言說} The Vkn says, 'Phenomena (Dharma?) are nameless because they are cut off from speech. Phenomena have no speech because they are divorced from reflection and investigation.'"; Chao comments, "...Because true phenomena are without attribute, reflection and investigation are naturally divorced (from them). Once divorced from reflection and investigation, there is no longer speech, for above the second dhyana there is no reflection and investigation. Therefore it is called the silence of the saints." (T.38, 346b).

4) Y.n.p.94, "^{法無知見} VI."

5) Y.n.p.94, "^{法無彼此} The Dharma transcends comparison and opposition. They are all based on verses in the Vkn."; For example: "'Phenomena have no comparison for they are without mutual dependence.' Chao commented, 'Phenomena are born of mutual dependence ^{相待}, just as long and short come into being through comparison.'" (T.38, 346b).

6) ^{計著} Obsessions etc. Ting, 1698 says it is imagination hardened into a speculation one does not budge from. Cf. the Lanka, ^{如緣言說義計著，隨建立及誹謗見} (T.16, 500c) and LS, p.134.

7) Y.n.p.94, "^{心非色故不屬色} ...cf. VIII."

8) Y.n.p.94, "^{不可得亦不可得} Unattainable is another name for emptiness. In LXIX it is quoted as being a verse of a sutra, but it cannot be found."

XVII

If the mind reveres something¹ it must despise something. If the mind affirms something, it must (also) negate something. If the mind takes a single thing to be good, then all (other) things are not good. If the mind is intimate with a single thing, then all (other) things become its rival. The mind does not rest on material, nor does it rest on the immaterial. It does not rest on a rest, nor does it rest on a non-rest. If the mind rests on something it will not escape its bondage. If the mind does something somewhere, then it is bound. If (your) mind values a phenomenon, that phenomenon can detain you. If the mind esteems a single phenomenon, the mind must condemn something. If one grasps at the meaning of the sutras and śāstras one certainly will not revere the understanding thereof.² But³ when there is an understanding of something, the mind is subject to something. If the mind is subject to something then it is bound. A sutra says, "One does not obtain Nirvana through the methods⁴ of inferior, medium and superior." The mind, despite being in the deluded state does not make an undeluded interpretation. Whenever the mind arises, rely on the Dharma to observe from where it arises.⁵ If the mind discriminates, then immediately rely on the Dharma to observe where it discriminates. If there is greed, anger or inversion (error), then rely on the Dharma to observe from where they arise. Not seeing a place for these to arise is the practice of the Way. If one does not discriminate between things, this is also the practice of the Way. But if the mind arises, examine it, and manage it by relying on the Dharma.

1) Y.n.p.97, "心若有所貴 Part of this passage is quoted in the Po-chang kuang-lu as the words of the first Patriarch: 'The first Patriarch of this land said, "(If) the mind affirms something, it must negate something. If one reveres a thing, one will be deluded by that thing. If one values a thing one will be deluded by that thing. Faith is by faith deluded, (yet) not to believe also creates slander. Do not revere and do not not revere. Do not believe and do not not believe.'"; (Suzuki II, p.81 and Ui II, p.413 for text).

- 2) Y.n.p.97, "會不貴解 ...會 means certainly, surely. 解 means an intellectual understanding."
- 3) Y.n.p.97, "但使 = if, and is colloquial." It is modern 但是. It can be found in the modern form in T'ang Ch'an texts.
- 4) 非下中上法得涅槃 . As Yanagida says, this is a quotation from the Śrīmālā Sūtra: "The Disciples and the Self-Enlightened ones do not perfect them for the reason that one cannot understand the realm of Nirvana by understanding natures as superior, middling, and inferior" (Wayman, Lion's Roar..., p.97). As Yanagida says, Nirvana is not attained through graded practice. This passage has a problem with 法 which sometimes seems to be method of practice, Dharma, and perhaps even phenomena in their proper state.
- 5) Y.n.p.97, "依法看起處. 依法 as in XV. Cf, the following verse of the Vkn: 'Eliminate the idea of self and of creatures. You should give rise to the idea of the Dharma. You must think like that. (We are nothing) but this body made up of the combination of phenomena. The arising (of our body/mind) is only the arising of phenomena. Decease is the cessation of these phenomena. These phenomena do not know each other. When they arise they do not say "I arise", and when they cease they do not say "I cease."'; Chao commented: "Because there is imagination (false ideas) one manifests ego and creatures." Tao-sheng commented: "...Although creatures are the ego..." Kumārajīva commented: "This is to avail oneself of phenomena (Dharma?) to banish the ego. Just as a person cultivates this rage to extinguish that rage." Chao commented: "Because the idea 'ego' is very harmful, we eliminate the idea 'ego' and give rise to the idea 'phenomena (Dharma)'. The idea 'phenomena' is a disease (when one is trying to show that all is) empty, but is a medicine against ego." (T.38, 376b). 「即除我想及衆生想」肇曰--因有妄想故現我及衆生. 生曰--衆生雖即是我--「當起法想」. 什曰, 此假法以遣我, 猶人養此怒以滅彼怒也. 肇曰, 我想患之重者故除我想而起法想, 法想於空爲病, 於我爲藥--

This passage and commentary show that 依法 may also be relying on phenomena, in the sense that phenomena are dependently originated, and in themselves have nothing that should give rise to the mind, i.e., there is nothing in them to be attached to. It is the attachment to phenomena that causes the mind to arise. This is a misunderstanding of phenomena. Therefore one should examine them to see that there is nothing to be attached to, which makes one return to the mind as the source of the problem.

XVIII

"Is there (degrees of) rapidity or slowness in the cultivation of the Way and the attaining of it?"

"It spans (a range of) 100,000 kalpas. For those who take the mind to be (the Way) it is rapid.¹ For those who make up their minds to practise the practices, it is slow. People of sharp faculty know that this mind is the Way; people of dull faculty seek everywhere for the Way, but do not know where the Way is. Moreover, they do not know that this mind itself is Anubodhi."²

"How does one rapidly attain the Way?"

"Because the mind is the substance of the Way (embodiment of the Way)³ the Way is rapidly attainable. When a practitioner himself knows that delusion has arisen (in him), then (he should) rely on the Dharma (phenomena) to observe it (and thereby) make it disappear."

"What mind is the substance of the Way?"

"The mind (that is) like wood and stone.⁴ For example, (the mind) is like a man who paints a picture of tigers and dragons with his own hands, yet when he sees it he scares himself.⁵ A deluded man is like this. The brush of the mind-consciousness (心識 citta and the vijñānas) paints the mountain of knives and the forest of swords (hell) and yet the mind-consciousness is still afraid of them. If one can negate the mind's fear, imagination will be swept aside. Although the volitional brush discriminates and paints material, sound, smell, taste and touch, there still arises greed, anger and stupidity when one sees them. Whether one considers them to exist 見 or reject, still the mind, manas and the vijñānas 心意識 are discriminating, producing all sorts of karma. If one knows that the mind-consciousness 心識 has been empty and calm from the beginning, and does not recognise 見 any basis 處所 for it, this is the practice of the Way. Some discriminate with their own mind and paint tigers, wolves, lions, poisonous dragons and evil fiends, or the

general who is the keeper of the book of life, Yama (god of the dead) and the ox-headed demons of hell. If one discriminates them with one's own mind and is subject to them, this is to undergo hardships. But know that all that the mind discriminates is material. If one awakes to the fact that the mind has been empty and calm from the beginning, one will know that the mind is not material, and that mind is not subject to it. Material is not this material (empirical world), for it is a creation of one's own mind. Just know that it is not real, and will obtain release.

1) Y.n.p.101, "即心是者疾" and below is quoted as Bodhidharma's words in the Tsung-ching lu (T.48,897a) 是以祖師云,即心是者疾,發心行者遲) and the Hsin-fu chu. 即心是 = 即心是道 or 即心是佛 ...Cf. Wan-ling lu"; "Dharma came to this land, to the two kingdoms of Liang and Wei, but only Master K'o secretly believed in his own mind, and understood in the space of a word, 'This mind is the Buddha'" (Goroku VIII, p.97). Note that following this passage there is a quote of II: 深信含生同一真性.

2) Y.n.p.101, "即心自是阿耨菩提 ... 自是 is colloquial, meaning from the first, originally. 阿耨菩提 is a shortening of 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提 Anuttarasamyaksambodhi, supreme wisdom."; Does 自是 = 只是?

3) Or the "mind is the Way itself." Y.n.p.101, "心是道體" mind is the substance of the Way. 道體 is the Way itself."; 體 use here is difficult. Cf. 心體無體 XLVIII where it cannot be rendered by 'itself'. Cf. also LXVII 心是道體,此是體無體 . From an extrapolation of 戒體 XLVI it could be rendered the 'embodiment of the Way.' The mind is the Way because it is the only 'visible expression' of the Way.

4) Y.n.p.102, "心如木石" The essence of mind is in no-mind. This phrase is quoted in the Po-chang Kuang-lu and Tsung-ching lu. Po-chang clearly quotes this as being said by Bodhidharma and this he does in two places. I shall give one. "How does the mind become like wood and stone towards sense data?" The master said, "Basically all phenomena do not speak of themselves, nor does emptiness talk of itself, nor does material speak; and right and wrong, pollution and purity, and also there is no mind to bind people. But people are falsely prejudiced; making all sorts of interpretations, and give rise to all sorts of knowledge and views, and producing all sorts of loves and fears. But if one realizes that all phenomena are not born of themselves, but exist due to one's own instants of imagination and inversions which

grasp at appearances, and if one knows that mind and sense data originally did not reach each other, that state is release. One by one all phenomena are quietened there in that state that is the site of the Way."'; (Ui II, p. 421).

5) This appears to be based originally on a passage like that in the Kāśyapa-parivarta, a pre-Nāgārjuna text. The wording seems closest to the *Ch'in translation that Stael-Holstein thinks was made between 350 and 431 A.D., i.e., the P'u-ming P'u-sa hui 普明菩薩會: "It is for example like an artist who with his own hands paints figures of yaksa demons, and when he sees them he is afraid, and stupified, rooted to a spot. All ordinary people are likewise. Because they themselves create colour, sound, smell, taste and touch, they undergo all the hardships and vexations of the coming and going in birth and death, and are not aware (of it) themselves" 譬如畫師自手畫作夜叉鬼像見已怖畏迷悶踣地。一切凡夫亦得如是, 自造色聲香味觸故, 後來生死受諸苦惱而不自覺 (Stael-Holstein, op.cit., p.101).

Cf. MBT, I, p.206 and note 146, chapter 4 for other examples.

The emphasis in the Kāśyapa is different to our text, for it does not stress that the Mind is the Way, nor does it mention the *manas* and *viññanas*. The context is: "It is for example like a man who is afraid of the sky, and laments and beats his breast. (If he) thus says, 'I shall reject the shy', what meaning has it? Can you reject or be separated from the sky?' 'No World-Honoured.' Thus Kāśyapa, 'If one fears empty phenomena, I say that that person is crazed and has lost his mind 失心. Therefore, he always acts in emptiness and yet is afraid of emptiness.'" (ibid., p.99). The Kāśyapaparivarta does not emphasise the positive aspects as the Long Scroll does.

From the passage it would appear that although it is the mind and the *viññanas* that create and fear their own creation, it is the *manoviññana* that discriminates the objects of the senses and is the intermediary in the process.

XIX

Now whenever one relies on the Dharma-Buddha, Dharma and Sangha¹ to practice the Way one cannot have views about good and evil, excellent and vile, cause and effect, right or wrong, upholding the precepts or breaking the precepts. If one makes such a calculation as this (all of these opinions) are bewildering delusions, are objectifications out of one's own mind, and

one does not know that the realms of the senses arise from his own mind. Even if one knows that no phenomena exist, it is likewise. The objectifications out of one's own mind are all the deluded mind creating right and wrong. If someone considers the Buddha-wisdom supreme, it is likewise. (Even though it is) one's own mind that creates existence and non-existence, it is still deluded. A sutra says, "If you rely on the Dharma-Buddha to cultivate the Way you will not create illusory creatures nor create real creatures."² Therefore the realm of phenomena (Dharmadhātu) is equable, not having any gain or loss.³ If one relies on the Dharma-Buddha to cultivate the Way, one does not seek Nirvana. Why? Since phenomena are Nirvana, how can Nirvana seek Nirvana. Also (one) does not seek phenomena because the mind is the realm of phenomena. How then can the realm of phenomena seek the realm of phenomena? Whenever one wishes to correct the mind, do not fear any phenomena and do not seek any phenomena. If you utilise the Dharma-Buddha to cultivate the Way, your mind (will be) like a rock, inanimate 冥冥 (ambiguous), unaware, unknowing, non-discriminating, and totally apathetic like that of an idiot.⁴ Why? Because phenomena (the Dharma?) lacks awareness and knowing.⁵ Because the Dharma can bestow fearlessness on me⁶ it is a great source of security. It is for example like a man who has committed a mortal crime and who is certain to be beheaded. But at that time the king granted him a pardon, so he lost his worries about death 死憂. With creatures it is likewise. They commit the ten evil deeds and the five deadly sins⁷ and so must fall into hell, but the King of the Dharma issues the grand pardon of quiescence⁸ and so they escape all their sins. If a man is a good friend of a king, and goes to another country and there kills men and women, is arrested there, and they wish to avenge their grievances 報怨, that man is in fear and trembling (for) there is no one to rely on. Suddenly he sees the Great King and instantly attains release. If a person breaks the precepts⁹ and commits murder, rape, theft and fears that he will fall into hell, (if) he sees his own King of the Dharma

he will attain release.

1) 今若依法佛法僧行, 法佛 = the Dharmakaya-Buddha = 法身佛

2) Y.n.p.106, "The sutra is not identified. 若依法佛修道 = when one practises from the standpoint of the Dharma, one does not take creatures to be provisionally existent nor as really existent. The mind of creatures is the content of the Way."

3) The Pu-tseng pu-chien ching 不增不減經 says, "Because simpletons do not truly know the unique realm of phenomena as it is, they give rise to the false view that the realm of creatures increases and decreases" (T.16,466b).

4) Y.n.p.107, "一切騰騰如似痴人 = akin to an indifferent fool."

5) Y.n.p.107, "法無所知 The Dharma transcends human perception. The Vkn says: 'The Dharma cannot be seen, heard, perceived or known. If one acts seeing, hearing, perceiving and knowing, this is seeing, hearing, perceiving and knowing, it is not seeking the Dharma.'; Seng-chao commented, "The six vijñānas are abbreviated to four names... perception is the vijñānas of the nose, tongue and body. Knowing is the manovijñāna" (T.38,381c).

6) Y.n.p.107, "The Truth bestows the power of fearlessness. The Lotus Sutra says: 'The Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara, affords safety to those who are in anxiety. On that account one calls him in this Saha-world Abhyandada (i.e., Giver of Safety).'; Kern, p.412. Cf. L.Hurvitz, Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma, p.315.

7) Y.n.p.107, "十惡五逆 The ten evil deeds are killing, stealing, adultery, lying, forked tongue, bad language, filthy language, greed, anger, false views. The five deadly sins are; killing one's father, mother, Arhats, and injuring the Buddha and disturbing the peace of the Sangha."

8) Y.n.p.107, "法王放大救滅赦 The absolute power of Truth is compared to the amnesty of a king... The Lotus Sutra says, 'I am the Dharma King, with respect to the Dharma acting completely at will (to bring tranquillity to the beings)' and, '(I am) The Dharma King who demolishes being'. (Both of these translations from Hurvitz, op.cit., p.75 and p.103 respectively). The forged sutra from Tun-huang, the Fa-wang ching 法王經 says: 'When one tries to repent one should examine 觀察 the real truth 實諦. If one examines the real truth, all sins will be abolished.' The even older forged sutra, the Tsui-miao sheng-ting ching 最妙勝定經 says: 'If one who has committed the fine deadly sins practices meditation that person will naturally have all

their sins abolished.' Both assert that sins will be wiped out by meditation."

9) Y.n.p.108, "若人破戒" is taken up in the An-hsin fa-men, but the phrasing is slightly different."; T.48,370b, 又若人造一切罪, 自見已之魔王, 即得解脫

XX

Of the methods of cultivating the Way, those who rely on literature to understand are weak. Those who get an understanding through (the medium of) events 事 (objects)¹ are strong.² Those who see the Dharma through the medium of events do not lose mindfulness³ anywhere. When those who understand through (the medium of) literature meet with an event their vision is beclouded. To discuss the events through the sutras and śāstras is to be alienated from the Dharma. Discussing events verbally and hearing about events aurally is not as good as personally regulating (experiencing) events⁴ bodily and mentally. If one's (realization that) these events are the Dharma is deep, worldly people will not be able to fathom one. Despite often being robbed by bandits and stripped of all his things, a practitioner of the Way hasn't a mind that is bound by desire and does not feel annoyed. Even if he is often abused and slandered by people, he still does not feel annoyed. If you are like this, the Way-Mind gradually becomes stronger, and accumulated over years without end, it naturally has no mind 無心 towards all incompatible and compatible (sense data). Therefore, he who is not ruled by these events can be considered to be a Bodhisattva of great strength.⁵ If you wish to enlarge the mind that cultivates the Way, you should direct your mind beyond the circumscribed sphere.⁶

1) Y.n.p.110, "若從事上得解者" etc. is in the An-hsin Fa-men. (T.48,370b) 事 = vastu or artha, meaning an object, part of the sense data. Cf.SL,p.437.

2) Y.n.p.110, "氣力" = the basis of the motive power of the body; vigor... In Hung-jen's Hsiu-hsin yao-lun 修心要論 there is an example: 'Just wear rags and eat poor food. While fully protecting the mind 守心 feign idiocy, which is the best way of conserving strength, whilst still being an achiever.'

(Suzuki II, p.308) There is also a case in the Tung-shan lu 洞山錄: 'Tung-shan threw his mattock down, saying, "Today I haven't a bit of strenth^g (energy)." Shen-shan said, "If you have no energy how can you talk so?"

Tung-shan said, "With that which you think to be energy."": (The text of the latter is in Wu-chia Yü-lu (Chübun ed.) p.127 and Tsut'ang chi 2.48: 師擲下鐮頭云, 我今日一點氣力也無。神山云, 若無氣力豈解恁麼通。師云, 汝將謂有氣力底是)

3) 失心 = to lose concentration or have the mind confused by sense data.

4) Y.n.p.110, "不如身心自經事 = nothing is as good as experiencing personally, bodily and mentally. 經事 means to regulate events, practice."

5) Yanagida thinks that the patience described here is an example of 經事. As he notes, these examples of patience are found in the Chin-kang ching (Iwanami, p.78) and the I-chiao ching 遺教經, which in fact has a line similar to this in it: "If a person approaches and pulls you limb from limb... do not give rise to anger and resentment... Those who are patient can be said to be men of great strength 有力大人" (Daizōkyō kōza V, p.322). This is also quoted in full in the Ta-mo ch'an-shih lun (Darumadaishi no kenkyū, p.463 f.) and is referred to in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun (Suzuki II, p.309), stating, "Do not lose this correct mindfulness, for it is the Buddha." As Yanagida says, the latter also says, "He who clearly loses^s correct mindfulness, and who liberates creatures is a Bodhisattva of Great Strength" (Suzuki II, p.308, 3然不失正念, 而度衆生者, 是大力菩薩). Y.n.p.111, "Although its relations with these works is not clear, the Srīmālā Sūtra" mentions Bodhisattvas of of great strength. (Cf. Wayman, Lion's Roar, p.82; T.12, 221c) 阿羅漢辟支佛大力菩薩, 本所不見本所不得。

6) Y.n.p.111, "規域外 is difficult to understand... transcended the sphere of established usage." I think it may have some connection with 域心, the limit of the mind, natural endowment. To go beyond the calculating mind. Literally outside the area made by a compass.

XXI

"What sort of an event 事 (matter) is called 'beyond the circumscribed sphere?'

"Not realizing the understanding of Mahayana or Hinayana, not making up one's mind (to seek) Bodhi, nor even wishing for all inclusive wisdom¹, not revering the person who understands and is settled 定, not despising persons

who are attached and who crave, nor even wishing (vowing to attain) for the Buddha-Wisdom. This mind is naturally at peace. If a person does not grasp for understanding and does not seek wisdom, such a one will most likely escape the delusion and confusion of (created by) Dharma teachers and Meditation teachers.² If one can preserve the mind and establish an intention³ of not wishing (to be) a sage or saint, of not seeking release, of not fearing birth and death nor fearing hell, and of mindlessly carrying out one's duty directly⁴, one has only then formed the mind that circumscribes dullness⁵. If a person can see all the saints and sages, and the transformations made through their divine powers over a period of 100,000 kalpas⁶ and he does not give rise to a mind desirous of pleasure, that person will most likely escape the deceptive delusions of others."

Again it was asked, "How do you produce this 'beyond the circumscribed sphere'?"

"Benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and sincerity are called the circumscribed mind. Birth-death and Nirvana are also called the circumscribed mind. If you want to go beyond the circumscribed mind, there is not even the words ordinary or saint. It cannot be known through existent phenomena⁷, nor can one know it through non-existent phenomena, nor can one know it through (both) existent and non-existent phenomena. That which ordinary knowledge understands⁸ is also said to be within the circumscribed sphere. (When one) does not initiate (make up one's mind to be?) the mind of the ordinary person, nor the Śrāvaka or Bodhisattva mind, nor even initiate (make up one's mind to be) the Buddha mind, nor initiate any mind, only then is one said to have gone beyond the circumscribed sphere. If you want no mind at all to arise, do not make interpretations, nor give rise to delusions. Only then are you said to have gone beyond everything. When the idiots of the world etc. meet a charlatan⁹ who talks malevolently, (the idiots) make malefic interpretations and use them as a guide 指南, this is unthinkable. How can

one make the universe function?¹⁰ I have heard of a man who lead a horde of a thousand million, and then his mind moved. Look carefully into one's own mental phenomena to see whether there are any words or letters there or not.

i) Y.n.p.113, "不原求一切種智 = not to seek the wisdom of the Buddha. 一切種智 is one of three wisdoms. It is higher than 一切智 of the Srāvakas and the 道種智 of the Bodhisattvas... Preached in Chih-tu lun XXVII."

2) Y.n.p.114, "欲免法師禪師等惑亂 This calls to mind the fact that the researches on the sutras and śāstras, and the practices of the meditators at this time tended to confuse people. Chih-i warned against the false views of the 'Nose-span' Meditation teachers and the Dharma teachers with confused minds, and he preached against the excesses of the literary 文字 Dharma teachers and the Dhyana teachers whose proofs are without basis. Mo-ho chih-kuan, 5a, 7b, 10a-b"; Cf. Sekiguchi Shindai, Makashikan, (Iwanami) 鼻隔禪師, 散心法師 vol.2, p.346; 文字法師, 事相法師 vol.2, p.141; 闇證禪師, 誦文法師 vol.1, p.279.

3) Y.n.p.114, "存心立志 to set one's mind on and be determined to... 存心 is in Meng-tzu, Chin-hsin chapter 盡心: 'By preserving the mind and and nourishing the spirit one can thereby serve heaven.'" (Morohashi, 6943.79 存其心, 養其性 所以事天也).

4) Y.n.p.114, "無心直作任 to forget discrimination and to advance with the idea 'I'll do it.' 作任 in Huai-nan tzu, Yao-lueh: 'By carrying out one's own duty and supervising and urging them on, one can get the ministers to use their capacities to the full.'"

5) Y.n.p.114, "規鉤 is difficult to understand. The character 規 is a problem."

6) Y.n.p.114, "神通轉變 powers due to meditation..."; To see the changes Bodhisattvas undergo over eons in their attempts to convert beings.

7) Y.n.p.115, "不可以有法知 The Vkn, 'He cannot be known by intellect or perceived by consciousness... He can neither be pointed out or spoken of' (Luk's translation, p.121 f)."; "Seng-chao commented, 'Now the intellect and the consciousnesses are born within appearance. Because the Body of Phenomena has no appearance, it (he) is not something that can be reached by the intellect or consciousnesses.'" (T.38, 411a-b 肇曰, 夫智識之生, 生於相由, 法身無相故, 非智識之能)

8) Y.n.p.115, "齊知之所能, . In the words of Lieh-tzu (Huang-ti chap.):

'That which is known by ordinary knowledge is shallow.'"; Morohashi, 48560.172
 齊智之所知則淺矣。

9) Y.n.p.115, "一箇胡魅謨 is a kind of suspicious looking ghost that has no set form.... Here it means a man who preaches heterodoxy."

10) Y.n.p.116, "大物 a great thing or existence. Chuang-tzu XI: 'Now the possessor of a state possesses a great thing. Because he possesses a great thing, he cannot be regarded as a mere thing himself. He is a thing, and yet he is not a mere thing; therefore he can treat other things as mere things. He who clearly understands that, in treating other things as mere things, he himself is no longer a mere thing- how could he be content to only govern the hundred clans of the world and do nothing more? He will move in and out of the Six Realms and wander over the Nine Continents, going alone, coming alone. He may be called a Sole Possessor, and a man who is a Sole Possessor may be said to have reached the peak of eminence.' (Burton Watson, The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, p.123 f.)." I think from what precedes this word in the passage that 大物 may refer to the masses.

XXII

"What is called the frank mind? What is called the sophistical mind?"¹

"Letters and speech are called sophistry. The material and the immaterial etc., walking, resting, sitting and lying down, action and conduct are all frank. Even when it encounters all manner of unhappy and joyful events this mind does not move and only then is it called the frank mind."

1) Y.n.p.117, "巧偽 scheming mind... Chuang-tzu, (Robber Chih), 'That hypocrite Confucius.'" 巧偽人孔丘

XXIII

"What do you say is to be orthodox? What do you say is to be heterodox?"

"To be without mental discrimination is said to be orthodox. To have a mental understanding of phenomena is said to be heterodox. Only when one is not even aware of heterodoxy and orthodoxy is one said to be orthodox. A sutra says, 'He who rests on the orthodox Way does not discriminate between heterodoxy and orthodoxy.'¹"

1) Y.n.p.118, "安 = Vkn: 'The Bodhisattva 'Gem on the Head' said, "Orthodoxy and heterodoxy are a duality, (but) he who dwells in (i.e., realizes) orthodoxy does not discriminate between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Keeping from these two extremes is initiation into the non-dual Dharma" (Luk. transl. p.99)." (T.38,399a).

XXIV

"Who are of sharp faculty and who are of dull faculty?"

"He who does not depend on his master's teaching¹ and who sees the Dharma through the medium of events is said to be of sharp faculty. He who understands through his master's words and teachings is said to be of dull faculty. Even in the case of hearing the Dharma through the words and teachings of a teacher there is also a sharp faculty and a dull faculty. (He who), on hearing his teacher's words is not attached to (their?) existence, and does not grasp at the non-existing, who is not attached to appearance, and does not grasp at the appearanceless, who is not attached to the produced 生 and does not grasp at the unproduced, he is a man of sharp faculty. The coveting of understanding, the seeking of meaning, and the opinion that there is right and wrong etc., is the understanding and meaning of a man of dull faculty. A man of sharp faculty on hearing the Way does not initiate (make up the mind to be an...) the mind of an ordinary person, nor does he even initiate the mind of the sage or saint; he renounces both the ordinary and the saintly. This is the hearing of the Way of a man of sharp faculty. He does not love wealth and sexual beauty, nor does he love the Buddha's bodhi. If one loves the Buddha's Bodhi and rejects disturbance and grasps after tranquillity, rejects stupidity and grasps at wisdom, and rejects the created 有為 and grasps at the uncreated, one cannot renounce these pairs and be unhindered. Such is a man of dull faculty. (He who) gets rid of such (opinions; or in this way)² transcends all the realms of the senses of the ordinary person and saint; and he who on hearing the Way does not initiate a coveting mind (or

make up his mind to covet), nor even initiate right mindfulness nor right aspiration; and who on hearing the Way does not initiate the mind of a Śrāvaka nor even the mind of a Bodhisattva is called a man of sharp faculty. The Bodhisattva regards the realm of phenomena as his home³, and the four immeasurable minds⁴ as the site where he receives the precepts. All actions in the end do not leave the realm of phenomena-mind.⁵ Why? Because the body 體 is the realm of phenomena.⁶ Even if you say and do all sorts of things⁷, and hop and prance around, none (of these actions) leave the realm of phenomena, nor will they enter the realm of phenomena. He who (tries to) take the realm of phenomena to enter into the realm of phenomena is an idiot.⁸ Because the Bodhisattvas distinctly see the realm of phenomena, it is said that their phenomena (Dharma)-eye is clear.⁹ Since they do not see that phenomena have arising, rest and cessation, it is said that their phenomena (Dharma)-eye is clear. A sutra says,¹⁰ "Do not extinguish 滅 idiocy or passion", for since passion originally did not arise, now there is nothing that can cease. One who is idiotic and passionate just seeks inside, outside and inbetween, but he cannot see it and he cannot obtain it. Even if he seeks in the ten directions for it, he will not be able to get even an iota of it. So one need not (try to) extinguish (idiocy and passion) to seek release.

1) Y.n.p.122, "不由師教 ... The Hua-yen ching VIII says, 'Instantaneously enlightenment opened of itself. One is not enlightened through others.'

2) Y.n.p.122, "与设即去 is difficult to understand, but I take it to mean 'in this way was unified.' A manuscript has 與現即去 which at present is inexplicable."; The Ch'an-men ts'o-yao has 與現即去, which Suzuki has followed, making 設 = 麼. Moreover, as 與 can equal 與, it possibly means "in this way". (與麼).

3) Y.n.p.122, "以法界為舍宅 is to make the real world one's home. 法界 is where the 法性 is manifested."

4) 四無量心 = catvāri-apramāṇāni, the four immeasurable states of mind (in

value): boundless compassion 慈 (maitrī), pity 悲 (karuṇā), joy 喜 (muditā) and indifference 捨 (upeksā).

5) Y.n.p.123, "A有施為終不出法界心 Ma-tsu said, 'The present walking, resting, sitting, lying down, responding to the circumstances provided by the environment, are all the Way. The Way is the realm of phenomena, and even the mysterious functions as numerous as the sands of the Ganges are not outside the realm of phenomena.'" 只如今行住坐臥應機接物盡是道, 道即是法界, 乃至河沙妙用不出法界 (Ssu-chia Yu-lu, chuan 1, folio 8a. Cf. T.51, 440a) Here Ma-tsu was commenting on the Vkn verse, "The conduct of the Bodhisattva is neither the conduct of the ordinary person nor that of the saints and sages."

6) The Nirvana Sutra says, "This present body of mine is Nirvana" 我今此身即是涅槃 (T.12, 513b). Cf. HKSC biog. of Hui-k'o.

7) Y.n.p.123, "從你種仁云為 etc. is quoted in the Hsin-fu chu, II. 從你 means even if."; This 從 = 縱從.

8) Y.n.p.123, "若以法界入法界 Shen-hui, in his T'an-yu says, 'A sutra says, "Constantly practise the wisdom of the real appearance of non-thought. If one takes the realm of phenomena to realize the realm of phenomena, one is (being) an arrogant person."'" (Hu Shih, Shen-hui Ho-shang i-chi, p.236 經云, 常行無念實相智慧, 若以法界證法界者, 即是增上慢人).

9) Y.n.p.124, "名法眼淨 the complete eye that clearly sees the truth." Yanagida points to a section in the Vkn that refers to this subject. When the Buddha showed the pure aspect of the world to some śrāvakas and then returned the world to its tainted aspect, "they knew that created phenomena were all impermanent, (so) they kept far from pollution and attained the clear phenomena (Dharma)-eye." Chao commented, "(Because of the Buddha's action) they were awakened to impermanence, and so attained the pure phenomena (Dharma)-eye.... Because they first see the traces of the Way it is called the Dharma-eye." (T.38, 338b-c).

10) Y.n.p.124, "The Vkn explains this as to attain enlightenment without cutting off the mind of ignorance and desire; 'If Subhuti you do not cut off lust, anger and idiocy (ignorance), and yet are not totally (dominated by them), and do not crush them in yourself, and yet still follow (after) the One Appearance, do not extinguish idiocy and passion while trying to obtain wisdom and release. One can be in the aspect of the five deadly sins and attain release, be neither released nor bound. If one does not see the four truths, nor not see the truthsyou can take the food.'" (T.38, 350a-b) Tao-sheng commented, "The body

(oneself) has originally come into existence from stupidity and passion. Not being covered again it is clear (wisdom), not again being bound by passion is release."

11) Y.n.p..125, "不須滅而求解脫" The Nirvana Sutra XXV says, 'O good sons, that in which frustrations are cut off is not called Nirvana. Only the non-production of frustrations is called Nirvana. O good sons, the Buddhas and Tathagatas call the non-arising of frustrations Nirvana. All wisdom which is not obstructed by phenomena is called Tathagata.' 善男子斷煩惱者不名涅槃。不生煩惱乃名涅槃。善男子，諸佛如來煩惱不起是名涅槃。所有智慧於法無礙是為如來。

XXV

"The¹ people of the world pursue all sorts of studies, so why don't they attain the Way?"

"Because they see a self² they cannot attain the Way. If one does not see a self, one has attained the Way. The self is the ego. A saint is one who on meeting with hardship is not despondent³, and on meeting pleasure does not rejoice, for he does not see a self. Therefore one who is neither troubled nor pleased (is so) because he has lost the self. With the attaining of vacuity⁴, although the self only is lost, what further thing (can there) be that is not also lost?⁵ Those on earth who have lost their selves are few. Whenever one loses the self, all is basically naught.

The self perversely produces calculation and so is moved^成 by birth, old age, sickness, death, grief, sorrow, hardship, vexation, cold, heat, wind and rain and all that which is not as one wishes; all of these are projections of the imagination. Just as with illusions their departing or remaining are not due to the self. Why? (Because it)⁶ perversely produces opposition and does not permit departing and remaining. Therefore there are frustrations which are due to the grasping of a self, and so there is departing and remaining. Those who know that departing and remaining is not due to the self, (understand that) that which the ego affirms⁷ are illusory phenomena which cannot be

detained. If one does not resist the illusion then all things will be unhindered.⁸ If one does not resist the changes (transmutations), then all events (objects) will not be regretted of."

