

**STUDIES
IN CH'AN AND
HUA-YEN**

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EARLY CH'AN SCHOOLS IN TIBET

by

Jeffrey Broughton

I. Introduction

The thousands of manuscripts from the hidden cave library of Tun-huang 敦煌 range over an enormous span of Chinese history, from the time of the great translator Kumārajīva to the time of the compilation of the Ch'an history Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu 景德傳燈錄, that is, from about A.D. 400 to 1000. The Chinese Ch'an manuscripts within the Tun-huang corpus date from about 750 to 1000;¹ the Tibetan Ch'an manuscripts date to the period of the Tibetan occupation of Tun-huang, from the 780's to 848. It is clear that during the Tibetan occupation period there was intense Chinese-Tibetan cultural intercourse; in fact, many Tun-huang Chinese, having forgotten characters, knew only the Tibetan script. Interest in Chinese Buddhism and Ch'an in particular on the part of the Tibetans acted as a magnet. Fortunately, from the point of view of early Ch'an studies, the Tibetan "window" on Ch'an opened up at about the end of the early Ch'an period, and the shutters were drawn before the reworking of the tradition carried out in Hangchow and Nanking during the Late T'ang and Five Dynasties. In short, the Tibetans saw a fairly representative survey of the Ch'an literature in circulation during the eighth century--the records or histories, the dialogues, the treatises, and the "Ch'an sutras." Scholars, of course, have been working on the Chinese Ch'an manuscripts for decades, and if one could

synthesize all the piecemeal work they have done, a new picture of early Ch'an could be assembled.² The Tibetan Ch'an manuscripts, which only very recently have come to receive the attention they deserve,³ provide several potential avenues of research: the recovery of lost Ch'an sayings, perhaps even lost works; the reconstruction of lost or corrupt portions of known Chinese works; help in interpreting difficult passages in Chinese works, and so on.

In the realm of Tibetology, research into Tibetan Ch'an has begun to undermine the traditional view of early Tibetan Buddhism. Western-language treatments of Tibetan religion, which show the pervasive influence of the traditional view, minimize the role of the Chinese party, the all-at-once gate (ston mun = tun-men 頓門), slighting it as a heresy defeated at the so-called debate of the Council of Tibet in the late eighth century and suppressed soon thereafter. Now it is thought possible that even the debate itself is an invention of the later Tibetan Buddhist historians.⁴ Tibetan Ch'an documents have enabled us to see that historians after the time of Atīśa, the eleventh century, more or less expunged the role of Chinese Ch'an from the record and in the process naturally overemphasized the role of Indian masters in the introduction of Buddhism and culture to their country. Perhaps Ch'an was even the dominant strain of Buddhism in eighth-century Tibet. In any case, though the circumstances are as yet quite unclear, during the ninth century Ch'an teachings went underground and lingered on, in disguised form, within the Rdzogs-chen tradition, that ancient tradition of the imperial era which is thought of as most distant

from the core of Buddhism by the new traditions established from the late tenth century onward.

Since those Chinese Ch'an schools which formed the ston mun (all-at-once gate) of Tibet are among those schools which are imperfectly known from Chinese sources, there is the possibility of learning more about them from a comparative study of Tibetan and Chinese materials. The schools in question are the Reverend Kim or Ching-chung lineage, the Wu-chu or Pao-t'ang lineage, and the post-Shen-hsiu Northern lineage, the last of which we might call the late Northern. This is not to suggest that the names and texts of other schools of Ch'an are not to be found among the Tibetan-language texts of Ch'an: fragments of Shen-hui's 神會 sayings, for instance, have already been identified.⁵ But the above three schools would be central in any tentative reconstruction of the history of Chinese Ch'an in Tibet. The principal sources for the study of the ston mun are: miscellaneous Ch'an materials in Tibetan found in the cave library of Tun-huang early in this century, in particular Pelliot Tibetan 116;⁶ Ch'an materials in Tibetan preserved in central Tibet among the Rdzogs-chen, the most important of which, as of now, are the Lamp of the Ch'an or Dhyāna Eye (Bsam-gtan-mig-sgron)⁷ and the Five Classes of Orders (Bka-thaṅ-sde-lña);⁸ and Chinese materials, both Tun-huang texts and Kuei-feng Tsung-mi's 圭峰宗密 (780-841) writings on the Ch'an schools.⁹

II. History of Ch'an Transmissions to Tibet

It is useful to view the history of Tibetan Ch'an against the background of T'ang and Tibetan history. The T'ang histories¹⁰ note the abilities of the Tibetans (Bod), and it is apparent that China was losing ground in its Tibetan wars. From the late 750's the Bod held much of the T'ang province of Kuan-chung 關中 (Shensi 陝西) west and north of the capital Ch'ang-an 長安 and the mountainous areas of Chien-nan 劍南 (Szechwan 四川). Within a few years the capital itself was lost to Bod troops and the Chinese reduced to partisan activity under the renowned general Kuo Tzu-i 郭子儀. There were intermittent periods of relative peace when Chinese and Tibetan envoys met, made sworn covenants, and erected boundary markers. In the 780's Sha-chou 沙州 (Tun-huang) fell under Tibetan occupation.¹¹ It is no mere coincidence that the routes by which Ch'an went to Tibet fit in with this geography. Ch'an reached central Tibet from two areas: Szechwan and the Central Asian holy city Tun-huang.

Imperial and aristocratic patronage played an important part in the introduction of Ch'an to Tibet. Two Tibetan clan names are connected with the transmission of the three Ch'an lineages mentioned above, the Sba in central Tibet, one of the powerful families producing ministers for the Tibetan state from the early sixth century, and the 'Bro, located on the fringes of the Tibetan empire southeast of Tun-huang.¹² To a degree they remind us of some of the great clans (uji) surrounding the imperial family in

early Japan. The Sba were instrumental in Ch'an transmissions from Szechwan and the 'Bro was a patron of the Chinese Ch'an master Mo-ho-yen 摩訶衍 (Tibetan Ma-ha-yan with variations), whose name appears in so many Tibetan texts.

So far our sole Tibetan historical sources for the introduction of Ch'an comes from the hand of a member of the Sba family. The Statements of the Sba Family (Sba-bžed)¹³ is really a chronicle dealing with the famous Bsam-yas Monastery, two members of the Sba family having been successive abbots of that monastery, which played a role in Tibetan Buddhism analogous to Tōdai-ji 東大寺 in Japan.¹⁴ From the Statements of the Sba Family we learn of two pilgrimages to China on the part of Tibetans, both of which were to be of enormous significance in the transmission of Buddhism to their country.

Japanese scholarship on the Statements of the Sba Family allows us to reconstruct the following two sequences of events.¹⁵ The first of two pilgrims sent to China was the son of a Chinese commissioner (shih 使)¹⁶ to the court of Emperor Mes-ag-tshoms¹⁷ (r. 704-755). When the commissioner was about to return to China, Mes-ag-tshoms prevailed upon him to leave behind his son, referred to as "the Chinese boy, the dancer,"¹⁸ to join the entourage of Mes-ag-tshoms' son, who was eventually to become the Emperor Khri-sron-lde-bstan. This Chinese boy, known to us as Sba Sañ-śi,¹⁹ spoke and read Chinese, and, presumably with these talents in mind, in 751 Mes-ag-tshoms sent Sañ-śi, at the head of four young Tibetans, off to T'ang in search of the Dharma, a small group of trial candidates for ordination. It is very likely that their route from the Bsam-yas region to the Szechwan plain

passed through the kingdom of Nan-chao南詔 (Yunnan 雲南), a route taken on occasion by raiding Tibetan armies.²⁰ The Statements of the Sba Family explicitly states that the group received the teaching of the most famous Ch'an master of the time in I-chou益州 (Ch'eng-tu成都), Reverend Kim (using his Korean name rather than Chin ho-shang金和上),²¹ also known as Wu-hsiang無相, a Korean aristocrat from Silla who had come to the court of Hsüan-tsung玄宗 and in time had made his way to Szechwan. Sañ-śi's meeting with Reverend Kim must have been around the time Reverend Kim had two audiences with the fleeing emperor, who had entered Szechwan in 755 in the wake of the An Lu-shan安祿山 Rebellion. Reverend Kim, it seems, had connections to the imperial house.

Reverend Kim gave Sañ-śi three Chinese texts, and the Tibetan party remained in China for several months after that. When, after eight years abroad, Sañ-śi and his party return, the balance of forces at the Tibetan imperial court has shifted drastically. Sañ-śi's patron Mes-ag-tshoms is dead; his son Khri-sroñ-lde-bstan is not yet thirteen, the age at which he would inherit the throne; power resides with one faction of great ministers, and a suppression of Buddhism, under the banner of Bon, is underway. With no patron to sponsor the propagation of the Chinese-style teaching, Sañ-śi prudently decided to hide away "the Chinese Dharma."²² It was then 759 and the texts remained hidden for the next two years, only the first of several burials of Chinese teachings in Bod. With the lifting of the suppression in 761, Sañ-śi "removed them from [their hiding place in] Mchims-phu and distributed the sayings of Reverend Kim [Kim ha-sañ gi luñ ba]."²³ Working with two Chinese, presumably

masters in the Reverend Kim tradition, Sañ-śi translated these sayings into Tibetan.²⁴ It is possible that Sañ-śi had been recognized as a teaching master in the Reverend Kim lineage. In time he became abbot of Bsam-yas Monastery²⁵ and surely taught a Chinese-style teaching within its precincts.

There is another member of the Sba who played a key part in bringing Chinese Ch'an to Tibet, and that is Gsal-snañ, the author of the family compendium Statements of the Sba Family.²⁶ Gsal-snañ was a minister of the Emperor Khri-sroñ-lde-bstan; in time he left home and took the name Ye-śes-dbañ-po. His trip to T'ang in search of the Dharma occurred sometime in the later years of the 760's, his earliest departure date being 763; it is quite possible that he was in China for most of the late 760's, the years immediately following the An Lu-shan Rebellion. The Statements of the Sba Family tells us that the Chinese emperor himself summoned Reverend Kim in order to instruct Gsal-snañ in Buddhism,²⁷ but from the Chinese Tun-huang text Record of the Dharma Treasure Down Through the Generations (Li-tai fa-pao chi 歷代法寶記) it is known that Reverend Kim died on the evening of June 15, 762,²⁸ before Gsal-snañ had even left Tibet. Again the imperial connection is prominent. It is most likely that here the Statements of the Sba Family is trying to enhance the author's reputation by connecting him to Reverend Kim and Hsüan-tsung. Japanese scholarship has suggested, with good evidence, that it was not Reverend Kim that Gsal-snañ encountered in Szechwan, but another Ch'an master in I-chou 益州, Pao-t'ang Wu-chu 保唐無住.²⁹ Wu-chu was a northerner and martial arts adept. His disciples at Pao-t'ang 保唐 Monastery in I-chou went to

lengths to emphasize that their master was Reverend Kim's successor; in fact, they composed the Ch'an history Record of the Dharma Treasure Down Through the Generations with this objective in mind. The actual connection between Reverend Kim and Wu-chu was much more tangential than this record would have us believe and becomes clear only upon an examination of independent Chinese materials. Judging from what is already known from the Tibetan literature on Ch'an, both Tun-huang texts and texts preserved among the Rdzogs-chen in central Tibet, where Wu-chu's sayings appear quite frequently, one is inclined to accept the hypothetical Wu-chu/Gsal-snañ meeting, even though the Statements of the Sba Family nowhere mentions Wu-chu's name. In any case, it is reasonably certain that there was a transmission of Pao-t'ang (Wu-chu) Ch'an around the late 760's. Reverend Kim Ch'an and Pao-t'ang Ch'an were the first Ch'an schools to reach central Tibet.