- 1) Y.n.p.127, "世間人種々學問 etc. is quoted in the An-hsin fa-men." It ends the quotation, "that is not also lost." (T.48,370b)
- 2) Y.n.p.127, "由見己故 is quoted in the Tsung-ching lu as Bodhidharma's words." The quotation ends "The self is the ego." Note that 見己 is changed to 己見, 'the view that the self exists'. Yen-shou uses it as a further elucidation of the following: "The sense data are not projected (really) before you; it is only the mind falsely seeing. The sense data of which one can experience suffering and joy originally had no place to come from. Good and bad events are simply what one has invited to come into existence. Emptiness is and is not. Delusion is born and delusion dies. As Bodhidharma says...." (T.48,848a).
- 3) Y.n.p.127, "聖人所以逢苦不憂 in the 'requital of resentment' in II."
- 4) Y.n.p.127, "得至虛無 is Lao-Chuang thought." For example, Han-fei tzu 'Explanation of Lao-tzu' chapter says, "Even though a sage does not see the forms of calamity, he vacantly follows the Principles of the Way" 聖人雖未見禍患之形, 虛無服從於道理; Huai-nan tzu says, "Vacuity is where the Way resides." 虛無者, 道之所居也 (Morohashi, 32709.316). As Yanagida indicates, in Chi-tsang's opinion, 虛無 points to the Taoist doctrine. The San-lun hsuan-i says, "The Way of Po-yang (Lao-tzu), that Way indicates vacuity." 伯陽之道指虛無. Yanagida says, "Traditionally in China, Nirvana, or the wisdom of prajñā was taken to be 虛無. Seng-chao is typical..." As Liebenthal notes, "when mundane existence is depreciated as 'not truly existent', 'impermanent', 'mental' etc. both 空 and 虛 (虛無) are used." Liebenthal, Chao Lun, p.62, note 222.
- 5) 尙自 This particle seems to mean 'even', 'although', usually in a question and or with a negative plus a potential following it. Cf. Tsu-t'ang chi III, 42, 什麼到与摩地. 師云, 達底人尙自如此, 豈況是你諸人便順? "what is reaching such a place?" The master replied, If even a person who has arrived is thus, who much less can you people follow the custom?"; and II, 11, 吾說法尙自不聞, 豈況於無情說法乎. "If you do not even hear what I preach, how much less then can (you hear) the preaching of an insentient (thing)?"
- 6) The Ch'an-men ts'o-yao adds after "Why?" 從緣起故幻化 : "Because it has arisen from conditions, it is an illusion and".

7) Ch'an-men ts'o-yao adds 爲 .

8) Y.n.p.128, "觸物無礙 ... 觸物 means all things, as in 觸處 everywhere and the following 觸事 . Cf. (last paragraph of Pu-chen-k'ung lun) has "....All affairs are still real...."; Liebenthal, Chao Lun, p.63 has "This life of ours..." 觸事而真 .

XXVI

"If phenomena are empty who is it that cultivates the Way?"

"If there is somebody, he must cultivate the Way. If there is no one there is no need to cultivate the Way. This someone is the ego. If there is no ego¹ then on contact with things affirmation and negation does not arise.² Affirmation 是者 is the ego affirming it, while the thing does not affirm 非是 (itself or the ego). Negation is the ego itself negating it, while the thing does not negate 非非 . One can know this through the examples of things like wind, rain, green, yellow, red and white etc. 'It is likeable' is the ego itself liking it, whilst the the thing is not (being) likeable 好也 . Why? It is just as one can know through the examples 譬 of (the relations of) the eye, ear, nose and tongue with colour and sound etc."

1) From "If there is no ego" to "the thing does not negate" is quoted in the Tsung-ching lu directly after the quotation from XXV.

2) 是非 is a problem here. Literally existing or non-existing something.

XXVII

"A sutra says, 'Travelling on the wrong (non-Buddhist) Ways is penetration of the Buddhist Way'. (What does this mean?)."¹

"Those who travel on the wrong Ways do not reject name nor do they reject appearance."² For those who have penetrated, name is nameless and appearance has no appearance. It further says, 'Those who travel on the wrong Ways do not reject greed nor do they reject passion. For those who have penetrated, this greed is non-greed 無貪 , and this passion is non-passion. When for those

travellers on the wrong Ways hardship is non-hardship and pleasure is non-pleasure, they are said to have penetrated (the Buddhist Way). Neither rejecting life nor rejecting death is said to be penetration (or getting through). When for those who travel the wrong Ways, birth is non-birth 無生, and when they do not grasp at non-birth, when the ego is non-ego, and when they do not grasp at non-ego, they are said to have penetrated the Buddhist Way. If negation 非 is non-negation 無非, and one does not grasp at non-negation, this is called penetrating the Buddhist Way. In short, (when) mind is no-mind 無心 (mindless), one is said to have penetrated the mind-Way 名為通達心道."

1) Y.n.p.132, "行於非道通達佛道 = Vkn, 'Mañjuśrī asked Vimalakīrti, "How does the Bodhisattva penetrate the Buddhist Way?" Vimalakīrti answered, "If a Bodhisattva travels on the wrong Ways he penetrates the Buddhist Way." He again asked, "What is the Bodhisattva travelling on the wrong Ways?" Vimalakīrti replied, "If a Bodhisattva is without vexation or anger whilst acting in the Avici hell and reaches the hells without sin or defilements...""; Chao commented, "...If one does not take the Way to be the Way or the wrong Ways to be the wrong Ways, then right and wrong are extinguished in one's mind (or cut off from one's mind). When you meet with a thing, (by) this (you can) take advantage of it." (擊曰---若能不以道為道, 不以非道為非道者, 則是非絕於心遇物斯兼 T.38, 390b-c).

Y.n.p.133, "This phrase is also seen in the Chueh-kuan lun (cf. A Dialogue on the Contemplation Extinguished, p.93), and it was taken up frequently by the early Ch'an Sect, and was continued by Shen-hui, Po-chang, Ta-chu and Huang-po. By the height of the Ch'an Sect, it had been extended to profess that one could be born in the world of animals. For example, see the biography of Nan-ch'uan in the Tsu-t'ang chi"

2) As Yanagida notes, name and form are the first two of five dharma that the world of delusion and enlightenment are classified into in the Lanka and the Yogāśāstra. SL, pp.154-7 translates 相 as appearance, 名 as name, 妄分別 as discrimination, 真如 as Suchness and 正智 as right Knowledge. This seems then to be different to the 名相 of the Lanka I have quoted in footnote 59 of the HKSC biog. of Hui-k'o.

XXVIII

"What is the penetration^達 (understanding) of all phenomena?"

"When^即 things do not give rise to seeing^見 (views or sight) this is called penetration. When things do not give rise to mind, when things do not give rise to greed and when things do not give rise to vexation, all these are called penetration. When material is non-material¹ it is called the penetration of material. When existence is not existing^{不有}, this is called the penetration of existence. When birth is non-birth it is called the penetration of birth. When phenomena are non-phenomena it is called the penetration of phenomena. When someone comes into contact with things and directly penetrates it, that person has his wisdom eye open^{惠眼開}. Also not being able to see whether there is any difference or non-difference^{無異} in appearance is called penetration."

1) Y.n.p.135, "即色無色 Vkn: 'The Bodhisattva Priyadarśana said, "Material and voidness of material are a duality, (but) material is emptiness, (which does) not (mean that) material extinguishes emptiness, for the nature of material is empty of itself. So are sensation, conception, reaction and consciousness. Consciousness and emptiness are a duality, yet consciousness is emptiness, (which) does not (mean that) consciousness extinguishes emptiness, for the nature of consciousness is itself empty. A thorough understanding of this is an entrance 入 into the non-dual Dharma Gate.""; Seng-chao's comment is even closer: "Material is empty (so there is) no (need) to wait for material to cease, and only then be empty. Therefore to see material to be different from emptiness is the creation of duality in the attributes of phenomena" (T. 38, 398a). 色即是空, 不待色滅, 然後為空, 是以見色異於空者, 則二前該相也."

XXIX

"Heretics^{外道} delight in various views but the Bodhisattvas are unmoved by these views.¹ Deva Māra² delights in (the chain of) birth and death, whereas the Bodhisattva while being in birth and death does not reject it. (What does this mean?)"

"They are unmoved because heterodox views are the same as orthodox views."

The views that heretics delight in are called ^謂 seeing existence and seeing non-existence (i.e., the views that things exist and do not). (Understanding) that existence is not existent ^{即有不有}, that non-existence is not non-existent is called being unmoved. To be unmoved is to neither abandon the orthodox nor to abandon heterodoxy. As soon as one has this orthodox (correct) understanding ^{即是正解時} there is neither heterodox nor orthodox, and (so) there is no need to abandon the heterodox and seek the orthodox. Since existence is not existent, when one is unmoved one sees existence. Since non-existence is not non-existent, when one is unmoved one sees non-existence. Because they rely on phenomena ^法 to observe that heterodoxy and orthodoxy do not differ, (the Bodhisattvas) are said to be unmoved. Also, because there is no need to reject the heterodox and enter the orthodox, it is said that (Bodhisattvas) are unmoved by these views. A sutra says, 'Enter the true Dharma (phenomena) through perverted (heterodox) appearances' It also says, 'Enter the eight forms of liberation without rejecting the eight heterodox (practices).'³ Because birth-death and Nirvana are identical, do not reject (birth and death) for birth is non-birth and death is non-death, (so) do not depend on the rejection of birth in order to enter into non-birth, or the rejection of death in order to enter into non-death, for (they) are quiescent and thus Nirvana.⁴ A sutra says, 'All creatures were originally quiescent, and do not cease again.'⁵ It also says, 'All phenomena are Nirvana.'⁶ There is no need to reject birth-death for they are Nirvana from the beginning.⁷ It is just like a person having no need to reject an icicle; since it is water from the beginning,⁸ and because their natures are themselves identical. Because birth-death and Nirvana are also of themselves identical in nature, there is no need to reject (birth and death). Therefore a Bodhisattva, whilst being in birth-death, does not reject it. That a Bodhisattva rests unmoved (means that) he rests on a non-rest ^{住無住}, which is called resting.⁹ Because the heretics take delight in views, the Bodhisattva instructs them that a view is a non-view, and not

to labour at abandoning views so that later one will have no views. That 'the Deva Māra delights in birth and death and the Bodhisattva does not reject (them)' (means that the Bodhisattva) wishes to awaken them (to the fact that) birth is non-birth, and not to depend on rejecting birth in order to enter into non-birth. This resembles the non-necessity of rejecting water whilst seeking moisture, or rejecting fire whilst seeking heat. Water is moist, fire is hot, and birth and death is simply Nirvana. Therefore a Bodhisattva does not reject birth and death to enter Nirvana, for the nature of birth and death is Nirvana. Do not depend on cutting off birth and death (in order) to enter Nirvana.¹⁰ A Śrāvaka cuts off birth and death and enters Nirvana, (but) because a Bodhisattva understands fully that their natures are equal¹¹, he can, through great compassion, share with the masses and adopt their functions.¹² Birth and death have the same meaning but a different name (to Nirvana), the immovable. Nirvana also has the same meaning but a different name (to birth and death)."

1) Y.n.p.140, "外道樂諸見...Vkn, in which the Buddha replies to Mañjusrī's question as to why he has no servants: 'All the demons and heretics are my servants. Why? (Because) demons delight in birth and death which the Bodhisattva does not reject, and heretics delight in views in the midst of which the Bodhisattva is unmoved.'"; Kumārajīva commented, "He is saying that he did see that they had different appearances." The last line of Seng-chao's comment is the first line of the reply given to this question in the Long Scroll: "The great gentleman (Vimalakīrti) contemplated (saw) life and death to be the same as Nirvana, so he was able not to reject it. He contemplated that heterodox views are the same as orthodox views, so he was able to be unmoved" (T.38, 374a 外道者樂諸見, 菩薩於諸見而不動。什曰, 言不見其有異相也。肇曰, 大士觀生死同理無, 故能不捨。觀邪見同於正見, 故能不動)。

2) Deva Māra is one of the four Māras and is called the Slayer. He is the demon-god who tempted the historical Buddha.

3) Y.n.p.140-1, "以邪相入正法 Vkn, " Kāśyapa, if you are able to enter the eight liberating (practices of meditation) without rejecting the eight incorrect (actions), one can enter the true Dharma through perverted appearances

(aspects). If you can donate your food to all (creatures) and offer it to the Buddhas and the saints, then you may eat.'" (T.38,348c-349a) 迦葉若能下捨八邪入八解脫以邪相入正法) The problem word here is 邪相.

4) Y.n.p.141, "寂滅故涅槃... Quiescent is a translation of Nirvana."

5) Y.n.p.141-2, "一切衆生本來寂滅" is from the Vkn. The original sentence differs somewhat. The context is as follows: 'If you Maitreya attain anuttara-samyaksambodhi, all creatures should also attain it. Why? Because all creatures are an aspect of bodhi 菩提相 (i.e., have no aspect or appearance). If you Maitreya attain Nirvana 滅度 so will all creatures. Why? (Because) the Buddhas know that all creatures are ultimately quiescent, which is the attribute of Nirvana, of which there is no further extinction.'" Chao commented, "The basic nature is always extinguished." (T.38,362b) 佛知一切衆生畢竟寂滅, 即是涅槃相, 不復更滅. 肇曰, 本性常滅.

6) Y.n.p.142, "一切法皆是涅槃 Vkn, 'Frustrations are the site of the Way bodhimandala), for they are known to be as real (as they are). Creatures are the site of the Way, for they are known to be egoless. All phenomena are the site of the Way, for phenomena are known to be empty.'" 諸煩惱是道場, 知如實故, 衆生是道場, 知無我故. 一切法是道場, 知諸法空故. Chao commented: "The significance of the reality of frustrations, the egolessness of creatures and the emptiness of phenomena is that they are all from where the Way arises." (T.38,364c).

7) Y.n.p.142, "不須捨生死始是涅槃 Cf. the Vkn, 'Entering Nirvana without cutting off frustrations is meditation.'" 不斷煩惱而入涅槃, 是為宴坐 (T.38,345b). Kumarajiva commented, "Frustrations are Nirvana, so do not wait to (depend on) cut them off and then enter (Nirvana)." 什曰, 煩惱即涅槃, 故不待斷而後入.

8) Y.n.p.142, "不須捨凍陵始是水 The analogy of ice and water is used in the Fo-shuo ta-pien yeh-cheng ching 佛說大方廣華嚴經 and in the Lun Heng, 'Discussion of Death' chapter." 凍陵 = 凍凌.

9) Y.n.p.143, "住無住名為住 Being not dependent on anything is the true meaning of a support. 無住 is to be without a basis. There is no foundation on which one can rely. Cf. the Vkn, 'He also asked of non-resting. What is its basis? (Vimalakirti) replied, "Non-resting has no basis. Mañjuśrī, from this basis of the non-resting all phenomena are established.'" Chao commented, "If you take the mind's movements to be the basis, then you will cause the arising of the appearances of existence." (T.38,386c) 又問無住, 孰為本. 答曰, 無住則無本. 文殊師利, 從無住本立一切法. 肇曰, 若以心動為本則因有有相生).

Yanagida says that the phrase in the Chin-kang ching, "(Bodhisattvas) must not rest on material to produce mind,...they must produce this mind without having any resting place 不應住色生心...應無所住而生其心 (Iwanami, p.65)", became a basic standpoint of the Ch'an Sect after Shen-hui.

10) Y.n.p.144, "不待斷生死而入涅槃 This is the same as the verse of the Viśeṣacintā-brahma-paripṛcchā: 'One does not attain Nirvana apart from samsara' (T.15, 33-62). After this the Ch'an-men ts'o-yao has 亦如不待斷火而入熱性, 是故不待斷生死而入涅槃 and the other Tun-huang text has 何以故生死即是涅槃; both being no more than repetition of the previous verse, I have left them out."

11) Y.n.p.144, "體知性平等 To be wholly clear that their natures are completely identical. 體知 means to know intuitively. It is used in Hung-jen's Hsiu-hsin yao-lun: 'I already understand that creatures' Buddha-natures are originally pure, being just like the sun hidden in the clouds...' (Suzuki II, p.306 既體知衆生佛性本來清淨, 如雲底日). Cf. 體信 and 體達.

12) Y.n.p.144, "以大悲同物取用 The Body being non-existent, (the Bodhisattva) works with compassion in the world of existence. The Vkn says: 'Because of his great kindness and compassion, he does not remain in the supramundane 無爲, and in order to fulfil his vows, he does not exhaust the mundane 有爲. To gather the Dharma medicines he does not stay in the supramundane, and to administer remedies he does not exhaust the mundane. Since he knows the illnesses of all living things he does not stay in the supramundane, and since he wants to cure their illnesses, he does not exhaust the mundane.' (Luk's transl. p.118)."; Seng-chao commented, "He compassionately enters life and death. How can one who is dwelling in the uncreate (inaction) do this?" (T.38, 409b 肇曰, 慈悲入生死, 豈住無爲之所能者也).

XXX

"Is the great Way near or far?"

"It is just like a mirage which is neither near nor far. The image of a face in a mirror is also neither near nor far. Sky, henbane (induced?) spots before the eyes¹ etc. are also neither near nor far. If you say it is near, you could seek in all the ten directions and not be able to get it. If you say it is far, it passes clearly and distinctly in front of your eyes. A śāstra says, 'To be near and yet not able to be seen is the nature of all things.'²

The seeing of the nature of things³ is called the attainment of the Way. The seeing of the mind of things⁴ is (the seeing that) the nature of things is without the appearances of things 物相; that a thing is a non-thing 即物無物. This is called seeing the nature of a thing. The so-called things that have forms and appearances are all things. (If one) closely examines the nature of things, and are certain 實 (is real) and not mistaken, this is called seeing the Truth 見諦, and is also called seeing phenomena (or Dharma). To be near and yet not able to be seen is an attribute of phenomena 法相 (or the Dharma?). A wise one (Buddha) tolerates things but does not tolerate (let free) himself⁵, so he is without grasping and rejecting, and is also without the compatible and the incompatible 達順. A simpleton tolerates his self but does not tolerate things, and so he has grasping and rejecting, and has the compatible and the incompatible. If one can empty the mind, relax⁶ and forget the Empire totally, this is tolerating things and according with the times, which is easy. Countering, opposing and changing things is difficult. If a thing desires to come, let it 任 and do not resist it⁷; if it desires to go away, release it and do not chase after it. Whatever one has done is past and not to be regretted.⁸ That which you have not yet done is to be released and not to be thought of. This is to be a practitioner of the Way. If one can tolerate (things), then one abandons the Empire to its own devices 委任天下, and loss and gain are not due to oneself 我. If one tolerates and does not oppose, indulges and does not resist, where and when is one not free and easy?"⁹

1) Y.n.p.148, "浪客針華 Concrete examples of non-existent things. 浪客 is henbane, a sort of poisonous plant; if one drinks its nettles, it is said that all sorts of apparitions will appear before one's eyes. The Pen-ts'ao kang-mu XVII says that Shih-chen said, 'Lang-t'ang, sometimes 蘭蕩. Because it will cause a person to be unrestrained if one takes its fruit, it is given this name' (本草綱目時珍曰, 莨菪, 一作蘭蕩, 其子服之, 令人狂浪故客故也). It first appears in Buddhist literature in Ching-chueh's Chu Pan-jo po-lo-mi-to hsin.

ching, the Fu Tai-shih Sung Chin-kang ching 傅大士頌金剛經, the Tun-wu chen-tsung lun and Hsin-fu chu etc. There is detailed evidence in the Sung Dynasty Yao K'uan's Hsi-ch'i tsung-shu 西溪叢書. 針花 is the same as 眼花 and 空華, the shining needles which are seen in the air due to eye diseases."; Yao K'uan 姚寬 quotes the line from the Fu Ta-shih commentary: 菰落拾花針, and quotes the Yao-hsing lun 藥性論 which says, "... raw it purges people of seeing ghosts and the madness of picking up needles... (tentative, Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng, compiled Wang Yün-wu 王雲五 Shang-mu yin-shu kuan, p.54 生能瀉人見鬼拾金針狂亂...).

However, the characters here, 浪宕, are the source of derivation of the plants name. 浪宕 can mean debauched, dissipated, and according to the Tz'u-hai is extended in colloquial to mean 'jobless vagrant'. The verse of the Fu Tai-shih commentary is a parallel one; 猿猴探水月, 菰落拾花針 "The monkey grasps for the moon in the water, the madman (?) picks out needles (spots in the air)" (T.85,4c). These lines seem originally to have come from a scriptural source, for in Ching-chueh's commentary on the Heart Sutra verse: "There is no material, no sensation, no conception, no reaction and no consciousness 無色無受想行識", we have, "Henbane spots. The mind is maddened and the eyes diseased. If there are spots in the air, the five skandhas are then not empty. If there really are no spots in the air how can there have been sensation..." 菰落針花心眼病也, 空中若有針花, 五蘊則不虛也 空中實無針花, 受想行識, 何曾有也 (ZSS, p.618 and p.602) Yen-shou's Hsin-fu chu quotes an unnamed sutra that says, "It is like a person who takes the seeds of henbane, and whose eyes see spots." (ZSS, p.618). The only source like this I know of in any sutra is in Bodhiruci's Lanka: 如中菰落人, 見諸像大地一切如金色, 彼不曾有金 (T.16,567a). Cf. LS, p.233, "It is like a drugged man wherever he is, who sees the world in golden colours, though there is no gold."

2) Y.n.p.148, "近而不可見者" Seng-chao's Wu pu-ch'ien lun 物不遷論: "For when one uses the true language, he gives offence to the public, but when he complies with the public he distorts the true meaning. Distorting the true meaning he misses the nature (of things) and has no chance of finding it (later), while giving offence to the public he hears his words called 'tasteless and without flavour' (Lao-tzu XXXV). Thus it happens that the average man is unable to decide whether he should accept or reject (the fact of coincidence), while the inferior person claps his hands and pays no attention (Lao-tzu XLI). Being near and yet unrecognized is the nature of things." (Translation by Liebenthal, Chao Lun, p.46).

3) Y.n.p.148, "物性 is the essence of things....The Tsung-ching lu C, after the above verse quotes the Shang Shu 尚書 : "Of all things born of Heaven, only man is spiritual." Sentient and insentient are all things. Spirit is the nature of the mind, and also the nature of all things. Thus the nature of things is empty, so when the eye contacts (things) it is not far away. But despite being close it cannot be known. Therefore a Śāstra says, "That which is far and can't be seen is like a bird's trace in the sky. That which is near and cannot be seen is like medicine in the eye. Far off is compared to the three asaṅkhyeyas needed to attain the Way, and near is compared to being truly unable to see." (T.48,953b-c). This is not a quote but a paraphrase of the Shu Ching I, part 1,3 惟天地萬物父母惟人萬物之靈
 "Heaven and earth are the parents of all things, and of all the things man is the most spiritual...." (Legge, Chinese Classics III, p.283).

4) Y.n.p.149, "見物心者 Although this is hard to understand, it probably means to see the mind that causes a thing to be like a thing. In philosophical Taoism that which causes a thing to be like a thing is things, denying (thus) that there is a creator apart from things. Buddhism says that that which makes a thing like a thing is the mind, but apart from things there is no mind, and that mind is empty."

5) Y.n.p.149, "智者任物不任己 is incorporated into the An-hsin fa-men (T.48,370b up to 'has the compatible and incompatible'). To tolerate or leave it up to things is mindlessly conforming with things. 無心順物 is one of the basic standpoints of Wei-Chin Hsuan-hsueh. In Kuo Hsiang's Chuang-tzu Chu (Free and Easy Wandering) he says: 'Indeed, he who tolerates himself is opposed to things, and he who is in accord with things is not opposed to things'; and, 'Because I am not, I conform with things, since I conform with things the Principle is reached, when the principle is reached the traces of opposition are erased.'"

6) Y.n.p.150, "虛心寬放 the idle mind, relaxed and at ease, thinking nothing... The Pan-jo wu-chih lun says: 'Therefore a sutra says, "The saint's mind knows nothing and yet there is nothing that it does not know." I believe it! Therefore a saint empties his mind and fills his illumination. He knows all his days and yet has never known. Therefore he can dull his brilliance and sheathe his light and yet his empty mind mirrors profundity. He shuts out his wisdom and blocks off his intellect, and yet he alone is aware of the inscrutable.'"; Cf. Liebenenthal, Chao Lun, p.67 and Robinson, Early Madhyamika...p.213
 故經云,聖心無所知,無所不知,信矣。是以聖人虛其心而實其照,終日知而未嘗知也。故能默耀韜光,虛心玄鑒,閉智塞聰,而獨覺冥冥者矣。

"Empties his mind and fills..." is a reference to Lao-tzu III 聖人之治, 虛其心, 實其腹

7) Y.n.p.150, "任之莫逆" To allow one's companion (object) to come and go, not to oppose. Chuang-tzu, 'T'ai-tsung Shih', 'The four men looked at each other and smiled. There was no disagreement in their hearts and so the four of them became friends' (四人相視而笑, 莫逆於心, 遂相與爲友 B. Watson, The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, p.84). The commentary says, 'Because they saw at a glance that the Way existed 目擊而道存 they looked at each other and laughed, and because they conformed with the profound principle there was no opposition in their minds.'

8) Y.n.p.150, "過而勿悔" Do not regret what has past, or do not brood over mistakes. One can interpret it in both meanings, but here it is probably the former."

9) Y.n.p.150, "逍遙" To saunter about as one wishes.... Chuang-tzu.... In the Hsin-hsin ming 信心銘 'Obey the nature of things, and you are in concord with the Way, Calm and easy and free from annoyance' (D.T.Suzuki, Manual of Zen Buddhism, p.79 任性合道, 逍遙絕惱)."

XXXI

"What do you call the Great Way that is very easy to recognize and easy to practice¹, but which no one in the world 天下 can recognize and practice. Please show it to me."

"These words are right. Living apart from the world and indifferent to it², not doing 作 a single thing, is called practising the Way. Not seeing a single thing is called seeing the Way. Not knowing a single thing is called cultivating the Way. Not practising a single thing is called practising the Way. It is also called easy to know and is also called easy to practice."

1) Y.n.p.152, "云何名爲大道甚易知易行 ...Pelliot 3018, titled the P'u-t'i ta-mo lun 菩提達磨論 begins with this section."; This is a quote of Lao-tzu LXX, 吾言甚易知甚易行 " My words are very easy to understand, very easy to practice" (D.C.Lau, Tao-te Ching, p.170).

2) Y.n.p.152, "高臥放任" To hold the mind aloof, forget the anxieties of the world, and just let things happen. 高 is to leave the world, 臥 to calm the mind, 放任 to do nothing, not think."

XXXII

"The Lao-tzu says, 'Be cautious at the end as at the beginning and there certainly will be no failed affairs.'¹ What is this about?"

"This is a person who embraces a belief in the Meaning², who as soon as he makes up his mind (for enlightenment), will never regress. There is the past and there is the present.³ The initial making up of the mind is the present, and looking back on the bygone times from the present, and from the past looking to the first (initial) is the present. He who (believes) that the mind of the Way has a beginning and an end, (and in this sense he) is said to be a believer in the Buddhist Dharma. The non-changing of past and present is called the fruit⁴. That which falsely deceives (change of time?) is called a flower."

1) Y.n.p.153, "慎終如始必無敗事" is from Lao-tzu LXIV: 'Therefore the sage, because he does nothing, never ruins anything; and because he does not lay hold of anything, loses nothing. In their enterprises the people, Always ruin them on the verge of success. Be as careful at the end as at the beginning And there will be no ruined enterprises. Therefore the sage desires not to desire...' (D.C.Lau, Tao-te ching, p.125).

2) Y.n.p.154, "懷信義人 To believe in the Buddhas teaching." Morohashi, 707. 39信義 = 'True and correct'. Perhaps he is contrasted with a person who simply keeps the rules and forms of Buddhism.

3) Y.n.p.155, "有今有古 The original cause that must become so, and the the present motive. ...it is best to take the past as theoretical and the present as the actuality. The Vkn says: 'Phenomena originally were not so (born) so now they will not cease.' (T.38, 354b 法本不然, 今則無滅). In the thought of the Ch'i-hsin lun the past is the fundamental 'original awareness' 本覺 and the present is taken to be the phenomenal 'inception of awareness' 始覺. Through the support that original awareness gives to the inception of awareness, that reality is accomplished and original awareness is materialized through the inception of awareness, and so finally the theoretical is manifested."; Cf. Y.Hakeda, The Awakening of Faith, p.37 f. Note that the Ch'an-men ts'o-yao here has 無有古無有今 and adds 名為有古有今 which adds no meaning to the text.

4) Y.n.p.155, "古今不改者名為實" The consistency of theory and actuality is called reality. 古今不改 can be seen in IX. 實 in contrast to the 華 of the next verse, means non-temporal." I would prefer to take 實 as the fruit, in the sense of the result, that karma no longer operates, in contrast to the flower which is deceptive and not long lasting, illusory, as the Ch'an-men ts'o-yao suggests with 迷華. The initial 初 is that moment of continuing opportunity for awareness, and is the ever present now 今. Looking from the past is to aim at the future which can only be done in the now. From the viewpoint of the Aware, the aware mind at every moment now must treat each of these moments as the original or initial awareness. The original awareness can only be awareness in the present. As the Hua-yen ching says: "Thus by knowing for just an instant one can know the limitless past, present and future". As Augustine said, "Past is memory, future is hope, and both of them are included as the thought of the present moment." (Bukkyō no shisō VI (Kegon), p.71)

XXXIII and XXXIV

"What is the Bodhisattva's conduct?"

"That which is not the conduct of saints and sages, nor the conduct of the ordinary people, is the conduct of the Bodhisattva."¹ When one trains 學 to be a Bodhisattva one does not grasp at (be taken in by) worldly phenomena, nor does one reject worldly phenomena. If one can with this 心 mind-consciousness enter the Way², the ordinary people and the śrāvakas will be unable to fathom (one). The so-called place of all events 事, the place of all material 色處 (desire?) and the place of all evil karma are used by the Bodhisattva, and they all do the work of the Buddha, and they all make Nirvana and they all are the Great Way. Thus 都 everywhere is nowhere³ which is the place of the Dharma and which is the place (domain) of the Way. The Bodhisattva contemplates that every place is the place of the Dharma. The Bodhisattva does not reject any place, he does not grasp at any place nor does he select any place, (for) they all do the work of the Buddha. So birth and death does the Buddha's work, and so delusion does the Buddha's work."

"Since phenomena are non-phenomena⁴, what does the Buddha's work?"

"Since this place of work is not a place of work, there are no working

phenomena, and so good and not good places see the Buddha."

XXXIV

"What is seeing the Buddha?"

"When greedy one does not see the appearance of greed 貪相, one sees the phenomena of greed 貪法; ⁴ and while not seeing the appearance of hardship, one sees the phenomena of hardship; and while not seeing the appearance of the dream, one sees the phenomena of the dream, it is called seeing the Buddha everywhere. When one sees appearances, one is seeing demons everywhere."

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- 1) Y.n.p.157, "非賢聖行.. from a line of the Vkn ...meaning a life inclined to neither negation nor affirmation: 'He is not tainted while in birth and death, and while acting and remaining in Nirvana he is never (again) liberated. This is a Bodhisattva's conduct. It is neither the conduct of the ordinary people nor the conduct of the saints and sages. The Bodhisattva's conduct is neither defilement nor purity.'" (T.38,379c-380a).
- 2) Y.n.p.158, "即心識入道者 Entering the Way with the discrimination as it is. To live without denying the 心識 not to be dominated by 心識."
- 3) Y.n.p.158, "即一切處無處 and below is quoted as the words of the first Patriarch in the An-hsin Fa-men (T.48,370b) and Tsung-ching lu (T.48,482b). Both quotations are condensed, and merged with quotes from the next paragraph."
- 4) Y.n.p.160, "即貪不見貪相見貪法 here the appearance of craving and the existence of craving are discriminated. Although the appearance is existent, existence itself is empty. I.e., without seeing the appearance 'existence', see that existence itself is empty. The seeing of the emptiness of phenomena is the seeing of the Buddha."

XXXV

"Where is the essence of the realm of phenomena?"¹

"All is the place of the realm of phenomena."

"Is there the observance of the precepts and the breaking of the precepts in the essence of the realm of phenomena?"

"In the essence of the realm of phenomena there is no ordinary or saintly (persons), and there is neither heavenly mansions nor hell. Right and wrong,

hardship and pleasure etc. are as constant as the sky."

1) Y.n.p.161, "法界體性 a question about the manifested Principle, the essence of phenomena." 性 and 體 are equivalent in meaning. 體性 (cf. Morohashi, 17290.157 : The Wei-shih shu chi II 唯識述記 says: "性 is 體性. Therefore the true principle of phenomena is called 法性"). From the three translations of one sutra we can see it means Dharmakāya or sense realm of the Buddha: Taisho no. 355 入法界體性經, 356 入問法身經, 357 如來莊嚴智慧光明入一切佛境界經.

XXXVI

"Where is the place (domain) of Bodhi?"¹

"Where one walks is the place of Bodhi, where one sits is the place of Bodhi, where one stands is the place of Bodhi. (Wherever one) lifts one's feet and puts them down², all are the place of Bodhi."

1) Y.n.p.162, "何處是菩提處 ... Concerning Bodhi, the Sarvabuddhavisayāvatāra 如來莊嚴智慧光明入一切佛境界經 says: 'Being aware that all phenomena are empty is called Bodhi...emptiness is Bodhi...it rests in all created and uncreated phenomena'" (T.12,244b-c 覺一切法空者名為菩提 ... 空者即是菩提 ... 住一切有處無為法 .)

2) Y.n.p.162, "舉足下足 is based on a verse of the Vkn. After saying that all practices and teachings are the site of the Way, Vimalakīrti says to the Bodhisattva Glorious Light: 'A Bodhisattva, if he should convert creatures according to the pāramitās, all his actions, (even) the raising and lowering of his feet, should be known as coming from the site of the Way, and he is staying in the Buddha-dharma.'" Tao-sheng commented, "One should awake to the idea that creatures means the Buddha" (T.38,365a).

XXXVII

"Please tell me about the realms of the senses of the Buddhas."¹

"Phenomena are neither existent nor non-existent, (so) the understanding that does not grasp at (is not slave to) the neither existent nor non-existent is called the realms of the senses of the Buddha. If the mind is like wood and stone, one cannot know through having intellect (智 or wisdom), nor can

one know through not having intellect. The Buddha-mind cannot be known through existence², and the Body of Phenomena (Dharmakāya) cannot be seen through images.³ That which ordinary knowledge understands is imagination and discrimination. Although for instance you make all sorts of interpretations, they are all the calculations of one's own mind, they are all the imaginations of one's own mind. The wisdom of the Buddhas cannot be demonstrated to people⁴, nor can it be hidden from them, and nor can one use meditation (dhyāna) to fathom it. The cutting off (renunciation) of understanding^{and} of knowing is called the realms of the senses of the Buddhas. (That which) cannot be measured is called the Buddha-mind. Whoever believes that the Buddha-mind is thus has extinguished frustrations unlimited as the sands of the Ganges (in number). Whoever preserves his mind and is mindful that the Buddha-wisdom is thus, that person's mind of the Way 道心 will be daily strengthened."

1) Y.n.p.164, "諸佛境界 A question about the enlightened mental sphere of the Buddhas. The problem shifts from practice to awakening." The Hua-yen ching II says, "The realms of senses of the Buddhas are incomprehensible, all the realms of phenomena are encircled within" (Ting, 1176).

2) The Ch'an-men ts'o-yao adds 心, "through having a mind" which is parallel to the following sentence which talks of seeing the Buddha through images.

3) Seng-chao comments on the Vkn verse, "See the real appearance of one's body as seeing the Buddha" as follows: "...mind cannot be known through intellect, the form (body) cannot be fathomed through images" (心不可以智知, 形不以像測 T.38, 410a). Cf. a following verse of the Vkn 不可以智知, 不可以言識 (T.38, 411a). The Chin-kang ching says, "One cannot see the Thus Come through the appearance of his body" (Iwanami, p.48). Cf. Ch'eng-kuan's criticism of the Northern School of Ch'an for saying "the function of wisdom is knowing, the function of intellect is seeing", Kamata I, p.487. 北宗云, 智用是知, 慧用是見

4) Y.n.p.164, "諸佛智慧不可說示人 Vkn: "In my opinion the entrance into the non-dual Dharma gate is when there is no speech, no words, no demonstrations of, no consciousness of, a separation from questions and answers about all (any) phenomena" (T.38, 399a).

XXXVIII

"What is meant by (the saying) 'the sun of the Thus Come's wisdom sinks beneath the land of existence'?"¹

"If one sees existence (where) there is no existence, the sun of wisdom sinks beneath that land of existence. To see appearances in the appearanceless is likewise."

1) Y.n.p.165, "如來惠目潛設於有地" Source is not known, but is probably based on some sutra. In the Ching-te chuan-teng lu there is a reply by the Hua-yen Master Ch'eng-kuan to questions made about the essentials of the teaching by the Crown Prince (五臺山鎮國大師澄觀答皇太子問心要): 'If one has the realization (proof) and knowledge, the sun of wisdom will sink behind the land of existence. If there is no illumination and no awakening, the darkening clouds will conceal the gate of emptiness (sky).' (T.51,459b 然有證有知則慧日沈沒於有地. 若無照悟則昏雲掩蔽於空門). In fact, since Ch'eng-kuan adds some words that have the same meaning as those attributed to the Tripitaka Dharma teacher of VIII to the conclusion of the above sentences, the letter was probably based in part on the Long Scroll." I shall give the parallel lines. We can also see some resembling lines in III:

VIII 不解時人逐法, 解日法逐人

(T.51,459c) 是知迷則人隨於法... 悟則法隨於人.

III

弄影勞形, 不知形之是影... 除煩惱求涅槃者, 喻去形而覓影

(T.51,459c) 若求真去妄, 猶弄影勞形. 若體空即真, 似處陰影滅

For Ch'eng-kuan's connection with Ch'an see Kamata I, Part 2, chapter 5, and p.209 ff.

Here the reference to the Thus Come's wisdom may be related to the Tathagarbha idea. The sun or gem of wisdom within one is obscured by being caught up in appearance and existence.

XXXIX

"What is called the appearance (attribute) of the unmoved?"¹

"It cannot be in existence, (for) there is nothing existent that can move.

It cannot be in non-existence, (for) there is nothing non-existent that can

move. This mind is no-mind 无心 (mindless) and the no-mind can move. This

appearance is non-appearance, and non-appearance can move, so therefore it is

called the appearance of the unmoved. If one comes to such a realization, one is said to be deceiving and deluding oneself.² The above 以來 is not understanding, for when one understands, there is no phenomena (Dharma) to be understood."

1) Y.n.p.167, "何名不動相 as in the first line of XXIX... The Sarvabuddha-visayāvatāra II says: 'Unmoved means that all phenomena have no basis (asraya), and all phenomena having no basis means that he has no fixed rest for his mind'; (T.12,44b 言不動者,是一切法無依止。言一切法無依者,彼無心定住) .

2) Y.n.p.167, "若作如是證者 A criticism of the above negative method of awakening." This criticism seems anti PrajñāP thought to me, attacking statements such as, "Existence is non-existence, therefore it is called non-existence."

XL

"Manifestly we see that there is arising and cessation. Why is it said that there is no arising or cessation?"

"That which has arisen from a condition is not said to be arisen¹ because it has arisen from a condition. That which has ceased due to a condition cannot have ceased of itself because it has ceased due to a condition."

"Why is it that that which is conditionally arisen is not said to be arisen?"

"In having arisen from a condition, it has not arisen from another, nor has it arisen of itself², nor has it arisen (from) both (itself and another), nor has it arisen without a cause 因 . Furthermore, there are no phenomena arisen, and again there is no ariser (producer), and there is no place of arising. Therefore know that (they) have not arisen. That which we see arising and ceasing is illusion arising, which is not (true) arising; it is an illusion ceasing, which is not ceasing."

1) Y.n.p.168, "從緣生者不名為生 ... Vkn, 'You preach neither existence nor non-existence.' Seng-chao commented as follows: 'When one tries to assert that it exists, existence is not something arisen of itself. When one tries to assert that it is non-existent, through the concatenation of conditions there is a form. One cannot call that which is form due to concatenation non-existent

,and since it is not (existent) of itself, it cannot be called existent. Moreover, since there is existence, there is non-existence. If there was no existence, what would be non-existence? Since there is non-existence, there is existence. If there was no non-existence, what would existence be? So then, if it exists of itself, it is not existent; and if it does not exist of itself it is not non-existent. This is the correct teaching of the King of the Dharma! The Vkn continues: 'Because of causes and conditions, phenomena arise.' Chao commented, 'Existence is not due to conditions, non-existence is also not due to conditions. Because phenomena are neither existent nor non-existent, they arise from causes and conditions. For example a śāstra says, "Because phenomena are due to conditions, they do not exist. Because they arise from conditions, they are not non-existent." Phenomena all arise from conditions, and because there is no other real Lord (controller) they are egoless.'"; (T.38,332c).

2) Y.n.p.169, "不從彼生亦不自生 Chung Lun I, 1st gatha: 'Phenomena do not arise of themselves, nor do they arise from others, nor from their conjunction, not without a cause. Therefore know that there is no arisal.'" (Teramoto, Chūron, p.15 f. 諸法不自生, 亦不從他生, 不共不無因, 是故知無生).

XLI

"Why does the ordinary person fall into the evil paths (of existence)?"

"Because (they think) there is an ego, there is idiocy (ignorance). Therefore they say, 'I drink wine.' The wise say, 'When you have no wine, why don't you drink the non-existent wine? Although you say, "I am drinking the non-existent wine", where is your 'I' (ego)?"² Idiots also say, 'I committed a sin'. The wise say, 'What sort of a thing is your sin?' All of this is conditionally arisen and has no nature of its own.³ If you know when it has arisen that there is no ego, who does it and who undergoes (the punishment)? A sutra says, ' Ordinary people forcibly discriminate, (thinking), "I am greedy, I am angry". Such simpletons fall into the three evil paths.' A sutra says, 'The nature of a sin is neither within nor without, nor is it between these two.'⁵ This illustrates that sin has no position⁶, and that which has no position is its quietus 寂滅. He who has fallen into hell (has done so because) he has contrived an ego out of his mind, and remembers and discriminates, thinking that I commit evil, and I undergo (punishment); that I do good and I also receive (the good

result). This is evil karma. It is non-existent from the very beginning, but perversely (one) remembers and discriminates, thinking because of this that (the ego) exists. This is evil karma."

1) Y.n.p.171, "凡夫何故墮惡道 Y If everything arises like an illusion and ceases like one, there should be no falling into hells or rebirth in heavens, so why do ordinary people actually fall into the evil paths (of hells, pretas and beasts)?"

2) Drinking alcohol is a violation of the precepts.

3) Y.n.p.172, "緣生無自性 Chung Lun I gathas 13 and 14: 'If an effect has arisen from conditions, and those conditions have no nature of their own, how can it have arisen from a condition (when) it has arisen from that (a condition) which has no nature of its own?

Since the effect has neither arisen from a condition nor arisen from a non-condition, the effect is therefore non-existent, as is the condition and the non-condition.'" (Teramoto, Churon, p.30 f. 若果從緣生, 是緣無自性, 從無自性, 何得從緣生 14, 果不從緣生, 不從非緣生, 以果無有故, 緣非緣亦無).

4) Y.n.p.172, "凡夫強分別... Ordinary people enslave themselves in illusory thoughts and so fall into the evil paths. The Sarvadharmappravrttinirdeśa has this line in the following context: 'For example, even though a skilled magician creates all sorts of illusions, what is seen does not have reality, nor does it have any intellect 無智數若干. Greed, anger and stupidity are all as an illusion, and the illusion is no different to the three poisons. Ordinary people themselves discriminate 凡夫自分別 (and think), "I am greedy, I am angry, I am stupid." Such simpletons fall into the three evil paths.'"; (T.15,751b).

5) Y.n.p.173, "罪性非內非外--- Vkn. When Upali, who is said to have been the first keeper of the Vinaya, tried to console two practitioners who were very ashamed of having transgressed the vinaya rules, these words were taught by Vimalakirti as a means of the complete removal of their sins, and as a criticism of Upali for adding to the sins of the two practitioners." (T.38,355c)

6) Y.n.p.173, "罪無處所 The Vkn has comparable phrases such as, 'delusion has no place' or, 'Delusion has no place of rest, so there is nothing to be had.'"

XLII and XLIII

"Who can save me 我?"¹

"Phenomena can save you 我."² How can one know this? Because one grasps at appearances one falls into hell. By contemplating phenomena one is released. If one sees appearances^a and remembers and discriminates (them), one will undergo (the tortures of) the steaming cauldrons and stoked furnaces³ and the ox-headed demons etc. (of hell), which is manifestly seeing the appearances of life and death. If one sees that the nature of the realm of phenomena is the nature of Nirvana⁴, one will be without memory and discrimination, which is the substance of the realm of phenomena."

XLIII

"What is the substance of the realm of phenomena?"⁵

"The substance of the mind is the substance of the realm of phenomena. This realm of phenomena is substanceless (without a substratum); it also has no horizon 畔 (boundary), and it is broad as the sky and invisible⁶. This is what is said to be the substance of the realm of phenomena."

1) Y.n.p.174, "誰能度我" who can save me from the delusion of taking the non-ego to be ego?"

2) Y.n.p.174, "法能度我" The Dharma saves one from the attachment of self. The principle of non-self makes one extinguish the discriminations of self." I think that 法 refers to phenomena here, and following paragraphs to XLV inclusive. It is only by observing phenomena that one sees that they have no self-nature or ego. This is why the passage talks of appearances. Cf. X.

3) Y.n.p.174, "鑊湯爐炭" The use of cauldrons and kilns for tortures in hell can be seen in the Fo-shuo Kuan-Fo san-mei hai ching 佛說觀佛三昧海經." This whole chapter describes the geography of the hells and the sins for which they were created, T.15,671c.

4) 法界體 The Hua-yen ching XIX says: "If a person wishes to perceive that the three worlds are all Buddha, they must contemplate the nature of the realm of phenomena; all is mind created." (Ting, 1398).

5) Y.n.p.175, "...性 is the essence, 體 is the substance..." I would translate

the next line "The mind itself is the realm of phenomena itself" but for the second sentence of the answer.

6) Y.n.p.175, "廣大如虛空不可見" The sky has all sorts of properties, but the Tsung-ching lu gives the following ten: unimpeded 無障礙, universal 周徧, uniform 平等, broad 廣大, no appearance 無相, pure 清淨, unmoving 不動, empty of existence, 有空, empty of emptiness 空空 and placeless ". (T.48,446c).

XLIV and XLV

"What is knowing phenomena (Dharma)?"

"Phenomena are said to be unaware and unknowing. If his mind is unaware and unknowing, that person will know phenomena (Dharma). Dharma is said to be not conscious of and not seeing. If the mind is not conscious of and does not see (phenomena), one is said to be seeing phenomena. Not knowing any phenomena is said to be knowing phenomena; not attaining any phenomena is said to be attaining phenomena 不得一切法, 名為得法; not seeing any phenomena is said to be seeing phenomena, and not discriminating any phenomena is said to be discriminating phenomena."

XLV

"Since phenomena (the Dharma?) are said to be unseeing 無見¹, what then is unobstructed knowing and seeing?"

"Unknowing 無知 is unhindered knowing, non-seeing 無見 is unhindered seeing."²

"Phenomena (Dharma) are said to be unaware, so why is the Buddha called the Aware one?"

"Phenomena (Dharma) are said to be unaware, and the Buddha is called the Aware, for the unaware is aware³, and being aware the same as phenomena are is the Awareness of the Buddha. He who is diligent in observing the appearances (due to the operations of the) mind and sees the appearances of phenomena; and is diligent in observing that where the mind is 心處 is where there is quiescence 寂滅處 (Nirvana), is where there is non-arisal, is where there is release, is where there is emptiness and is where there is bodhi. Where there is mind

is where there is nowhere ^{無處處}, is where there is the realm of phenomena, is where the site of the Way is, is where the gate of the Dharma is, is where wisdom is, is where unhindered meditation (dhyana) is. If someone interprets in this way, that person has fallen into a trap, has dropped into a pit."⁴

1) Y.n.p.179, "法名無見" If nothing to be seen is called the Dharma, what is the unobstructed knowing and seeing that functions amidst the seen?"

2) Y.n.p.179, "無知是無礙知" The unknowing of prajñā is a clear knowledge not obstructed by anything. Unhindered knowing is the knowledge that can see through and into. The Wang-sheng lun says: "Unobstructed" means to know that birth and death as it is is Nirvana. Entrance into the non-dual thus is the attribute of the unobstructed.": (Ting, 2194 往生論註下『無礙者, 謂知生死即涅槃, 如是等入不二門無礙相也』). This work is the same as the Ching-tu lun ascribed to Vasubandhu and translated by Bodhiruci, preface by T'an-lin. What is quoted is T'an-luan's commentary.

3) Y.n.p.179, "無覺為覺" The awakening to the original Dharma that has transcended self-awareness is the real self-awareness... Cf. X: 'To be aware of phenomena as they are, to be aware without an object of awareness. Therefore we say 'Buddha'.' and XIII: 'Whenever one is aware of phenomena as they are one is aware of the true reality; there is no awareness of the self at all, for ultimately there is no awareness...'"

4) Y.n.p.180, "墮坑落澗人" Innumerable dead people fallen into ditches and holes... A description of numberless starving people who have died by the roadside.... The brutal result of reckless practice. This phrase is often used in later Ch'an texts..." Cf. Chao-chou Yü-lu, section 203.

XLVI

"(What is meant by) 'the six paramitas can produce all wisdom?'¹

"(In) the six paramitas there is neither self nor other, (so) who receives and who attains? (After all), the species of creatures (all) share ^其 in collective karma and the fruits thereof,² and so there is (to be) no discrimination in blessing them (on the basis of) appearance.³ A sutra says, ' (When) the invincible Tathagata and the lowest beggar in the assembly (are treated) equally with great compassion, and completely provided with the donation of

the Dharma 法施,⁴ it is called the Dānapāramitā. Lacking events and causes, having neither delight nor weariness of⁵, the Essence is just so (tathatā),⁶ (so) ultimately there is no wrong, so who would seek right? (When) right and wrong do not arise, then the embodiment of the precepts is pure⁷, and it is called Śīlapāramitā. Mind lacks an inner or an outer, so where do this and that lodge themselves? (As an example), the nature of sound has nothing to be tainted, (and so like the mind) is equable like the sky, and so (it) is called the Kṣāntipāramitā. When divorced from the measuring done by the faculties⁸, (they, the senses or the mind?) ultimately develop, and do not rest on appearances, it is called Vīryapāramitā. (When) the three ages are without appearances (attributes) and there is no resting place for even a moment (kṣana)⁹, and events and phenomena do not dwell (are not in the states of) tranquillity and disturbance, and one's nature is thus¹⁰, it is called the Dhyānapāramitā. (When) the substance of the Nirvana and the Truly So cannot be seen, and sophistry is not given rise to, and one is divorced from mind, manas and the vijñānas 意識, and are not relying on the expedient means, it is called just so (tathatā). (Thus) there is nothing that can be used, but it is used without being used.¹¹ A sutra says, 'Expedient means with wisdom is release (understanding).'¹² It is thus called Prajñāpāramitā."

1) Y.n.p.182, "A question concerning the relationship of the practice of the paramitas and all-wisdom." This whole paragraph is an exposition of the paramitas from the point of view of the mind as it truly is or should be. In Dānapāramitā the mind does not discriminate in giving. In the Śīlapāramitā (precepts) the mind is not concerned with right or wrong (cf. LII). In Kṣānti (forbearance), the mind is nothing, empty of content, and so no irritations can affect it. Therefore one is patient. In Vīrya (vigour) the mind does not become involved with appearances, and so, when the faculties develop unhindered by what they perceive, they and the mind become vigorous and healthy. In Dhyāna the mind is undisturbed by momentary changes, for when there is nothing for it to rely on, it is unmoving and calm. In Prajñā (Wisdom) the mind is wise when it is not concerned by dogmas and it is not seeking release through the expedient means.

2) Y.n.p.182, "共業果報" People influence each other through negative actions especially 增上緣, which are a governing strength more powerful than that of an individual's strength." There is both joint action and the sharing of the results.

3) Y.n.p.182, "無有分別福之與相" This is probably based on the following quoted verse of the Vkn. "I feel from the context of the Vkn's quotation, and from the donation of the Dharma mentioned above, that this means 'don't discriminate in the blessing of a person with the Dharma on the basis of appearance.'

4) Y.n.p.183, "難勝如來及會中最下乞人" Vkn. A paraphrase of the sutra." Vimalakirti told a Bodhisattva that the alms giving ceremony in which gods, brahmins, outcastes, beggars etc. were given offerings was of no use because "it should bestow the Dharma upon others. What is the use of giving alms away?...Each offering should benefit all living beings at the same time." On receiving a necklace from the Bodhisattva after preaching the paramitas etc., Vimalakirti divided the necklace into two, giving half to the 'Invincible Tathagata', and half to the poorest beggar. He said, "He who gives alms to the poorest beggar with an impartial mind performs an act which does not differ from the field of blessedness of the Tathagata, for it derives from great compassion with no expectation of reward. This is called the complete bestowal of Dharma" (C.Luk, Vimalakirti Nirdeśa Sutra, pp.45-48, quotation on p.47 f.). Tao-sheng commented, "If one uses the mind like this, it is not a donation of wealth, it is the complete providing of the Dharma" (T.38,370b-c).

5) Y.n.p.183, "無事無因無有樂厭" As promise for the complete keeping of the precepts, actual action is said to transcend the opposition of noumenon/phenomenon and cause/effect. There is no necessity to desire the Pure Land, nor is there need to revile this polluted world."

6) Y.n.p.183, "體性如如" This concerns the Thusness of our bodies. As we have seen in III, 如如 is the same as 真如 and 法性 (Dharmatā), and is the emptiness that is the lack of an innate nature. It corresponds to the fifth of the five dharmas taught in the Lanka." Cf. SL, p.156 f., 'Suchness'. I doubt that this applies solely to the body.

7) Y.n.p.183, "戒體清淨" . When one receives the precepts, there is formed within the receiver's body a pure ability to keep the precepts, which will never be lost. It is called the precept body." Cf. Ting, 1112a.

Y.n.p.184, "The Ta-ch'eng I-chang I 大乘義章" says: 'Śīla is called purity, and it is called precept. The flames of the three kinds of karma burn up a practitioner in the same way as things are burnt up. The precepts can prevent

or put it out, so they are called purity.'" Note that the word here used for purity can also mean 'cooling'.

8) Y.n.p.184, "離諸根量" Divorce oneself from the standpoint of the bodily organs of perception. The Vkn says: 'By divorcing oneself from the appearances of the body and the mind, one gives rise to the *Vīryapāramitā*; by the the (realization of) the aspect of Bodhi, one gives rise to the *Dhyānapāramitā*; by the (realization) of all-wisdom, one gives rise to *Prajñāpāramitā*; the teaching and converting of creatures is given rise to from emptiness, so while not rejecting created phenomena, one gives rise to the appearanceless.'" See T.38,369a.

9) Y.n.p.185, "三世無相刹那無住處" There are no attributes to divide the passage of time into past, future and present, so it does not appear to stop for a moment. If one takes 相 to mean 想, this takes on the meaning preached of in the Chin-kang ching; that the mind of the three ages is unobtainable." I.e., "The Tathagata teaches that all minds are no-mind but are called mind. Why? Subhuti, the mind of the past cannot be obtained, the mind of the present cannot be obtained, and the mind of the future cannot be obtained." (Iwanami, p.102).

10) Y.n.p.185, "事法不居靜亂性如" Inclining neither to things nor to principle, the calm mind and confused mind are one in essence." I have followed Suzuki's punctuation here rather than Yanagida's. The subject of 性 is a problem here.

11) Y.n.p.185, "無可用用而非用" Not thinking that this is an expedient means and thus should be used especially. Although one is using it one is not caught up by the use of it."

12) Y.n.p.185, "有惠方便解" Vkn. Expedients not backed by wisdom are bonds; expedients backed by wisdom are release. The Vkn says: 'He is held in bondage by wisdom which lacks expedient methods (*upāya*), but is liberated by wisdom supported by expedient devices...."What is liberation by expedient means sustained by wisdom?" It is liberation won by a Bodhisattva who keeps from desire, anger, perverse views and other troubles while planting all virtuous roots which he dedicates to his realization of supreme enlightenment. This is called liberation by expedient means sustained by wisdom.'" The translation is from Luk, Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra, p.55 f. Cf. T.38,378b.

XLVII

"What is called the mind of release?"¹

"Because mind is not material, it is not subject to material. Mind is not immaterial, (and so it is) not subject to the immaterial. Although the mind illuminates material, it is not subject to material.² Although the mind illuminates the immaterial, it is not subject to the immaterial. Mind is not a material, appearance that can be seen. Although mind is not material, the immaterial is not empty. Mind is not material, nor is mind the same as space.³ The Bodhisattva clearly illuminates that emptiness as not empty.⁴ Although the Hinayanists illuminate emptiness, they do not illuminate the not-empty. Although a Śrāvaka attains emptiness, he does not attain non-emptiness."

1) Y.n.p.186 f., "何名解脱心" cf. XIX." Yanagida notes that the Ch'an-men ts'o-yao lacks the word mind in this line, but has it elsewhere. There are a number of other differences. Suzuki's text appears to be confused.

2) Y.n.p.187, "心雖照色不屬色....The Chao Lun (Letter of reply to Liu I-min) analyses the relationship between material and the immaterial as follows: 'A sutra says: "Rūpa is not different from śūnya and śūnya is not different from rūpa, but what rūpa is that śūnya is also."....Therefore, when the sutra says "non-rūpa", it wishes to say that rūpa is non-rūpa, not that non-rūpa is non-rūpa. Or else, empty space would also be non-rūpa. What significance then would the word 'non-rūpa' possess? But, if rūpa is equated with non-rūpa, which implies that non-rūpa is nothing else than rūpa, then both are (transcendentally) the same" (Liebenthal, Chao Lun, p.98) P. Demieville says that 照 is for "illuminating the invisible....In Chinese Buddhism chao technically designates the function of wisdom, prajñā" ('Le miroir spirituel' in Choix d'Etudes Bouddhiques, p.137, note 15).

3) Y.n.p.188, "心--不同太虛 Mind is not senseless like the sky." This section appears to be quite corrupt. Yanagida has 心非色心, 不同 ... (following the Ch'an-men ts'o-yao). Suzuki has 心非色者, 心不同 ... Yanagida translates this freely as: "although the mind transcends the standpoint of both things and mind, it is not the same as space." I have emended it to 心非色, 心不同 ... 色心 does not seem to me to make sense.

4) Y.n.p.188, "菩薩了了照空不空 Practitioners of the Mahayana reflect on both emptiness and the not empty....The Nirvana Sutra says: 'The pupils of the

Buddha (Śrāvakas) only know śūnya, they do not know not-śūnya. The wise ones (Buddhas) are awake to both śūnya and not-śūnya. Śūnya is all life and death, not life and death is said of Nirvana."

XLVIII

"What is (that which is) called 'all phenomena are non-existent and not non-existent.'?"

"The substance of the mind is substanceless, which is the substance of phenomena.¹ Because mind is not material, it does not exist. Because it functions and yet is not destroyed², it is not non-existent. And furthermore, since it functions and yet is always empty, it does not exist. Since it is empty and yet always functions, it is not non-existent. Furthermore, because it has no nature of its own, it does not exist³; and because it is conditionally arisen, it is not non-existent. The common people rest on (remain with) existence, the Hinayanists rest on non-existence, and the Bodhisattvas do not rest on either existence or non-existence. This (scheme above) is an imagination contrived by one's own mind.⁴ Material, not being material, does not taint material. Material, not being immaterial, does not taint the immaterial.⁵ Furthermore, not seeing seeing (the seen?), and not seeing not-seeing (the unseen?) is called seeing phenomena (the Dharma).⁶ Not knowing knowing (the known), and not knowing not-knowing (the unknown?) is called knowing phenomena (the Dharma?). Such an interpretation is also said to be imagination.⁷ This mind is mindless (no-mind)⁸, and because the mind is mindless, it is called the phenomenal (or Dharma) mind.⁹ Those who practise this nowadays use this (theory) to smash all delusions. The mind is like the sky, which cannot be destroyed, and so it is called the Adamantine mind.¹⁰ The mind does not rest on a rest 不住住, and nor does it rest on a non-rest, and so it is called the Prajñā-mind. The nature of the mind is vast¹¹, and its application is limitless, so it is called the Mahayana-mind. The substance of the mind is open, without interference or hindrance, and so it is called

Bodhi-mind. The mind is without delimitations¹², and is also without position.¹³ Since the mind is without appearance (attribute), it therefore does not have boundaries. Since it functions and yet is not destroyed, it is not boundaryless. It does not have limits, nor is it limitless, so it is therefore called the limit of reality-mind. The mind that lacks difference and lacks non-difference, that mind lacks substance (a substratum). It is not different, but it lacks non-substance (a non-substratum). (The mind that) is not non-different, lacks difference and is not different¹⁴, is therefore called the mind as it (truly) is.¹⁵ This mind's changelessness 無變 is called difference, and its changing in response to things 隨物 is called 'lacking difference', so it is called the mind as it truly is 真如心. The mind is neither within nor without, nor in between, nor is it in any place. The mind lacks a resting place. That (place) is the resting place of phenomena, the resting place of the realm of phenomena, which is also called the realm of phenomena-mind. The nature of the mind is neither existence nor non-existence, and it does not change in the past or the present¹⁶. Therefore it is called the nature of phenomena-mind (Dharmatācitta). Because the mind is without arising or cessation, it is called the Nirvana-mind. If one makes such an interpretation, it is imagination, an inversion (of the truth), and one has not realized that one's own mind is projecting the realms of the senses. This is called the wave (disturbed) mind.¹⁷

1) Y.n.p.191, "心體無體是法體" The mind that illumines all existence does not have 'real existence'; it is principle itself. This corresponds to the true nature of II. Further, in the Ch'i-hsin lun there is the following: 'What is meant when we talk of Awareness is that the substance of Mind is free from thoughts. The characteristic of freedom from thought is equal to the realm of the sky that encompasses everywhere. The one attribute of the realm of phenomena is the Body of Phenomena (Dharmakāya) equal to the Tathagata. Since the (substance of the mind) relies on this Body of Phenomena it is called original Awareness.' (所言覺義者謂心體離念, 離念相者, 等虛空界, 無所不徧, 法界一相, 即是如來平等法身. 依此法身說名本覺.)
Cf. Hakeda, The Awakening of Faith, p.37.)

Further, in Huang-po's Wan-ling lu : 'The substratum of mind is like space, it has no appearance or form, and also has no place. Moreover, it is not simply non-existent; it exists and yet it cannot be seen ' (Goroku VIII, p. 11).
 如體如虛空相似，無有相貌，亦無方所，亦不一向是無，有而不可見。)"

2) Y.n.p.192, "用而不廢故非無" etc. This verse reappears in LXVII. In Ching-chueh's Preface to the Leng-chia shih-tzu chi it talks of the essence of the fruit of Nirvana as follows: 'Therefore as the substratum is empty, without attributes, it cannot be considered to exist, (but) as it can be used without being destroyed, it cannot be considered non-existent...' (Goroku II p.82.)." Note that the An-hsin fa-men has a similar line: 心是非有，用而不廢故非無，用而常空非有，空而常用故非無 (T.48,370c). Cf. also Large Wisdom (Conze), "Those Tathagatas who...demonstrate Dharma,...also come from just this perfection of wisdom, and yet the perfection of wisdom does not get exhausted. And why? One would think of extinguishing space if one were to think of extinguishing the perfection of wisdom" (p.488).

3) Y.n.p.192 f., "無自性故非有" ...Cf. XL for Seng-chao's commentary on the Vkn. The Sheng-t'ien-wang Pan-jo ching I 勝天王般若經 says: 'Since the innate nature of all existence was originally empty, it does not arise or cease. Conditions are not unified nor extinguished. The unification of conditions is called arising, extinguishing conditions is called cessation. Since the innate nature is not non-existent, it does not arise; since it is not existent, it does not cease.'"

4) Y.n.p.193, "是自心計妄想" ...This is a criticism of the discriminations of formal logic....Cf. XVIII for the brush of volition..."

5) Y.n.p.193, "色非色不染色" etc. is very difficult to understand." I have modified the text. The three versions I have are:

Yanagida: 色非色不染色，非色非色不染非色
 Suzuki: 色色非色不染色，非色非色不染非非色
 Ch'an-men ts'o-yao: 色非色，不染色，色非非色不染非色
 XLVII: 心非色故，不屬色，心非非色，不屬非色。

I have chosen to follow the last, for the regularity is better in the Ch'an-men ts'o-yao, and it is possibly parallel with XLVII.

6) 不見見，不見不見 不見 can be non-seeing as a fish does not see water, deluded man does not see his own nature. 見 is ambiguous.

7) Y.n.p.193, "如是解者亦如爲妄想" The above is a mistaken analysis based on formal logic. A criticism of negation that has fallen into formalism and the forgetting of the practice of non-attachment."

- 8) Y.n.p.194, "即心無心" This is a criticism of the mistaken understanding of 'this mind is no-mind' that takes no-mind to be mind. Although this is different from the '(when) mind is no-mind (mindless)', one is said to have penetrated the Mind-Way' of XXVII, it is similar to XXXIX: 'This mind is no-mind, and no-mind...etc.'"
- 9) Y.n.p.194, "古名為法心" All of the below is a criticism of taking mind to be mind, and in this case it calls the substantialized mind the dharma-mind. Dharma-mind is understood as all the following minds...until the Nirvana-mind." Because of the discussion of phenomena earlier, this may be rendered 'phenomenal mind'.
- 10) Y.n.p.194, "After having negated all delusions by means of the mindless mind, the mind that remains is like space in that it cannot be negated, and so it is compared to a hard diamond. Here a word to criticise the substantialized no-mind." Note the words of Tao-sheng: "The mind after the Diamond (stage) suddenly awakens fully, and there is nothing more to be seen" (T'ang, p.662). "Up until the Diamond all is a great dream; what follows is Mahābodhi" ('...Chu Tao-sheng, p.247).
- 11) 無方 to be without a fixed place or perhaps method.
- 12) Y.n.p.195, "心無崖畔" Cf. XLIII: 'The substance of mind is the substance of the realm of phenomena. This realm of phenomena is substanceless, and it also has no horizon, and is broad like the sky...' This may be a criticism of PrajñāP. ideas. For example, the Large Wisdom (Conze) says: "To think of seizing the measure or boundary of the perfection of wisdom would be like thinking of seizing the measure or boundary of space. And why? Because without measure is the perfection of wisdom" (p.487).
- 13) Y.n.p.195, "亦無方所" After this there was probably a verse like 'Therefore it is called the ?? mind.'"
- 14) Y.n.p.195, "心無異無不異" etc. The standpoint that mind transcends change and non-change, and further that it does not remain in the transcendent position. Cf. IX, 'A mind that lacks the attribute of difference is called the Truly So.'" Yanagida quotes the Sheng-t'ien-wang pan-jo ching II. The Buddha, when asked what the Dharmadhātu (realm of phenomena) is, says that it is 'unchanging'. "O World Honoured, what is unchanging?" "O king, it is thusness 如如." Yanagida (p.191) translates these lines as follows: "Mind neither changes, nor is it non-changing. That is, although it does not change, because it transcends changing and non-changing, it is called..." The text appears to be corrupt:

Yanagida: 心無異, 無不異, 即心無體, 不異而無不體, 非不異無不異

Suzuki: 心無異, 無不異, 即心無體不異, 即心無體而無(不)體非不異, 無異不異

15) Y.n.p.196, "名為如心 The Tathatā-mind 如心 is the Tathatva-mind 如心 (just so mind)." Yanagida thinks that the subject here is a misconception of Suchness, but that 如, 法性 and 實際 are different names for the true attributes of phenomena.

16) Y.n.p.196, "古今不改 Cf. IX, 'The mind that is unchangeable is called the nature of phenomena,' and XXXII, 'the non-changing of past and present is called the fruit.'"

17) Y.n.p.197, "名為波浪心 = the superficial mind." As Yanagida has indicated, this term comes from the Lanka: "Mahamati, it is just like a violent wind blowing on the ocean. The wind of the external realms of the senses stir up the ocean of the mind, and the waves of consciousness (the vijñānas) are not interrupted. The appearances that are created by (this) cause are different and not different, and combine with the appearances born of past deeds to deepen prejudice (obsession), and so one cannot realize the innate nature of material etc." (T.16,484a).

Elsewhere in the Lanka there is a description of this with the Manovijñāna causing the waves in the Ālayavijñāna: "One's own mind projects the realms of the senses, and the mind of prejudice is born, and both are causes that perpetuate each other. It is just like the ocean waves which are blown by the wind of the realms of the senses projected by one's own mind. Whether it arises or ceases, it is like this. Therefore, when the manovijñāna ceases, the vijñānas also cease" (T.16,496a).

XLIX

"What does one's mind project?"

"When you consider that all phenomena exist, that existence does not exist of itself,¹ (for) your own mind has constructed (that) existence. When you consider that all phenomena are non-existent, that non-existence is not non-existent of itself, (for) your own mind has constructed that non-existence. And the same applies to all phenomena, for one's own mind has constructed both existence and non-existence. What sort of thing is greed that one makes the interpretation 'greed'?² Because all of these are views that one's own mind has given rise to, one's own mind contrives that which has no place.

This is called imagination. To regard oneself as having left behind all the contrived views of the non-Buddhists is also imagination. To regard oneself as lacking thought and discrimination is also imagination. When one is walking it is phenomena walking³; it is neither I (the ego) walking, nor the ego not walking. When one is sitting, phenomena are sitting; it is neither the ego sitting nor the ego not sitting. Such an explanation is also imagination."⁴

1) Y.n.p.199, "...This is quoted in the An-hsin fa-men (from the question to 'your own mind has constructed that non-existence,' T.48,370b) and in the Hsin-fu chu." Directly following the quotation from XLVIII in the preface to the LCSTC, there is a similar idea expressed: "Existence is not of itself existence, (for) when the conditions have not yet arisen, there is no existence. Non-existence is not of itself non-existence, because^{only} after the conditions have dispersed is there non-existence" (Goroku II, p.82).

2) Y.n.p.199, "貪似何物作貪解 . Cf. XXXIV: 'When greedy one does not see the attributes of greed, one sees the phenomena of greed.'" Cf. also LVII: "What sort of thing is the mind 道似何物?"