The next Ch'an transmission came a decade or more later from the Tibetan outpost of Tun-huang in the North, which did not fall into Tibetan hands until the 780's. This third known transmission involved one strain of the post-Shen-hsiu or late Northern school. The Chinese Tun-huang text Settling the Correct Principle of Suddenly Awakening to the Great Vehicle (Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh 頓悟大乘正理決) tells us that the Northern Ch'an master Mo-ho-yen, a student of two of Shen-hsiu's 神秀 successors,³⁰ came to central Tibet from Tibetan-occupied Tun-huang in either 781 or 787³¹ at the invitation of the Tibetan emperor. Mo-ho-yen returned to Sha-chou (Tun-huang) in the next decade and continued to teach there. There has been some confusion over the identification of this

Mo-ho-yen. Kuei-feng Tsung-mi lists a Mo-ho-yen as a student of the Southern Ho-tse Shen-hui school.³² Mo-ho-yen's teaching in Tibet as the famed proponent of the all-at-once gate can be summarized as "gazing-at-mind" (k'an-hsin 看心 = sems la bltas) and "no-examining" (pu-kuan 不觀 = myi rtog pa) or "no-thought no-examining" (pu-ssu pu-kuan 不思不觀 = myi bsam myi rtog).³³ "Gazing-at-mind" is an original Northern (or East Mountain Dharma Gate) teaching. As will become clear, Pao-t'ang and Northern Ch'an dovetail in the Tibetan sources. Mo-ho-yen's teaching seems typical of late Northern Ch'an. It should be noted that Mo-ho-yen arrived on the central Tibetan scene somewhat late in comparison to the Ch'an transmissions from Szechwan.

III. Materials for the Study of Tibetan Ch'an

To summarize the previous section, the tentative chronology runs as follows. In the late 750's the Ch'an of Reverend Kim arrived through Sba Sañ-śi, but immediately upon arrival had to go underground for several years because political conditions did not permit its propagation. We have sayings in the Tibetan materials attributed to Kim-hu, Kim-hun, and other similar names,³⁴ but it is questionable whether these are transliterations of Reverend Kim's name. By the 770's the Ch'an of Pao-t'ang Wu-chu had arrived, most likely through Sba Gsal-snañ. Judging from its imprint in Tibetan Tun-huang texts and in central Tibetan texts, its influence was substantial. Parallels to its history, Record of the Dharma Treasure Down Through the Generations, are found at many points in the Tibetan literature;³⁵ its twenty-

eight patriarchs theory shows up repeatedly; apocryphal "Ch'an sutras"³⁶ associated with Pao-t'ang (and Northern) Ch'an circulated in Tibet; and, its form of the name of the first patriarch of Ch'an in China, P'u-ti-ta-mo-to-lo 菩提達摩多羅 (= Bodhidharma-trāta), rather than the Bodhidharma form used in other Ch'an schools, is the name by which the first patriarch is usually known in the Tibetan literature. A sayings record of the first patriarch, corresponding to the Chinese Tun-huang text Treatise on The Two Entrances and Four Praxes (Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun 二入四行論), was known in Tibet under such titles as the Great Chinese Instructions on Ch'an (Bsam-gtan-rgya-luñ-chen-po) of Bodhidharmatrāta.³⁷ Lastly, by the 780's late Northern Ch'an, in the person of Mo-ho-yen, arrived in central Tibet. The corpus of Northern Ch'an in Tibetan includes: a version of the Northern history Record of the Masters and Disciples of the Lanka School (Leng-chia shih-tzu chi);³⁸ sayings of Mo-ho-yen's teacher Hsiang-mo Tsang,³⁹ a student of Shen-hsiu; a Tibetan translation of an important Northern dialogue;⁴⁰ and a number of Tibetan works⁴¹ specifically dealing with Mo-ho-yen's teaching, of which Stein Tibetan 468⁴² is representative. The Tibetan materials thus include potential sources for any study of late Northern.

III.A. Tibetan Tun-huang Texts and Rdzogs-chen Texts

Let us briefly focus on four key Tibetan works: Pelliot Tibetan 116; Pelliot Tibetan 996; the Lamp of the Ch'an or Dhyāna Eye; and the Five Classes of Orders. Other Tibetan Tun-huang texts have been researched and there is the possibility of finding

still others which will yield valuable information. Also, much probably lies hidden in the Rdzogs-chen literature.⁴³ Pelliot Tibetan 116, the Lamp of the Ch'an or Dhyāna Eye, and the Five Classes of Orders contain the sayings of numerous Ch'an masters. The following is a condensation of those sections of Pelliot Tibetan 116 (VI.b-VIII) which record such sayings:

And in the Treatise on the Essence of Causation by Master Nāgārjuna who teaches the great vehicle: "In this there is nothing which can be made manifest; there is no [provisional] attribution at all. In reality gaze [lta] at the real. When one sees [mthoñ] the real, it is liberation." Thus it appears.⁴⁴

And Bo-de-dar-ma-ta-la,⁴⁵ the first of seven generations,⁴⁶ said: "As to entering principle [don la 'jug pa = li-ju], one awakens to the purport by means of the teaching; the ordinary person and the True-nature [yañ dag pa'i ño bo ñid = chen-hsing] are one without difference, and so, because covered by false, adventitious dust, one does not realize that the True-nature is manifest. If one puts aside the false and reverts to the real, puts aside discrimination and abides in light, then there is neither self nor other. The vulgar and the sage are equal, are one; if, without moving, one abides firmly, then, beyond that, one will not follow after the written teaching. This is the peace of reality, without discrimination, quiescent, without action, and

this is entering into principle." Thus it appears.⁴⁷

And in the teaching of Ch'an master Bu-cu [Wu-chu]:⁴⁸ "No-mind [myi sems pa = wu-i] is morality; no-thought [myi dran pa = wu-nien] is concentration; and non-production of the illusion mind is insight." Thus it appears.⁴⁹

And in the teaching of Ch'an master [Hsiang-mo Tsang]: "Having nothing at all to be mindful of is Buddha-mindfulness." Thus it appears. "If you always [practice] Buddha-mindfulness and objects do not arise, then directly it is markless, level, and objectless. If you enter this place, the mind of mindfulness becomes quieted. There is no further need to confirm [that it is the Buddha]; if you gaze at this itself ['di ñid la bltas] and are level, then it is the real Dharma-body of the Thus-come-one." Thus it appears.⁵⁰

And in the teaching of Ch'an master A-rdan-hver: "The mind as it is, level, is the real path of yoga." Thus it appears.⁵¹

And in the teaching of Ch'an master 'Gva-lun [Wo-lun]: "When thoughts follow after mind as it moves and one perceives objects, it is not necessary to draw them in; it is not necessary to check them." Thus it appears.⁵²

And in the teaching of Master Ma-ha-yan [Mo-ho-yen]: "The Dharma-nature not being in thoughts, we set up no-thought no-examining [myi bsam myi rtog = pu-ssu pu-kuan]." Thus it appears.⁵³

After a saying of A-rya-de-ba and a short work by Master Ma-ha-yan, the Book Which Explains the Six Perfections and Ten Assemblages in No-Examining, the text continues:

Quoted from the Ch'an record of Master Bu-cu [Wu-chu]: "As to the fact that morality, concentration, and insight are no-thought [myi sems ba = wu-nien], morality is non-discrimination, concentration [lacuna] and non-production of the illusion mind is insight. These are the dhāraṇī gate."⁵⁴

Quoted from the Ch'an record of Ch'an master Kim-hun (= ?Reverend Kim): "When the mind is level, all dharmas are level. If you know the True-nature, there are no dharmas that are not Buddha-dharmas. When you awaken to principle, the mind of attachment does not arise. At the time that one is not possessed of the reality sphere in the mind, there is no understanding. If you ask why this is so, it is because the thusness of the perfection of insight, by being level from the outset, is objectless."⁵⁵

This Kim-hun saying is followed by sayings of Ch'an master Dzañ,⁵⁶ Ch'an master De'u-lim,⁵⁷ Ch'an master Lu, Master Kim-hu (= ?Reverend Kim), Ch'an master Pab-śvan, Ch'an master Par, Ch'an master Dzva, Ch'an master Tshvan, Ch'an master Vañ, Ch'an master Dzvañ-za, and the Chinese layman Keñ-śi. The text continues:

Quoted from the Ch'an record of Ch'an master Śin-ho [Ho-tse Shen-hui]:⁵⁸ "Always understand the real mark of no-thought [dran ba myed pa = wu-nien]. If you ask what this is, as to the fact that the mind-nature [sems kyi rañ b'zin = hsin-hsing] from the outset has the nature of non-abiding, there is nothing to obtain and the mind is pure, and so, in concentration there are no objects...."⁵⁹

This Śin-ho saying continues, followed by sayings of Reverend 'Byi-lig, another of Master Ma-ha-yan, and one of Ch'an master De'u. The text continues:

Quoted from the Ch'an record of Master Bu-cu [Wu-chu]:⁶⁰ "By the mind of reality the maṇḍala is made. Having lit the incense of complete liberation with the fire of marklessness, and having done the unobstructed confession/repentance, practicing the morality of no-thought [bsam pa myed pa = wu-nien] and the concentration in which there is nothing to obtain, taking non-duality as wisdom, do not ornament the maṇḍala with worldly conditions." [Bu-cu] also taught: "Because all sentient-beings are, from the outset, completely pure, and, from the outset, perfect, there is neither increase nor decrease. Because of following after thought, the mind is defiled by the three realms, receiving various aggregate bodies. If, depending upon a good teacher, one sees the self-nature, then one becomes a Buddha [rañ b'zin mthoñ na sañs]

rgyasu 'grub bo = chih pen- hsing chi ch'eng fo-tao]. If one attaches to marks, it is samsāra. Because sentient-beings have thoughts, we name it and speak of no-thought [bsam ba myed pa = wu-nien]. If [sentient-beings] had no thoughts, no-thought would not even be delineated. [Extinguishing]⁶¹ the mind of the three realms, dwelling in neither the place where the self expires nor in marks, it is not that there is no effort. As to divorcing from illusion, it is complete liberation. If there is mind, it is like waves on water. If there is no-mind [sems myed = wu-hsin], it is like the heretics. To follow after arising is the defilement of sentient-beings. To depend upon quiescence is movement in nirvāṇa. Do not follow after arising nor depend upon quiescence; do not enter concentration; have no arising; do not enter ch'an; have no practice. The mind has neither obtaining nor losing; there are neither reflections nor forms; one dwells in neither nature nor marks."⁶²

The mixed Pao-t'ang/Northern cast of Pelliot Tibetan 116 stands out: the form of the first patriarch's name is clearly a Tibetan transliteration of Chinese P'u-t'i-ta-mo-to-lo, the Pao-t'ang form of that name; several lengthy Bu-cu (Wu-chu) sayings dealing with his three phrases and "no practice"; the sayings of the Northern master Mo-ho-yen with his "no-thought no-examining" teaching; and the saying of Mo-ho-yen's teacher Hsiang-mo Tsang, which is found in the Northern history Leng-chia shih-tzu chi. Much the

same mix occurs in central Tibetan writings such as the Lamp of the Ch'an or Dhyana Eye and the Five Classes of Orders, indicating that much the same Ch'an literature circulated in Tibetan-occupied Tun-huang on the outskirts of the Tibetan empire and in the heartland of central Tibet.⁶³ It is unclear whether the first set of names, Nāgārjuna/Bo-de-dar-ma-ta-la/Wu-chu/Hsiang-mo Tsang/A-rdan-hver/Wo-lun/Mo-ho-yen/A-rya-de-ba, is meant to be taken as a lineage or not. Even if not, perhaps there is some significance to the order, which in general fits with the chronology of Ch'an transmissions to Tibet.