3) Y.n.p.199, "This is a misinterpretation of the practice of being in conformity with the Dharma (phenomena) 維法行 of II....All that is interpreted according to normal knowledge is imagination and discrimination. Further, the idea that all lying, walking, staying and sitting is Bodhi can be seen in XXXVI. It is a misinterpretation of the following lines from the Vkn: 'Phenomena are the same as the nature of phenomena because it exists in all phenomena. Phenomena are swayed by suchness^h, for there is nothing to be swayed.' (Chao commented, "Phenomena of themselves are non-existent phenomena") Phenomena rest in the limits of reality because the boundaries do not move.'" (T.38,346c f.)

4) Y.n.p.199, "作此解者亦是妄想 ...The Ch'an-men ts'o-yao has added the seven characters 上來文相應知也 to this."

L

Yuan the Dharma teacher¹ said, "When one is about to attain the distant objective², one is sure to have exhausted both the bonds and habit-forces³."

"What do you consider to be bonds proper, and what do you consider to be the remaining habit-force?"

"Arisal and cessation (samsara) is bondage proper.⁴ Non-arisal and non-cessation is the remaining habit-force of a simpleton, and is useless."

1) Y.n.p.200, "緣法師 We only have Dharma teacher Yuan in Pelliot 3018. Elsewhere it is simply Dharma-teacher. We know nothing about Yuan except that a later paragraph, LXII, is quoted in the Tsung-ching lu under his name. From here on is transmitted as Yuan's words."

2) Y.n.p.201, "若欲取遠意時 ...to firmly strengthen one's resolve. There are no other examples of 遠意. 若...時 = if." Yanagida takes 欲 to mean desire or wish to. I think we have 若欲 ... 時 parallel to the 若能 ... 時 of XXV. 遠意 may be the ideas of people in the past. Here I think it is extended to mean Nirvana, the aim desired from afar, or the final object.

3) Y.n.p.201, "會是結習俱盡 By means of the original resolve (遠意) one is sure to eliminate the bonds of frustration and the traces of habits. 會是 = sure, most likely to. (Cf. 會當)." For the bonds and habit-forces cf. the Vkn: When Śāriputra tried to remove heavenly flowers scattered upon him, but could not do so, he is told that they stick to his body because of his discrimination. Seng-chao commented, "The flowers were used to demonstrate the difference between the Mahayana and Hinayana," i.e., Bodhisattvas and śrāvakas. As Tao-sheng says, the latter or disciples' display of emotion shows that they are still attached. The goddess says: "If a disciple fears birth and death, then material, sound, smell, taste and touch can trouble him; but if he is fearless he is immune from the five senses. (In your case) the bonds and habit-forces (or bonds of habit 結習) are not yet exhausted, so the flowers stick to your body. The flowers do not stick to those whose bonds of habit are exhausted." Kumarajiva said, "Question. 'If the bonds of habit of the Bodhisattva are still not exhausted, why didn't they stick to them?' Answer, 'There are two sorts of habit. One is the bonds of habit 結習, the second is the habit of love in the Buddha-dharma. When one attains the acceptance of the Unborn, the bonds of habit are completely exhausted, without cutting off the habit of the love of the Buddha-dharma.'" He also said,

"Although the Dharmakāya Bodhisattvas have the bonds of habit, because the vessel is pure, the force of habit does not arise..." Tao-sheng commented: "In trying to get rid of 'bad' flowers, although it is a disease of bonds, it is still their habit. Habit, moreover, invites the flowers to stick to the body, and yet they can't get rid of it. Is this not a bond?" (T.38,387c) This passage suggests to me that the situation described is that of when one is about to obtain Nirvana: when a Bodhisattva has the power to take it but refuses it because of his vow.

4) Y.n.p.201, "不生不滅是愚痴家練習 To think that there is (something that) arises and ceases is evidence that one has not yet disposed of the remaining stupid ideas."

LI

"Does one depend on Dharma or does one depend on men?"¹

"As I understand it², one does not depend on man or the Dharma. If you depend on the Dharma and do not depend on men, this is still a one-sided view. If one depends on men and does not depend on the Dharma, it is likewise." Furthermore he said, "When one has bodily vitality³, one can avoid the human and Dharmic (法 phenomenal?) deceptive delusions. The same goes for spirit. Why? Because one reveres wisdom, one is deceived by man and Dharma.⁴ If one values a person as being so (wise), one will not avoid being deluded and confused by that person. Even in considering the Buddhas as the best of men, one still will not avoid deceptions. Why? Because one is bewildered (by) the realms of the senses, and because, by relying on this man, one's believing mind is weighed down.⁵" He also said, "Stupid people consider the Buddha to be the best among men, and consider Nirvana to be the best of phenomena (of the Dharma?), and so they are deluded and confused by man and the Dharma. If one considers the nature of phenomena to be the limit of reality⁶, no matter whether one knows it or not, and considers that one's own nature neither arises nor ceases, is also self-deception and delusion."

1) Y.n.p.203, "為依法為依人... The distinction between dependence on Dharma or dependence on man is usually two of the four authorities, and can be seen

in Chih-tu lun IX." The Long Scroll however, denies the Chih-tu lun's idea (as quoted by Yanagida), for it denies both the reliance on man and the Dharma. The Chih-tu lun says "that when the Buddha was about to enter Nirvana he said to his followers: 'From now on, rely on the Dharma, and not on people!'" The Vkn also says: "The Buddha said to his disciples: 'After my Nirvana, you should rely on four things which will be your teachers; on the Dharma rather than on man, on the meaning rather than the letter, on wisdom rather than intellect, and on sutras revealing the whole truth rather than on those revealing part of it' (C.Luk, Vkn, p.133.).

2) Y.n.p.203, "如我解時" The character 時 is doubtful."

3) Y.n.p.203, "體氣" a trait, the individuality a person is born with....Cf. LV for 人身體氣. Morohashi, 45291.17 says it is the bodily energy.

4) Y.n.p.204, "The wisdom spoken of here is understood as discriminatory wisdom...Cf. LVI, 'He who does not revere deep wisdom is a stable person.'"

5) Y.n.p.204, "依此人信" The stronger one's faith in a person is, the deeper is one's delusion." 信 includes both deluded belief and correct belief.

6) To consider that the nature of phenomena is the ultimate without having proof for it, but still thinking one's own nature is identical to the nature of phenomena?

LII

The Dharma teacher Chih saw Dharma teacher Yuan in the butchers' lane¹, and asked him, "Did you see the butchers kill sheep or not?"²

Yuan said, "I am not blind. Why shouldn't I have seen it?"

Chih said, "Mr. Yuan, now you say you have seen it!"

Yuan said, "How much then have you seen it."

1) Y.n.p.205, "屠兒行上" Where sheep butchers have congregated. A whole street overflowing with butchers....In the Chiu-i ta-fei ching IV 究竟大經 it says: 'When one goes to the street of the butchers to haggle over the price of meat, there are fierce dogs in that street. Do not remember them in a melee biting each other and fighting over bones.'"

2) Y.n.p.205, "見屠兒殺羊不" It is a violation of the precepts to see a place where sheep are slaughtered." The Lotus says: "One shall also take no

pleasure in approaching with familiarity persons associated (with these things) or other wicked ones, be they butchers..."(L.Hurvitz,The Lotus Flower Of ... p.336).

3) Y.n.p.205,"更乃見之This is a criticism of being attached to the (the concept of the) violation of the precepts." It could also be translated as,"I see it even more than (that)", or "Well, you say you have seen it."

This concerns following the spirit rather than the letter of the Vinaya. The Large Wisdom (Conze,p.170) says,:"His non-renunciation of moral training consists in the non-observation of all moral duties." Nagarjuna commented: "One sees neither morality nor immorality, and yet one does not violate morality. Far more important to the Bodhisattva is his entry into Emptiness" (ibid.,note 29). The Vkn says:"If a Bodhisattva...appears as if he broke the prohibitions while delighting in pure living and being apprehensive of committing even a minor fault...he has access to the Buddha Path"(Luk,Vkn,p. 82 f., T.38,391a).

LIII

Teacher Chih again asked,"If one takes the view that existence has appearances (attributes)¹, that is the view of the ordinary person. If one takes the view that the nature is emptiness, that is the view of the two vehicles. If one takes the view that there is neither existence nor non-existence, that is the view of the Pratyeka Buddha. If one sees commiseratively, that is the view of compassion (Bodhisattva).² If one uses the mind to see, that is the view of the non-Buddhists. If one uses the vijñānas to see, that is the Deva Māra view. If one sees neither material nor the immaterial, then one should not necessarily have a view. How can one see and yet be able to distance oneself from (these) mistakes?"

Master Yuan said,"I take no such views³, which is the correct name for taking a view. In creating such sorts of imaginations you are deluding and confusing yourself."

1) 有相見 Cf. Morohashi,14332.135:The Ta-jih ching-shu says:"Phenomena that can be seen or projected are existence with attributes. All existence that has attributes is false." 可見可現之法,即為有相,凡有相者皆是虛妄。

2) Y.n.p.207, "若作慈見則是愛悲見" The Vkn says: 'But while so thinking, if he develops a great compassion derived from his love for living beings and from his attachment to this false view, he should immediately keep from these feelings' (Luk, Vkn, p.55) Kumarajiva commented: 'Seeing the existence of creatures, the mind gives rise to the attachment of love, and since it is through this that compassion arises, it is called the Great Compassion of the love view.'"; Seng-chao commented: "Although this compassion is good, it is still mixed up by the state of mind that has a love-view, and because one has not yet escaped involvement, one must abandon it." Tao-sheng later comments, based on the idea that the mind is already pure, "that the love-view has arisen from deluded ideas, and so is an adventitious contaminant. When one has eliminated it, one can give rise to the great compassion" (T.38, 378b).

3) Y.n.p.207, "爾許極見...爾許種" is 'various', and is the same as 若許種. It indicates plurality." I think that 爾許 means 'such', and should be seen as the same or similar to 如許, 爾聲, 如聲 etc. Cf. 爾許 in the HKSC biog. of Hui-k'o.

LIV

A man asked Master Yuan, "Why don't you teach me the Dharma?"

"If I set up the Dharma to teach you, then I would not be guiding you. If I set up the Dharma, this would be deluding and deceiving you. I would be failing you.¹ I have the Dharma, (but) how can I preach it to people? How can I speak of it to you? And furthermore, it has words and letters, all of which will delude and deceive you. How can I speak to you even in the slightest about the meaning of the Great Way?² If I do speak, what use could you make of it?"

The man asked again, but (Yuan) did not reply. Later he again asked, "How does one calm the mind?"

"One must not make up one's mind (to seek) the Great Way.³ In my opinion, the mind cannot be known; it is dull and unfeeling (unaware)."

1) Y.n.p.208, "Basically, the Dharma cannot be taught to people." The Vkn says: "Such being the attributes of the Dharma, how can it be expounded? In preaching the Dharma there is neither speech nor indication, and the listeners to the Dharma do not hear or get anything" (T.38, 347b).

2) Y.n.p.209, "大道意那芥子許得向你道. Difficult to understand, and the original text is not certain." Suzuki has 大道意乃之許得 which makes no sense. One text has 乃至 instead of 乃之, and as the Vkn takes the mustard seed to be the smallest unit in existence, I shall take it to mean 'not in the slightest.'

3) Y.n.p.209, "不得發大道心 He negates the thought of trying to calm the mind through the Great Way and teaches that this mind is ignorant and unfeeling." 大道心 has a definition in Chih-i's Miao-fa hua-lien ching wen-chü 妙法華蓮經文句: "The word bodhi is said Way 道, Sattva is said mind 心, and the word Mahā is said Great 大." I.e., Bodhisattvamahāsattva (Ting, 424)

LV and LVI

Again he asked, "What is the Way?"

"When you make up your mind to approach the Way, cunning arises, and one falls into the midst of mentation. If you try 欲 to give rise to the Way¹ sophistry is born. If one (uses) mental expedients 有心方便, all the deceptions are born."

He again asked, "What is deceit?"²

"If one uses knowledge and understanding to seek fame³, artifices arise. If you try to cut off deceit, do not make up your mind to seek Bodhi, and do not use the wisdom of the sutras and śāstras. Whoever does so, will then have 人 human bodily vitality. If one has the spirit, and does not reverse understanding, does not seek the Dharma, and does not love wisdom, one will at least get some peace."⁴

He also said, "If you do not seek the marvellous understanding, and do not take someone as a teacher, and do not take the Dharma as a teacher, one will naturally advance alone."

He also said, "If you do not give rise to the demonic⁵ mind, I can guide you."

LVI

"What is the demonic mind?"

"Shutting one's eyes and entering samadhi 定."⁶

"What if I compose my mind in dhyana 禪定 (meditation)⁷ and it does not move?"

"This is to be bound by samadhi.⁸ It is useless. Even the four dhyānas are just single stages of tranquillity that can be disturbed again.⁹ One cannot value them. This is a creative method 法¹⁰, and is moreover a destructive method, and is not the ultimate method. If one can understand that the nature 性 lacks tranquillity and disturbance, then one has attained freedom.

One who is not controlled by tranquillity and disturbance is a spirited person 有精神."

He also said, "If one is not caught up in understanding, and if one does not create a mind of delusion, then one is someone who does not revere deep wisdom. That person is a stable person. If one reveres or values a method (phenomena), that method (phenomena) really can bind and kill you¹¹ and you will fall into mentation. This is an unreliable thing. The ordinary worldly people who are bound up by names and letters are innumerable in the world."

1) One must not seek the Way for it is here already. To seek it is to negate it, for seeking is an attachment.

2) Y.n.p.211, "If the idea 'the Way' is deceit, what then is deceit?"

3) Y.n.p.211, "用知解題名 To seek fame by means of the intellect." Here, to seek fame as a Buddha.

4) Y.n.p.211, "少得閑靜 slightly calmed." 少得 in usual Chinese means not even a little.

5) Y.n.p.211, "不起鬼魅心 Do not have concerns with ghostly apparitions that hide their own true form. For 鬼魅 see XXI 胡鬼. In Fu-fa-tsang yin-yuan chuan 付法藏因緣傳 a story is told that when Nāgārjuna was young, he attempted to join three friends in making themselves invisible and go seeking after sexual pleasure. They learnt the art of invisibility from a magician, stole into the harem of the emperor, and violated the beauties therein. At this time a wise minister informed the king that this was either the act of a ghost or a magician. He suggested that powder be spread around the doors, and people be forbidden to pass through them. If the culprit was a magician, footprints would be left; and if a ghost, none. At that time it

was thought that 鬼魅 came and went without form. This time the king found tracks." This story is in T.50,317b-c. However, Ting,1746 says that a 鬼魅 is a spirit that harms people. The Hua-yen ching LXV says, "鬼魅 cause epilepsy and consumption". It can also cause pregnancy. An invisible demon of possession.

6) Y.n.p.213, "閉眼入定" It appears that at the time it was usual to close one's eyes and enter samadhi. In the HKSC biography of Hui-ch'eng of Ch'an hui Temple 禪惠寺釋惠成 it says: 'Hui-ch'eng suddenly burnt his writings and cast aside his brush and inkstone. He put his whole will (into meditation) and attacked it vigorously so that he would be sure to reach his goal. At that time in (Hui-ssu's) meditation school there were several tens of people who had already reached the goal. Hui-ch'eng, being older, feared that he would not be able to match them. So all through the night till daylight he opened his eyes and sat in meditation, and 15 years passed. His teacher Hui-ssu made him enter the (samadhi) states of Vaipulya 方等, Kuan-yin, Dharmapundarika 法蓮 and Pratyutpanna, and over time removed the obstacles. Through three years of practice he dispensed completely with the causes of the karma of Māra and the meditation demons 禪鬼 ...Other people who closed their eyes could see the Way clearly, but when they opened their eyes they lost sight of it. When they are compared to Hui-ch'eng they are as far apart as heaven and earth'" (T.50,557a-b).

7) Y.n.p.214, "斂心禪定" To stop the movement of the mind and enter dhyana." As Yanagida indicates, the Vkn says the following of meditation: "It is not necessary to sit for it to be meditation 定. Meditation is not to project the body or mind 意 (will) into the three realms." Kumarajiva commented, "... The Bodhisattva calms his mind 安心 in the true realms of the senses, and the vijñānas do not gallop outside. This is the mind not projecting..." Tao-sheng commented: "Originally those who meditated in the forests did so to hide themselves 形. (But) if you don't conceal your mind it will be moved by events." The Vkn says: "The mind not resting in the inner nor in the outer is meditation." Seng-chao commented: "...Because Hinayanists block off thought, they bind their minds in the inner. Because ordinary people often seek, their ideas gallop outside " (T.38,344b-345a).

Cf. the story of Seng-ch'ou in the HKSC: "He composed his thoughts for a long time, and was completely without control or realization" (T.50,553c 斂念久之全無攝證).

8) Y.n.p.214, "此是縛定" ...The Vkn says: 'To be attached to the flavour of dhyana is the bondage of the Bodhisattva, and by the production of expedients is

the Bodhisattvas released.'" Seng-chao commented, "...The two vehicles grasp realization completely through attachment to the flavour of meditation, so they are bound." Tao-sheng commented, "Craving recompense and practising meditation is to have a taste for (flavour in) the practice. If there is already a flavour of recompense (reward) in the practice there is sure to be delusion therein. To be deluded by recompense is to be bound to life" (T.38, 378c).

Yanagida says that " this paragraph is one of the ideas that forms the basis for the criticism later by Shen-hui of the Northern School. It even agrees to the extent of the words of criticism 不中用 ."

9) Y.n.p.215, " The Fo-shuo fa-chü ching 佛說法句經 says: 'Even though one has studied many samadhis, they all simply disturb the mind, and that is not proper meditation. Although the mind constantly follows after phenomena and so moves, how can one call this dhyana.'" The Lanka has a similar theme: "All the dhyanas...samadhis, the cessation of thought, all these are mental constructions, nothing of the sort is really attainable", and "The Dhyana practised, Dhyana itself, and the subject of Dhyana...all this is discrimination; he who understands is released" (LS, p.104-5 and SL, p.368).

10) 此是作法 It is difficult to say whether this is phenomena or method being described here. From the context it is probably the latter. A formal method.

11) Y.n.p.215, "此法最能擊殺你 The 殺 of 擊殺 (Suzuki 煞) and the 在 of 隨在 are both suffixes, strengthening the verb." I can find no example of the use of 煞 as a verbal suffix. 煞 = 殺.

LVII

Someone asked Master K'o, "How can one become a saint?"

"All ordinary people and saints are creations of the imagination's contrivance."

He again asked, "Since they are already imagination¹, how can one cultivate the Way?"

"What sort of a thing is the Way that you wish to cultivate it?² Phenomena (Dharma) are without the attributes of high or low, and they are without the attributes of departing or coming."³

1) Y.n.p.216, "既是妄想...Huang-po's Chuan-hsin fa-yao says: 'What is the Way and how do you practice it? The master said, "What sort of a thing is the

Way that you wish to practise it?' (Goroku VIII, p.55 問,如何是道,如何修行 師云,道是何物,誰欲修行) His Wan-ling lu says, 'Since Bodhidharma came from the West he only transmitted the Dharma of the One Mind, and he directly indicated that all creatures are the Buddha, and that (thus) practice was not needed ' (Goroku VIII, p.134)."

2) Y.n.p.216, "道似何物而欲修之 In the words of the Meditation teacher Lang in the Tsung-ching lu, exactly the same sentence is quoted: 'All of that which you see is a projection out of one's own mind. What sort of a thing is the Way that you wish to cultivate it? What sort of things are frustrations that you wish to cut them off?' (T.48,941b).

3) Y.n.p.216, "法無高下 A verse of the Chin-kang ching says, '...All existence is equal, without high or low. That is called anuttarasamyaksambodhi' (Iwanami, pp.108 and 110)." The Vkn says: "Phenomena do not depart and come, for they are never resting...Phenomena do not have a high or low, (for) phenomena are always unmoving." Seng-chao commented, "The true phenomena (Dharma?) are always at rest, sages and saints are unable to shift them" (T.38,347a-b).

LVIII

Again he was asked, "Will you calm my (your pupil's) mind for me?"¹

"Bring your mind to me and I will calm it for you."

Again he asked, "Just calm my mind!"

"What you are asking is analagous to requesting a tailor to cut the cloth for your clothes.² Only when the tailor gets your silk can he begin to use his scissors. Before he had seen the silk, could he have cut out the sky for you?³ Since you could not bring your mind to me, how could I calm any sort of mind for you?⁴ I really cannot calm the sky."

1) Y.n.p.218, "教弟子安心 In the Tsu-t'ang chi biography of Bodhidharma this dialogue is repeated: 'Hui-k'o asked, "Please Ho-shang, calm my mind." The master said, "Bring your mind to me and I shall calm it for you." He continued, "Even though I have searched for my mind, in the end I have not been able to grasp it." The master said, "Even if you could find it, how could it be your mind? I have calmed your mind!" So then Bodhidharma said to Hui-k'o, "I have calmed your mind for you. Do you see that now?" Hui-k'o was enlightened at these words, and reported to the master, "Today is the first time that I have known that all existence is originally empty and calm. Today is the first

time that I have known that Bodhi is not distant. Therefore a Bodhisattva does not move thoughts and (yet) reaches the sea of ultimate wisdom..." For the original cf. Daruma no kenkyū, p.150.

2) Y.n.p.219, "譬如請巧人裁衣" Yanagida indicates that there is a similar dialogue between Wu-yeh of Fen-chou and Ma-tsu in Tsu-t'ang chi XV.

3) 寧得與汝裁割虛空 Large Wisdom (Conze, p.303) says: "But in space there can be no development of perfect wisdom.... 'Bodhisattvas want to liberate space' Space would those who want to liberate who for the sake of beings want to ^{know} full enlightenment." Cf. note 2, XLVIII.

4) Y.n.p.220, "我知爲汝安何物心" The character 知 is hard to understand,and it can be seen in the next paragraph." 知 = 祇, and 祇 means 'what' or 'how' in early colloquial Chinese.

LIX

He also said, "Will you pardon (confess) me?"¹

"Bring your sin forth and I shall pardon you."

He again said, "Sin has no form or appearance that can be grasped, so how could I bring anything forth?"

"I have pardoned you, so caste it aside."² What I mean to say³ is that if there is a sin it should be confessed, but since you do not see a sin, there is no need to confess it."

He also said, "Will you cut off my frustrations?"

"Where are the frustrations that you wish to have cut off?"

He again said, "I really don't know where."

"If you do not know where, it is analagous to the sky. What sort of a thing is it that you say (are asking me) to cut off sky?"⁴

He again said, "A sutra says, 'Cut off all evil and cultivate all that is good and you will become Buddha!'"⁵

"This is an imagination projected by your own mind."

1) Y.n.p.221, "與弟子懺悔" This is usually taken to be a dialogue between Hui-k'o and Seng-ts'an. It can be seen in the stele of Hui-k'o that Fang Kuan wrote for Shen-hui." This is preserved in the Pao-lin chuan, pp.148 and 150,

where Seng-ts'an is both a pupil and a layman, 居士. Fang Kuan lived 697-763. The story in the Tsu-t'ang chi is based on the Pao-lin chuan, almost word for word.

2) Y.n.p.222, "向舍去 This line is also hard to interpret. I shall emend it to 通捨去 'Throw it far away' for the time being."

3) Y.n.p.222, "意謂 = the recorder's explanation?"

4) Alternatively, "You know what sort of a thing it is, and yet you ask me to cut off the sky."

5) Y.n.p.222, "Although it is not clear which sutra this is, it is a widely known line. For example, in Shen-hsiu's Kuan-hsin lun: 'The three groups of pure precepts preached in the sutras are: to vow to cut off all evil, to vow to cultivate all that is good, to vow to liberate all beings.'"

LX

Again he asked, "All the Buddhas of the ten directions have cut off frustrations and completed the Buddha Way.¹ (What of it?)"

"You make these calculations unrestrainedly, without any basis."²

Again he asked, "How does the Buddha liberate creatures?"

"When the image in a mirror liberates creatures, the Buddha will liberate creatures."³

1) Y.n.p.223, "The Chiu-i ta-fei ching shows that during the period of our text that it had become a question as whether one should cut kleśa off or not: 'If one cuts off frustrations, one is said to have killed none other than the Buddha. To be able to cut off frustration is definitely an impossible method. (If) cutting off all frustrations and practising the Way is none other than killing the Buddha, then there will be a whole host of other troubles.'"

2) Y.n.p.223, "無一箇底藁 . 底藁 is a basis." It is probably like 底定 .

3) Y.n.p.223, "鏡中像度衆生時... Cf. XXX. I cannot find the source for this simile." This answer is based on an idea like that we can see in the Sarvadharmapravṛttinirdeśasūtra: "The Buddha does not obtain the Buddha Way, nor does he liberate creatures. Ordinary people forcibly discriminate, creating a Buddha to liberate creatures" (T.15,760b).

LXI

Again he asked, "I am scared of hell, so I (want to) be confessed and cultivate the Way."

"Where is your ego ('I'), and what sort of a thing is your 'I'?"

"I don't know where."

"Since you don't even know¹ where this 'I' is, who is it that falls into hell? Since you don't know what sort of a thing it is like, it must be an existence contrived from imagination. Since it is truly an existence contrived from the imagination, you have a hell."

1) Y.n.p.225, "我尚自不知處 ... 尚自 is colloquial for 'even'" This paragraph and the next are translated in D.T.Suzuki, The Zen Doctrine of No Mind.

LXII

He again asked, "Since this Way is wholly a creation of the imagination, what is this imaginative creation?"

"Phenomena lack bigness or smallness, form or attribute, high or low.¹

It is just as if there is a great rock in the front of the courtyard of your home², which you had the habit of snoozing or sitting upon. You did not feel apprehensive about it. Suddenly you get an idea (make up your mind to) to make it into a statue, so you employ a sculptor to carve it into a statue of the Buddha. The mind, interpreting it as being a Buddha, no longer dares to sit on it, fearing that to be a sin. It was originally a rock, and it was through your mind that it was created (as a statue).³ What sort of a thing then is the mind? Everything is painted by your volitional brush. You have scared yourself, you have frightened yourself. In the stone there is no punishment or reward 罪福, it is all created by your own mind. It is like a man who paints the figures of yakṣas 夜叉 and ghosts 鬼, and who also paints the figures of dragons and tigers, and when he sees what he has painted, he scares himself. In the colours there is ultimately nothing that can scare

you. All of it is a creation of the discrimination of your volitional (manovijñāna) brush. How can there be anything that is not created by your imagination?"

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- 1) Y.n.p.227, "法無大小形相高下 Cf. LVII, Vkn quote."
- 2) Y.n.p.227, "譬如家內有大石 etc. is quoted in the Tsung-ching lu as Meditation teacher Yuan's words. This is probably Yen-shou's mistake" (T.48, 941b 緣禪師云, 譬如家中有大石, 尋常坐臥, 或作佛像心作佛解, 畏罪不敢坐, 皆是意識筆頭畫作, 自忙自怕, 石中實無罪福).
- 3) Y.n.p.227, "由你心作是 ... 作是 = to make the previous interpretation of 'Buddha!' Cf. LVII, 皆為妄想計較作是."
- 4) Y.n.p.228, "阿寧有一箇物 ... 阿寧 is a rhetorical question = 豈."

LXIII

"How many sorts of preaching of the Dharma by the Buddhas are there?"¹

"The Lanka Sutra has four sorts of Buddha²-preaching. What the Dharma(tā) Buddha preaches is the Dharma that this substratum is omnipresent.³ The Nisyanda Buddha 報佛 preaches the Dharma that imagination is not real. The Jñāna Buddha preaches the Dharma of being divorced from perception, and the Nirmaṇa Buddha 應化 preaches the Dharma of the six pāramitās."

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- 1) Y.n.p.228, "Here the Dharmakāya preaches the Truth as Principle, the Nisyanda Buddha the emptiness of phenomena, the (Tathagata) Jñāna Buddha the method of going from phenomena to Truth, and the Nirmanakaya a concrete method of practice."
- 2) Y.n.p.228-9, "From the Lanka. In Bodhiruci's translation there is no Jñāna Buddha, and although it has the Dharma Buddha, the Nisyanda Buddha, in the four chapter Lanka four Buddhas are given: 化佛, 報生佛, 如如佛, 和智惠佛. It seems that the Long Scroll has taken these two lists in combination to create these four Buddha-preachings." I think that the speaker has added the Jñāna Buddha of the Gunabhadra translation to his list, and has given the Jñāna Buddha the preaching of the Dharma Buddha. Perhaps the idea came from one of the commentaries written by a Ti-lun follower. Gunabhadra translates: "The Dharmatā Buddha 法依佛 preached that all phenomena are included in the

attributes of the self and in the joint attributes. One's own mind is a habit cause 習氣因, the cause of continuation, imagination, self-nature and prejudice, all sorts of unreal illusions, and all the sorts of prejudices that make it unattainable" (T.16,486a). Bodhiruci is closer to our text in his wording: "The Dharma Buddha and the Niṣyanda Buddha preach because all phenomena are attributes of the self and shared attributes, because our own mind projects views and habitualises appearances....The phenomena thus spoken of are not like this substratum....The substrata of false phenomena are due to caused phenomena..." (T.16,525b) Note that Guṇabhadra uses 依佛 for 報佛. Thus the Long Scroll seems to have made two Buddhas from the the Bodhiruci 法佛報佛 which are probably meant as one Buddha (though I have translated them as being two above). The Jñāna Buddha here resembles the Dharma Buddha of Bodhiruci: "The Dharma that the Dharma Buddha preaches is that because one is divorced from the mind and in yoke with the substratum, one therefore has an inner realization of the saintly practice of the realms of the senses" (T.16, 525b-c 法佛說法者, 離心相應化覺體故, 內證聖行境界). Both agree on the preaching of the Nirmana Buddha. Cf. LS, p.51 and SL, p.320 f.

3) Y.n.p.229, "是體虛通法 = this itself is empty... 是體 is hard to explain, but for now I shall take it to mean 'the whole'." I think that this may be the same use as in Bodhiruci's passage on the Buddhas translated above: 如說法無如是體故. I feel that 是 is 'this' and 體 is 'substance' or substratum. Cf. 心體開通 in XLVIII. I interpret the passage to progress as follows: 1) the substratum (Ālayavijñāna or true nature) is present in everyone and is unobstructed in reality. 2) One's own imagination creates phenomena, so they are unreal. 3) If one is separated from (deluded) perception this is realized. 4) The way to get away from deluded perception is through the paramitas.

LXIV

A man asked Meditation teacher Lang, "As soon as the mind conditions past and future events, it is bound.¹ How can one stop this?"

"Whenever something is conditionally produced, think of its appearance as totally extinguished,² and ultimately it will not arise again. Why? Because the mind has no nature of its own. Therefore a sutra says, 'All phenomena lack a nature.'³ Therefore, whenever a thought arises, it has not really arisen or ceased. Why? When the mind arises, it does not come from the east, nor from

the south, west or north. It has no place of origin, so it has not arisen. If one knows that it has not arisen, then it has not ceased."⁴

- 1) Y.n.p.231, "心緣過去未來事 By regretting that which is past and fearing that which is to come, the mind is soon enchained."
- 2) Y.n.p.231, "即知滅盡相。滅盡 is the complete destruction of and non-arising of the mind of the six vijñānas and the functions of the mind心所。"
- 3) Y.n.p.231, "The sutra is unidentified. In the Siksānanda translation of the Lanka there are the lines: 'Phenomena are originally unproduced, and are empty and without a nature of their own, but bewildered by various causes, (people) think that there is something that arises and ceases.'" (T.16,626b).
- 4) Y.n.p.231, "若知不生 The Sarvabuddhaviśayāvatāra II 如來莊嚴智慧光明入一切佛境界經 says: 'O Mañjuśrī, if one knows all phenomena as they truly are, all phenomena are non-existent, and were originally not produced nor extinguished. Since phenomena originally have not arisen, once arisen they return to cessation'" (T.12,246b 如實知一切法者,一切法無本來不生不滅,法本不生,生已還滅)

LXV

He again asked, "If the mind is enchained and is forming karma, how can one cut it off?"

"Because there is no mind 無心, there is no need to cut it off."¹ Because this mind is nowhere produced and nowhere extinguished, and because imagination produces phenomena. A sutra says, 'The sins of the (five) hindrances of past karma (deeds) do not come from the south, (east), west or north, nor the four intermediate directions, nor from above or below, (so they) all arise due to the inversion (of the truth).'² There is no need to doubt this. The Bodhisattvas survey the Teachings (Dharma) of the past Buddhas³, and seek for them throughout the ten directions, but cannot find any of them."

- 1) Y.n.p.233, "無心故不須斷 Mind is basically without a nature of its own, so there is no need to extinguish it now....In the P'u-hsien kuan ching 普賢觀經 there is the following passage: 'Then the Buddhas of the ten directions stretched out their right hands and patted the practitioners on the

head, saying, "Good, good, O good sons. Since you have read the Mahayana sutras, the Buddhas of the ten directions preached the Dharma of repentance and the practice of the Bodhisattvas. Do not cut off the movements of frustrations. Do not stay in the sea of frustrations..."

2) Y.n.p.233, "The sutra is unknown. The sin of the hindrances of past karma are the evil sins that lead to the Avīci hell. The P'u-hsien kuan ching says: 'All of the sea of karmic hindrances is born of imagination, and if you think to confess, sit upright and concentrate on 念 true attributes.'" Cf. the Chin-kang ching: "'Can you measure the eastern sky?' 'No Lord.' 'Subhuti, can you measure the sky of east, west, north, the intermediate directions, above and below or not?' 'No.'" (Iwanami, p.46).

LXVI

Somebody asked the Meditation teacher Hsien, "What do you consider to be medicine?"

"All of Mahayana is words to counter disease. Whenever the mind has not given rise to a disease, what need is there for a medicine to counter disease? Because it counters the disease of 'existence', it speaks of the medicine of 'emptiness and non-existence'. Because it counters 'ego', it preaches the medicine of 'non-ego'. Since it counters arising and cessation, it preaches that there is no arising or cessation. Since it counters meanness, it preaches alms giving. Since it counters stupidity, it preaches wisdom, and since it counters heterodox views, it preaches correct views. Since it counters delusion, it preaches understanding. All of these are words to counter disease. If there is no disease, what need is there for this medicine?"

1) Y.n.p.234, 顯禪師 Although there is a Fa-hsien of Ssu-ts'eng Temple 四層寺法顯 with a biography in HKSC XXV who was connected with Tao-hsin at the beginning of the T'ang, and so is probably too late in time. In Pelliot 3559, the Hsien-te chi-yü Shuang-feng shan ta ko t'an hsuan-li has as Meditation teacher Hsien's words: 'When correct mindfulness does not arise, dhyana and prajñā function equally.'" Cf. 'Denbōhōki to sono sakusha', p.54 f. 正念不生 定惠齊用.

LXVII

Somebody asked Meditation teacher Hsuan, "What do you consider to be the substance of the Way?"

"Mind is the substance of the Way.¹ That this substance (substratum) is substanceless² (makes) it an incredible phenomena, for it is neither existent nor non-existent. Why? Because mind lacks a nature, it does not exist. Because it arises from conditions, it does not not-exist. Because mind lacks form and appearance, it does not exist, and since it functions and yet is not destroyed, it is not non-existent."

1) Y.n.p.236, "Cf. XLIII and XLVIII." For this answer cf. XVIII.

2) Y.n.p.236, "此是體無體 The Sarvabuddhavisayāvatāra says: 'What you say the substance of all phenomena is, is non-substance (substanceless). Non-substance does not have two words in it....Bodhi is that which has no traces of discrimination...'" (T.12,245c).

LXVIII

The Meditation teacher Yuan 淵 said, "If one knows that all phenomena are ultimately empty, the knower and the known are also empty.² The intelligence 智 (wisdom) of the knower is also empty, and the phenomena of the known are likewise empty. Therefore it is said, 'Phenomena and intellect are both empty. This is called the double emptiness 空空.'³ Therefore the Fo-tsang ching says, 'The Buddhas of the past preached that all phenomena are ultimately empty, and the Buddhas of the future preach that all phenomena are ultimately empty.'⁴"

1) Y.n.p.237, "From here on the words of meditation teachers who seem to have belonged to one tendency are recorded." That tendency seems to be Yogācārin.

2) Y.n.p.237, "....The Ta Chih-tu lun XXXI says, "'Ultimately empty" is a critique of all existence from the standpoint that the created is empty and the uncreated is also empty. That which has no remainder is called ultimate emptiness.'" Cf. Ting, p.2039.

3) Y.n.p.238, "法智俱空是名空空 It seems to be a quote from somewhere, but I haven't found it." The Vkn defines double emptiness as follows: "'What is

empty?' 'Emptiness is empty'" Kumarajiva commented, "...Because all phenomena are appearanceless...Wisdom without discrimination is the emptiness of wisdom, ...At that time wisdom (intellect) and phenomena both share one emptiness" (T.38372c 何為空.答以空空.什曰,---諸法無相故---智無分別即智空---爾時智法俱同一空)
 The Ta Chih-tu lun 46 defines it differently: "What is double (or the emptiness of) emptiness?' 'All phenomena are empty. This emptiness is also empty, so it is called the emptiness of emptiness.'" (Ting, 1273). The Vkn is closer to our text. This idea is important in the Vijñanavāda.

4) Y.n.p.238, "This is part of a verse from the Fo-tsang ching VI 佛藏經, and the same verse is quoted in Ching-chueh's commentary on the Heart Sutra under the title An-hsin lun." Cf. ZSS, pp.601 and 617.

The bKah-thang sde-lnga translates this: "The Master of Dhyana K'a ſen ſi said, 'As regards the knowledge that all dharmas are void, it is that by the knowledge of the void, potential knowledge is voided (知?). Therefore, the voidness of all dharmas is also void'" (MBT II, p.91 f.)

LXIX

The Dharma teacher Tsang¹ said, "He who obtains nothing from all the phenomena is called a cultivator of the Way. Why? The eye that sees all colours (material) does not obtain any of the colours. The ear that hears all sounds, does not obtain (hear?) any sounds. Even the realms of the senses conditioned by the manas are so."² Therefore a sutra says, 'When the mind obtains nothing, the Buddha destines one (to become a Buddha).'³ A sutra says, 'No phenomena are obtainable, and the unobtainable is also unobtainable.'⁴

1) Y.n.p.240, "藏法師. The Tsung-ching lu quotes the words below, and the Hsien-te chi-yü Shuang-feng shan ko t'an hsuan-li incorporates other words of this man." I.e., "Meditation teacher Tsang said, 'Empty and deluding (talk) is non-existent yet real, and is also not the condition of mind fixed in meditation.' He also said, 'Enter it and you are in the sphere of right mindfulness, leave it and you will see mirages.'" ('Denpöhoki to sono sakusha' p.55 藏禪師曰虛誑無而實亦非停心處.又曰,入則正念境出則觀幻影).

2) Y.n.p.240, "The subject is the six organs of sense: the eye, nose, tongue, ear, body and mano (vijñāna). Their phenomena are without a nature of their own, and so are unattainable." Tucci takes the Tibetan translation, tshogs drug, to

refer to the six niyatipāṭa of the Mahāyanasūtralāṅkāra, but this Tibetan compound also refers to the six senses.

3) Y.n.p.241, "The sutra is uncertain, but the Chin-kang ching has a similar content: '...Therefore the Dīpaṅkara Buddha gave me my certificate 受記 (of Buddhahood) and said these words for me: "In future you will attain Buddhahood and be titled the Śākya Muni." Why? The Thus Come means that phenomena are thus. If someone says that the Thus Come has attained anuttarasamyaksambodhi, Subhuti, in fact there is no phenomena for the Buddha to attain as anuttarasamyaksambodhi...Therefore the Thus Come preaches that all phenomena (dharma) are Buddha-dharma " (Iwanami, pp.92-95).

4) Y.n.p.241, "The sutra is unidentified. The quote of this in the Wu-hsin lun takes it to be a quote from the Mahābherthārakaparivarta 大法鼓經, but it does not exist in the extant sutra with this title. The Wu-hsin lun says, 'If one knows that there is no mind attainable, phenomena are unattainable, and sin and good fortune are also unattainable....In fact everything is unattainable, and the unattainable is also unattainable'" (Suzuki II, p.218).

The Tibetan has: "The master of dhyana Dsañ śan śi says: 'As regards non-association with dharma, this is the practice of the path of Dharma; the six accumulations (then) appear; (this is) to get the sutras (mistranslation of 受記), (this is) the teaching of the words of the Buddha.'" (MBT II, p.92).

LXX

The Meditation teacher Hsien 賢 said, "Where the eyes see, that is the limit of reality.¹ All phenomena are the limit of reality. What more can one look for?"

1) This is the reverse position to that in the Large Wisdom (Conze): "Just so, Ananda, all dharma come not within the range of the eye " (p.487).

The Tibetan has: "The master of dhyana Yen śan śi says: 'The place that the eyes can see is the limit of the visible true dharma; all dharma are also the limit of truth; what is there to search for anywhere else?'" (MBT II, p.92).

LXXI

The Meditation teacher An¹ said, "The direct (straightforward) mind is the Way.² Why? (Because) one who is directly mindful and directly responsive will neither contemplate emptiness nor seek the expedient means. Such is a

person who has practised the Way for a long time. A sutra says, 'Look directly but do not observe, hear directly but do not listen, be directly mindful but do not think, feel directly but do not act, speak directly but do not trouble (others. Complain?).'"³

1) Y.n.p.243, "安禪師 His words are quoted in the Tsung-ching lu" (T.48,941b).

2) As Yanagida indicates, this is from the Vkn, which says: "The straightforward (direct) mind is the site of the Way. One should know that the straightforward mind is the Bodhisattva's Pure Land." Seng-chao commented, "The straightforward mind means that inwardly the mind is truly straightforward and outwardly there is no falsity...The straightforward mind means that it is upright in disposition, without flattery. This mind is the basis of all practices." Kumarajiva commented, "The straightforward mind is the sincere mind. The start of the making up one's mind (for the Way) begins with sincerity" (T.38,335b). Cf. T.50,596a, translated in chapter 2, note 109.

3) Y.n.p.243, "The sutra is unidentified. It may not even be Buddhist. Cf.VI."

The Tibetan has: "The master of dhyana A śan śi says: 'A straight mind is the practice of the path of the dharma, because the void is not practised and a means is not sought for; beyond this straight practice there is nothing else'" (MBT II, p.92).

LXXII

The Meditation teacher Lien said, "The nature of phenomena is substanceless, so respond 用 to it directly and do not doubt 疑 (hesitate). A sutra says, 'Phenomena are basically 本 (originally) non-existent.' A sutra says, 'Because basically there is no mind, and because (that is) the mind as it is 如心, it is basically non-existent.' A sutra¹ says, 'If phenomena were previously existent, and only now (became) non-existent², then all the Buddhas would have committed sins.'"

1) Y.n.p.244, "None of these sutras have been identified."

2) Y.n.p.245, "諸法若本先有 A mistaken interpretation of 'existence has no nature of its own, is empty.'" Yanagida quotes the Nieh-p'an ching pen-yu chin-wu chi lun (cf. chapter 3)'s commentary on the Nirvana Sutra verse, "Originally

existent and now non-existent, originally ^{non-}existent and now existent. The existent phenomena of the three ages do not have this state." In this commentary by Vasubandhu the question is, "Why is it that Cunda has a doubting mind?" It is explained that his doubt arises from such instances as "seeing a stump in the distance and having a doubt as to whether or not it is a stump or a man" (T.26,281a). In regard to Mahayanists it explains that one cannot rely on words. "Whether one says 'originally existent and now non-existent, originally non-existent and now existent, or the three times exist', there is no such thing....If (one thinks) it was originally existent and now non-existent, then all the Tathagatas would be without release. Why? Because the nature is not settled..." (T.26,281b).

The Tibetan has: "The master of dhyana [√]Len [√]śān [√]śi says: 'As regards the essence of the dharmas there is no doubt; no doubt is possible as regards a straight meditation '" (MBT II, p.92).

LXXIII

The Meditation teacher Hung said, "All actions and conduct are as they are ^如 (thus).¹ Seeing material and hearing sounds are also as they are.² Why? Because there is no change (in them). When the eye sees material, the eye nowhere changes, which is the eye being as it is. When the ear hears sound, the ear nowhere changes, which is the ear being as it is. The manas nowhere changes, which is the manas as it is. If one understands that all phenomena are as they are, this is As it Comes (the Thus Come).³ A sutra says, 'Creatures are as they are, sages and saints are also as they are, and all phenomena are also as they are.'⁴

1) Y.n.p.247, "This is based on the sense of the later quoted Vkn verse. Cf. XXIV."

2) Y.n.p.247, "The Sarvabuddhavisayāvatāra says, 'O Manjusrī, as Bodhi is as it is, the realm of the eye, the realm of material and the realm of the eye consciousness are not divorced from thusness ^如 (being as they are)....the realm of the ear....'" (T.12,246c).

3) Y.n.p.247, "若解一切法即是如來 The Chin-kang ching says, 'The Thus Come means that phenomena are thus '" (Iwanami, p.94). Cf. X

4) Y.n.p.247, "The Vkn says, 'All creatures are as they are, all phenomena are

as they are, the saints and sages are also as they are.'" Seng-chao commented, "Although all items differ, there are none that are not as they are" (T.38,362a)

The Tibetan has: "The master of dhyana Han san si says: 'Agitation, action are the reality; whichever of the six objects (of sense) arises that also is reality; there is no change, no difference '" (MBT II, p.92).

LXXIV

The Meditation teacher Chueh¹ said, "If one awakes to the fact that mind is subject to nothing, then this is the attainment of the traces of the Way.² Why? (Because) when the eye sees material, the eye is not subject to any material. This is the liberation of its own nature. (When) the ear hears any sounds, the ear is not subject to any sound. Even though the manas experiences 經歷 all phenomena, it is not subject to any phenomena. This is the liberation of its own nature. A sutra says, 'Because no phenomena are subject to each other, thus mind and all phenomena do not know each other.'"

1) This is quoted in Tsung-ching lu, T.48,941b.

2) Y.n.p.248, "若悟心無所屬即得道迹 道迹 is the vestiges of the functioning of the Way... The Tun-huang forged sutra, the Miao-hao pao-ch'e ching 妙好寶車經 comments on the traces of the Way." It shows that it is the first inklings of the Way.

The Tibetan has: "The master of dhyana Kan san si says: 'Understanding mind as no-subjective representation of anything; this is the way in which Dharma (is explained) in the sutras. By the dharma one is bound, no liberation is seen'" (MBT II, p.92).

LXXV

The Meditation teacher Fan said, "If one knows that all phenomena are but a single phenomenon, one will attain liberation. The eye is a phenomenon and material is a phenomenon. Phenomena do not create bondage from phenomena.¹ The ears are phenomena, and sounds are also phenomena. Phenomena do not create liberation from phenomena. The manas is a phenomenon, and the realms of the senses are phenomena. Phenomena do not create sins from phenomena, and phenomena do not create good fortune from (for) phenomena, which is natural

liberation. A sutra says, 'Do not think ^見 that phenomena create bondage from phenomena, nor think that phenomena create liberation from phenomena.'"²

1) Cf. the quote from the Large Wisdom in LXXVII. Cf. the Large Wisdom; "When you see a thing, it puts you into its bondage. When you do not see it, then you are free of it" (Conze, p.10).

2) The sutra is quoted under Fan's name, Tsung-ching lu, T.48, 941b.

LXXVI

The Master Tao-chih said, "All phenomena are unobstructed. Why? (Because) all phenomena are unfixed ^{無定}, which is to be unobstructed."

LXXVII

The nun Yuan-chi said, "No phenomena constitute an object ^{無對}, which is the liberation of (one's?) own nature.¹ Why? (Because) when the eye sees material, there is nothing that it does not see. Even when the mañovijñāna ^{意識} knows, it knows everything. When there is ignorance or even delusion, there is no understanding. When there is understanding, there is no delusion. When one is dreaming there is no awareness; when one is awake, there is no dreaming. Therefore a sutra says, 'Even after the assembly had seen the Aksobhya Buddha, they still did not see the Buddha. Ananda, no phenomena constitute an object for the eyes and ears.'² Why? (Because) phenomena do not see phenomena, and phenomena do not know phenomena. Furthermore, the sutra says, '(When) the vijñānas are not produced from (due to) material, they are said not to see material.'"

1) This is paraphrased in the Tsung-ching lu, T.48, 941b: "The nun Yuan-chi said, 'All phenomena are mind only, (and so do.) not constitute an object, which is the liberation of one's own nature. A sutra says, 'Because phenomena do not see phenomena, phenomena do not know phenomena.'"

2) The Astāsāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā says, "The Lord Akshobhya, the Tathagata, then no longer appeared, and all those Bodhisattvas...no longer came within the range of vision of the members of the Lord's assembly. For the Tathagata

had drawn in his wonder-working power. And the Lord said to Ananda: In the same way Ananda, all dharmas do not come within the range of vision. Dharmas do not see non-dharmas, dharmas do not know non-dharmas. For all dharmas are of such a nature that they can be neither known nor seen, and they are incapable of doing anything. For all dharmas are inactive, they cannot be grasped, because they are as inactive as space " (Astasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Bibliotheca Indica, Work no.284, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1958, by E. Conze, p.192 f.).

LXXVIII

The Meditation teacher Chien said, "Wisdom ^明 is without purity or impurity, and ignorance is not in the mind. That the mind does not know phenomena means that phenomena are binding the ego. But the substance of phenomena is without bondage or release ^解 (understanding). Whenever creatures are conscious of themselves, then their senses do not move, which is Nirvana. When they do not understand, they either move, which is not Nirvana, (or they) do not move, which is also not Nirvana. When one does not (yet) know, within one's own mind one falsely contrives movement and tranquillity. When one understands, the self no longer exists, (so), who can contrive movement and tranquillity? When one does not understand, one says that the phenomena cannot be understood. When one understands, there are no phenomena to be understood. When one does not understand, there is delusion. When one understands, there is no delusion that can delude one, and no understanding to be understood. Because there is no delusion that can delude it is called the Great Understanding."

LXXIX

The Meditation teacher Yin said, "The philosophers say that the six vijñānas are imaginations, and they call them the work of Māra."

The Tibetan has: "The master of dhyana Kam ^{ཤེས་པའི་} ^{ཡི་} says: 'The six forms of consciousness are non-virtuous (mi dge) ideation; (as to) their name, they should be known as the work of Māra'" (MBT II, p.93).

LXXX

The Tripitaka Dharma teacher¹ said, "When falsity arises, there is no arisal. This is the Buddhist Dharma. By forgetting grasping and rejecting, and even that the Truly So is equable, one enters into the Bodhisattva mind, (where) all share an identical nature of phenomena."

Then a deluded person said, "The six vijñānas[~] create frustrations."

The Tripitaka Dharma teacher asked, "On what do your six vijñānas[~] rely (in order) to arise?"

The deluded one answered, "They arise from empty illusion."

The Tripitaka Dharma teacher said, "Airy illusions have no phenomena, so what creates the frustrations?"

"Although phenomena are empty, conditions unite and (so they) exist. A knower becomes a saint, and the bewildered are stupid. Because he is stupid he undergoes hardships, so how can one propose ~~that~~ that (they) are non-existent, and empty, but still phenomena?"

The Tripitaka Dharma teacher replied: "You use merit to reach the Buddha-Land. You say that the six vijñānas[~] are frustrations, but if ever effort gets you to the Buddha-Land, it is the six vijñānas[~] that have attained the domain of the Way ~~道~~. A sutra says, 'If you do not enter the ocean of frustration, you will not get the priceless pearl.'² Furthermore, 'the categories of creatures are the lands of the Bodhisattvas and Buddhas,'³ which proves that these six vijñānas[~] are the domain of the ultimate fruit. And yet the deluded make bewildered interpretations all their days, not knowing that this bewilderment is not bewilderment. In speaking of the the Principle of the Way, there is no understanding and there is no bewilderment, so what harm is there?"

1) The Tibetan has these as the words of Bodhidharma: "The master of dhyana Bodhidharmottara said: 'That stillness, when the notions (start) moving, is the dharma of the Buddha; the six forms of notions of men are illusion '" (MBT II, p.93. The bSam-gtan mig-sgron is longer, and only uses the title mkhan-po chen-

po. This passage is quoted in part in the Tsung-ching lu, T.48,953a, which is separate from the other quotes of Miscellany II which are on 951a-b. Tanaka concludes from this that the speaker here is Hsuan-tsang, but I think that the date of Hsuan-tsang's return to China is well after the compilation of our text. Moreover, the Tibetan translators thought it was Bodhidharma speaking. Cf. Tanaka, 'Shigyōchōkenshi zatsuroku no ichi i-hon', p.40.

2) Vkn: "Therefore you should know that all frustrations are the seeds of the Tathagata. For example, if you do not enter the vast ocean, you finally will be unable to get the priceless pearl. Thus if you do not enter the ocean of frustration, you will not be able to get the gem of all-wisdom." Tao-sheng commented, "The priceless pearl is formed by the ocean. The gem of all-wisdom is likewise a creation of the frustrations" (T.38,392b).

3) This is an exact quotation of the Vkn. Kumarajiva commented, "The Pure Land has three causes and conditions. One is the merit of the Bodhisattva. Two is the creature. Three is the creature's merit. When the three causes are pure, one attains the Pure Land." Seng-chao commented, "The superior man has no shadow in the cave of emptiness. Because one responds to things there is form, but the form has no constant substance. How much more could a land be eternal? ...So the impurity and purity of the land are tied to creatures....The Buddha Land is the shadow of creatures" (T.38,334b-c).

LXXXI

The Meditation teacher Jen was of the opinion that; "If one is conscious of the principles of one's own mind, there is no deep and no shallow (therein?), and movement and tranquillity will be united in the Way, and one will not see the land of gain and loss. And yet the deluded are bewildered by (infatuated with?) emptiness and bewildered by existence, and they forcibly give rise to defiled views 垢見, and they take the mind to eliminate the mind, and they consider that there are frustrations to be cut off. Such (people) are forever drowned in the sea of hardship (sorrow), and always undergo birth and death."

1) The Tibetan has: "The master of dhyana Śi śan śi says: 'Having exactly known mind with our intellect, there is no distinction between a deep meaning and a non-deep meaning; path is non-transgressed, no place to attain or abandon is seen'" (MBT II, p.94).

LXXXII

The Meditation teacher K'o¹ said, "Because ordinary people do not understand, they consider the past to be different from the present and the present to be different from the past; and they also consider that there is yet another body of phenomena (Dharmakaya) apart from the four great (elements). When you understand, the present five skandhas are the perfectly pure Nirvana,² and this body and mind is fully furnished with all the practices, (which) is correctly titled the Great Doctrine 大宗 (or is in correct accordance with the Great Doctrine). If one understands in this fashion, one will see the bright, translucent pearl that is in the sea of frustrations, and which can illumine all creatures in a sublime glow 昊朗."

1) The Tsung-ching lu, T.48,939c has this as the words of the Second Patriarch, Hui-k'o 第二祖可大師云.

2) Cf. the Vkn: "He has not arisen from the four great elements, for he is the same as the sky." Seng-chao commented: "The body of phenomena is as empty, he is not created by the four elements" (T.38,410b). The body referred to here is that of the human Buddha.

The Tibetan has: "The master of dhyana He k'an śi (mistake for śan śi?) says: 'When the heap of the five is recognized as the perfect nirvana, body and mind have a unique practice; this is the great teaching, it expels the darkness of all beings'" (MBT II, p.94).

LXXXIII

The meditation teacher Liang said, "(I wish to make it) clear that there is really no unity nor any difference between the Principle of the Way and phenomena. When we speak of concealed and revealed 隱顯, there are the two ideas of folded and unfolded.¹ The meaning of folded is that one does not see the arising of the mind, does not contemplate understanding and practice and allows the senses 情 to act, (and so one's) nature dwells in the Buddha-Dharma. The meaning of unfolded is that the mind unfolds and is governed by other, and due to the fame and gain that causes 便 cause and effect, that

controls right and wrong², one's self is entangled and one cannot obtain freedom. This is called the meaning of unfolding."

1) The translation is tentative. 卷舒 literally means to fold and unfold. To hide one's virtue or to display it. In Tsung-ching lu, T.48,941b another definition is given, attributed to the Chueh-kuan lun, but this nowhere corresponds to the extant Chueh-kuan lun (Sekiguchi, Darumadaishi no kenkyū, p.98 f.).

2) 為名利所便因果, 所攝是非 . The bSam-gtan mig-sgron has a complete translation of this passage, under the name of Lang śān śi. The MBT II is shorter: "The master of dhyana La śān śi says: 'When one has known the meaning of dharma, (no notion) such as existence or non-existence, similarity or dissimilarity with truth, nothing any longer exists; evident and non-evident, all that is an act of great zeal'" (p.94). This looks to be corrupt.

LXXXIV

Master T'an said, "The so-called phenomena are the five skandhas, whose nature was originally pure. Therefore the Buddha said, 'The world is the supramundane world',¹ and because creatures are infatuated² by the world, they consider themselves to be living in the world. When they understand that the world is the supramundane, and that although there is the word 'empty', there really is no world or supramundane world to be obtained. He who understands in this fashion will know the meaning of the five skandhas."

1) 出世間 This is a contrast to the world of birth and death.

The bSam-gtan mig-sgron seems to correspond, but the speaker is mkhan-po Mahā śān śi. MBT II has: "The master of dhyana Ma śān śi says: 'At the moment of knowledge, things of this world and transcendental and all men are only void; that is all; do not follow on the path of written teaching'" (p.95).

LXXXV

The Master Hui-yao said, "Clearly realize that the nature of the mind and the vijñānas¹ itself is true,² and that the conditioned and the domain of mindfulness are nothing but Buddha-phenomena³ and the Buddha-vehicle, and that the Nirvana-mind ponders the sense data. In the barbarian tongue 胡語 (he who

has realized this) is called the Buddha, and in Chinese he is called the 'Aware'. The Aware is the mind, but not the unaware mind. The mind's relationship with awareness is like that of the eye and eyeball⁴; different names for the same thing. (When) creatures do not understand, they think that the mind is not Buddha, and they pursue mind with mind. Whenever one understands, the mind is the Buddha, and the Buddha is just the mind. Therefore I say, 'The pristine mind, which from the beginning lacked frustrations, is the creature's own nature. If the mind is not the Buddha, then (the Buddha must be) other than the mind,⁵ and one would not even know what to say the Buddha is.'"

1) The Tibetan clearly indicates the mind (sems) and vijñānas (rnam-par śas-pa).

2) 性自體. Takakusu, The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy translates 自體 as 'function of consciousness itself' (p.88).

3) 佛法 The Ta Pao-chi ching IV 大寶積經 says, "The basic nature of phenomena is the same as the Buddha-dharma (phenomena)." 諸法本性與佛法等, 是故皆諸法皆是佛法 (Ting, 1164).

4) 眼目, or seeing and the eye.

5) 異心之外 Possibly "then it will be different from what is outside the mind."

The Tsung-ching lu, T.48, 941b quotes the first line, changing 性自體 to 性自體恒真. The Tibetan has: "The master Hyau agyeu san si says: '(Everything) has the nature of mind and consciousness; it is not that all situations, the Buddha, the nirvana, the erroneous objects of mind, the dharmas of the Buddha are not '" (MBT II, p.93.)

LXXXVI

The Meditation teacher Chih^知 said, "The two gates of the ordinary person and the saint are beginningless dharmas¹ that are so-so^{兩兩}. The ordinary person is the cause of the saint, and the saint is the fruit(ion) of the ordinary person. The fruits in reward² affect each other and that is all. If evil appears, a saint knows (its origin), (but) if evil appears (to a) simpleton, he is deluded by it. The sutras, śāstras and complete writings are not something

that can be spoken of (by someone with) base feelings 下情 . A sutra says, 'Although there is no human ego 我人 , good and evil are not.'³ Those who practice the five precepts are sure to obtain (be reborn in) a human body; those who practice the ten virtues 十善 (= 十善行?) are sure to be reborn in a heaven. Those who keep the 250 commandments (of the clergy), and contemplate emptiness and cultivate the Way, will get the fruit of Arhat. If one does all sorts of wrongs, commits the ultimate evils, covets, is angry and unrestrained, one will only obtain the three mires (of hellfire, blood and swords) and there end. But this⁴ Principle of the Teaching lacks any differentiation, just as the voice and its echo follow a true reflected symmetry."

1) The Sheng-man pao-k'u says: "The She-lun says: 'Beginningless is the manifestation of the cause. If there is a beginning there is no cause....Therefore, if one is clear that there is a cause, one is manifesting the meaning that the Buddha-Dharma is causation'" (Ting, 2162).

2) 果報 . The fruits of karma. One's present situation is the fruit or result and the reward for past deeds.

3) The Tibetan completes this sentence as "are not eliminated" (mi gtor). The sutra is not the Chin-kang ching, although it does often preach of 我相 and 人相 .

4) The punctuation is problematic: 此畢然之 .

Both the Tibetan translations end with the word Arhat. MBT II says: "The master of dhyana Gyi śān śi says: 'The lowest men and the noblest are two gates, but there is only one mode of being; if one does not look at cause and effect as being one, karma either good or bad is not lost, does not go away; (if one) observes the five moral precepts one certainly obtains a human body. If one practises the path of the Law (viz.) voidness, one gets the state of arhat'" (p. 93).

LXXXVII

The Meditation teacher Chih 志 said, "All phenomena are the Buddha ???????"¹ phenomena eye. Action and conduct are bodhi. By following the mind one will directly reach the Buddha Way. Do not be frightened, do not be ??? (terrified?),

all ???(states?) are not. One's own mind????is牙(芽,邪,雅?) If one can be in the state of the calm mind????profound dwelling. Not moving each other is ????

1) Pelliot 2923 finishes here, and the text is resumed in Pelliot 4795, but some characters are missing. Perhaps this is from the Chin-kang ching: 是故如來說一切法皆是佛法 (Iwanami, p.94). MBT II, p.93 helps us restore it: "The master of dhyana Ci śan śi says: 'All dharmas move in the Buddha-dharma; whatever moves is Enlightenment; all (dharmas) are called places of no alarm, of no terror.'"

LXXXVIII

The Meditation teacher Wen said, "Because the truth of suffering exists, it is not empty. Because the truth (of emptiness)¹ does not exist, it is not existent. The two truths are two, and therefore are not one. The saint illumines that they are not non-existent nor two."

1) From the Tibetan and from the Chinese use of 苦諦, I think that the second is 滅諦 (here 空諦), which is what the Arhat attains. Tucci translates: "The master of dhyana P'og rtog san si says: 'The conventional truth on account of being is void: the truth of the arhat on account of not being does not exist. When they are looked at by saints, being void, those two do not exist'" (p.93 f.).

The bSam-gtan mig-sgron says: "The master of dhyana Phag-do said, 'The subjective truth exists and is not empty. The fruit of the Arhat does not exist, so it is not in existence. The two truths are two and also not one. The sage regards (them) as empty and not at all two.'"

LXXXIX

The Meditation teacher ??? said, "All the sutras and śāstras delude people. Where there is no sin they see a sin. For a person who understands, where there is sin there is no (sin?)."

1) The Tibetan has: "The master of dhyana Jo śan śi says: 'The man who has still to learn sees as sin what is not sin, the man who knows, having sinned, sees no sin'" (MBT II, p.94).

XC

The Dharma teacher Yuan^緣 said, "All the sutras and śāstras are phenomena that give rise to mind. If one gives rise to the mind of the Way then sophistry produces intellect^智 and other events^{餘事}. If the mind does not arise, what use is there in sitting in meditation? (If) sophistry is not produced, why trouble yourself about right mindfulness? If one does not make up one's (mind) for Bodhi, (why?)¹ seek wisdom and understanding², for events and the Principle both disappear?"

1) Here 何, by parallelism with the Tibetan we would get 莫.

2) 慧解 "The function of wisdom that can understand all phenomena" (Ting, 2538)

Tucci translates the Tibetan as: "The master of dhyana Yan Śan Śi says: 'Everything is a dharma of mind in motion; a mind which does not move, what need has it to meditate on dhyana? What the man who knows (according to) gnosis seeks for is the supreme thing only'" (MBT II, p. 94).

The bSam-gtan mig-sgron is closer: "The master of dhyana Yan said, 'The sutras and the śāstras are all just dharmas of mind movement. If the mind of the Way moves, then the mind that ought to move will move. How much more so is it necessary if the mind does not move; how is it necessary to meditate on dhyana? (If) the mind that ought to move does not move; why is it necessary to trouble over right thinking? If the mind of wisdom is not moving, do not seek prajñā and knowledge. Action and events are all spent.'"

XCI

The Meditation teacher Lang said, "If the mind gives rise to events, then contemplate causing ??????not see material. When delusion arises and one sees material, one makes the interpretation (that it is) material. The mind is a materially created phenomenon???? see??? (a sutra) says, 'All phenomena are the contrivances of the imagination. Creation is an????which has no reality. That which has????mind. What sort of a mind is the Way that one tries to practice it? What sort of a thing is frustration that one wishes to cut it off????? is the vessel of the Way, a good helper?????????"

The last lines appear in the Tibetan. MBT II, p. 94: "The master of dhyana Han

✓ san 'si says: 'Mind is the essence of the path of Dharma; body is the vessel of the path of Dharma; that cause is born out of the agency of a good helper.'"

bSam-gtan mig-sgron: "The master of dhyana Han says, 'Mind is the essence of the path of Dharma, and the body is the vessel of the path of Dharma, (which) is arisen (made) by the agency of a good helper (spiritual adviser). The state of happiness and being happy are neither in taking or discarding where- in one sees the eight created elements.'"

Note this passage is very similar to LVII.

Appendix I: The Texts of the Long Scroll.

Before the discovery of the Tun-huang manuscripts much of the Long Scroll was unknown or unidentified. The Preface and II were incorporated into chapter 30 of the Ching-te chuan-teng lu.¹ In the Tokugawa (?) compilation, the Shoshitsu Rokumon 少室六門² we find II under the heading of Erh-chung Ju 二種入³, which is followed by the An-hsin fa-men 安心法門, which is a collection of quotations from Miscellany I 雜錄一. The Japanese compiler probably got this text from the Tsung-ching lu which contains an An-hsin fa-men under Bodhidharma's name.⁴ II and Miscellany I were printed from wood-blocks in Korea: the first time as a single volume in 1464, and a second time under the title Ssu-hsing lun 四行論, as part of the collection, the Ch'an-men ts'o-yao 禪門撮要 that was published at Po-ma Temple 梵魚寺 in 1908. In the Ch'an-men ts'o-yao it is divided into 44 often unsuitably titled sections.

Suzuki Daisetsu's edition (Suzuki II) has used the above texts plus the Tun-huang manuscripts; Peking library shu 99⁵ and Stein 2715. Peking 99 ends with the poem by the copyist (LXXIV), and Stein 2715 ends with the words, 論一卷.

Yanagida Seizan has also collated Stein 3375, Pelliot 3018 and Pelliot 4634 in his edition (Goroku I). Since that time (1969), several other portions of the Long Scroll have been identified, i.e., Pelliot 2923, 4795; and Stein nos. 1880 and 7159. Pelliot 2923 is from the middle of XLVIII and ends in the

1) T.51,458b-c.

2) Sekiguchi, Darumadaishi no kenkyū, p.14 ff.

3) T.48,370a.

4) T.48,370a; Darumadaishi no kenkyū, p.18.

5) Published in D.T.Suzuki, Tonko-shutsudo Shoshitsu isho 燉煌出土少室逸書 (1935-6), Ataka.

middle of LXXXVII.⁶ It was published by Tanaka Ryōsho in 'Shigyōron chōken-shi zatsuroku no ichi i-hon'.⁷ Pelliot 4795 is a very short fragment, containing only the last half of LXXXVII and continuing to XCI. This is printed in Tanaka Ryōsho's 'Bodaidaruma ni kansuru Tonko shahon sanshu ni tsuite'.⁸ Unfortunately the end of this fragment has broken off and we have no clue as to how much longer the Long Scroll originally was. Although I have not been able to see the manuscripts for myself, because of the continuity, I suspect that Pelliot 2923 and Pelliot 4795 were originally of the same manuscript.

Pelliot 3018 is from paragraphs XXXI to LXV, and has the title P'u-t'i Ta-mo lun 菩提達磨論. There are a number of entries in the early Japanese catalogues of books brought from China with this title.⁹

Recently Ikeda Tsutsumu 池田温 of Tokyo University Tōyō-Bunka kenkyūjo 東洋文化研究所 has noticed that Stein nos. 3375, 1880 and Pelliot 4634 all have official orders written out at Liang-chou 涼州 in the Yung-hui era 永徽 (650-656) addressed to the government office 官衛 of Sha-chou 沙州 (i.e., Tun-huang) on the reverse side. Therefore they appear to have been on one scroll, and when the paper was no longer needed by the officials at Sha-chou, it was donated to a local monastery where the Long Scroll was written out on the unused side. At some time or other the scroll was broken into three pieces. They seem to fit together, for Stein 3375 is the Preface and some of the following paragraph(s); Stein 1880 is most of Miscellany I; and Pelliot

6) From 不_己 XLVIII. 'Hokushū-Zen no ichi shiryō', IBK, XXXVIII, (19-2), (1971), p.127.

7) Shūgaku kenkyū XIII, Tokyo (1971), pp.37-39.

8) Komazawa daigaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū kiyo, XXXI, (March 1973), p.164.

9) 'Shigyōron chōkenshi zatsuroku no ichi i-hon', p.36; Tanaka Ryōsho, 'Shigyōron chōkenshi to Bodaidarumaron', IBK, XIX, (1962), p.217. E.g., Eiun Ritsushi shōrai kyōhō mokuroku 惠雲律師將教法目錄 of 847A.D.

4634 is the last part of Miscellany I and ends somewhere in the middle of Miscellany II.¹⁰

Stein 7159 is just a fragment of II¹¹. Furthermore, in Tun-huang manuscripts of the Leng-chia shih-tzu chi, a quotation in full of the Preface and II was found that was almost identical to that found in the other manuscripts.

Tibetan Translations.