The circumstances behind this mixing of Pao-t'ang and Northern Ch'an motifs are puzzling. In the Five Classes of Orders Ma-ha-yan is presented as the seventh emanation of Dha-rmo-ttā-ra-la (= Ta-mo-to-lo),⁶⁴ that is, Ma-ha-yan is presented in a Pao-t'ang context. As a solution Japanese scholarship⁶⁵ has suggested that the Northern master Mo-ho-yen, finding upon arrival in central Tibet that Pao-t'ang was already established there (with patronage), took over some Pao-t'ang teachings, and, in particular, that Mo-ho-yen found the legendary biography of P'u-t'i-ta-mo-to-lo of the Pao-t'ang school useful. In any case, the association of Pao-t'ang and Northern is a close one. Evidence suggests that, even though the name of the Northern master Ma-ha-yan is the most prominent one in the Tibetan Ch'an literature, Pao-t'ang Ch'an was an important strain of Ch'an in early Tibet.

Pelliot Tibetan 996⁶⁶ describes a Ch'an lineage that flourished in Central Asia and Tibet, a lineage which traces its succession through an Indian, two Chinese, and a Tibetan, the last being active in the early ninth century. A-rtan-hver, the Indian founder,

shows up in Pelliot Tibetan 116, the Lamp of the Ch'an or Dhyāna Eye, and the Five Classes of Orders.⁶⁷ He is said to have migrated from India to the city-state of Kūcha on the northern route of the Silk Road, where he collected three-hundred disciples and declared the "gate of all-at-once entering into the meaning of the great vehicle." His successor was a Chinese known as Reverend Be'u-siñ active in Tun-huang and Kan-chou. Be'u-siñ's successor was another Chinese, known by the Tibetan name Man, who travelled to China, and, finally, Man's successor was the Tibetan Tshig-tsa-nam-ka.⁶⁸ The mention of Kūcha is intriguing--we know nothing of Kūchan Buddhism during the eighth and ninth centuries. Ch'an literature shows up not only in Tibet, but elsewhere in Inner Asia as well. Among the Uighur Turkish manuscripts and block prints brought back from Turfan, one has been found which contains passages parallel to the Northern Ch'an text Treatise on Examining Mind (Kuan-hsin lun); another has been identified as four sheets of a Uighur Turkish translation of an unknown Chinese commentary on the Perfect Enlightenment Sutra (Yüan-chüeh ching), a sutra associated with Ch'an.⁶⁹ The Uighur literature found at Turfan at the beginning of this century and carried away to distant libraries and museums may contain other Ch'an-related materials.

III.B. Chinese Tun-huang Texts and Kuei-feng Tsung-mi's Writings

Two of the three Ch'an schools important in the formation of the ston mun of Tibet, the Ching-chung (Reverend Kim) and the Pao-t'ang, were all but forgotten in China by the Sung, even by the late T'ang.

What were the Szechwan Ch'an schools like during their heyday in the eighth century? To answer this we must begin with the Tun-huang text, Record of the Dharma Treasure Down Through the Generations, a Ch'an history which emerged from the Pao-t'ang school, and to the writings of Kuei-feng Tsung-mi, who claimed to be in the Ho-tse Shen-hui lineage. Tsung-mi was writing some time after the flourishing of the Szechwan schools, in the 820's and 30's; nevertheless, his descriptions and critiques of these schools are useful. He was a native of Szechwan, born and raised not far from I-chou. Judging from his Ch'an writings, which might be described as scholarly and syncretic, he was quite familiar with Pao-t'ang and Ching-chung. It is necessary, though, to keep in mind that Tsung-mi's directions in both Ch'an and the canonical teachings may have been determined to some extent by his critical stance toward aspects of Pao-t'ang Ch'an.⁷⁰ Also, in his General Preface to the Collection of Explanations of the Ch'an Source (Ch'an-yüan chuch'üan chi tu-hsü 禪源諸詮集都序, hereafter abbreviated as Ch'an Preface) he certainly ranked Pao-t'ang low in the critical classification of the Ch'an schools, as a sort of Yogācāra or Consciousness-only Ch'an like the Northern, as opposed to the Mādhyamika or Voidness Ch'an of Oxhead and the Dharma-nature or Tathāgata-garbha Ch'an of Shen-hui and Hung-chou.⁷¹ Tsung-mi spent the last years of his life amassing a collection of the Ch'an literature in circulation, but all that has come down to us is his introduction to its contents, the Ch'an Preface, wherein he states that he has faithfully recorded the teachings of each school, even those of which he is critical:

The former wise ones and the later eminent ones each have their strong points. The ancient noble ones and the present-day worthies each have their benefits. This is the reason I have collected the goodness of all the houses and recorded their lineages. There are some which make me uneasy, but even these have not been changed.⁷²

His detailed notes in the Subcommentary on the Perfect Enlightenment Sutra (Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu ch'ao 圓覺經大疏鈔) on both the Reverend Kim school, which he calls the Ching-chung 淨眾 school or the school of Chih-hsien in the South, and the Pao-t'ang school mesh well with the Record of the Dharma Treasure Down Through the Generations and the Tibetan materials.

The Record of the Dharma Treasure Down Through the Generations pictures Reverend Kim and Wu-chu as two successive patriarchs of one Szechwan lineage, but it is from the hands of Wu-chu's followers, and is in effect the recorded sayings of Wu-chu with Bodhi-dharmatrāta to Reverend Kim tacked on as a pedigree. The following is a condensation of the core of the Record of the Dharma Treasure Down Through the Generations,⁷³ the very lengthy Wu-chu section:

(18) The Ho-shang [Wu-chu] was a man of Mei-hsien 眉縣, Feng-hsiang 鳳翔 [west of Ch'ang-an]. His family name was Li and Dharma name Wu-chu....In strength he surpassed others. He was a martial arts expert....He unexpectedly met the white-robed layman Ch'en Ch'u-chang 陳楚章, whose origins are

unknown. People of the time called him a magical apparition body of Vimalakīrti. He spoke the all-at-once teaching. On the very day the Ho-shang met him, they intimately coincided and knew each other, and [Ch'en] silently transmitted the mind-dharma....For three to five years [Li] engaged in the white-robed [layman] practice. During the T'ien-pao 天寶 years [742-756] he unexpectedly heard of Reverend Ming 明 of Tao-tz'u Shan 到次山 in Fan-yang 范陽 [northern Hopei], Reverend Shen-hui of the eastern capital [Lo-yang], and Reverend Tzu-tsai 自在 of the superior prefecture of T'ai-yüan 太原 [Shansi], all disciples of the sixth patriarch [Hui-neng] who spoke the Dharma of the all-at-once teaching. At that time the Ho-shang had not yet left home. He subsequently went to T'ai-yüan and paid obeisance to Reverend Tzu-tsai.

After giving a short discourse by Tzu-tsai the text continues:

[Li] said goodbye to his previous path...and subsequently cut his hair and took the robe. Having received the full precepts in 749, he said goodbye to the old Ho-shang [Tzu-tsai] and went to the Ch'ing-liang 清涼 Monastery on Wu-t'ai Shan, where he spent a summer. He heard lectures on the deportment of Reverend Ming of Tao-tz'u Shan and the idea behind Reverend Shen-hui's sayings. Since he already understood their meanings, he did not visit them and pay obeisance (亦不往禮).⁷⁴ In

the fullness of the summer of 750 he came out of the mountains and went to the western capital [Ch'ang-an]. He went back and forth between the An-kuo 安國 Monastery and the Ch'ung-sheng 崇聖 Monastery. In 751 he went from the western capital to Ling-chou 靈州 in the North [Ningsia 寧夏] and dwelled on Ho-lan Shan 賀蘭山 [north of Ling-chou] for two years. Unexpectedly there was a merchant Ts'ao K'uei 曹瓌 who made obeisance and asked: "Has the Ho-shang ever gone to Chien-nan [Szechwan] and met Reverend Kim?" He answered: "I do not know him." K'uei said: "The Ho-shang's countenance is just like that of Reverend Kim...." The Ho-shang asked Ts'ao K'uei: "Householder, since you have come from Chien-nan, what sort of Dharma does that Ho-shang speak?" Ts'ao K'uei answered: "He speaks of no-remembering, no-thought, and no-forgetting."