Four translations of parts of the Long Scroll exist in Tibetan. The first identified, the bKah-thang sde-lnga was published by Tucci.¹² Obata Hironobu says that the translations of the sections of the Long Scroll in the bKah-thang sde-lnga are identical to those found in the Nal-hbyor mig-gi bsam-gtan.¹³ Okimoto Katsumi has discovered that much of the Long Scroll is translated in the bSam-gtan mig sgron.¹⁴ He has published the parallel texts from paragraphs LXVIII to XCI, and he says that it also contains translations

10) 'Shoki Zenshū no shūdōron' in Bukkyō no Jissen Genri, ed. Sekiguchi Shindai (1978), p.179.

11) Tanaka Ryosho, 'Tonko Zenshūshiryō bunrui mokuroku shokō' 敦煌禪宗資料分類目録初稿 in Komazawa daigaku kenkyū kiyo, (1976), p.12 ff. for a select bibliography on these works.

12) In MBT, II. It is the 5th chapter, the bLon-po bkahi thang-yig (True Record of the Ministers). Cf. Obata Hironobu, 'Chibetto no Zenshū to Rekidaihōbōki' in Zenbunkakenkyūsho kiyo VI (1974) p.152. The text was supposedly discovered by the 'Treasure discoverer' U-rgyan gling-pa, and edited by him in 1352 (Vostrikov, Tibetan Historical Literature, Soviet Indology Series No.4, 1970, p.49 f.). F.W. Thomas, Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan, Part I, pp.264 ff. believes that the contents allow us "to attribute the bulk of the matter rather to the beginning (of)...the period ninth-twelfth century."

13) 'Chibettoden Bodaidarumatara Zenjiko', IBK, (Dec.1975), p.230. Cf. Okimoto, 'bSamyas no Shūron (ichi), Pelliot 116 ni tsuite', Report of the Japanese Association XXI (March 1975). This text by gNub-chen sangs-rgyas ye-sēs.

14) Also by gNub-chen sangs-rgyas ye-sēs. "The Lamplight of Meditation" Cf. 'Chibettoyaku Ninyūshigyōron ni tsuite', IBK, XLVII (March 1976), p.999 and Goroku III, p.337.

of II, VIII and some other important sections. In it these are said to be quotations from a bSam-gtan rgya lun chen-po.¹⁵ Thus it would appear that there was a complete Tibetan translation of the Long Scroll. A long Tibetan manuscript from Tun-huang, Pelliot tib.116, preserves a more complete section of the 'Entrance via Principle' part of paragraph II than does the bKah-thang sde-lnga. It is introduced with the words, "The first of the seven generations, Bodedarmatala also preached..."¹⁶

To further complicate matters, a Tibetan translation of the Leng-chia shih-tzu chi (Poussin 710) also contains the quotation of Long Scroll II.¹⁷ It has even attempted to translate the part that says, "The rest is detailed in the Hsu Kao-seng chuan etc." It leaves out T'an-lin's name and it calls the Ta-ch'eng ju-tao ssu-hsing 大乘入道四行 the "Sutra (?) of the four practices of the Mahayana dharma."¹⁸

15) 'Chibettōyaku Ninyūshigyōron ni tsuite', .993. The title means "The Great Treatise on Meditation".

16) Obata Hironobu, 'Chibetto no Zenshū to Rekidaihōbōki', p.159 f.

17) Loc.cit. It is called the Ling-kahi mkhan-po dan slob-mahi mdo. It lacks the lengthy preface in the LCSTC and continues on to the middle of the Tao-hsin biog. ending at T.85,1287a14. Cf. 'Chibettōyaku Ryogashijiki ni tsuite', (Ueyama Daishun), p.192.

18) theg-pa chen-po'i chos lam spyod-pa b'zhi'i mdo. Cf. Ueyama Daishun, 'Chibettōyaku kara mita Ryogashijiki seiritsu no mondaiten', IBK, XLVII (Dec. 1975), p.92.

Appendix II: The Structure of the Long Scroll and the An-hsin Fa-men.

The Long Scroll is made up of several distinct sections. The first is the Preface, which Ching-chueh tells was by T'an-lin. It was clearly written as an introduction to II (the Erh-ju ssu-hsing or Ta-mo lun) because it refers to the ideas in it and states that they were taught by Bodhidharma.

Paragraphs III and IV have a composite nature. A confession forms an introduction to a poem in four gathas. The confession and the poem warn against the uselessness of certain popular practices and notions, and advocates a life of meditation. The letter following is also in the nature of a warning against seeking a truth beyond this world. This letter is said by Tao-hsuan to be a letter sent by Layman Hsiang to Hui-k'o, but doubt has been cast on this. I have suggested that these two paragraphs are letters that have been added by the compiler of the Long Scroll, possibly T'an-lin (Appendix VI). The poem and confession may also have been written by T'an-lin as an introduction to the rest of the Long Scroll other than II.

The remainder of the Long Scroll, from V on, has been divided into Miscellany I and Miscellany II 雜錄 by Suzuki because none of Miscellany II appears in the Ch'an-men ts'o-yao.¹ The other reason was that until the recent discovery of Pelliot 2923 and the Tibetan translations, none of the speakers in Miscellany II could possibly have been identified with Bodhidharma. However, the speaker in LXXX is a 三藏法師, a title also used in VIII. The Tibetan translations of both VIII and LXXX call the speaker Bodhidharmatara.² Of course, Suzuki, Ui and Sekiguchi had thought that the 'Dharma teacher' of L and following may have been Bodhidharma, but Pelliot 3018 calls him 'Dharma teacher Yuan' 緣法師. Yuan is a prominent figure in Miscellany II.³

1) Darumadaishi no kenkyū, p.318.

2) MBT, II, p.93 and 95.

3) Tanaka Ryōsho, 'Shigyōronchōkenshi to Bodaidarumaron', IBK, 14-1, (1965), p.218.

Miscellany I and the An-hsin Fa-men.

The main problem with Miscellany I is its relationship with the An-hsin Fa-men 安心法門, one of the six gates of the Shoshitsu Rokumon.⁴ The An-hsin Fa-men appears in full in the Tsung-ching lun under the name of Bodhidharmatara⁵, a name previously used only by the Pao-t'ang 保唐 and Ching-chung 淨衆 schools of Ch'an. D.T.Suzuki has correlated the An-hsin Fa-men and Miscellany I to demonstrate that the sentences of the former must have been culled out of and summarised from the latter.⁶ He thinks that Yen-shou collected them and created the An-hsin Fa-men "so that the Long Scroll by Yen-shou's time must have been thought of as having been generally accepted as a work by Bodhidharma."⁷

However, when one considers that the An-hsin Fa-men is said by Yen-shou to be the words of Bodhidharmatara, a name only previously used by the Pao-t'ang School of Szechwan, and that VIII, which is also the beginning of the An-hsin Fa-men, is translated into Tibetan as the words of Dharmottaras⁸, it is more natural to suppose that the An-hsin Fa-men was a compilation made by somebody connected with the Pao-t'ang School.⁹ Since no quotations from the Long Scroll exist in the Li-tai fa-pao chi, the history of the Szechwan schools, it is probable that the An-hsin Fa-men was compiled sometime after the completion of the Li-tai fa-pao chi ca. 774. As Yen-shou also quotes some of the

4) T.48,370.

5) T.48,939b-d. i.e.,

6) Suzuki II, pp.118-121. Taken from VIII, XIII, XLIX, end of XIX, XX to XXIV, XXV, XXVI, end XXVII, end XXX, start XXXI, last half of XXXIII, XLII, start XLVIII, in that order.

7) Suzuki II, p.117 f.

8) MBT, II, p.76.

9) Obata, 'Chibetto no Zenshū to Rekidaihōbōki', p.162.

paragraphs of Miscellany II, it is possible that Yen-shou had copies of both the Long Scroll and the An-hsin Fa-men. Moreover, as Po-chang Huai-hai (720- quotes parts of XVII and XVIII as Bodhidharma's words in his Kuang-lu, parts of the Long Scroll other than that of the An-hsin Fa-men were in existence well before Yen-shou's time. The Tibetan translation of VIII also shows that parts of Miscellany I were in wide circulation well before Yen-shou lived. It is also important to note that Yen-shou quotes the last half of VI under the title of Ta-ch'eng Ju-tao An-hsin fa 大乘入道安心法¹⁰. This may have been the title of his copy of the Long Scroll. At the very least, it shows that Yen-shou had a work containing parts of Miscellany I other than that found in the An-hsin Fa-men.

Miscellany II.

Miscellany II differs in that none of it, with the possible exception of LXXX could be the words of Bodhidharma. In fact one could say that we know the names of the teachers connected with nearly every paragraph. The table below shows the structure of Miscellany II and any quotes or translations of it.

One should note that both the Tsung-ching lu and the bKah-thang sde-lnga, (of the complete Tibetan texts I have access to), continue on with the words of other teachers after those paragraphs they have quoted from the extant sections of Miscellany II. Thus there originally was more to the Chinese text of the Long Scroll.

We have evidence that parts at least of Miscellany II were known under the title of An-hsin lun even before we have evidence of the existence of the An-hsin Fa-men. Ching-chueh, author of the LCSTC, which quotes the Preface and II, quotes LXVII in his ^{Chu} Pan-jo po-lo-mi-to hsin ching 注般若波羅蜜多心經 of 727 under the title of An-hsin lun.¹¹ Although the Long Scroll says that

10) T.48,950c.

11) ZSS, p.91 f., text p.601.

the quote is from the Fo-tsang ching, the use of the title An-hsin lun by Ching-chueh indicates he took it from the Long Scroll. As Yanagida says, Ching-chueh at least saw the Long Scroll as having two parts; the Preface by T'an-lin to the Ta-ch'eng Ju-tao ssu-hsing (II) and the An-hsin lun.¹²

Therefore Miscellany II was probably part of the An-hsin lun. It seems likely that the An-hsin lun contained both Miscellany I and Miscellany II, and that the An-hsin Fa-men was drawn from the first part of it. If we are to follow the evidence from Ching-chueh's works, we would have to conclude that the An-hsin lun was probably combined with the Preface and II to form a single volume known by Ching-chueh's time as the Ta-mo lun.¹³

12) ZSS, p.76.

13) ZSS, p.77. Note that the Ta-mo lun has usually been interpreted to mean II. However, the LCSTC in saying, "These four practices are what meditation teacher Dharma personally preached. The rest then is a record by pupil T'an-lin of the master's deeds and sayings, collected in one chuan and called the Ta-mo lun" (此四行是達摩禪師親說，餘則弟子曇林記師言行集成一卷，名之達摩論也 ; Goroku II, p.133). This implies that the text as a whole was called the Ta-mo lun, perhaps following Tao-hsuan.

Par. No.	Teacher's name	Source of Name	Quote in Chinese	Tibetan	Comments
L-LI	Dharma T. Yuan 緣法師	P.3018			With the exception of P.3018, all have 法師 only. Cf. 'Shigyōronchōkenshi to Bodaidarumaron', p.218.
LII	Dharma T. Chih & Yuan. 志, 緣	M.II			
LIIL-	Dharma T. Yuan 緣	M.II			
LVI					
LVIIL-	Master K'o.	M.II	LXII, TCL, T.48, 94lb under Yuan		Yen-shou quotes LXII, 'stone in courtyard' as Yuan's words. LVIII and LIX later attr. to B'dharma, LVIII probably by the Tsu-t'ang chi, and LIX by Fang-kuan in a stele about Hui-k'o made for Shen-hui (in Pao-lin chuan), Goroku I, pp.218, 221 f.
LXIII	可師				
LXIV-	Med. T. Leng 楞 禪師	M.II			
LXV					
LXVI	Med. T. Hsien 慧 禪師	M.II			
LXVII	Med. T. Hsuan 宣 禪師	M.II			
LXVIII	Med. T. Yuan 淵 禪師	M.II	Chu Pan-jo po-lo-mi-to hsin ching	MBT, p.91 K'a Ÿan-Ÿi	Tibetan quotes match S.2715.
LXIX	Dharma T. Tsang 藏 法師	M.II	TCL, T.48, 94lb	MBT, p.92 Dsang Ÿan-Ÿi	
LXX	Med. T. Hsien 賢 禪師	M.II		MBT, p.92 Yen Ÿan-Ÿi	
LXXI	Med. T. An 安 禪師	M.II	TCL, T.48, 94lb	MBT, p.92 A Ÿan-Ÿi.	

Par. No.	Teacher's name	Source of name	Quote in Chinese	Tibetan	Comments
LXXII	Med. T. Lien 林 禪師	M. II		MBT, P. 92 Len s.s.	
LXXIII	Med. T. Hung 洪 禪師	M. II		MBT, P. 92 Hang s.s.	
LXXIV	Med. T. Chueh 覺 禪師	M. II	TCL, T. 48, 941b	MBT, P. 92 Kang or Kag s.s.	The order in the Tibetan changes here.
LXXV	Med. T. Fan 梵 禪師	P. 2923	TCL, T. 48, 941b	SMG, no name	
LXXVI	Master Tao-chin 趙 禪師	"		SMG, Si s.s. Does Tib. Si = Chin 志 of LI?	
LXXVII	Nun Yuan-chi 圓 寂尼	"	TCL, T. 48, 941b	SMG no name	
LXXVIII	Med. T. Chien 堅 禪師	"		SMG no name	
LXXIX	Med. T. Yin 因 禪師	"		MBT, P. 93, kam s.s. SMG, In s.s.	The order as in P. 2923 is resumed in MBT. A Dsi s.s. has been inserted.
LXXX	Tripiṭaka Dharma T. 三藏 法師	"		MBT, P. 93 Bodhidharmottara	SMG has more than MBT
LXXXI	Med. T. Jen 忍 禪師	"		MBT, P. 94, Si s.s. SMG	SMG gives only the title mkhan-po s.s.
LXXXII	Med. T. K'o 可 禪師	"	TCL, T. 48, 939c 第二祖可大師	MBT, P. 94 He K'ang Si SMG, Hye s.s.	
LXXXIII	Med. T. Liang 亮 禪師	"		MBT, P. 94 La s.s. SMG, Lang s.s.	MBT seems corrupt.

Par. No.	Teacher's name	Source of name	Quote in Chinese	Tibetan	Comments
LXXXIV	Med T. T'an 曇持師	" "		MBT, p. 95, Ma s. s. SMG, Maha ʒ. s.	SMG use of mkhan-po ʒ. s. is possible confusion with Mahayana.
LXXXV	Master Hui-yao 慧堯師	" "	TCL, T. 48, 941b first half	MBT, p. 93, Hyau hyue s.s. SMG, Hyahu gyahu	
LXXXVI	Med. T. Chih 智持師	" "		MBT, p. 93, Gyi s.s. SMG, ʒi s.s.	
LXXXVII	Med. T. Chih 志持師	P. 2923, P. 4795		MBT, pp. 93-4 Ci SMG, ʒi s.s.	P. 2923 broken here. MBT, p. 93 shows that P. 4795 follows directly on.
LXXXVIII	Med. T. Wen 文持師	P. 4795		MBT, p. 94, P'og- rtog s.s. SMG, Phag-do s.s.	
LXXXIX	Med. T. ?	" "		MBT, p. 94, Jo s.s. SMG ʒdzī s.s.	
XC	Dharma T. Yuan 緣法師	" "		MBT, p. 94 Yan s.s. SMG, Yan san	
XCI	Med. T. Lang 朗持師	" "	TCL, T. 48, 941b	MBT, p. 94, Han s. s. SMG, Han s.s.	P. 4795 breaks off here. Both quotes are of latter half of paragraph.

Appendix III: Gatha on the Methods of Entering the Way.

The problem of this gatha has caused considerable debate. In Yanagida's opinion, the gatha begins with the word, "If..."¹ and ends with the words "karma remains," thereby being a gatha of four lines. He considers that the following section is part of another letter, akin to the section that begins, "Shadow arises...", that is attributed to Layman Hsiang by Tao-hsuan.² This is at variance with the opinions of both Suzuki and Nakagawa Taka³, who both think that it continues right up to 'Layman Hsiang's letter'.

The term gatha can be misleading. According to the Fan-shih ming-i chi 翻 譯 名 義 集 which was compiled ca. 1150, a gatha is defined as follows: "Although the scriptures differ in having verses of five or seven characters, all use four verses to form a gatha."⁴ According to Ting Fu-pao, "there are two sorts of gatha; the śloka, in which the number of syllables add up to 32, and one called the linked-verse gatha 結句伽陀 in which the meaning or theme must be completed in four lines regardless of the number of syllables or words."⁵

In the Ching-te chuan-teng lu and other late Ch'an works, the gathas of the Chinese patriarchs, including Bodhidharma, are usually of seven characters and four verses, whereas those attributed to the mythical patriarchs of India are of five characters and four verses, rarely ever in the śloka form. "The gathas of the Ch'an Sect were all in the p'ing-tse rhyme and are sure to be in the shih 詩 verse form."⁶

1) 會也 All other scholars think likewise.

2) Goroku I, p.55.

3) Suzuki II, p.111 and Nakagawa, 'Bodaidaruma no kenkyū; Shigyōron chōkenshi o chūshin toshite' in Bunka, XII, (4), (1956), p.66.

4) Morohashi, 836.

5) Ting, 1181, cf. 1958.

6) Nakamura Shūichi, Shōbōgenzō Yōgojiten, p.82.

However, all the above definitions apply to gathas of a later period. The term 'gatha' was probably used more loosely than the above definitions imply. It would be natural, rather, for the pre-T'ang monks to have used the poetic forms of their day and to apply the word 'gatha' to them only to indicate that their content was Buddhist.

Thus, although the first four lines of all the previous reconstructions resemble a linked-verse gatha, we are left with the question of rhyme and versification. Suzuki describes the gatha as "exhortative and lyrical. The first four verses are divided into seven characters....after that there are 22 verses of four characters per line. Only the verse 智者 is of six characters 淨命竟行, 詩病, are all of the 敬 ching rhyme group, and the final 定 is of the 徑 ching rhyme group."⁷ Sekiguchi adds the word 正 to the above list, saying that the entire paragraph (Suzuki's no. X) was a gatha of seven or eight characters to the line.⁸

It is not only for reasons of rhyme that I consider the gatha to go beyond Yanagida's 'first four verses'. As Sekiguchi demonstrates, another balanced couplet exists:

暫聞八字, 便即悟理
始知六年, 徒勞苦行

9

It is for these reasons that Nakagawa and Sekiguchi thought that all of Suzuki's paragraph X was one gatha. However, "...the form of the gatha is unclear. As synonyms were inserted here and there each time it was copied in order to make it easier to understand, the form of the gatha was increasingly destroyed."¹⁰ Nakagawa attempts a reconstruction, with all the verses in seven

7) Suzuki II, p.111. Note that there are 106 rhyme groups, the 敬 is the 2nd in the departing tone class, and the 徑 in the 25th.

8) Sekiguchi Shindai, 'Tonkobon Darumadaishi shigyōron ni tsuite' in Shūkyō-bunka, XII, (1957)

9) Ibid., p.7.

10) Nakagawa, op.cit., p.66.

characters. Her reconstruction seems feasible, but for the break in the 2:2:3 pattern in the 智者 (Buddha) verse. This pattern seems the most reasonable, for Suzuki's four verses of seven characters each followed by 22 verses of four characters (or 11 by 8) does not conform to the usual Chinese shih verse or gatha form of four verse stanzas, for another two lines of four words each would be required. Moreover, the Ch'an-men ts'o-yao text displays a tendency towards a line of seven characters in the 2:2:3 pattern, whereas the Tun-huang manuscripts, after the first four lines, tend towards an eight character line in the 4:4 pattern. This is the basis of Suzuki's assertion. The latter pattern suggests a Chinese-style poem-gatha, followed by a work in the śloka form. However, in this case, the Tun-huang manuscripts would lack a line. The Ch'an-men ts'o-yao seems to be the most consistent in its patterns. It shares some interpolations with the Tun-huang manuscripts (e.g., 智者), and adds several of its own.¹¹ However, in the main the Ch'an-men ts'o-yao displays fewer of what appear to me to be interpolated words or glosses.

All the proposals made on the grounds of rhyme class have overlooked the fact that 性, the final word of a seven character sentence that does not follow on from the previous sentence in meaning, also belongs to the 敬 ching rhyme group. This would make up for the missing line of Suzuki's reconstruction.

My own reconstruction is as follows:

11) 若其 is added to line three of my reconstruction, or line two in those of Suzuki et al. In a line towards the end it adds the characters in brackets to what Suzuki and Yanagida take to be the original, as in the Tun-huang manuscripts: (言生) 生 (者) 亦不生, (言滅) 滅 (者) 亦不滅. Nakagawa has included them as part of her reconstruction. For grammatical and poetic reasons I have rejected them as glosses.

	.Trad. rhyme		Karlgren
a)	坐禪, 終領, 見本性 (去) 敬°/徑°	✓	siäng-/
	會也, 融心, 令便淨 (去) 敬°/庚°	✓	dz' iäng-/
	瞥起, 即便, 是生滅 (入) 屑。		miät/
	於中, 憶想, 造邪命 (去) 敬°	✓	miwng-/
b)	覓法, 計[回] ¹ , [作]業不遷 ² (平) 先		ts' iän/
	展轉, 增垢, (心) 難究竟 (去) 敬°	✓	kjäng-/
	³ 暫聞, 八字, [便] 即悟理 (上) 紙		lji:/
	始知, 六年, 徒[勞]苦行 (去) 敬°/庚°	✓	ɣng-/
c)	世間, 擾々, 盡(是)魔 ⁴ 人 (平) 真		n' ziän/
	徒自, 喧々, 空(爲)開爭 (去) 敬°/庚°	✓	tseng/ X
	虛妄, 作解, [教] 化衆生 (平) 敬°/庚°		sng/
	口談, 藥方, 不除[一]病 (去) 敬°	✓	b' iwng-/
d)	寂々, 從來, 本無[見]相 (平) 陽/漾°		siang-/
	何有, 善惡, 及[有]邪正 (去) 敬°/庚°	✓	ts' iäng-/
	生亦, 不生, 滅(亦)不滅 ⁵ (入) 屑。		miät/
	動則, 不動, 定(則)不定 (去) 徑°	? X	d' ieng-/

✓ = rhyme, X = does not rhyme.

() = characters I think are glosses.

[] = characters not in the Ch'an-men ts'o-yao.

The traditional rhyme scheme is that derived primarily from the Chi-yün which was compiled in 1073.

1) Here I agree with Yanagida and Nakagawa that the character 𠂔 is needed, even though all the texts lack it.¹² I think that in a very early copy of the poem

𠂔 was transposed into the following line, where it is not necessary.

12) Goroku I, p.53.

2) Ch'an-men ts'o-yao has 亡 instead of 遷.

3) I have deleted 智者 from the head of this line, even though all the editions have it. As this in my opinion almost certainly refers to the story told by the Buddha to Kāśyapa of his former life as an ascetic living in the Himalayas, the word 智者 seems an inappropriate gloss, for the Buddha was still practicing the non-Buddhist austerities, which shows that he was not yet wise. However, the six years of austerities refers to the historical Buddha, not the youth of a former incarnation.¹³

4) The Ch'an-men ts'o-yao has 民 instead of 人.

5) The Ch'an-men ts'o-yao is corrupt here, the glosses 言生...者 etc being unique to it. Moreover, if I followed its version and kept 生 as the final word, the rhyme scheme would have been destroyed. The rhyme demands a departing tone 去 rather than a level one 平.

It is my contention that this poem is a pre-Sui Old Style Shih 古詩. If we were to accept the general contention that the first line begins with 會也, the final word 遷 of the stanza would not rhyme. However, it is usual in Chinese verse for the last line to rhyme. Therefore I think that the poem begins with 坐禪, providing us with a perfect Old Style poem in the first four lines. The Old Style poems were poems of the pre-Sui period, in which the p'ing-tse rhyme scheme did not apply, and in which the number of stanzas and the number of characters per line were unrestricted. In the seven characters per line form, the first and second verse, and every alternate verse thereafter had to rhyme. Non-rhyming lines had to be of a different tone to the rhyming ones.¹⁴

With the exception of the 定 of the final line, my reconstruction is consistent with the above definition of the Old Style poem. However, in Karlgren's

13) T.12,449b.

14) Cf. Morohashi, 3233.216.

reconstructed pronunciation, 定 rhymes but 訂 does not. However, the rhyme schemes of the Lo-yang are were probably not exactly the same as those we now have. Karlgren's reconstructions that are given here are based largely on the Ch'ieh-yün 切韻 (ca.601A.D), which has a considerable degree of Southern influence in it. It was compiled by contemporaries of Hui-k'o. Ch'en Yin-k'o, based on statements made by one of the compilers, Yen Chih-t'ui, says that there "were three main groups of speech area; that of the north, that of the south, and the dialect of Lo-yang preserved by the upper class émigrés to the south...(which) no longer resembled the contemporary Lo-yang pronunciation."¹⁵

Note in connection with the following poem, that Yen Chih-t'ui tried to show that Northerners couldn't tell the difference between the rhyme groups 魚 and 虞.¹⁶ Thus it is quite possible that the rhyme of the poem was entirely correct.

I think also that the gatha is consistent throughout in its theme of method, which is suggested by the title, Gatha of Methods of Entering the Way. Although ostensibly disjointed, the logic of the gatha seems to be that there is only one method of entering the Way, meditation, and that all other methods lead to regression, as the Buddha himself discovered in a previous life. There are many who promote the merits of various other methods, but all of their methods are fruitless because the mind that you use has no characteristics in its pristine state, and meditation is the only method of seeing that state.

The so-called Hui-k'o reply to Layman Hsiang that appears in the HKSC only confirms my conviction that the above gatha is an Old Style poem, for it has similar features. As Yanagida has noted, the letter of reply is in ten rhyming verses:¹⁷

15) Alfred Dien, Pei Ch'i Shu 45: Biography of Yen Chih-t'ui, p.31.

16) Teng Ssu-yü, Family Instructions for The Yen Clan, p.193, note 7.

17) Goroku II, p.165.

說此真法，皆如實。(入)質。	x	dz'iet/	x
與真幽理，竟不殊。(平)虞。	✓	z'iu/	
本迷摩尼，謂互石樂。(入)藥。		liek/	Xt
豁然自覺，是真珠。(平)虞。	✓	tiu/	
無明智慧，等無異。(去)寘。		i-/	
當知萬法，即皆如。(平)魚。	✓	nz'iwō/	
際此二見，之徒輩。(去)隊。		?	?
伸詞措筆，作斯書。(平)魚。	✓	s'iwō/	
觀身與佛，不差別。(入)屑。		b'iet/	Xt
何須更覓，彼無餘。(平)魚。	✓	iwō/	

Xt = tone is incorrect.

This looks suspiciously like an Old Style poem but for the first line which does not rhyme in either of the rhyme and tone schemes from the appropriate period. Perhaps 實 may be a mistake for 如, the original word being 如如.

Thus one or even both of these poems could be those mentioned by Tao-hsuan as "clear counsel through poetry" written by Hui-k'o.

Appendix IV: The Recensions of the Long Scroll.

Although I have not seen all the manuscripts from Tun-huang, I shall try to present what little evidence I have of the recensions. I shall only use II as evidence, for it is the most widely quoted and translated paragraph of the Long Scroll. Moreover, it has the major differences that I have noticed. There are several key phrases in the 理入 section of II that differ. All the Tun-huang manuscripts, with the possible exception of Peking shu 99 (judging from Suzuki's edition), have the phrases 深信含生凡聖同一真性 凝住壁觀, 自他凡聖等一, whereas the Korean Ch'an-men ts'o-yao, the HKSC, the Shoshitsu Rokumon¹ and the Ching-te chuan-teng lu² have 深信含生同一真性 and 凝住壁觀, 無自無他凡聖等. Therefore, by 645 when Tao-hsuan summarised II, there was a difference between his copy and those made at Tun-huang.

There is also a recension that has features of the other two. This is the Leng-chia shih-tzu chi which has 深信含生凡聖同一真性 on one hand, but 凝住壁觀, 無自無他凡聖等一 on the other.

The Tibetan translations also provide some evidence of such divergences. The bKah-thang sde-lnga has only a translation of the latter sentence: "When one stays in clarity, there is neither a self nor another; consider the lowest ones and the noble ones as being equal."³ Pelliot tib.116 has a strange translation of it: "ordinary people and the true nature are one", and "if one stays in clarity, there is neither a self nor another."⁴ The Tibetan translation of the LCSTC follows the Chinese fairly closely in these lines also:

When (?) one believes deeply that the true nature of ordinary people and

1) T.48,369c.

2) T.51,458b.

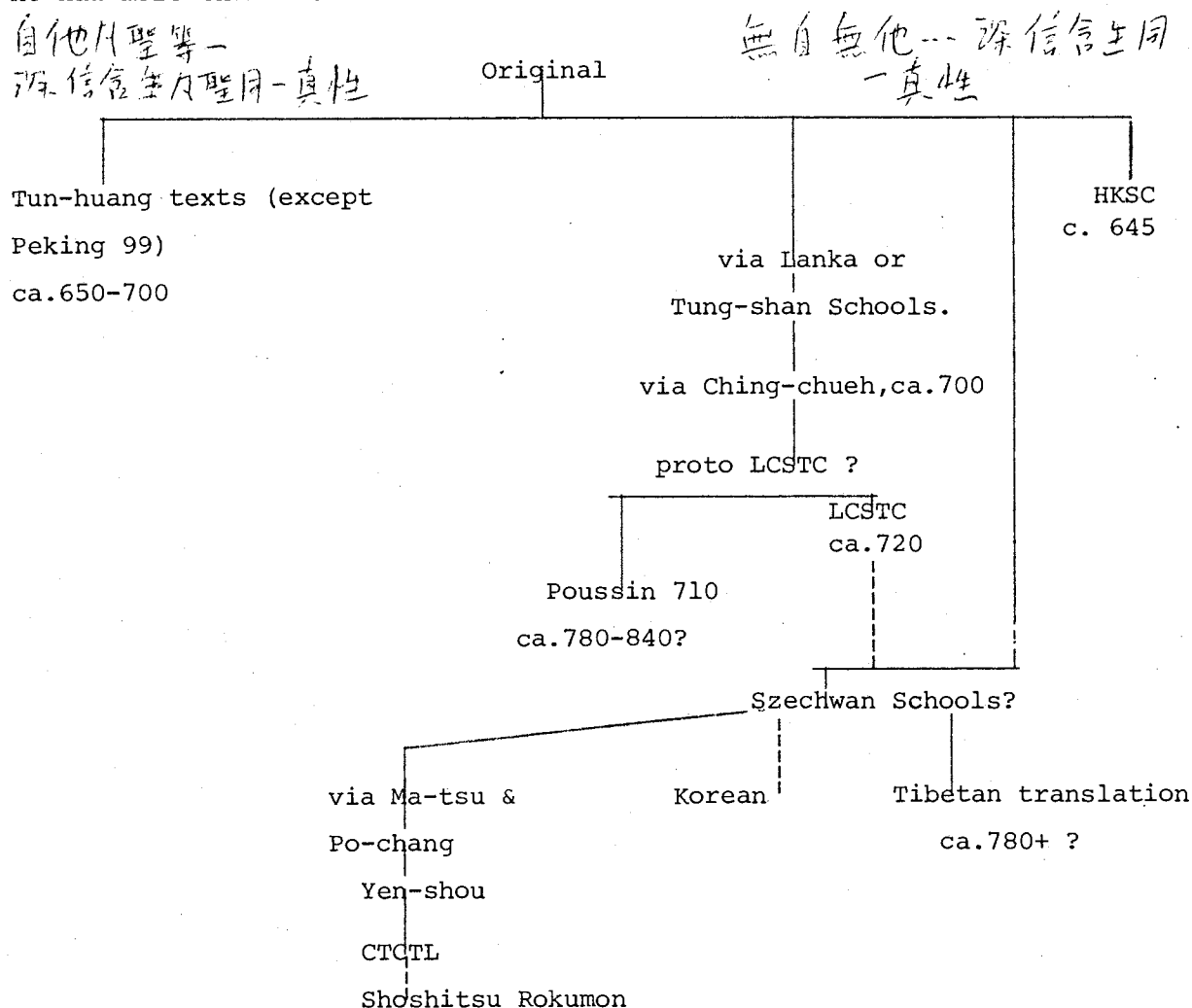
3) Tucci, MBT, II, p.86.

4) Obata Hironobu, 'Chibetto no Zenshū to Rekidaihōbōki', p.159 f.

saints is the same, one....If one dwells in purity as if looking at a wall, there is no self and no other, saint and ordinary person are equal, one."⁵

Perhaps a recension of the LCSTC had lost one of the ~~無~~. I have not seen the other Tibetan translations of this section. Note that the Tibetan translation of the LCSTC, Poussin 710 uses gshung ~~宗~~ instead of don ~~理~~ in several places⁶

Note that the ~~深信含生同一真性,凡聖等一~~ attributed to Fo-ta by Yen-shou in the Tsung-ching lu is closer to the Tun-huang group. Perhaps he had more than one text.



5) Loc.cit.

6) Ibid., p.159; cf. 'Chibettoyaku Ryogashijiki ni tsuite' (Ueyama) pp.202,205.

Appendix V: The Date of the Long Scroll.

Dating this text is very difficult, for we have very little evidence. While the Preface, II and the so-called Layman Hsiang letter of IV clearly predate 645 because they are quoted in the HKSC, the remainder of the text is more problematic. For example, we do not know why the Ch'an-men ts'o-yao has only Miscellany I and not Miscellany II in it.¹

Recent evidence suggests that the Long Scroll existed in toto from a fairly early period. As we have seen above, the manuscripts Stein 3375, S 1880 and Pelliot 4634, which extend from the Preface through Miscellany I and into Miscellany II, were all written on a single piece of paper that had orders written on one side of it at Liang-chou in the period 650 to 656. Since codicologists say that all Tun-huang manuscripts were written within fifty years of the date of the paper, the latest date for the existence of an entire Long Scroll would be the end of the seventh century.² Moreover, we also have to allow for the time it took for the text to be transmitted from Central China, where it was most probably written, to the frontier outpost of Tun-huang.

The evidence from quotations supports the above conclusion. For instance, in the Po-chang Kuang-lu of Po-chang Huai-hai (720-814) there is an inaccurate paraphrase of XVII and an almost word for word quotation of XVIII.³

In fact, it is important to note that the earliest quote from the Long Scroll is from LXVIII, which is in Miscellany II. This is in Ching-chueh's Chu Pan-jo po-lo-mi-to hsin ching of 727. Since Ching-chueh also quotes the Preface and II in his LCSTC of ca. 720, it seems that the Long Scroll was complete in his lifetime. Ching-chueh probably had a copy of the Long Scroll before 701, for he seems to say that he had vowed to transmit the bequeathed

1) Sekiguchi Shindai, Darumadaishi no kenkyū, p.335.

2) Bukkyō no Jissen Genri (ed. Sekiguchi Shindai), p.179

3) Suzuki II, p.116; Darumadaishi no kenkyū, p.319.

writings of Bodhidharma before he met with Shen-hsiu in 701.⁴

The pre-eighth century date is supported by the evidence from the doctrinal contents. As Suzuki argues, the Long Scroll does not mention anything concerning the debates over sudden versus gradual awakening, nor the themes of 'no mind, no thought' 無心無念 that formed the basis of the doctrine of the Shen-hui/Hui-neng group, or even any mention of the Pure Ch'an 清淨 of Shen-hsiu.⁵ Therefore the Long Scroll was most likely written before these people attracted much following. Hui-neng died in 713 and Shen-hsiu in 706.

Even more importantly, there is no mention of the Pure Land tendencies, the single practice samadhi or the five gates theory 五門 attributed to Tao-hsin in the LCSTC.⁶

Therefore, all the evidence points to a pre-eighth century date for the Long Scroll. The Tibetan evidence also suggests that the Long Scroll was known there in its entirety before the end of the Tibetan occupation of Tun-huang (781-848) at the very latest.

Since there is no evidence to the contrary, I think that the Long Scroll was completed before Tao-hsuan wrote his first draft of the HKSC in 645.

If, as the scanty evidence from the LCSTC seems to suggest, T'an-lin compiled the Long Scroll from the letters and sayings of various teachers, it was probably written after he met Hui-k'o ca. 577, i.e., in the last years of his life. It is possible that T'an-lin compiled all the text up to the end of Miscellany I in the early 580's, and Miscellany II was added later, probably by 640 at the latest. Therefore I tentatively conclude that the Long Scroll was written between 577 and 600, with ca. 640 as the latest possible date.

4) Goroku II, p.53. 全生遺命, 傳達磨之遺文——去大足元年, 在於東都
通大通和上 諱秀 Of course, it doesn't necessarily refer to the Long Scroll.

5) Suzuki II, pp.133 ff. Shen-hui said 立無念為宗

6) Cf. Goroku II, pp.213, 186, 225. Tao-hsin's probable dates are 580-651.

Appendix VI: The Author of the Long Scroll.

If we accept Tao-hsuan's contention that paragraph 11¹ is Layman Hsiang's letter and that what follows it in the HKSC is by Hui-k'o, then only the authorship of paragraphs 9 and 10, and what follows 11 in the Long Scroll is in doubt. The first letter (9 and 10) looks very much like a discourse, a declaration of the solution to a religious problem that the author had experienced personally and thought was also bedevilling his comrades. Paragraph 11 could hardly be considered a reply to it, for it too is an exposition of a similar problem.

Nakagawa Taka assumes that the authors of paragraphs 9, 10 and 11 are the one person because she feels that the style and wording of the end of 9 (顯入通方便等, 用簡有同悟之徒) is similar to that of 11. (聊伸此句詎論玄旨)², though this is hardly conclusive evidence. Furthermore, she thinks that the HKSC 'Hui-k'o reply' is not a letter because the LCSTC quotes it with the words, "The master said..." in front of them.³ However, as it has been noted that the compilers of the LCSTC were entirely reliant on the HKSC for this source material⁴, this may be just the use of literary licence.

Nakagawa quite correctly states that to take the HKSC 'Hui-k'o letter' to be a reply to Layman Hsiang is illogical, for the lines, "Taking pity on the followers of the view of duality, I have written out...this letter", could hardly apply to the thought seen in Layman Hsiang's letter.⁵ He too states that "stupidity and wisdom are not separate." Combining the above

1) I have used Suzuki's paragraphing here because it is more convenient.
10 and 11 = the confession and the poem, 11 = 'Layman Hsiang letter.'

2) Nakagawa, 'Bodaidaruma no kenkyū, Shigyōronchōkenshi o chūshin toshite', p.66.

3) Goroku II, p.161.

4) Ueyama Daishun, 'Chibettoyaku kara mita Ryogashijiki seiritsu no mondai-ten' p.94

5) Nakagawa, op.cit., p.64

with her opinion that 9 and 10 describe Hui-k'o's career, she concludes that the structure of the Long Scroll is:

- A) T'an-lin's Preface,
- B) The Ta-mo lun, (II),
- C) Two sections by Hui-k'o,
- D) An appendix consisting of the works of Hui-k'o's pupils.⁶

There are differences of style within the work. The Preface and II are systematic descriptions of someone else's thought, whereas 9, 10 and 11 are 'essays' depicting personal experience. Miscellany I and Miscellany II (the appendix), on the other hand are records of or reconstructions of conversations and lectures.⁷ However, I feel that the style alone cannot be used to justify any contention that the work was written by a specific individual.

Ui, Nakagawa and Suzuki are in agreement that 9 and 10 are by the same author. However, to attribute 9, 10 and 11 to Hui-k'o is beset with difficulties. The quote by Yen-shou of 11 under Layman Hsiang's name may reinforce Tao-hsuan's attribution.⁸ As Sekiguchi has pointed out, the career mapped out in 9 and 10 could apply to any number of people.⁹ The Hui-k'o theory rests solely on the perhaps fortuitous concurrence of words in the gatha to the effect that the person concerned practiced for six years, and that Hui-k'o is said in the HKSC to have studied with Bodhidharma for six years. In the gatha: "(The Buddha) immediately upon hearing the eight word verse, awoke to the principle, and for the first time knew that his six years of austerities were in vain." We are told by Tao-hsuan in the HKSC Hui-k'o biography that "K'o studied under (Bodhidharma) for six years." The assumption that these two

6) Ibid., p.68

7) Ibid., p.69.

8) T.48, 403b

9) Sekiguchi, Darumadaishi no kenkyū, p.323.

occurrences of 'six years' means that the gatha was referring to Hui-k'o appears to be incorrect, for the eight words referred to are more than likely the famous half gatha of eight words that the Buddha heard in a previous incarnation when he was practising austerities in the Himalayas.¹⁰

Although Nakagawa admits that we probably have to accept the Himalaya-gatha interpretation¹¹, she tries to negate this by referring to the eight syllables that commonly appear in Mahayana sutras, especially the Wu-liang men wei-mi ch'ih ching 無量門微密持經 group of dharani sutras or the Wen-chu wen ching 文殊問經. In these sutras each of the eight syllables that form the basis of the Indian script were thought to symbolise all the truths and could lead one to them.¹² Nakagawa concludes from this that because "Hui-k'o...was an extraordinarily learned...scholar, who had read through all sorts of Mahayana scriptures, one can imagine that he had read through these different translations and also knew the significance of the syllables."¹³

However, if this thesis was true, it could equally apply to T'an-lin, who probably knew more of this sort of literature because of his work with the Indian translators.

As Sekiguchi notes, if the eight characters apply to the incident related in the Nirvana Sutra of a previous incarnation of the Buddha, the six years of austerities probably refers to the six years of austerities the historical Buddha went through before he abandoned them and was enlightened. He considers that to argue that Hui-k'o practised austerities under Bodhidharma for a fruitless six years, and only then to have been awakened by eight syllables to be a far-fetched theory.¹⁴

10) See note 23 to III and IV.

11) Nakagawa, op.cit., p.68.

12) Ibid., p.67. Cf. Goroku I, p.55.

13) Nakagawa, op.cit., p.68.

14) Darumadaishi no kenkyū, p.325.

Due to the resemblance of some of the thought in these passages to that of the Nirvana Sutra, I think that the poet was referring to the example of the Buddha in various incarnations: the gloss 智者 confirms that this is what the transmitters of the text thought. The poet would not call himself 智者. The poet made this reference in order to show the futility of practising austerities. I do not think that it refers in any way to some nebulous eight syllables from an unspecified dhāraṇī which is of doubtful relevance and probably not well known. Therefore there is no evidence that the gatha was written by Hui-k'o.

As the majority of scholars have indicated, the HKSC 'Hui-k'o reply' cannot be a reply to Layman Hsiang because of the line, "taking pity on those followers of the view of duality...", is inapplicable to the excellent thought of Layman Hsiang's letter.¹⁵ Moreover, both V and the 'Hui-k'o reply' are irrelevant as answers to Layman Hsiang's letter.¹⁶

Therefore I see no conclusive evidence whatsoever to attribute any of paragraphs 9, 10 and 11, or the HKSC 'Hui-k'o reply', to Hui-k'o.

Sekiguchi, however, then goes on to try to prove that 9, and all of that which follows in the Long Scroll was compiled, and in parts composed, by Fa-tsung 法聰 (581-656), to which someone has added the Preface and II.¹⁷ His reasons are:-

a) 9 and 10 were written by a person concerned with both the Pure Land and meditation, who wrote down his private thoughts in them for his comrades.

b) He thinks that the Ta-ch'eng Ju-tao An-hsin fa 大乘入道安心法 which is quoted in the Tsung-ching lu (T.48,950c) is attributed to Fa-tsung. This quotation is almost the same as most of the last half of VI and all of VII.

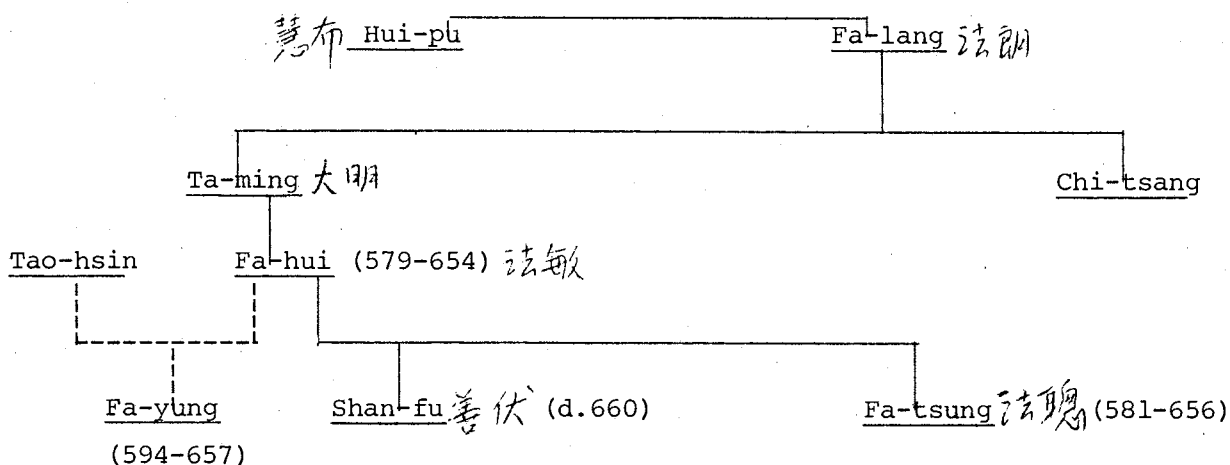
15) Ui I, p.54.

16) Loc.cit.

17) Darumadaishi no kenkyū, pp.339-344.

The title resembles that of the Ju-tao fang-pien chi 入道方便偈 (i.e., the Gatha of the Methods of Entering the Way).¹⁸ Since there is no reason for fragmenting the text, he proposes that it begins at V and ends at VII, inclusive. The Tripitaka Dharma teacher 三藏法師 of VII in his theory refers to Fa-tsung.

c) He combines the influence of the Sa-lun shown in VI with Fa-tsung's lineage connections to the Ch'an school to try and demonstrate that Fa-tsung may have had an interest in recording the thoughts of the teachers of Ch'an.



My objections are as follows:

a) The LCSTC, in its later 720A.D. version at least¹⁹ states; "These four

18) Ibid., p.340.

19) Cf. Ueyama Daishun, 'Chibettoyaku kara mita Ryogashijiki seiritsu no mon-dai-ten', IBK, XLVII, p.94. The Tibetan translation of the LCSTC (Poussin 710) appears to have been from an earlier version of the LCSTC, for it lacks the section beginning, "the rest was recorded by his pupil T'an-lin..." Therefore these lines may be a commentary written by Ching-chueh. Moreover it lacks the title of the Preface (大乘入道四行弟子量林序), but has instead, "Now here is preached the essentials of the practice of the four methods of Mahayana." Of course the translation may be free, the Tibetan translator not knowing the significance of the titles and person's names. Cf. ibid., pp.91-94, and ZSS, p.62.

practices are what the Meditation teacher Dharma personally preached. The rest is his pupil T'an-lin's record of the words and deeds of his teacher(s), collected into one scroll and called the Ta-mo lun." In other words, Ching-chueh 淨覺 seems to be saying that 9 and following was written down by T'an-lin. This suggests that T'an-lin also wrote a preface (9 and 10) to the second section of the Long Scroll with the appeal, "If you have time, read it." Since T'an-lin had worked for a long time with translators, the career described in 9 and 10 may well be his, and so may the knowledge of and the concern with the Pure Land. Some his studies and writings such as the preface to the Pa-pu Fo-ming ching 八部佛名經, and the translation of the Ching-tu lun 淨土論 that he assisted Bodhiruci with, suggest such a concern.²⁰ Moreover, the 'ecetera^t 等 of "'The Gatha of the Methods of Entering the Way' etcetra^e" suggests that the author of paragraphs 9 and 10 wrote down what follows.

b) I cannot agree with the trust placed in the Tsung-ching lu. It is of a much later date, by an author, Yen-shou (904-975), who, despite evidently possessing a great library and being a promoter of the union of Ch'an and Pure Land, was occasionally inaccurate in his attributions. For example, he attributes what is evidently a summary of the HKSC biography of Bodhidharma to meditation teacher Fu-ta 伏陀禪師, who is undoubtedly Fo-ta.²¹ Of course this confusion may have existed earlier, for some Ch'an texts mention Fo-ta and others.²² In other words, Yen-shou's quotations are not totally reliable.

20) Cf. Sekiguchi Shindai, Zenshūshisōshi, pp.60 ff. He was also involved with dhāraṇī works such as 金剛上味陀羅尼經, 八部佛名經 and 阿難陀目佉尼阿難陀羅尼經.

21) T.48,942a-b.

22) E.g., the Hsien-te chi yü Shuang-shan-ta ko t'an hsuan-li 先德集於雙山塔各談玄理, Yanagida Seizan, 'Denbōhōki to sono sakusha' in Zengaku kenkyū, LIII, (1963), p.56 f. This attribution may have been due to a mistake by Ching-chueh, for some parts of a work attributed to Seng-ch'ou, the Ta-ch'eng hsin ching, has passages very similar to II (ZSS, p.445). Ching-chueh had great respect for Sen^g-ch'ou, a pupil of Fo-ta's, cf. Tanaka Ryosho, 'Ryogashijiki to

c) V has a quotation from the Chung-lun. It was also quoted in Chih-i's Mo-ho chih-kuan 摩訶止觀 and Chi-tsang's San-lun hsuan-i 三論玄義. VI and XV also show that the Long Scroll has some relationships with San-lun thought. This only demonstrates that elements of San-lun thought were the common property of many Buddhist scholars. Moreover, Hui-k'o taught Hui-pu, who belongs to the proto-San-lun lineage. Such contacts may well have introduced such San-lun flavoured statements to the Long Scroll well before Fa-tsung's time.

Ultimately however, Sekiguchi bases his argument on a link between Fa-tsung and the Ta-ch'eng Ju-tao An-hsin fa. However, this connection is tenuous to say the least. The relevant section in the Tsung-ching lu, after a discussion on the response of the mind to hearing the scriptures, reads as follows:

Moreover, the monk Fa-tsung obtained freedom in his mind, and was without troubles because he had heard the preaching of the teacher Hui-min. He came to realize that all sense data is likewise. If one does not contemplate the mind, everything revolves around the movement of things. For this reason, the Ta-ch'eng Ju-tao An-hsin fa says, "If you consider something that is right to be right, then there is something that is not right. If you consider the not-right to be right, then there is nothing that is not right. One gate of wisdom enters into 100,000 gates of wisdom. If one sees a pillar and sees it to be a pillar, this is to see the appearance of a pillar, and so interpret it to be a pillar. Observe that the mind is the phenomenon of 'pillar' without the appearance of the pillar. Therefore, as soon as one sees a pillar, one will obtain the phenomenon of 'pillar'. See all forms and material likewise." An elegy of the Hua-yen ching says, "All the things of the world take the mind as the master..."²³

Yen-shou also quotes the above in toto in his Hsin-fu chu 心賦註.²⁴

As Yanagida has pointed out, Yen-shou does not attribute the text to Fa-tsung²⁵, but simply quotes it to illustrate the point that meditation is

Zen no dento' in Komazawa daigaku, Bukkyo Gakkaishi, II (1959), p.12.

23) T.48,950c.

24) Zoku Daizōkyō II, vol. 111, 74b-c.

25) 'Denbōhōki to sono sakusha', p.60

necessary. One should note that the first line of the above is a quotation from the HKSC Fa-tsung biography.²⁶ Yanagida hints that the Ta-ch'eng An-hsin fa may be a title for Miscellany I and Miscellany II, and that Yen-shou had quoted it from that. However, the other quotes from Miscellany II are not given a title by Yen-shou²⁷, but since they exist, the above title may be a clue as to the name they were known by in Yen-shou's time. Of course he may have confused it with the Ta-ch'eng hsin-hsing lun, or the Ta-ch'eng An-hsin Ju-tao chih fa 大乘安心入道之法²⁸, attributed to Seng-ch'ou, for the biography of an earlier and different Fa-tsung follows on from Seng-ch'ou's biography in the HKSC,²⁹ mirroring the earlier confusion of Fo-ta and Bodhi-dharma. Moreover, Tao-hsin is also supposed to have written a Ju-tao An-hsin yao-fang-pien 入道安心要方便.³⁰

Furthermore, the HKSC does not attribute any works to Fa-tsung, nor any connections with Ch'an. The only extant work of his, the Shih kuan Wu-liang -shou-fo ching chi 釋觀無量壽佛經記³¹, although copied down by an old T'ien-t'ai monk, Hsing-man, who saw it in Ch'an-lin Temple 禪林寺 in 817, appears to belong to the Pure Land tradition. It shows influences of the Avatamsaka, Lotus and Srīmālā sutras, but no Ch'an influence.

Therefore, given that there is no substantial evidence to the contrary, I think that we have to accept Ching-chueh's statement that T'an-lin compiled the Long Scroll. He seems to be the best candidate, for as it has been pointed out, the author of paragraph 9 had an interest at one time in the Pure Land.

26) T.50,664c 聽一音慧敏法師講得自於心端然無累

27) 'Denbōhōki to sono sakusha', p.60

28) Ibid., p.55 f.

29) 南雄州襄陽景空寺釋法聰 T.50,555, not 蘇州常樂寺法聰 T.50,664.

30) Goroku II, p.189.

31) Zoku Daizōkyō I, vol.32,4.

T'an-lin had worked with Bodhiruci on the translation of the Ching-tu lun.³²

T'an-lin lived in an age when Pure Land thought was gaining popularity, especially in Northern Wei.³³ The mixture of references to Pure Land, meditation and the Nirvana Sutra in paragraphs 9 and 10 fits very well with the evidence we have about T'an-lin. We also have evidence to suggest that T'an-lin knew some Sanskrit, and this may account for the knowledge of the meanings of words transliterated from Sanskrit as seen for example in X.

I have found no concrete evidence for thinking that the author or compiler of the Long Scroll was anyone other than T'an-lin. He probably gathered what literary records of the descendants of Bodhidharma that he could obtain, and added to these records of conversations made from personal memories or from interviews he had with people who were present at such conversations.

32) Hokugi, p.128.

33) Ibid., pp.125 and 191.

Appendix VII: Background to the Introduction of Ch'an and the Long Scroll
into Tibet.

The use of the name Bodhidharmatara in Tibet shows that the Pao-t'ang School had an important role in Tibetan Ch'an, for the only Ch'an history to use this name was the Li-tai fa-pao chi.¹ This history was translated into Tibetan, and the sayings of several of the Szechwan masters whose biographies appear in the history can be found in Pelliot tib.116 and the bKah-thang sde-lnga.²

The history of the introduction of Ch'an into Tibet is related in the Tibetan history, the sBa-b'zed, which "is ascribed to the Minister of the king Khri-sron lde'u-bstan...the well known sBa-gSal sñan, sBa Sañ-śi and others."³ This work contains material which has a aura of considerable antiquity for a Tibetan history.⁴

The sBa-b'zed tells us that a certain Sang-śi⁵, who was the son of a Chinese sent as an emissary to Tibet, was the playmate of the prince Khri-srong lde brtsan.⁶ Sang-si, on the pretext of a certain incident, told the prince about a Buddhist text. The prince talked about the text so much that his father,

1) MBT,II,p.66.

2) Ibid,p.159 and p.91. Cf. Okimoto Katsumi, 'bSamyas no Shūron (ichi), P.116 ni tsuite', p.7 and Obata Hironobu, 'Chibetto no Zenshū to Rekidaihōbōki', pp.154-159.

3) Vostrikov, Tibetan Historical Literature, p.24 f.

4) Vostrikov, op.cit., p.26 says that "according to Sum-pa mkhan-po, this work was written by sBa gSal-sñan...and others as the chronicle of the bSamyas monastery and was later subject to various interpolations." H.E.Richardson, Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa, p.4 says that this work is of the 14th century, though he admits, "but perhaps earlier." Obata, 'Chibetto no Zenshū to Rekidaihōbōki' p.142 f. thinks that it dates from the reign of Khri-srong lde brtsan (754-797).

5) MBT,II,p.24, śan-śi = 禪師, so there may be some confusion here.

6) He came to the throne at the age of 13 in 754?

King Khri-lde gtsug-rtsen (704-754) sent the Chinese on a mission to China to bring back Chinese Buddhist texts for his son. The Chinese Emperor welcomed them, and supposedly gave them 1,000 Buddhist volumes.⁷ On the return journey the mission heard that there was a massive rock on their route rumoured to fall on and crush anyone who saw it. At that time in the capital of I-chou 益州 there was a Ho-shang Kim⁸ whom they got to exorcise it. This Kim was a miracle-worker who associated with tigers.⁹ Kim meditated for three days and the rock was pulverized. Seeing his powers, the emissaries begged for a prophecy. He told them;

The king has died, and the prince, being a minor, has been dominated by evil ministers who have proscribed Buddhism. You had better serve the prince until he reaches majority, and when he comes to discuss heterodox religion, use that chance to teach him these sutras.

He then gave them the three sutras¹⁰ and he guided them for a way and gave them provisions.

They hid the sutras and all happened as predicted. One day, the king, seeing the Lao-tzu, a book that had been in his ancestor's possession, told his ministers that this ancestor had said that the book contained a method for bringing good fortune. He had a Chinese read it out. The king was impressed. Sang-si took this opportunity to tell him of the powers of Ho-shang Kim, and obtained permission to re-introduce Buddhism, and he taught the three sutras to the king.¹¹

7) Cf. note 10 which said they only got three. These 3 are mentioned in the dPao-gtsug phren-ba. Cf. Yamaguchi Zuiho, 'Chibetto Bukkyō to Shiragi Kin oshō' in Shiragi Bukkyō kenkyū (1973), p.11 and Goroku III, p.47.

8) Eg-cu Kim hva-saṃ, Yamaguchi, op.cit., p.28 and Goroku III, p.328.

9) He was supposedly a son of the king of Silla. His biog., SKSC, T.50,832b also links him with tigers.

10) Cf. note 7.

11) Summary from the Japanese translations by Yamaguchi, op.cit., pp.5-11, in Goroku III, p.326 f, and Obata, 'Chibetto no Zenshū to Rekidaihöbōki', p.143 f.

The sBa-bzed contains at least some remnants of historical truth, for the influence of the Szechwan schools appears to have been strong in Tibet, and there is a correspondence in chronology. Ho-shang Kim lived from 684 to 762 and was extremely influential in Szechwan in his later years, especially after he had been invited to Ching-chung Temple in ca. 742 by Chang-ch'iu Chien-ch'iung.¹²

The first flowering of Ch'an in Tibet probably thus began about 760 when King Khri-srong lde-brtsan had reached his majority (if majority meant about approximately 20 years old). Therefore it is possible that the Long Scroll was translated into Tibetan after this time. The date of the Li-tai fa-pao chi which was written between 774 and 781 suggests that the Long Scroll may have only been translated into Tibetan in the late 770's.

The second period of translation from Chinese into Tibetan probably occurred at Tun-huang, which the Tibetans occupied from 781 to 848. Immediately after 781, Khri-srong lde-brtsan invited the aged Chinese monk T'an-k'uang 曇廣 to answer some questions about Chinese Buddhism.¹³ It seems that by the time of the so-called bSamyas debate which is usually said to have been held between 792 and 794,¹⁴ translations from Chinese Ch'an texts were being done at Tun-huang. Such works included the Leng-chia shih-tzu chi and the Li-tai fa-pao chi.

12) The SKSC says he was invited to the court during Emperor Hsuan-tsung's flight to Szechwan. Chang-ch'iu Chien-ch'iung 章仇兼瓊 was Kim's patron. He had recommended Yang Kuei-fei and Yang Kuo-ching to Hsuan-tsung ('Chibetto no Zenshū to Rekidaihōbōki', p.151; ZSS, pp.282 f. and 291). Kim's associate, Wu-chu (Bu-chu in Tib. 714-774) had the patronage of Tu Hung-chien 杜鴻漸 (709-769) who was Prime Minister under Tai-tsung 代宗 (cf. Goroku III, p.189 ff.).

13) Ueyama Daishun, 'Donko to Tonko no Bukkyōgaku', Tōhō Gakuho, XXXV (1964), p.209.

14) Yoshiro Imaeda, 'Documents Tibétains de Touen-houang Concernant le Concile du Tibet', Journal Asiatique, (1975), pp.127 ff. and 140 ff. doubts that there was a debate. Cf. MBT, II, p.38 and Goroku III, p.329 support this date.

Okimoto thinks that the Pelliot tib.116 translation of the words of Dharmatara (the Long Scroll) has a mixture of old and new translationese in it, and thus dates from after 814, the beginning of the new translation system.¹⁵ The Lengchia shih-tzu chi (Poussin 710) quotation of II is in some ways the most literal of the Tibetan translations, but I doubt that it is the oldest.¹⁶ Obata argues that the "Entrance via Principle" theory was only linked to the name Bodhidharmatara by Northern School followers such as Mo-ho-yen 摩訶衍. This name had been used by the Pao-t'ang School, which up to the time of the debate was the dominant school of Ch'an in Tibet.¹⁷ Obata thinks that Mo-ho-yen and his followers had to do this to explain their position to the Tibetans who were heavily influenced by the entrenched Pao-t'ang adherents.¹⁸ However, Yen-shou's use of the name Bodhidharmatara in connection with the An-hsin Fa-men suggests that the Szechwan schools used the Long Scroll. The Northern School material in Tibetan only seems to date from after the capture of Tun-huang in 781, after which many forms of Ch'an entered Tibet from the North.¹⁹ Moreover, the use of a certain translation style is not final proof of the date of translation of the Long Scroll, for the Tibetan texts we have of the Long Scroll sections are said to be quotations of an earlier bSam-gtan rgya-lun chen-po or Dharmottārahi rGya-lun chen-mo²⁰, which may be the complete original translation

15) the skad gsar bcad. Okimoto Katsumi, 'bSamyas no Shuron (ichi), Pelliot 116 ni tsuite', p.7

16) Cf. Obata Hironobu, 'Chibetto no Zenshū to Rekidaihōbōki', p.161 and Ueyama Daishun, 'Chibettōyaku Ryōgashijiki ni tsuite', p.166.

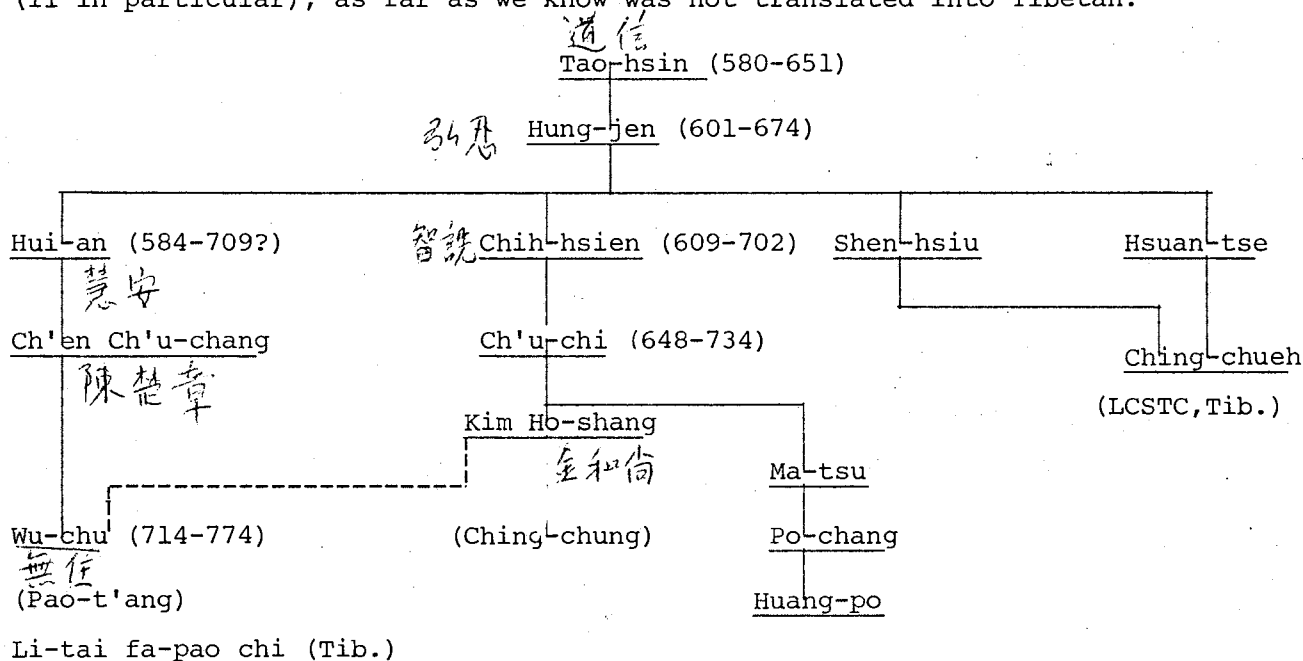
17) Obata, 'Chibettoden Bodaidarumatara Zenjiko' IBK, XLVII, (Dec.1975), p.232.

18) 'Chibetto no Zenshū to Rekidaihōbōki', p.116.

19) Cf. Goroku III, p.330; the Northern School and Mo-ho-yen, the Long Scroll, Shen-hui's line, Szechwan and Central Asian (?).

20) Okimoto Katsumi, 'Chibettōyaku Ninyūshigyōron ni tsuite', IBK, XLVIII, (March 1976).

into Tibetan of the Long Scroll. Furthermore, the evidence of the recensions suggests that the Long Scroll was not translated at Tun-huang, and so was translated before the Northern Sect material.²¹ In fact, I think that the Long Scroll was transmitted through the Tung-shan School of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen²² to the line of Hsuan-tse and Ching-chueh (the LCSTC) on one hand, and the Szechwan schools (Li-tai fa-pao chi) on the other, and from Szechwan into Tibet. The Chuan-fa-pao chi, which rejected the teachings of the Long Scroll (II in particular), as far as we know was not translated into Tibetan.



The rDzogs-chen and Ch'an Doctrines.

All of the extant Tibetan translations of the Long Scroll were preserved by the rDzogs-chen Sect. In fact, Saskya-pandita (1182-1251) in his sDom-gsum rab dbye writes to the effect that "after the collapse of the old Tibetan kingdom (Yar-lun Dynasty) people wrote books basing their ideas on the works of the Upādhya of China."²³ As Haarh dates the fall of the Yarlung dynasty as 842,

21) See Appendix IV.

22) E.g. the LCSTC attributes a Ju-tao An-hsin yao-fang-pien fa-men to Tao-hsin.

23) Samten G. Karmay, 'A Discussion on the Doctrinal Position of rDzogs-chen from the 10th to the 13th Centuries', Journal Asiatique (1975), p.152.

it seems that Ch'an influence from before the collapse was carried over into the later rDzogs-chen Sect.²⁴ Chinese influence may have persisted, for the Chinese monk Fa-ch'eng 法成 was active in translating sutras from Chinese between ca. 827 and 859.²⁵

However, the rDzogs-chen may be simply a Tibetan form of Ch'an in an Indian disguise. Tucci has suggested that Ch'an and rDzogs-chen share a common Indian origin. "Both of these schools seem to go back to that current of mystic experiences out of which developed in India the school of the Mahā Siddhas.... In China...it kept itself aloof from the intricacies and sometimes aberrations of Hatha yoga and Tantra...but the remote theoretical background which was introduced in China by Bodhidharma is the same."²⁶

The doctrines of the Long Scroll and of the rDzogs-chen have enough similarity for Tucci's to be a reasonable hypothesis. The descriptions of meditation and the pure mind coincide. As the simile of the lamp in a closed room of the LCSTC hints, the pure mind in Ch'an is considered luminous. The Tibetan translator's use of lham-me (light or clarity) for 'wall-contemplation' shows that by the late eighth century at least, some Ch'an followers supported this view.²⁷ Long Scroll Ch'an and the rDzogs-chen seem to share the doctrine of immediate illumination, for they both consider that Buddhahood is simply a change of attitude, and thus is no different from the empirical samsaric condition.²⁸ Like Tao-sheng, both the Long Scroll and the rDzogs-chen rejected gradualism or stages, thinking that all one had to do was to realize the pure

24) MBT,II,p.102. Cf. Erik Haarh, The Yar-lun Dynasty, København, (1969).

25) Ajia Bukkyōshi, Shirukurōdo no Shūkyō, p.360 f.

26) MBT,II,p.102 f.

27) Poussin 710 literally translates 壁觀 as "remain in purity as if looking at a wall", which shows a mixture of the literal and rDzogs-chen translations.

28) MBT,II,p.103.

mind, which is the Buddha. As Tucci says, "...being ourselves coessential with the Buddha, and all representations which constitute the world in its twofold aspect...being illusory..., pure shining consciousness, what we need is only to jump, as it were, from the plane of representations into that of Buddhahood, our true natures, by a sudden elimination of those mental representations. We must arrest the play of their emanation, stop our mind and see into our own nature."²⁹ Their doctrines, like that of the Long Scroll, have a Cittamātra or Vijnānavādin slant. "Whatever is manifest is pure mind, and it appears in the self-existent intelligence, which is mind itself: therefore it cannot become anything else except this self-existent intelligence."³⁰ Despite this however, the traditional accounts characterise both Ch'an and rDzogs-chen as a form of Mādhyamika.³¹ However, as Tucci notes, the Mādhyamika was only the starting point for these schools.³² What distinguished them from the opposing school of Kamalaśīla was the psychological emphases they made.³³

The only difference between the Ch'an and rDzogs-chen is that the latter uses certain Indian techniques which the Ch'an does not use. Tucci's description of the rDzogs-chen is very similar to the conclusions I have reached about the Long Scroll. "The rDsogs-c'en laid great stress on the Hatha yoga and on the mantras, but their doctrine emphasises the existence of a pure mind, luminous and unshakeable; except it, nothing exists, since it is the only reality; its recognition leads to release; no effort or practice is needed. The means proposed by the school for arousing this releasing consciousness of our inner reality are not those proposed by the other schools of Mahāyāna or

29) Loc.cit.

30) Ibid.,pp.62 and 102.

31) Ibid.,pp.65 and 101.

32) Ibid.,p.52.