Ts'ao K'uei relates his experience with Reverend Kim's ordination ceremony and the text continues:

Wu-chu subsequently left Ho-lan Shan and went to Ling-chou for traveling papers in order to go to Chien-nan and pay obeisance to Reverend Kim....The Ho-shang gradually went south and arrived at Feng-hsiang [west of Ch'ang-an].... In February/early March of 759 he arrived at the Ching-chung Monastery⁷⁵ in the superior prefecture of Ch'eng-tu. When he first arrived he met Master An-ch'ien 安乾 who led

him in to see Reverend Kim. When Reverend Kim saw [Wu-chu] he was extraordinarily pleased. Reverend Kim ordered An-ch'ien to serve as host and An situated him in a courtyard beneath the belltower. It was precisely the day for receiving conditions [receiving the precepts]. That night, following the multitude, he received conditions. It only lasted for three days and three nights. Each day Reverend Kim, in the midst of the great assembly, said: "Why don't you go enter the mountains? Of what benefit is it to stay for a long time?" Those disciples who personally served Reverend Kim on the left and right were alarmed: "Reverend Kim has never talked like this before. Why does he suddenly come out with these words?" Reverend Wu-chu silently entered the mountains....Master Tao-i, who was dwelling with him, practiced chanting, obeisance, and mindfulness. The Ho-shang [Wu-chu] intently cut off thoughts and entered the realm of self-realization (一向絕思斷慮入自證境界). Tao-i, together with other young masters in the community, said to the Ho-shang: "I and the others wish to request a twenty-four hour obeisance and confession. We would like the Ho-shang's permission." The Ho-shang said to Tao-i and the others: "Here food will be cut off. Each of you has advanced into the deep mountains....No-thought is viewing the Buddha. Having thoughts is saṃsāra. If you desire to be able to do obeisance and mindfulness, then go out from the mountains....If you desire to be able to dwell

together in the mountains here, intently [practice] no-thought (一向無念)." Master Tao-i's view did not accord with this idea and so he said goodbye to the Ho-shang and emerged from T'ien-ts'ang Shan 天蒼山 [i.e., Po-yai Shan 白崖山, north of I-chou 益州]. He came to Ching-chung 淨眾 Monastery in I-chou [Ch'eng-tu 成都]. He first saw the elder K'ung 空 and said to him: "In the mountains Ch'an master Wu-chu does not allow obeisance, confession, mindfulness, and chanting, (只空閑坐)." When Ho-k'ung 何空 and the others heard this they were startled [and said]: "How can this be the Buddha-dharma?" They led Master Tao-i 道逸 to see Reverend Kim. Before Tao-i had finished bowing Ho-k'ung and the others reported to Reverend Kim: "Ch'an master Wu-chu of T'ien-ts'ang Shan merely sits in voidness and quietude. He is unwilling to practice obeisance and mindfulness (不肯禮念) and does not teach those who dwell with him to practice obeisance and mindfulness. How could such a thing be the Buddha-dharma?" Reverend Kim scolded Ho-k'ung, Tao-i, and the others: "You should retreat! When I was in the stage of study, I did not eat but merely sat in voidness and quietude. Even in going to the bathroom I made no effort. You don't know. In the days when I was on T'ien-ku Shan 天谷山 [northwest of I-chou] I also did not practice obeisance and mindfulness" The Ho-shang [Wu-chu] said to Hsüan 睿: "Layman, the patriarch Dharma's one branch of

the Buddha-dharma has flowed to Chien-nan and Reverend Kim is it. If you do not receive the precepts, then you return from the precious mountain empty-handed." Having heard, Hsüan clasped his hands and rose. The disciple then went to the superior prefecture to receive conditions [i.e., ordination]. The Ho-shang [Wu-chu] said: "Here is one-half catty of bud-tea. If you go, take this bud-tea as [a seal of] faith, give it to Reverend Kim, transmit my words, and bow your head to Reverend Kim. If Reverend Kim asks about me, say that Wu-chu does not yet intend to emerge from the mountains." Hsüan then said goodbye to the Ho-shang, took the present of bud-tea, and left. On May 11, 762 he arrived at the Ching-chung Monastery in the superior prefecture of Ch'eng-tu....Tung Hsüan ^{董璿} met Master P'u-t'i ^{菩提} who led him in to see Reverend Kim. [Tung Hsüan] related the matter of Wu-chu's gift of bud-tea and transmitted the bow. Reverend Kim heard his words, saw the bud-tea, and was unusually pleased. He said to Tung Hsüan: "Since the Ch'an master Wu-chu had [a seal of] faith to send, why didn't he come himself?" Tung Hsüan answered: "Ch'an master Wu-chu, on the day that I came, said: 'I do not yet intend to come out from the mountains.'" Reverend Kim asked Tung Hsüan: "Who are you?" Tung Hsüan lied to Reverend Kim in his answer: "I am a disciple who personally serves Ch'an master Wu-chu." Reverend Kim said to Tung Hsüan: "On the day you return to Po-yai Shan I have [a seal of]

faith for you to take. You must come see me." On the fifteenth day he saw Reverend Kim and Hsüan said: "I am about to return to Po-yai Shan and take the Reverend's present." At that time [Reverend Kim] dispatched the disciples who personally served him on the left and right: "All of you go outside the hall." He then summoned Tung Hsüan into the hall. The Ho-shang subsequently took the robe, rare among men, and showed it to Hsüan: "This is the robe that Empress Tze-t'ien 則天 gave to Reverend [Chih-]hsien 智詵; Reverend Hsien gave it to Reverend T'ang 唐 [Ch'u-chi 處寂], and Reverend T'ang gave it to me. I transmit it to Ch'an master Wu-chu...." "You take this robe and secretly send it to Ch'an master Wu-chu and transmit my words: 'It is important. Make effort! Make effort! It is not yet time to come out from the mountains. Wait three to five years, until there is an important person to welcome you, then come out.'"⁷⁶ Then he dispatched Tung Hsüan saying: "Go in a hurry. Do not teach anyone." After seeing Tung Hsüan off, Reverend Kim said to himself: "Even though this thing goes late, it will in the end return." As Reverend Kim was saying these words, there was no one around him. But the disciples outside the hall heard Reverend Kim's voice and all at once entered the hall, asking Reverend Kim: "What were you saying to yourself?" [Reverend Kim responded:] "I was just talking." Reverend Kim's manner was agitated; they noticed and asked: "Ho-shang, where is the robe of faith which has been

transmitted to you? To whom has the Ho-shang's Buddha-dharma been handed over?" Reverend Kim said: "My Dharma has gone to Wu-chu. The robe is hanging on the tip of the tree. No one else can take it." Reverend Kim said to the others: "This is not your realm. Each of you go to his own place...." On June 15, 762, he ordered his disciples: "Bring me a new clean robe. I will now bathe." By the evening, sitting sternly, he expired.

(19) Deputy Commander-in-chief, Vice-President of the Imperial Chancellery, Minister Tu 杜 [Hung-chien: 鴻漸],⁷⁷ when he first arrived in the superior prefecture of Ch'eng-tu [in late March or early April of 766], heard of the inconceivable things about Reverend Kim [and said]: "Since the Ho-shang has expired, there must be disciples to pass it down." Subsequently, he went to the Ching-chung Monastery and the Ning-kuo 寧國 Monastery on Heng Shan 衡山 [in Hunan] and saw the traces of when Reverend Kim was alive. The minister asked the young masters: "There must be a disciple to continue the succession. Is there a monk who has obtained the robe and the bowl?" The young masters answered: "No one has succeeded. While the Ho-shang was alive there were two robes, one at the Ning-kuo Monastery on Heng Shan and one remaining at the Ching-chung Monastery to receive offerings." The Minister did not believe this. He also asked some Vinaya Masters: "I have heard from a distance that Reverend Kim was a great teacher and that he received the robe and bowl

transmitted down from master to master until now. Reverend Kim having expired, where is the disciple who succeeded him?" A Vinaya Master answered the Minister: "Reverend Kim was a foreigner and did not possess the Buddha-dharma. When he was alive he did not discourse on the Dharma much, being unable to speak correctly.⁷⁸ When he was alive he was sufficient in making offerings and giving, but [Ho-]k'ung is the only disciple blessed with virtue. But even he does not comprehend the Buddha-dharma." The Minister, with his far-reaching vision, knew that this was a lie. So he returned home and asked his attendants, K'ung-mu officials Ma Liang 馬良 and K'ang-jan 康然: "Do you know whether in Chien-nan there is a famous monk, a great worthy, of high practice?" Ma Liang answered: "Within the courtyard I usually hear the generals talking, and they say: 'West of the Ts'an-yai Pass 巖崖關 on Po-yai Shan there is Ch'an master Wu-chu. He has obtained Reverend Kim's robe and bowl and is his successor. This Ch'an master's virtuous karma is deep but he has not come out of the mountains.'"

(20) On October 31, 766, special commissioner Mu-jung Ting 慕容鼎, district officials, and Buddhist and Taoist monks went to Po-yai Shan and invited the Ho-shang [to come down]....They bowed their heads and said: "We wish the Ho-shang would not put aside compassion for the sake of living beings of the three Shu [Szechwan] and would serve as a great bridge."

After Wu-chu has come down from the mountains he is visited by Minister Tu:

The Minister entered the courtyard and saw that the Ho-shang's countenance was immobile, sternly pacific. The Minister bowed, came down the stairs, bowed, clasped his hands, and asked them to rise. The various secretaries and officials had never seen such a thing. They saw that the Ho-shang did not welcome him and did not rise. They looked at each other and asked: "Why doesn't he get up to welcome [the Minister]?"...When the Minister first sat down, he asked: "How did the Ho-shang come to arrive here?" The Ho-shang said: "From afar I came to commit myself to Reverend Kim...." The Minister asked: "Reverend Kim spoke of no-remembering, no-thought, and no-forgetting, did he not?" The Ho-shang answered: "Yes." The Minister also asked: "Are these three phrases one or three?" The Ho-shang answered: "They are one, not three. No remembering is morality; no-thought is concentration; and no-falseness is insight." He also said: "The non-arising of thoughts is the gate of morality; the non-arising of thoughts is the gate of concentration; the non-arising of thoughts is the gate of insight. No-thought is morality, concentration, and insight together." The Minister also asked: "This one wang character, is it 'woman' beneath the wang [as in 'falseness'] or 'mind' beneath the wang [as in 'forget']?"

The Ho-shang answered: "'Woman' beneath the wang."

(25) [To a master Ching-tsang from Ch'ang-an who is versed in a Vimalakīrti commentary and has practiced sitting-ch'an the Ho-shang says:] "No-remembering is the Way. No-examining [pu-kuan 不觀] is Ch'an.⁷⁹ Do not take and do not put aside; when objects come, do not condition them. If you read commentaries, then it is thought movement."

(27) [To a Master Chung-hsin who is versed in the Odes and History he says:] "At all times self-existent. Do not pursue; do not turn. Do not float; do not sink. Do not flow; do not coagulate. Not moving, not vibrating. Not coming, not going. All lively walking and sitting is Ch'an" (活潑之行坐總是禪).

(33) One day when the Ho-shang was drinking tea, thirty military secretaries and officials bowed and sat down, asking: "Does the Ho-shang like tea a lot?" The Ho-shang said: "Yes." He then recited Verses on TeaThe secretaries thereupon asked: "Why does the Ho-shang not teach others to read the sutras, perform Buddha-mindfulness, and do obeisance? We disciples do not understand." The Ho-shang said: "Self-realization, the ultimate nirvāṇa, I teach people about these. I do not use the implicit teaching of the Thus-come-one...." The master's springs and autumns were sixty and one.⁸⁰

Notable points include the following: Wu-chu's (Li Liao-fa's) association with laymen, in particular his first master Vimalakīrti Ch'en Ch'u-chang and his successor Deputy Commander-in-chief Vice-President of the Imperial Chancellery Tu Hung-chien; Wu-chu's association with military men, the generals and secretaries of the Szechwan armies, a master-disciple relationship which brings to mind those of Japan; an opposition between the disciples who personally served Reverend Kim and Wu-chu, the only one who really understood Reverend Kim's suggestion to enter the mountains; Wu-chu's avoidance of ordinary Buddhist practices; and the critical response that Wu-chu's teaching evoked from some of his own followers and some of the followers of Reverend Kim at Ching-chung Monastery. The Record of the Dharma Treasure Down Through the Generations' account sounds a bit contrived in places (Reverend Kim's defense of Wu-chu's not practicing; Reverend Kim's transmission of the robe to Wu-chu through an intermediary; the prediction of Minister Tu's arrival, and so on). It would seem that the unknown Pao-t'ang compiler(s) of the Record of the Dharma Treasure Down Through the Generations were connected to the official/military milieu.