33) Cf. Karmay,op.cit.,p.148,'Sems-phyogs'(i.e.,mental class) is a collective name for the rDzogs-chen.

even of Vajrayāna. The progressive method of the Bodhisattva, which Kamalaśīla supports and explains, is considered by them as one of the inferior vehicles.³⁴

Thus Ch'an and the rDzogs-chen share a distinctive doctrine of meditation unique in their respective countries. The rDzogs-chen works describe the Long Scroll doctrine of phenomena accurately. "rDsogs-c'en is called...immaculate intelligence...luminous,void...every dharma, samsaric or transcendental has in it its pleroma (rdsogs)." ³⁵

A problem remains in that we do not know to what extent rDzogs-chen is simply a continuation of Ch'an, or is an import direct from India that merged with Ch'an. There are indications that the rDzogs-chen patriarchs were more opposed to the Indian Madhyamika group than to the Chinese Ch'an.³⁶ Their lineage begins with Padmasambhava and his pupil Vairocana. Vairocana was also taught by some Chinese masters, so perhaps Vairocana can be credited with the creation of a synthesis of Padmasambhava's teachings and those of Ch'an.³⁷

34) MBT,II,p.60.

35) Ibid.,p.60 f. rdzogs seems to be an equivalent of if here.

36) Ibid.,p.42.

37) Ibid.,pp.106 and 110.

Appendix VIII: Bodhidharma's Place of Origin.

The first problem of Bodhidharma's biography is his country of origin. The Lo-yang chia-lan chi contradicts our other sources by saying that Bodhidharma came from Po-ssu in the Western Regions. The Preface and HKSC say that he was a South Indian Brahmin. Tao-hsuan seems to have followed T'an-lin or one of the proto-Ch'an monks rather than Yang Hsuan-chih.

In considering which version to believe, we must take into account the different characteristics of our sources.

The LYCLC story of Bodhidharma clearly illustrates that Yang's intention was to relate the glories of the Lo-yang temples, and that "the appearance of Bodhidharma was that of a bit player relating the world-wide incomparable beauty of the nine-story tower of Yung-ning Temple."¹ This is coupled with what appears to be a streak of 'national' pride that occasionally surfaces in the LYCLC. Such statements as; "the Indian Bodhiruci saw (the Chinese monk T'an-mu-tsui 曇摩最) and revered him, calling him a Bodhisattva....All the barbarians called him an Arhat....he wrote it in barbarian script and sent it to the Western Regions. The śramaṇas (of the West) often faced east and worshipped him, calling T'an-mu-tsui 'the saint of the east' "², and those concerning foreign visitors³, illustrate the author's desire to elevate North China above other Buddhist nations.

Knowledge by Tao-hsuan of the nature of the LYCLC and of the aims of its author may account for the very brief paraphrase Tao-hsuan gives of the incident concerning Bodhidharma in the HKSC biography of Bodhiruci which consists mostly of paraphrases and quotes of the Yung-ning Temple entry in the LYCLC.

1) Hokugi, p.118.

2) T.51,1017b; Fan, pp.231 and 233.

3) T.51,1017c; Fan, p.235 f.

All of those who have passed through many countries from Western China to East China say no pagoda or hall equal to this exists in Jambudvīpa.⁴

Was Tao-hsuan conscious of the inventions and intentions of Yang, or was he certain that the story was untrue because his knowledge of geography told him that the word 'Po-ssu' was incorrect? He has deliberately avoided telling the LYCLC's story of Bodhidharma anywhere. He doesn't even mention the story of Hsiu-fan Temple and Bodhidharma either.

The more cautious hagiographer-cum-biographer of the Vinaya Sect, Tao-hsuan, may have realized the nature of these tales and so deleted them or glossed them over.

So far we have seen that there are genuine grounds for doubting whether Yang Hsuan-chih's story of 'Bodhidharma of Po-ssu' means anything more than "a monk from way out west." But we must further ask as to which country might have been indicated by the word 'Po-ssu'.

Evidently it does not indicate a place in South-east Asia, since the LYCLC does not list it in its itinerary of South-east Asia.⁵ The speculation positing the existence of such a place has arisen from the Chinese usage "Persian-type goods."⁶

Although the word 'Po-ssu' may have been used in South China before 455, the year in which it was first used of the first Sassanian mission to Northern Wei⁷, it only came into common use later with the increasing contact with the Sassanians. It probably meant Pārsa, i.e., Southern Iran.⁸

4) T.50,428c 西夏 cf. Morohashi, 34763.66, "Used especially in order to distinguish the western area of China that was occupied during the Nan-pei Ch'ao from the rest of China." Possibly it refers to Bactria, i.e., 大夏 or 夏國.

5) T.51,1017c; Fan, p.236.

6) O.Wolters, Early Indonesian Commerce, pp.133,137,143.

7) Ibid., p.81 f.

8) A.Tashakori, Iran in Chinese Dynastic Histories, pp.29 and 47 for a list of Sassanian missions to China. They were a number during the time Yang was

Yang has several stories in which Po-ssu clearly designates Persia. The first is a story of a lion that was presented by the king of Po-ssu to the Wei court along with a white elephant presented by the ruler of Gandhāra. Both were penned, the elephant because it ran amok. After one Emperor had baited the lion against a tiger and a blind bear, a succeeding Emperor humanely decided to return the lion to the country of its origin. The barbarian entrusted with its return thought, "Persia is too far away", so he killed it.⁹

Elsewhere we are told that Yuan Ch'en "sent a mission to the Western Regions to obtain the famous horses, and when they got to Po-ssu (Persia), they obtained a thousand li horse."¹⁰

Moreover, in his account of Sung Yun's travels Yang writes:

In the beginning of the tenth month, I arrived in the Hephthalite country... It receives the tribute of many countries,...as far as Khotan in the east, and Persia (Po-ssu) in the west.¹¹

But almost immediately after this he mentions what is clearly another Po-ssu:

In the beginning of the eleventh month I arrived in the country of Po-ssu. The borders of this country are extremely narrow, and can be circumambulated in a week. The people live in the mountains, and are impoverished. Their customs are cruel, and I saw that the king had no propriety.¹²

The only remarkable feature of this country was two lakes. This Po-ssu must be a mistake for the Po-chih 波知 of the Wei-shu, a small country on the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush.¹³

Yang clearly meant that Bodhidharma was from Persia, the country in the Wei-shu's 'Record of the Western Regions' 西域傳 whose capital was Ctesiphon 都宿利

writing, i.e., 517, 518, 520 and 522.

9) T.51,1012b; Fan, p.161 f.

10) T.51,1016b; Fan, p.207.

11) T.51,1019b; Fan, p.288.

12) Fan, p.289.

13) Ibid., pp.295 ff, note 10.

城, and which was famed for its horses^{出馬}, white elephants and lions^{出自象師子}.¹⁴ As Ui Hakuju says, "Yang Hsuan-chih, by calling Bodhidharma a Po-ssu country barbarian, definitely regarded him as being a Persian."¹⁵

However, Sassanian Persia can hardly be considered as having been a stronghold of Buddhism, and even less of Mahayana Buddhism. Firstly, under Varahran I (Bahram I, 273-276 r.) there was a religious persecution of all religions other than Zoroastrianism instigated by the Chief Priest, Kartir, who dominated both Varahran I and Varahran II (r. 276-293). There is some evidence to suggest that Buddhist monasteries were razed, and that the persecution continued even later.¹⁶ Again, under Yazdgard II (Yezdigird II, r. 438-459), a fanatical Zoroastrian, persecutions of Jews and Christians (and perhaps Buddhists) were instigated.¹⁷ By Hsuan-tsang's time (on his travels 629-645) the Persian capital was dominated by Zoroastrian temples. He wrote what he had heard of Ctesiphon:

There are two or three temples, and their monks and adherents number only a few hundred, all following the Hinayana Sarvāstivādin teaching. The Sakya's begging bowl is in the royal palace.¹⁸

This bowl had probably been taken from Gandhara where it had been in Fa-hsien's time.¹⁹ The Hinayana Sarvāstivādin Buddhism that dominated Persia and the

14) Wei-shu, p. 2271.

15) Ui I, p. 8.

16) R. Frye, The Heritage of Persia, pp. 220 & 286; F. E. Peters, The Harvest of Hellenism, pp. 566 f., 669; B. A. Litvinsky, Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia, p. 83 for the archaeological evidence. Cf. P. Sykes, A History of Persia I p. 414 f. for the persecution of Christians, and pp. 339 ff. for the reasons given for the persecution, such as refusing to go to war or to marry, which applies equally well to the Buddhists.

17) R. Ghirshman, Iran, p. 300.

18) T. 51, 938a. Hatani Ryotai, Sei-iki no Bukkyō, p. 213 f. and Tashakori, op. cit., p. 58.

19) S. Beal, Travels of Fa-hian and Sung-yun, p. 162, cf. R. Mitra, 'The Decline of

countries on its eastern marches in the fifth and sixth centuries differs greatly from the Mahayana Buddhism that Bodhidharma allegedly taught, though it does contain some Mahayanistic elements in its Vaibhāṣika form, a form that was widespread in that region.²⁰

There seems little likelihood that Bodhidharma could have come from a subordinate kingdom, a tributary state of Persia, or one that had been recently occupied by the Hephthalites. Yang evidently had considerable information on such countries, so it is probable that he would have specified that country if Bodhidharma had come from one of them. Moreover, Gandhāra was Sarvāstivādin territory²¹, or had been until the Hephthalites conquered it in the 460's, two generations (40 = 30 years) before Sung Yun's arrival in 520, though even in his time the natives of Gandhara favoured Buddhism. The king Sung Yun met was anti-Buddhist, and was waging a war against Kashmir,²² which later resulted in the persecution there of Buddhism by the Hephthalite ruler in the south, Mihirakula.²³ It appears that the Hephthalites also razed monasteries near Taxila in the 460's.²⁴

Lo Hsiang-lin's thesis that Bodhidharma was a Persian because he was said to have had 'blue eyes' 碧眼 is invalid, firstly because his sources for such

Buddhism in India', Visva Bharati Annals, VI, (1954), p.7 for the story of the Lien-hua mien ching 蓮華面經.

20) Litvinsky, op.cit., p.65. Cf. H. Guenther, Buddhist Philosophy in Theory and Practice, pp.31 and 53.

21) Hatani, op.cit., p.490; so strongly that it appears even Asanga and Vasubandhu left there and went to India to be converted to Mahayana, (p.496 f.).

22) Fan, p.317 f.; cf. K. Enoki, 'On the Nationality of the Hephthalites' in Memoirs ... Toyo Bunko XVIII, (1959), p.27; Beal, op.cit., p.197

23) Hatani, op.cit., p.470.

24) Lo, T'ang-tai Wen-hua shih, p.112. Note that the 59th poem of the T'ang poetry collection, Han-shan shih (in Burton Watson, Cold Mountain) has 碧眼胡 meaning "a merchant from Central Asia." Cf. Ch'en Hui-chien, Han-shan tzu yen-

phrases are from the Sung dynasty²⁵, and because the words 'blue eyes' are probably just a term for foreigners. Blue eyes would have been a striking feature to the Chinese, who probably applied it indiscriminately to Indians as well, not just to Persians as Lo claims.

The commentary by Shih Ku 施顧 that Lo quotes; "The Kao-seng chuan says that the Master Bodhidharma's eyes were a mauve-green colour, so later he was called the blue-eyed barbarian monk"²⁶, is probably inaccurate, and not a deletion by Sung dynasty Ch'an Sect partisans.

There thus seems little evidence to support Yang Hsuan-chih's assertion that Bodhidharma was a Persian. On the other hand both the Preface and HKSC tell us that Bodhidharma was a South Indian. As Ui points out, Tao-hsuan has simplified T'an-lin's, "a South Indian of the Western Regions, the third son of a great Brahmin king" to "a South Indian Brahman."²⁷ Moreover, Tao-hsuan has completely ignored the LYCLC's 'Po-ssu'.

There is a problem of reading here. Do we read the Preface as "a great Brahman king" (國王 as with 國王), or do we read it as "the king of a great Brahman nation"?²⁸ Tao-hsuan's understanding, and the interpretation of the Chuan-fa-pao chi suggest that Bodhidharma was a Brahman from South India, and was a prince. The contention of Sekiguchi and Lo Hsiang-lin that there were no Brahman kings is misleading here.²⁹ There were a few Brāhmaṇa dynasties

chiu 寥山子研究, p.224. Hu Shih notes in his 'Development of Zen Buddhism in China', p.501 that Lin-chi's teacher, Hsuan-chien 宣鑒 (780-865) said, "Even if that little blue-eyed barbarian monk Bodhidharma should come here...". I can't find the source of this.

26) Lo, op.cit., p.112 高僧傳, 達摩大師眼紺青色, 稱碧眼僧

27) Ui I, p.7.

28) Loc.cit. Cf. Sekiguchi, Daruma no kenkyū, p.60

29) Daruma no kenkyū, p.60. However, one must note that Hsuan-tsang says that 'Brahman country' is a polite term for India and that there were Brahman kings (Hayashi Taiun, 'Bodaidaruma no kenkyū', Shūkyō kenkyū, (1932), p.71). Tao-hsuan in

and they can usually be identified because they belonged to a gotra, one of the forty nine subdivisions of the Brahman caste. Sircar explains this as follows: "If a Brāhmaṇa family rises to royal dignity, it cannot quite naturally look back for past glory to the Sūrya and Candra vāmśas which were ksatriya dynasties. They can however claim connection with Bhāradvāja Drona, the great epic king of northern Pāṇḍala, who was a Brāhmaṇa by birth but took the profession of ksatriyas."³⁰

If T'an-lin's original statement, and the HKSC and Chuan-fa-pao chi versions of it, are correct in their interpretations, we may be able to locate Bodhidharma's place of origin. Since T'an-lin had worked in co-operation with such Indian translators as Bodhiruci and Buddhaśānta³¹, and probably knew some Sanskrit, he may be considered a reasonably reliable source.

Since "...no dynasty in South India other than the Pallava belong to the Bhāradvāja gotra", with the possible exception of the relatively minor dynasty of the Śālaṅkāyanas, neighbours and perhaps relatives of the Pallavas³², the most likely candidate for Bodhidharma's homeland is the kingdom of the Pallavas which extended along much of the east, the Coromandel, coast of India.

his Shih-chia fang-chih 釋迦方志 T.51,950b says, "That which is to the south of the Himalayas is called the Brahman country. They are separated from the Hu 胡 barbarians, and their scripts and languages are different." But in the HKSC he says that Bodhidharma was of the Brahman caste 婆羅門種.

30) D.Sircar, The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in Lower Deccan, p.156.

31) Cf. Daruma no kenkyū, p.155 f., and T.55,268. Buddhaśānta was a North Indian, as was possibly Bodhiruci. Vimokṣasena was of the royal kṣatriya family of Udiyana (T.55,543, T.50,429a-b).

32) T.V.Mahalingam, Kāncīpuram in Early South Indian History, p.23. Cf. Sircar, *op.cit.*, p. 155 f. and p.392 for the insignificance of the Śālaṅkāyanas.

There is one other dynasty of South India, the Kadambas, whose kingdom occupied the western coast of India centred around the region of Goa, whose earliest members at least belonged to the Brahman Mānavya gotra.³³ However, Sircar suggests that the Kadambas claimed that they were ksatriyas soon after their founder (?), Mayūrasarman's rule, some time before the beginning of the fifth century, because the kings changed from using the Brāhmaṇa epithet 'śarman' in their names to using the ksatriya 'varman'. However, this may have been just a political expedient,³⁴ for it appears that they did not renounce their gotra.³⁵

The Śālaṅkāyanas, who occupied the lower reaches of the Godāvarī River with their capital at Veṅgi, seem to have been conquered by the Pallavas between ca. 470 and 500A.D.³⁶

The Pallava's capital Kāñcī (modern Conjeeveram), was probably the most important centre in South India for both trade and scholarship.³⁷ Kāñcī is said to have had a royal monastery which attracted many famous Buddhists.³⁸ Such influential Buddhists as Āryadeva, a pupil of Nāgārjuna,³⁹ Buddhaghosa,⁴⁰ and later Vajrabodhi, who supposedly taught King Narasiṃha Potavarman Pallava before he came to China⁴¹, visited Kāñcī. Moreover, around Bodhidharma's time

33) Sircar, op.cit., p.222.

34) Ibid., p.228 f.

35) Ibid., p.261

36) Ibid., p.73.

37) A.Rea, Pallava Architecture, pp. 5 ff.; Hokugi, p.440 for main Buddhist scholastic centres in India.

38) Majumdar (ed.) The History and Culture of the Indian People, The Classical Age, p.258. Mentioned in the Mattavilāsaprahansa by Mahendravarman I (ca.600-630) ; p.261 for Hsuan-tsang's description of the city.

39) Ibid., p.381.

40) Mahalingam, op.cit., p.47

41) SKSC, T.50, 711b 為建支王師 . Cf. Bagchi, India and China..., p.53

there began a lineage of Yogācāra masters who were associated with Kāncī. The disciple of Vasubandhu, Diñnāga, was of a Kāncī Brahman family and so was Diñnāga's pupil, Dharmapāla, who was Dean of Nālandā and teacher of Hsuan-tsang's master, Śīlabhadra, who was 106 years old by 633A.D.+.⁴² This may be a clue to the type of Buddhism Bodhidharma had studied. In fact, the persistence of Buddhism in Kāncī is attested to by a Javanese poet in 1362 who mentioned six Buddhist monasteries there⁴³, and by Dhyānabhadra of the early fourteenth century⁴⁴, which proves that it must have been a stronghold of Buddhism.

We have several clues in Ch'an literature that may indicate that Bodhidharma was from Kāncī. Firstly, in the Tsu-t'ang chi of 952, Bodhidharma is said to have been "the third son of the great king Hsiang-chih of a South Indian country."⁴⁵ This word Hsiang-chih 香至, as far as I can ascertain, occurs in only one other place besides the texts that directly copied the Tsu-t'ang chi. This is the inscription by Yi Saek 李穡 (Chinese Li Se), who

42) Vasubandhu's Dasabhumikasūtraśāstra was translated by Bodhiruci et al. ca.508. Majumdar, op.cit. for Diñnāga etc. Cf. Ch'en, op.cit., p.236. This line and place is confirmed by Taranatha writing in 1608, Taranatha's History of Buddhism in India, pp.181, 213. Cf. T.51, 931b-c 達羅毘奈 (Dravida Country) 國, 國大都城號建志補羅 (Kāncīpura) 郎達摩波羅菩薩本生之城.

43) Mitra, op.cit., p.116.

44) A.Waley, 'New Light on Buddhism in Medieval India', p.355, and Fan-seng Chih-k'ung Ch'an-shih chuan-k'ao, (T.51, 983b), 持僧指空禪師傳考

45) 祖堂集 1.63 (p.32) 南天竺國香至大王第三太子也. If it was the name of the country it should have been written 南天竺香至國大王. The authors clearly intend the characters 香至 to refer to the king, for in talking of Bodhidharma's alleged teacher they say, "He came to the South Indian country. The King was a kṣatriya, his name was Hsiang-chih". 至南天竺國國王刹帝利名香至. Cf. Daruma no kenkyū (Sekiguchi), p.62.

had been part of the Mongol administration of Manchuria and Korea, on a stupa stele at the Ho-am Temple 檜巖寺(玄岳 Juniper Cliff) in the Capital Territory of Korea, dated 1378, dedicated to the Indian monk Dhyānabhadra (or Sūnyadisya 揚空).⁴⁶ Dhyānabhadra 禪賢 said, "My mother was a princess of the country of Hsiang-chih".⁴⁷ Both A.Waley and Nukariya Kaiten have accepted the Taisho Tripitaka editor's footnote that Hsiang-chih is Kāncī.⁴⁸ Dhyānabhadra seems to have travelled in this district, for he mentions that he visited Dantapura (?), then Kāncī and then Kalinga again.⁴⁹

The pronunciation of the characters 香至 in T'ang times (Karlgren's reconstruction xang-tsi, x as in German ch guttural) would seem to confirm the Taisho editor's opinion, for the pronunciation is very similar to that of the 建志 (kɪn-tsi) of Hsuan-tsang (ca.640)⁵⁰ and the 建支 (kɪn-/tsie) of the Sung Kao-seng chuan for Kāncī.⁵¹

Where did the authors of the Tsu-t'ang chi obtain this name? They must have heard the name somewhere, probably from an alien, as it seems to occur nowhere in Chinese before this. It is quite possible that they heard it from

46) Yi Saek's biography is in Koryo-sa 高麗史 chuan 115, pp.1-28. He was an important scholar-official who tried to have monks certificated to stop the abuse of Buddhism. Cf. Nukariya Kaiten, Chōsen Zenkyōshi, pp.268 ff. and Waley, op.cit., p.355; T.51, 982c.

47) 吾母香至國公主 T.51, 983a.

48) Loc.cit., note 6. Waley, op.cit., p.361 and Nukariya, op.cit., p.246.

49) T.51, 983b. Sircar, op.cit., locates Dantapura near Ganjam, a sub-capital of Kalinga.

50) T.51, 931b. Cf. Index by K.Y.Kim to Deux Itinéraires de Chine in Indie, = 'Kan-tche-fou, Kien-tche', (p.58).

51) T.50, 711b. Note the difference to 建 gɪn and 建 kian; 乾 kan-/ of Gandhara. Hsiang-chih couldn't be a mistake for the 香行, a translation of Gandhavat (Gandhara) in the HKSC, T, 50, 433b (cf. Fan, p.320) because he is said to be South Indian. This also applies to Suzuki's suggestion that it is Kāśi (Benares), Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism, p.103.

a foreign trader, since the book was composed by monks in a temple at Ch'uan-chou which was a major port trading with South-east Asia in those days.⁵²

Ch'uan-chou was a sea-port so important in the overseas trade that in later times it had a foreign official to supervise trading vessels.⁵³ Perhaps the authors deliberately tried to find out where Bodhidharma's homeland was by inquiring about the geography of South India. However, they were clearly confused for they call the king by the name of ksatriya.

It is possible that Yi Saek, himself a Buddhist, may have transliterated Dhyānabhadra's pronunciation of Kāncī in imitation of the 'Hsiang-chih' first used in the Tsu-t'ang chi, a copy of which was possibly available to him, for the woodblocks of the only extant edition were cut in Korea in 1245.⁵⁴ Of course, he may have seen the name in the even more popular Ching-te chuan-teng lu. He probably knew the Chinese pronunciation, as did Dhyānabhadra, both of whom had been in China.⁵⁵

Matsumoto Bunsaburo thinks that the origin of the word 'Hsiang-chih' in the text is due to a connection made by the authors between the mentions of Dharmapala in the Hsi-yü chi 西域記 of Hsuan-tsang or in his pupil K'uei-chi (Tz'u-en)'s Wei-shih shu-chi 唯識述記 and the HKSC biography of

52) Yanagida Seizan, Sekai no meicho, suppl. 3, Zen Goroku, p.74 f. Cf. Chinese Sociology and Anthropology, (Spring 1977), 'Excavation of a Sung Dynasty Sea-going Vessel in Ch'uan-chou', p.57 f. which mentions that we have evidence of trade with foreign countries from this port from the 6th century. This expanded in the T'ang, when Arab merchants arrived. In the Five Dynasties this expanded

53) J. Kuwabara, 'P'u Shou-keng' in Memoirs of Toyo Bunko, II, VII passim.

54) Yanagida, Sekai no meicho..., p.75 f. Cf. Koryo-sa, chuan 115, pp.13b, 20a

55) Ibid, chuan 115, p.16a. Nukariya, op.cit., gives a list of his works in Chinese. Cf. Waley, op.cit., p.359 and T.51, 948b 時吾會雲南語

Bodhidharma. The Dravida Country entry in the Hsi-yü chi says;

The city of Kāñcīpura 建志神羅... is the native city of the Bodhisattva Dharmapāla. The Bodhisattva was the eldest son of a great minister of this country."

In the Wei-shih shu-chi this is changed to "the son of the Emperor 帝王之子." Therefore Matsumoto thinks that the "South Indian" of the HKSC biography of Bodhidharma was linked to Dharmapāla's being the son of an Emperor, and also to the Preface's "the third son of the king", and that the 建志 of Hsuan-tsang has been changed to 香至. Thus we might in this case get "the third son of king Hsiang-chih of a South Indian country."⁵⁶

Yang Hsuan-chih's use of the word Po-ssu may also indicate the Pallavas indirectly, for the Pahlava (Persian) and Pallava were often confused, though whether any Chinese knew of this or not is uncertain. Pahlava was the Sanskrit term commonly used in Indian medieval texts for the Persians.⁵⁷ It may be possible that Yang, or more likely, a monk informant of his who knew some Sanskrit, confused Bodhidharma's 'Pallava' with 'Pahlava', for the two are very close in pronunciation, so close in fact that many scholars at the turn of this century thought that the Pallavas may have been descended from Persian (Pahlava) immigrants.⁵⁸

Even more coincidentally, it is known that Persian Christians lived near Kāñcī. In 1517, some Portuguese found the remains of a church at St. Thomas' Mound⁵⁹ where according to legend, St. Thomas was killed and first buried.⁶⁰ This may be the church referred to by Gregory of Tours (ca. 590) in connection

56) Matsumoto Bunsaburo, Daruma no kenkyū, p. 97 f.

57) K. Takakuwa, A Study of the South Eastern Countries of India Described in the Si-Yu-ki of Hiuen-Thuang, pp. 269 ff. for the theories.

58) Ibid., p. 258, 264. Cf. Sircar, op. cit., p. 153 f.

59) G. Moraes, A History of Christianity in India, p. 52. 60) Ibid., p. 33 and p. 51

61) Bruno Krusch, Wilhelm Levison, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum (Hannover, 1965) sections 31 and 32 of Liber in Gloria Martyrum

with St. Thomas, for there is mention of what looks like a monsoonal downpour around August.⁶¹ Also a cross with a Pahlavi inscription was found there, but it seems to date from well after Bodhidharma's time.⁶²

All in all, in spite of the conflict of opinion between Yang and the other sources, it seems more likely that Bodhidharma came from the Pallava kingdom, probably from Kāncī.

The only other statement in our three sources that gives a reasonably clear indication of the way Bodhidharma reached China is the HKSC's, "he first arrived in Nan-yueh on the borders of the Sung. Finally he crossed north to Wei." The Nan-yueh region extends south from modern Kuang-tung into North Vietnam. Since this information is found in neither the Lo-yang chia-lan chi nor the Preface, Yanagida says that we "must believe that it came from an earlier source."⁶³ However, it could simply be speculation based on the belief that Bodhidharma came from South India.

Yang Hsuan-chih's account seems to indicate that Bodhidharma came via Central Asia, for Yang uses a phrase, "I have traversed many countries" 歷諸國 which occurs often in the Buddhist histories usually referring to routes through Central Asia.⁶⁴ Moreover, he calls Bodhidharma a Hu 胡 barbarian

Beatorum. Cosmas Indicopleustes in his Christian Topography says that there were Persians there in the 6th century (Basham, The Wonder that was India, p.345)

62) Majumdar, op.cit., p.488 says of 7th or 8th century; Moraes, op.cit., the 6th or 7th century.

63) Hokugi, p.138.

64) Dharmamitra of Kashmir arrived in China via Kucha ca.424 周歷諸國遂通龜茲 (T.50,342c), and Fo-ta from India 遊歷諸國遂至魏北召之恒安 (T.50,551a). However, Paramārtha, who is known to have come by sea from India is said to have "come far over difficult passes...and travelled through many countries" 遠涉艱關...歷遊諸國 (T.50,429c), which shows that this phrase does not always indicate a land route through Central Asia.

of Persia. Some writers claim that Hu means those foreigners who spoke the languages of Serindia, but not the Indian languages.⁶⁵ Given the reservations I have about the accuracy and veracity of Yang Hsuan-chih though, I feel that his version can be discounted.

Tao-hsuan certainly did not believe Yang's story, for he deliberately glosses over the Po-ssu reference in Bodhidharma's biography, (while accepting the phrase, "I am one hundred and fifty years old"), and in the Bodhiruci biography.

T'an-lin's account is very ambiguous: "He was thereby able to traverse a great distance over mountains and oceans, and travel and proselytize in the Han and Wei region." 'Mountains and oceans' seems to me to be literally correct, but Yanagida considers the meaning 'a great distance' more appropriate.⁶⁶ 'Han and Wei' probably means simply North China, for dynasties with the name of Han or Wei^{had} ruled North China with very few breaks since 202B.C.⁶⁷

65) P.Lee, Lives of Eminent Korean Monks, p.45; T'ang, op.cit., p.407.

66) Goroku I, p.28.

67) I.e., Han 202B.C.-220A.D., Wei 220-265A.D., (Liu) Han 304-319A.D., Northern Wei 386-550A.D. (including the Eastern and Western Wei).

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○(一七四) 覺禪師曰、若悟心無所屬、即得道達。何以故、眼見一切色、眼不屬一切色、是目性解脫。耳聞一切声、耳不屬一切声、乃至意經、歷一切法、意不屬一切法、即是目性解脫。

「乃至」以下の傍点部分はP二九二三号のみにあり、ここで、s二七一五号のみ「論一卷」の尾にあり、北京本には「五言詩一首附七」として字字生のらくがきあり、以下新出のP二九二三号のみにある部分、経云、切法不_レ相属_二故。

○(一七五) 覺禪師曰、若知一切法皆是法、即得解脫。眼是法、色亦是法、法不_レ与法作_レ解脫。耳是法、声亦是法、法不_レ与法作_レ解脫。意是法、境界亦是法、法不_レ与法作_レ解脫。法下_二与法作_レ解脫、自然解脫。経云、不見_二法_一与法作_レ解脫、亦不見_二法_一与法作_レ解脫。

○(一七六) 道志師曰、一切法無碍。何故、切法無定、即是無碍。

○(一七七) 門寂尼曰、切法無对、即是自性解脫。何以故、眼見色時無不見、乃至意識知時無不知、無知乃至惑時無解、解時無惑。夢時無覺、覺時無夢。故経云、大衆見阿闍世、後、更不見_二阿闍世_一。切法不_レ与眼耳作_レ对、何以故、法不見_二法_一、不知_二法_一。又経云、不因_二色生_一識、是名不見_二色_一。

○(一七八) 監禪師曰、明無淨穢、闇不在_二心_一。心不知_二法_一、謂_二法_一是我。然諸法体無_レ解。若衆生自識時、情不動亦涅槃。不解時、動亦非涅槃、不動亦非涅槃。未識時、於_二已自心_一安計、動靜、解時、自尚不_レ有、誰能計_二動靜_一。不解時、說_二法_一不可_レ解、解時、無法可_レ解、不解時惑、解時無惑、惑可_レ惑、無惑可_レ惑、惑者故名_二大解_一。

○(一七九) 因禪師曰、諸家說六識是妄想、名作_二魔事_一。

○(一八〇) 三藏法師說、妄起時無起、即是仏家法。從_二忘取捨_一乃至真如平等、入_二菩薩心中_一、皆同一法性。然惑人說六識造_二煩惱_一。

三藏法師問、汝六識依_二何而起_一。

惑者答言、從_二空幻_一起。

三藏法師云、虛幻無法、云何造_二煩惱_一。答、諸法雖_レ空、緣合即_レ有、識者成_二聖而迷者_一是愚。愚故受_二苦_一、那得_レ論_二無空_一却_二諸法_一。

三藏法師答、汝用_二功來至_二仏地_一。謂_二六識是煩惱_一、若功至_二仏地_一時、六識是得_二道地_一。経云、不入_二煩惱大海_一、不得_二無師寶珠_一。又衆生之類是菩薩仏子、論_二此六識_一即究竟果地。而惑者終日作_二迷解_一、不知_二即迷非迷_一。就_二道理而言_一、無解無迷、何所_レ迷乎。

○(一八一) 思禪師意、自識_二心理_一、無深無淺、動靜合_二道_一不見_二得失之地_一、而惑者迷_二空迷_一有、強生_二見見_一、得_二心除心_一、謂_二有煩惱可_レ斷_一。如此者即永溺_二苦海_一、常受_二生死_一。

○(一八二) 可禪師曰、凡夫不解_二故_一、謂_二古今異_一、謂_二今異_一、復謂_二離_二四大_一更有_二法身_一。解時即_二今五陰是_二淨涅槃_一、此身心具_二足_一、正稱_二大宗_一。若知_二斯解者_一、見_二煩惱海中明淨寶珠_一、能照_二一切衆生_一冥朗矣。

P二九二三号は傍点の謂は於なり、宗説縁にて改む。

○(一八三) 亮禪師曰、明_二諸法道理_一、冥無_二同異_一。就_二隱顯而言_一、有_二卷舒_一之意。卷者、不見_二心起_一、不_レ親_二解行_一、任情施_二為_二性住_一仏法。舒者、心舒_二路他_一。為_二名利_一所_レ使因果、所_レ撰是非、自_レ縛_二得自在_一、名為_二舒義_一。

○(一八四) 公師曰、所謂_二諸法者五陰_一、是性本來清淨。故仏説、世間是出世間、衆生迷_二世間_一故、自_レ謂_二住世間_一。解時世間出世間、雖_レ有_二空名_一、實無_二世間出世間可得_一。如此解者、此人識_二五陰義_一。

○(一八五) 覺禪師曰、明_二了心_一、性自體真。所緣念想、無非_二仏法_一。衆生心慮_二方境_一、胡語名_二仏漢名_一覺者。覺者是心、非_レ覺心。心之与_レ覺如_二眼目異名_一。衆生不解_二、謂_二心非_二是仏_一、得_二心逐心_一。若解時心即_二仏_一、仏即是心。故我説、衆生自性清淨心、從_二本已來_一無_二煩惱_一。若心非_二是仏者_一、異_二心之外_一、更不_レ知_二將何物_一名_二之_一爲_二仏_一。

(P二九二三号は傍点の無の次に無の字あり)

○(一八六) 知禪師曰、凡聖二門、無始法爾。凡為_二聖因_一、聖為_二凡果_一。果報相惑不_レ過。若愚出_二聖知_一、愚出_二愚惑_一、經論成文非_二下情能説_一。経云、雖_レ無我_二人善惡不_一。云、行_二五支_一者定得_二人身_一、行_二十善_一者定得_二天_一、持_二三三三_一者定得_二阿羅漢_一、得_二阿羅漢_一者、造_二過極惡_一、貪_二放逸_一、唯得_二三塗_一七輩。然之教理無_二差違_一。如_二声響顯真影_一。

○(一八七) 志禪師曰、一切法皆是仏。P二九二三号以下断欠。

○(一八八) 改禪師曰、苦諦有故不空、空諦无_レ故不有、二諦二不_一、聖照_二无_一。

○(一八九) 禪師曰、二經論惑人_一、无_二見_一。見_二罪人_一罪人、即_二無_一。

○(一九〇) 張法師曰、一切經論皆是起心法。若起_二道心_一即_二巧為_一生智、若起_二若心_一不起_二何用_一坐禪、巧偽不生。

何生_二帶_一正念、若不_レ發_二菩提_一、求_二菩提_一、事理俱_二盡_一。

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(九十二) 朗禪師曰：心若起事，即觀使？？？着不見色，惑起見色，作心解心，是色作法，法看？？？云：一切法都是妄想計校，作是无有實？所有？？？心道似何物而欲修之，煩惱似何物而欲斷？？？？？定道器，善知識……？