It is clear from Tsung-mi that, although Wu-chu recognized Reverend Kim as his master (認金和上為師), the Reverend Kim house and the Wu-chu or Pao-t'ang house were in fact two distinct lineages. The Record of the Dharma Treasure Down Through the Generations does mention that Wu-chu received the precepts at one of Reverend Kim's public assemblies. In his Chart of the Master-Disciple Succession of the Ch'an Gate Which Transmits the Mind-Ground in China (Chung-hua ch'uan hsin-ti ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-

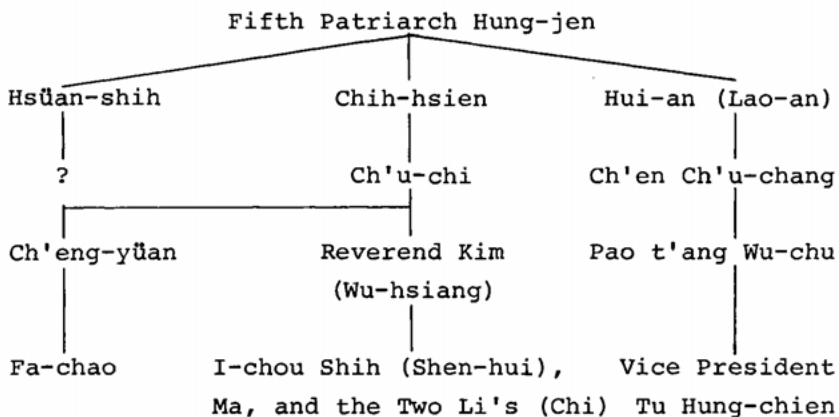
hsi t'u 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖 , hereafter abbreviated as Ch'an Chart) Tsung-mi gives Reverend Kim's successor not as Wu-chu, but as I-chou Shih 益州石 (Ching-chung Shen-hui), tracing Ching-chung from Hung-jen to Tzu-chou Chih-hsien to Tzu-chou Ch'u-chi to I-chou Kim to I-chou Shih, and from the Record of the Northern Mountain (Pei-shan lu 北山錄) of Shen-ch'ing 神清 (d. 806-820), who was in the Ching-chung line, we know that Ching-chung and Pao-t'ang were not just separate lineages, but antagonistic ones.⁸¹ All of this, of course, fits with the split in the Record of the Dharma Treasure Down Through the Generations between Reverend Kim's students at the Ching-chung Monastery and Wu-chu. This is Tsung-mi's description in the Subcommentary on the Perfect Enlightenment Sutra of the Ching-chung house:

Those who say "use mind in the manner of the three phrases which correspond to morality, concentration, and insight" are the second house. At its origin it is collaterally descended from the fifth patriarch through one named Chih-hsien. He was one of the ten main disciples [of the fifth patriarch]. He was originally a man of Tzu-chou 資州 [southeast of Ch'eng-tu], and he eventually returned to Te-ch'un 德純 Monastery in his native prefecture and converted [beings]. His disciple Ch'u-chi 處寂, whose family name was T'ang, received the succession. T'ang produced four sons, the first of which was Reverend Kim of Ching-chung Monastery in the superior prefecture Ch'eng-tu, Dharma name Wu-hsiang 無相. He greatly spread this teaching. (As to Kim's

disciples, Chao 召 [= I-chou Shih = Ching-chung Shen-hui], who is presently at that monastery [i.e., Ching-chung], Ma of Ch'ang-sung Shan 長松山, Chi 李 [= ?Li] 李 of Sui-chou 遂州, and Chi 李 [= ?Li] 李 of T'ung-ch'üan 通泉 county have all succeeded him.) The three phrases are no-remembering, no thought, and no-forgetting. The idea is: Do not recall past objects; do not anticipate future glories; and always be joined to this insight, never darkening, never erring; we call this no-forgetting. Sometimes [the Ching-chung says]: Do not remember external objects; do not think on internal mind; dried up without support. (No-forgetting as above.) Morality, concentration, and insight correspond respectively to the three phrases. Even though [the Ching-chung's] expedients in opening up the purport and discoursing are numerous, that which their purport is tending toward lies in these three phrases. Their transmission ceremonies (傳授儀式) are like the expedient of receiving the full precepts on an official mandala [ordination platform] at the present time in this country. I mean that, in the first and second months, they first pick a date and post notices, collecting monks and nuns and laymen and laywomen. The arranging of the broad bodhi-seat, obeisance, and confession sometimes takes three to five weeks. Only after this do they transmit the Dharma. All of this is carried on at night. The idea is to cut off externals and reject confusion. The Dharma having been transmitted, immediately

beneath the words [of the master] they stop thoughts and practice sitting-ch'an. Even when people arrive from a great distance, even nuns and laymen, before they have stayed long at all, they have to do a week or two of sitting-ch'an. Afterwards, following later conditions, they disperse. It is very much like the Dharma of mounting the platform of the [Nan-shan] Vinaya School [based in the mountains of that name just south of Ch'ang-an and using the Dharmaguptaka version of the Vinaya]. It is necessary to have a group. Because of the tablet of the official statement [i.e., because Ching-chung grants official licenses], it is called "opening conditions." Sometimes once in a year, sometimes once in two or three years, it is irregular in its opening.⁸²

Ching-chung was a sort of Ch'an ordination lineage which held periodic night-time transmission ceremonies, enormous public gatherings. It utilized a form of Buddha-mindfulness (mentioned in the Reverend Kim section of the Record of the Dharma Treasure Down Through the Generations) and emphasized sitting-ch'an. Szechwan was a center of nien-fo 念佛 (Buddha-mindfulness) Ch'an, for, in addition to Ching-chung, there were the lineages of Ch'eng-yüan 承遠 and Kuo-lang Hsüan-shih 果願宣什.⁸³ In chart form:



Ch'eng-yüan (712-802) was a native of Han-chou 漢州 in Chien-nan and once served Ch'u-chi, who is likely to have practiced some form of Buddha-mindfulness (nien-fo), since two of his students did. Ch'eng-yüan later studied under the Pure Land teacher Tz'u-min 慈愍; Ch'eng-yüan's disciple Fa-chao authored the Praises on the Pure Land Dharma-body (Ching-t'u fa-shen tsan: 淨土法身讚), which shows the extent of the nien-fo/Ch'an fusion in some quarters.⁸⁴ The following selected verses from the Praises on the Pure Land Dharma-body, a Tun-huang manuscript, teach that the pearl of the mind is intrinsically pure but dust on it must be eliminated; that the practitioner sees the Pure Land during sitting-ch'an; that Buddha-mindfulness is identical to the no-thought of Ch'an; that the Pure Land is in the mind and is not dependent upon contemplative imagery; and that reliance upon the written teaching leads into the realm of discrimination:

The pearl of the mind is always intrinsically
pure;

The rays of spirit pervade the ten directions;
 Know that the mind has no place to abide in;
 Upon liberation you will obtain purity and
 coolness....

The mirror of wisdom has no darkness;
 The pearl of knowledge is always functioning
 brightly;

Dust and toil must be cut off;
 And the treasury will be welcomed
 spontaneously....

People at present specialize in the nien-fo;
 Mindfulness-practitioners enter into deep
 ch'an;

The first night they sit with upright mind
 The Western Land is before their eyes.

If one practices mindfulness [nien 念], he
 knows no-thought [wu-nien 無念];

No-thought is thusness;

If one understands the intention herein,
 It is called the pearl of the Dharma-nature.

The Pure Land is in the mind;

The stupid seek it on the outside;

Within the mind there is the precious mirror;

It does not know to stop throughout one's
 lifetime....

The pearl of the mind is always of penetrating
 splendor;

The self-nature from the outset is perfectly
 bright;

Awaken to principle and know where the real is
 tending toward;

If you practice nien-fo, then no-arising....

The Buddha-marks are void and markless;

Thusness is quiescent and wordless;

Chatting about the written teaching,
 From this comes the Ch'an of false
 thoughts....⁸⁵

Tsung-mi refers to Kuo-lang Hsüan-shih's Ch'an as the Ch'an of the Nan-shan Nien-fo Gate⁸⁶ (the Nan-shan in Szechwan) lists him as a disciple of the fifth patriarch in the Ch'an Chart,⁸⁷ but claims to lack accurate knowledge of the transmission. Subcommentary on the Perfect Enlightenment Sutra classifies Hsüan-shih's school under the rubric "preserves the Buddha by transmitting the incense" (傳香而存佛):

"Transmitting the incense" refers to the fact that, when they first collect the multitude and perform such ceremonies as obeisance and confession, it is like the Reverend Kim school.⁸⁸ When they are about to hand over the Dharma, they take transmission of the incense as the faith between master and disciple. The Ho-shang hands it over; the disciple hands it back to the Ho-shang; and the Ho-shang hands it back to the disciple, like this three times. It is the same for each person [attending the ceremony]. "Preserving the Buddha" means that, just when handing over the Dharma, they first speak of the Tao-principle of the Dharma-gate and the significance of practice, and only afterwards order the one-character [i-tzu 一字] nien-fo. In the beginning they stretch the sound of the one character [引聲由念], and afterwards gradually lower the sound to a finer sound,

until no sound at all. They send the Buddha to thoughts, but thoughts are still coarse. They also send [the Buddha] to mind, from moment to moment preserving [such] thoughts, [and so] there is always Buddha within the mind, until they arrive at no-thoughts [wu-hsiang], at which they have obtained the Way.⁸⁹

Hsüan-shih's one-character or one-sound nien-fo⁹⁰ which leads to no-thoughts (wu-hsiang 無想) is clearly similar both to the nien-fo/no-thought (wu-nien) of Fa-chao: 法照 and to the nien-fo of Reverend Kim in the Record of the Dharma Treasure Down Through the Generations:

Reverend Kim, in the first and twelfth months of every year, for the sake of thousands of monks, nuns, and lay people, held a ceremony of receiving conditions. In the ornamented bodhi-seat he sat in the high seat and discoursed upon the Dharma. He first taught stretching the sound of the nien-fo [yin-sheng nien-fo] to the point of exhausting one breath's thoughts. When the sound had died down and thoughts had been stopped, he said: "No-remembering, no-thought, and no-forgetting. No-remembering is morality. No-thought is concentration. No-forgetting is insight. These three phrases are the dhāraṇī gate."⁹¹

Ching-chung practiced nien-fo and sitting-ch'an; followed a rigorous variety of disciplinary

formalism; had state recognition as an ordination center; and propagated Ch'an at enormous mass gatherings. This is the Ch'an Sañ-śi and his Tibetan party encountered in I-chou and transmitted to Tibet.

Concerning the Pao-t'ang house, Tsung-mi observes in Subcommentary on the Perfect Enlightenment Sutra:

"Adhering to neither the teachings nor the practice and extinguishing perception" (教行不拘而滅識) is the third house. It is also descended collaterally from the fifth patriarch, by way of Reverend Lao-an. At sixty years of age he left home and received the precepts. Crossing over sixty summers later, he was one-hundred and twenty. That is why he was called "Old An." An was his given name. He was respected as a master by the Empress Tzu-t'ien. His power in the Tao was deep, and his will was singular. All the famous worthies compared unfavorably with him. He had four students who were all high in the Tao and famous. Among them was a lay disciple called Ch'en Ch'u-chang (the other three were T'eng T'eng, Tzu-tsai, and P'o-Tsao to), at that time known as Ch'en Ch'i-ko. There was a monk by the name of Wu-chu who met Ch'en's instruction and obtained awakening. He was also singular in his will. Later Wu-chu traveled into Shu [Szechwan] and encountered Reverend Kim's opening of Ch'an [k'ai-ch'an] and also attended his assembly. [Wu-chu] merely asked questions and, seeing that it was

not a matter of changing his previous awakening, he wished to transmit it to those who had not yet heard it. Fearing that it would not be proper to have received the succession from a layman [i.e., Vimalakīrti Ch'en Ch'u-chang], he subsequently recognized Reverend Kim as his master. Even though the idea of his Dharma of instruction is just about the same [as that of Reverend Kim], his transmission ceremonies are completely different.⁹² What I mean by different is that [Wu-chu Ch'an] carries out none of the marks of the Śākya gate [shih-men shih-hsiang i-ch'ieh pu-hsing]. Having cut their hair and put on robes, they do not receive the precepts. When it comes to obeisance and confession, turning [the rolls of the texts] and reading, making drawings and paintings of the Buddha, and copying sutras, they revile all of these things as false thoughts. In the halls where they dwell they do not set up Buddha artifacts. Therefore, I say they "adhere to neither the teachings nor the practice." As to their "extinguishing perception," this is the Tao which they practice. The idea is that, taking all samsaric wheel-turning as the arising-of-mind, and since the arising-of-mind is falseness, they do not discuss good and evil. Since non-arising [of mind] is the real, they are not like those who engage in the practice of marks. They take discrimination as the enemy and non-discrimination as the real Tao. They also transmit the spoken teaching of the three phrases of Reverend Kim,

but they change the character for "forget" to the one for "false," saying that various students have made a mistake in the words of the former master entrusted to them.⁹³ The idea is that, since no-remembering and no-thought are the real and remembering-thoughts is the false, then remembering-thoughts is not allowed. Therefore, they say no-falseness [rather than no-forgetting]. Moreover, their intention in reviling all of the teaching marks lies in extinguishing perception and becoming the completely real. Therefore, where they dwell they do not discuss food and clothing, but trust that men will send offerings. If they are sent, then they have warm clothing and enough to eat. If they are not sent, then they let hunger and cold take their course. They also do not seek to teach [beings] and do not beg food. If someone enters their halls, they do not discuss whether he is highborn or a thief; in no case do they welcome him, nor do they even get up. In singing hymns or praises and making offerings, in reprimanding abuses, in everything, each lets the other take his course. Indeed, because their purport speaks of non-discrimination, their practice gate has neither "is not" nor "is." They merely value no-mind as the ultimate. Therefore, I call it "extinguishing perception."⁹⁴

Whereas the Record of the Dharma Treasure Down Through the Generations goes to great lengths to trace Wu-chu through Reverend Kim, Tsung-mi portrays Wu-chu

as a lay disciple of Vimalakīrti Ch'en (Ch'en Ch'u-chang) who did not change his views upon coming to one of Reverend Kim's assemblies, but merely obtained authentication as a teaching master. The two schools differed drastically: Ching-chung stressed obeisance, confession, mindfulness, and so on; Pao-t'ang did not receive the precepts, did not perform obeisance and confession, did not chant and copy texts, used no incense and Buddha images, went on no begging rounds, but merely "sat in voidness and quietude." The official patrons of Pao-t'ang ("Protect the T'ang"), among whom there seem to have been many civilian officials and military men such as Tu Hung-chien and his subordinates, enabled it to flourish from the late 760's. Perhaps the students of Wu-chu at Pao-t'ang Monastery came to overshadow Reverend Kim's successors at the Ching-chung because of their patronage.

IV. Conclusion

Most Western-language treatments of Tibetan Buddhism, when dealing with the first diffusion of Buddhism into Tibet during its imperial period, follow the Kamalāśīla view, which becomes the orthodox post-Atīśa view, and describe the Chinese party as teaching the following: Due to the power of karma which arises from mental discrimination, sentient-beings revolve in saṃsāra; if they think of nothing at all (na kiṃcic cintayanti = ci yañ mi sems) and do nothing at all (nāpi kiṃcit karma kurvanti = ci yañ mi byed pa), they will escape from saṃsāra.⁹⁵ Almost automatically the word "Taoist" is applied to this position. Such descriptions of the ston mun are found not only in

sources hostile to the Chinese-style teaching. For instance, the Rdzogs-chen Five Classes of Orders makes it clear that the ston mun was not overly engaged in "works":

As the last successor of Bo-dhi-dha-rmo-tta-ra, the principle of Ma-hā-yā-na ho-shang: By completely perfecting the all-at-once entrance, one arrives at the many meanings and principles of the sutras. That desired principle exists in [Tibetan] script and in the Great Chinese Instructions of Dhar-mo-ttā-ra [the Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Praxes]. It is in the lineage of the pure origin of the instruction of doing nothing at all [ci yan byar med]. The Indian master Kā-ma-śī-la [Kamalaśīla] did not completely perfect the sutras whose meaning requires to be drawn out [neyārtha]. He cut through doubts concerning the learning of stages [rim pa] and so on. He established miniature clay images [of Buddhas and other figures which are placed in large numbers on the ledges of stupas] and did muttering prayers; he erected bridges to voidness and cleansed the foot-paths [to the bar do or intermediate state]; he built many stupas and set up many academies. He established a great community of ordained monks. He did readings aloud of the great Indian sutras; he did the explanations and hearings of the great Dharma circles; he made friendships with those in grief; he impartially cured sick persons; to great giving to a high degree, to whatever becomes

great, he applied himself. Ma-hā ho-shang [Mo-ho-yen] practiced the twelve expedients of the practice. In the secret mantras of the great vehicle he received many stages of powers; he served at many maṇḍalas of realization; he did tastings of medicines, multitudes of offerings, and overcomings of fire; he applied himself to founding schools of cultivation and so on. He did not honor the community of ordained monks and objects to which offerings are made. He rejected any method or system [tshul 'chos chos lugs] and gazed [blta] apart. These are the twelve expedients of the practice of the secret mantras.⁹⁶

The Indian pandit is presented as the activist missionary, the Chinese Ch'an master as the esoteric yogin. The former built stupas, academies, and medical clinics; the latter practiced sitting-ch'an and gazing-at-mind. The tantric patina is camouflage applied at a later date when the Chinese teaching had become "heretical."

The historical circumstances surrounding the Council of Tibet are far from clarified. Each side probably received its information about the other through hearsay, and even hearsay had to pass through a formidable language barrier. Under such conditions it is unlikely that the Indian pandits would have had much patience for the ston mun's "gazing-at-mind," a Ch'an-style meditation with antecedents in the East Mountain Dharma Gate and the earliest Northern Ch'an teachings, and "no-examining." For them "no-examining" only came after effortful examining or analysis. What they would have made of Pao-t'ang

Ch'an's "no-practice" is even more problematical, assuming that traces of Pao-t'ang remained by the time tension was accelerating. In a Chinese context Mo-ho-yen's Northern teaching of "gazing-at-mind"/"no-examining" and the Pao-t'ang emphasis on "all lively walking and sitting is Ch'an" can be distinguished. However, since both led to a neglect of many ordinary Buddhist practices, particularly to a neglect of the intricate structure of Yogācāra meditation as expounded by Kamalaśīla, in Tibet all strains of Chinese Ch'an must have appeared to opponents such as Kamalaśīla as the same heretical Chinese teaching of no-effort.

What became of the Chinese-style ston mun? Certainly, Ch'an was not banished from Bod simply by the wave of a hand, even an imperial hand. There are indications that the eventual Rdzogs-chen response to Ch'an lore was some sort of p'an-chiao or classification of the teachings, to use a Chinese term. Such a development is suggested by several texts. Vimalamitra, a very important figure in early Tibetan Buddhism, translated many tantras and visited China.⁹⁷ He compiled a Sanskrit treatise which was translated into Tibetan under the title Meaning of the All-At-Once Entrance No-Examining Cultivation (Cig-car-'jug-pa-rnam-par-mi-rtog-pa'i-bsgom-don).⁹⁸ This work, which is based on Kamalaśīla's Steps of Cultivation (Bhāvanā-krama) and the Ch'an portion of Pelliot Tibetan 116 or similar materials, absorbs the calming/discerning of the former from a ston mun position.⁹⁹ Stein Tibetan 709¹⁰⁰ breaks down into a progression. The earlier sections,¹⁰¹ which rely on the Sutra Which Explains the Hidden Meaning (Samdhinirmocana Sūtra) and the Steps of Cultivation, discuss

such topics as: four errors in dhyāna;¹⁰² the triad of hearing/pondering/practicing; the cause and fruit of calming/discerning; obstacles in calming/discerning; and antidotes. It is said that if novice yogists (las dañ po pa'i rñal 'byor pa) do not practice calming/discerning, they will not be able to obtain the unexcelled fruit.¹⁰³ The final sections¹⁰⁴ are Ch'an-oriented. They include: the sayings of an unidentified Ch'an master 'Gal-na-ya; a citation of Bodhidharmatrāta's Book of Ch'an (Bsam-gtan-gi-yi-ge); and the division of Ch'an into three levels, with Tathāgata Ch'an (de b'zin g'segs pa'i bsam gtan)¹⁰⁵ as the highest. It is said that Mahayogists (rñal 'byor chen po pa) must specialize in practicing the teaching of Tathāgata Ch'an.¹⁰⁶ And, finally, the Lamp of the Ch'an or Dhyāna Eye¹⁰⁷ expounds, in ascending order, the purports (g'zūñ) of the step-by-step gate (tsen man rim gyis 'jug pa), the all-at-once gate (ston mun cig car 'jug pa), the Mahāyoga (rñal 'byor chen po), and the Rdzogs-chen (rdzogs pa chen po). This even sounds something like Tsung-mi's arrangement of the Ch'an schools into three tenets (tsung). The teachings of the lower rungs are expedients for those of lesser abilities.

NOTES

1. Ueyama Daishun, "Tonkō ni okeru Zen no shosō," Ryūkoku Daigaku ronshū, 421 (October, 1982), pp. 90-116.

2. A preliminary descriptive catalogue of the Chinese-language Ch'an materials is: Tanaka Ryōshō, "Tonkō Zenshū shiryō bunrui mokuroku shokō," Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō, No. 27 (March 1969), pp. 1-17; No. 29 (March 1971), pp. 1-18; No. 32 (March 1974), pp. 30-49; and No. 34 (March 1976), pp. 12-14. See also Yanagida Seizan's "Zenseki kaidai" in Nishitani Keiji and Yanagida Seizan, Zenke goroku II, Sekai koten bungaku zenshū, 36B (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1974), pp. 445-514, and Yanagida's brief list in Yanagida Seizan, Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967), pp. 51-53. For an overview see Tanaka Ryōshō and Shinohara Hisao, eds., Tonkō butten to Zen, Kōza Tonkō, 8 (Tokyo: Daitō shuppan-sha, 1980).

3. Tibetan Ch'an studies began in 1939 with publication of a Ch'an-related Tibetan Tun-huang text: Marcelle Lalou, "Document tibétain sur l'expansion du Dhyānā chinois," Journal Asiatique, CXXXI (October-December 1939), pp. 505-522. In the early 1950's Paul Demiéville published a study of the Council of Tibet: Le Concile de Lhasa, Bibliothèque de l'Institut des hautes études chinoises, Vol. VII (Paris: Impr. nationale de France, 1952). Six years later Giuseppe Tucci published a study of the Ch'an portion of a Rdzogs-chen "discovered treasure," this being the first indication that Ch'an-related materials had survived in central Tibet: Giuseppe Tucci, Minor Buddhist Texts, Part II, Serie Orientale Roma, IX, 2 (Roma: Istituto Italiano Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, 1958). Japanese scholarship began with the publication in the late 1960's and early 70's of Ueyama Daishun's articles on a Tibetan translation of the early Ch'an history Leng-chia shih-tzu chi and on the Tibetan Tun-huang manuscript Pelliot Tibetan 116, which contains the sayings of many Ch'an masters. During the 70's Ueyama, Obata Hironobu, Yamaguchi Zuihō, Kimura Ryutōku, Okimoto Katsumi, Imaeda

Yoshiro, and Harada Satoru published a series of detailed articles on Tibetan Ch'an texts and related matters. An excellent descriptive summary of the Japanese scholarship down to 1977 is: D. Ueyama, "The Study of Tibetan Ch'an Manuscripts Recovered from Tun-huang, A review of the field and its prospects," tr. K. W. Eastman and Kyoko Tokuno, to be published in Early Ch'an in China and Tibet, edited by Lewis Lancaster and Whalen Lai (Berkeley: Lancaster-Miller, forthcoming). In 1980 Tanaka and Shinohara, eds., Tonkō butten to Zen, appeared. As the first survey of the Tun-huang manuscripts and Ch'an, it devotes a lengthy section (pp. 377-466) to Chinese Ch'an and Tibetan Buddhism. Pelliot Tibetan numbers refer to the 2216 Tibetan manuscripts collected at Tun-huang by Paul Pelliot and catalogued in Marcelle Lalou, Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1939, 1950, and 1961), Vols. I-III; Stein Tibetan numbers refer to the 765 Tibetan manuscripts collected at Tun-huang by Aurel Stein and catalogued in Louis de la Vallée Poussin, Catalogue of the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962). A preliminary descriptive catalogue of the Tun-huang Tibetan-language Ch'an materials is: Kimura Ryūtoku, "Tonkō Chibettogo Zen bunken mokuroku shokō," Tokyo Daigaku bungakubu Bunka kōryū kenkyū shisetsu kenkyū kiyō, 4 (1980), pp. 93-129. This catalogue lists thirty-two manuscripts related to Ch'an: Pelliot Tibetan 21, 102, 116, 117, 118, 121, 623, 635, 699, 811, 812, 813, 817, 818, 821, 822, 823, 827, 829, 835, 996, and 2105; Stein Tibetan 468, 667, 689, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 709, and 710. It also contains a list of seventy-one publications, mainly articles, useful in the study of Tibetan Ch'an.

4. Yoshiro Imaeda, "Documents tibétains de Touen-houang concernant le concile du Tibet," Journal Asiatique, CCLXIII (1975), p. 146. See also Ueyama, "The Study of Tibetan Ch'an Manuscripts," pp. 20, 35, and 36.

5. Fragmentary Shen-hui sayings have been found in three Tibetan Tun-huang manuscripts, Pelliot Tibetan 116, Pelliot Tibetan 813 and Stein Tibetan 709. See Okimoto Katsumi, "bSam yas no shūron (1)--Pelliot 116 ni tsuite," Nihon Chibetto gakkai kaihō, XXI (March 1975), p. 7; Kimura Ryūtoku, "Tonkō shutsudo Chibettobun shahon Stein 709," Nihon Chibetto gakkai kaihō, XXII (March 1976), p. 11; Obata

Hironobu, "Kodai Chibetto ni okeru tonmonha (Zenshū) no nagare," Bukkyōshi gaku kenkyū, XVIII, 2 (March 1976), p. 75; and Obata Hironobu, "Pelliot tib. n. 116 bunken ni mieru shozenji no kenkyū," Zen bunka kenkyūjo kiyō, VIII (August 1976), pp. 7-8 and 28-30.

6. Pelliot Tibetan 116 is a compilation of a number of texts. It is included in Ariane Macdonald and Yoshiro Imaeda, eds., Choix de Documents tibétains conservés a la Bibliothèque Nationale, Tome Ier. (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1978). Ueyama Daishun, "Tonkō shutsudo Chibettobun Zen shiryō no kenkyū--P. tib. 116 to sono mondai ten," Bukkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō, 13 (June 1974), pp. 1-11, describes this manuscript and gives a detailed outline of its contents. The following is a brief description of each section according to Ueyama's numbering system: I. Tibetan translation of Sanskrit Arya-bhadra-pranidhāna-rāja; II. Tibetan translation of Sanskrit Vajracchedikā Sūtra; III. a summary of the various features of the great and small vehicles, a genre found in other Tibetan Tun-huang manuscripts; IV. a very short exposition of the three "views," "equanimity by existents," "equanimity by entrance," and equanimity by practice"; V. This is a handbook for "Mahāyogists" (rñal 'byor chen po pa rñams), to be used to "counter the disputations of those who, from without beginning, have been attached to the manifestations of real things and words, to avert their views and serve as a summary reminder of necessary points." This work is cast in the form of objections and answers. The answers are mostly quotations from sutras, including a number of Chinese compositions translated into Tibetan. Many of these sutras were favored by the Pao-t'ang and Northern schools of early Ch'an. To suggest the flavor of this important section here are the tenth through fourteenth objections: "Another persons says: 'Not to do effortful offerings and so on is wrong.' An explanation thereof: In the Ratnakūta Sūtra: 'If there is no thought of the Buddha and no thought of the community, it is known as a true offering.' Thus it appears and so, yogists' not doing effortful offerings and so on is not wrong. Another person says: 'Not performing the speaking of bad deeds and confession/repentance is wrong.' An explanation thereof: From the Phyogs-su-rgyas-pa'i-mdo [i.e., the Chinese composition Fang-kuang ching]: 'Whoever wishes to perform confession/repentance sits straight and really gazes. He really gazes at the real. If he really sees, he will be completely free [of the sins]. That is known as the most excellent

repentance.' Thus it appears and so, it is evident that the unmovable cultivation is the most excellent of repentances. Another person says: 'For people who are cultivating the path not to rely on the characteristics of antidotes is wrong.' An explanation thereof: From the Akāśa-garbhā Sūtra: 'In thoroughly calmed dharmas antidotes are not necessary.' Thus it appears and so, it is evident that, if the mind does not examine marks, it is not necessary to attend to antidotes. Another person says: 'As to producing the thought of enlightenment, if at first the thought is produced from the gate of analysis, later no-examining [myi rtog pa] is accomplished.' An explanation thereof: From the Gstug-tor-chen-po'i-mdo [i.e., the Chinese composition Ta fo-ting ching]: 'If at first one produces the thought which has neither arising nor extinguishing, at the end he will obtain the fruit which has neither arising nor extinguishing. If at first he produces the thought which has arising and extinguishing, at the end he will not obtain the fruit which has neither arising nor extinguishing.' Thus it appears....It is evident that practice from the gate of analysis becomes focussing-of-the-attention solely on marks, and it is always useless for examining the realm which has neither arising nor extinguishing." (fols. verso 18.2-22.2); VI.(a). This section contains twenty-three questions on no-examining (myi rtog pa = pu-kuan); the answers quote many of the same sutras as the previous section and one treatise, the Rta-skad-byañ-chub-sems-dpa'i-mdo (Aśvaghosa-bodhi-sattva Sūtra = the Chinese composition Ta-ch'êng ch'i-hsin lun/fol. verso. 33.3-34.1). Here are the first three questions: "In no-examining what does producing the thought of enlightenment consist of?' From the Vajracchedikā Sūtra: 'Completely abstaining from all thoughts is producing the thought of unexcelled enlightenment.' Thus it appears. 'In no-examining what does cultivating the perfection of insight consist of?' From the Prajñā-pāramitā Sūtra: 'The mind not moving to any dharma--that is known as the most excellent yoga of the perfection of insight. Thus spoke the Lord.' 'In no-examining how is the great vehicle manifested?' From the Rdo-rje-tin-ne-'dzin-kyi-mdo [i.e., the Chinese composition Chin-kang san-meï ching]: 'If there are no thoughts, origination is not produced, and reality as it is does not move. That is the great vehicle.' Thus it appears." (fols. verso 23.2-24.4); VI.(b). This section begins with the line: "This gate of all-at-once entrance does not contradict the instructions of those many sutras above and is also in agreement with the learned [Ch'an]

masters below." (fol. verso 40.3-4) It then gives sayings for Na-ga-rdzu-na, Bo-de-dar-ma-ta-la, Wu-chu, Hsiang-mo Tsang, A-rdan-hver, Wo-lun, Ma-ha-yan, and A-rya-de-ba. This list has the look of a patriarchal succession for Tibetan consumption. The final line is: "[Here] ends the book [which serves as] a support for remembering the necessary meanings for Mahayogists who are of the purport of the one nature wherein there are no objects." (fol. verso 47.2-3); VII. a short work entitled Book Which Explains the Six Perfections and Ten Assemblages in No-Examining (myi rtog pa), by Master Ma-ha-yan; VIII. the sayings of eighteen Chinese Ch'an masters and laymen, including Wu-chu, Shen-hui, and Ma-ha-yan; IX. This section is a Tibetan translation of the Tun-wu chen-tsung chin-kang pan-jo hsiu-hsing ta pi-an fa-men yao-chüeh, a Northern Ch'an dialogue which shows a tendency to fuse characteristic Northern teachings with Shen-hui teachings. The position of the text is: if one exerts effort to finely gaze (bltas = k'an), in time the gazing ripens into seeings (mthon = chien); this position shows an affinity to the teaching of Mo-ho-yen. The Tibetan rendering is perhaps 30% longer than the text which can be assembled from the Chinese Tun-huang manuscripts (Stein Chinese 2799, Pelliot Chinese 3922, and Stein Chinese 5533); X. a short work dealing with the "five fears of errors"; and XI. four lines of verse entitled Book Which Teaches of the Dharma-dhātu Nature. Obata, "Pelliot tib. n. 116 bunken," pp. 4-12, provides a transliterated text and Japanese translation of VI.(b), VII, and VIII. Ueyama Daishun, "Chibetto-yaku Tongo shinshū yōketsu no kenkyū," Zen bunka kenkyūjo kiyō, VIII (August 1976), pp. 33-103, provides a transliterated text of IX, a Japanese translation, and editions of the Chinese texts. See also Kimura Ryūtoku, "Tonkō shutsudo Chibettobun shahon Pelliot 116 kenkyū (sono ichi)," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XXIII, 2 (March 1975), pp. 281-284; Okimoto Katsumi, "bSam yas no shuron (1)," pp. 5-8; and Kimura, "Tonkō Chibettogo Zen bunken mokuroku shokō," pp. 97-104. Okimoto (p. 6) says that a part of the text between fol. 40 and fol. 41 has been lost and hence Ueyama's VI.(a) and VI.(b) should be VI and VII, the manuscript thus containing twelve separate texts instead of eleven.

7. The Bsam-gtan-mig-sgron is an early ninth-century Rdzogs-chen text by Gnubs-chen Sans-rgyas-yesés (b. 772). Rdzogs-chen (Great Perfection) is a section of the Rñin-ma doctrine. Section 5, which deals with the all-at-once gate (ston mun cig car

'jug pa), contains the sayings of many Ch'an masters. A copy of this text was found in India in the mid-1970's. See Gnubs-chen Sañs-rgyas-ye-śes, Rñal 'byor mig gi bsam gtan or Bsam gtan mig sgron, Smanrtsis shesrig spendzod, Volume 74 (Leh, Ladakh: S. W. Tashigangpa, 1974). See Okimoto Katsumi, "bSam yas no shūron (2)--Tonkō Chibettobun ni okeru shozenji," Nihon Chibetto gakkai kaihō, XXII (March 1976), pp. 7-8, for a chart of all the Ch'an masters in the Bsam-gtan-mig-sgron, Bka-thañ-sde-lña, and Pelliot Tibetan 116. The overlap is striking.

8. The Rdzogs-chen text Bka-thañ-sde-lña, a compendium of royal and aristocratic lore, contains a section, the "Blon-po-bka'i-thañ-yig" ("Reports of the Ministers"), which records Ch'an sayings. The Ancient School follower O-rgyan-gliñ-pa (1323-1379), one of the numerous discoverers of hidden literary treasures, discovered the Five Classes of Orders (of the Indian master Padamasambhava to the demons, kings, queens, ministers, and clergy) together with a biography of Padmasambhava. See Hellmut Hoffmann, Tibet. A Handbook (Bloomington: Research Center for the Language Sciences, Indiana University, undated), pp. 24 and 160. Tucci, Minor, pp. 68-81, provides a transliterated text and English translation of the Ch'an sayings of the fourth section, the "Reports of the Ministers."

9. Among the Chinese Tun-huang texts the following are relevant. The (tentatively titled) Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun is generally considered an authentic record of Bodhidharma's teaching. For text and Japanese translation see Yanagida Seizan, Daruma no goroku, Zen no goroku, 1 (Tokyo: Chikuma shōbō, 1969). It is quoted in Tibetan documents as the Rgya-luñ (Chinese Instructions), the Rgya-luñ-chen-po (Great Chinese Instructions), or the Bsam-gtan-rgya-luñ-chen-po (Great Chinese Instructions on Ch'an) and attributed to Bodhidharmatrāta. For instance, see Gnubs chen Sañs-rgyas-ye-śes, Rñal 'byor mig gi bsam gtan, fols. 130.2-4 and 179.1-4. See Obata, "Pelliot tib. n. 116 bunken," pp. 12-16; Obata Hironobu, "Chibetto den Bodaidarumatara Zenji kō," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XXIV, 1 (December 1975), pp. 229-232; and Okimoto Katsumi, "Chibettoyaku Ninyū shigyō ron ni tsuite," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XXIV, 2 (March 1976), pp. 39-46. The Ldan-kar-ma Catalogue, compiled in 812, records a Bsam-gtan-gyi-yi-ge rgya las bsgyur ba ("Book of Ch'an, translated from China"). See Yoshimura Shūki, Denkaruma mokuroku no

kenkyū (Kyoto: Ryūkoku Daigaku Tōhō seiten kenkyūkai, 1950), No. 614. There is some possibility that the Tibetan titles are closer to the original title than Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun. The Leng-chia shih-tzu chi (T no. 2837) is a Northern history. For text and Japanese translation see Yanagida Seizan, Shoki no Zenshi I, Zen no goroku, 2 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1971). Stein Tibetan 710 is a Tibetan translation of a version of the Leng-chia shih-tzu chi which ends in the midst of the account of Tao-hsin. See Ueyama Daishun, "Chibettoyaku Ryōga shiji ki ni tsuite," Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XXV-XXVI (May 1968), pp. 191-209, and Ueyama Daishun, "Chibettoyaku kara mita Ryōga shiji ki seiritsu no mondai ten," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XXI, 2 (March 1973), pp. 597-602. Okimoto Katsumi, "Ryōga shiji ki no kenkyū," Hanazono Daigaku kenkyū kiyō, 9 (March 1978), pp. 59-87, provides a transliterated text of Stein Tibetan 710, a Japanese translation, and the Chinese text. The Li-tai fa-pao chi (T no. 2075) shows many parallels in the Tibetan texts. For text and Japanese translation see Yanagida Seizan, Shoki no Zenshi II, Zen no goroku, 3 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1976). This volume contains an essay by Obata, "Rekidai hōbō ki to kodai Chibetto no Bukkyō." For a more detailed treatment see Obata Hironobu, "Chibetto no Zenshū to Rekidai hōbō ki," Zen bunka kenkyūjo kiyō, VI (June 1974), pp. 139-176. The Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh (Pelliot Chinese 4646) deals with the Ch'an master Ma-ha-yan of the Council of Tibet. For a reproduction of the manuscript and a French translation see Paul Demiéville, Le Concile de Lhasa. We have no Chinese texts attributed to Ma-ha-yan/Mo-ho-yen, but numerous Tibetan texts. Stein Tibetan 468 is representative. See Ueyama Daishun, "Tonkō shutsudo Chibettobun Mahaen Zenji ibun," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XIX, 2 (March 1971), pp. 124-126; Okimoto Katsumi, "bSam-yas no shūron (3)--nishu no Mahaen ibun," Nihon Chibetto gakkai kaihō, XXIII (March 1977), pp. 5-8; and, G. W. Houston, "The System of Ha Sang Mahāyāna," Central Asiatic Journal, Vol. 21, 2 (1977), pp. 106-110. The Tun-wu chen-tsung chin-kang pan-jo hsiu-hsing ta pi-an fa-men yao-chüeh (Pelliot Chinese 2799 and others) is an expository work of late Northern provenance, a series of questions and answers between a layman and a Northern master (actually, the same person). A Tibetan translation of it is found in Pelliot Tibetan 116 (IX). Ueyama, "Chibettoyaku Tongo shinshū yōketsu no kenkyū," pp. 33-103, provides a transliterated text of the Tibetan, a Japanese translation, and the Chinese texts. For all of the above, see Tanaka and

Shinohara, eds., Tonkō butten to Zen, pp. 414-425. Three works by Kuei-feng Tsung-mi (780-841), the Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan chi tu-hsü (T no. 2015), the Chung-hua ch'üan hsin-ti ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi t'u (ZZ 2, 15, 5, pp. 433b-438b), and one section of the Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu ch'ao (ZZ 1, 14, 3, pp. 277b-280a), include treatments of the schools of eighth-century Chinese Ch'an. For texts and Japanese translations see Kamata Shigeo, Zengen shosenshū tojo, Zen no goroku, 9 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1971).

10. Chiu T'ang-shu, 196, and Hsin T'ang-shu, 216. See S. W. Bushell, "The Early History of Tibet. From Chinese Sources," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 12 (1880), pp. 435-541. Tibet is referred to as T'u-fan.

11. The Tibetan occupation is dated 781-848 by Fujieda Akira and 787-848 by Demiéville. See Fujieda Akira, "Toban shihaiki no Tonkō," Tōhō gakuō, XXXI (March 1961), pp. 199-292.

12. For references on these two families see Hugh E. Richardson, "The Dharma that Came down from Heaven: a Tun-huang Fragment," in Buddhist Thought and Asian Civilization, ed. Leslie S. Kawamura and Keith Scott (Emeryville, Calif.: Dharma Publishing, 1977), pp. 224 and 226. The 'Bro family is mentioned in the Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh (Demiéville, Le Concile, fol. 127a.4 and pp. 25-30). They were originally of žan-žun stock, a people who were absorbed into the Tibetan empire at an early date.

13. For a text of the Sba-bžed see R. A. Stein, Une chronique ancienne de bSam-yas: sBa-bžed, Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, Textes et Documents, I (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1961). Stein's text is the Sba-bžed "with a supplement." See Hoffman, Tibet, p. 26.

14. These two famous monasteries are close in time. As with Tōdai-ji, Bsam-yas had kokubunji or provincial reflections. Within the Bsam-yas complex there was a "Hall of Unmoving Ch'an" (mi g'yo bsam gtan gliñ = pu-tung ch'an yüan). See Tucci, Minor, p. 113.

15. Obata, "Chibetto no Zenshū," pp. 142-152, brings the Chinese perspective to bear on the Sba-bžed, focusing on coordinating the trips of Sañ-si and

Gsal-snañ with the figures of Szechwan Ch'an. See also Yamaguchi Zuihō, "Chibetto Bukkyō to Shiragi no Kin Ōsho," Shiragi Bukkyō kenkyū (June 1973), pp. 3-36.

16. This commissioner's name occurs in the Sba-b́zed as 'Ba'-de'u, the Chinese original of which is unclear. See Yamaguchi, "Chibetto Bukkyō to Shiragi," pp. 5 and 26 (n. 13).

17. Regal name Khri-lde-gtsug-brtan.

18. Stein, Sba-b́zed, p. 5.2.

19. Yamaguchi, "Chibetto Bukkyō to Shiragi," p. 26 (n. 9), says that Sañ-śi is not a transliteration of Chinese ch'an-shih ("Ch'an master"), but an abbreviation of Sañ-śi-ta.

20. Obata, "Rekidai hōbō ki to kodai Chibetto no Bukkyō," in Yanagida, Shokī no Zenshi II, p. 328.

21. Eg-cu'i Ńi-ma ha-sañ of the Sba-b́zed = I-chou Chin ho-shang (Stein, sBa-b́zed, p. 6.14 et passim).

22. Stein, sBa-b́zed, p. 9.14. The hiding place was Mchims-phu in the mountains outside Ra-sa (later Lhasa).

23. Stein, sBa-b́zed, p. 10.6-7.

24. Stein, sBa-b́zed, p. 10.13-15. The two Chinese were Rgya (China) Mes-mgo and Rgya A-nan-ta. There is a saying in the Bka-thañ-sde-lña attributed to a Ch'an master Sbab Śan-śin: "Ch'an master Sbab Śan-śin said: 'The all-at-once knowledge without discrimination is like the lion, the king of the animals, who looks down, in the four positions unafraid.'" See Tucci, Minor, p. 73.16-19.

25. It seems that Sañ-śi = sBa dPal-dbyañs the abbot of Bsam-yas = dPal-dbyañs the author of the Mahāyoga text Pelliot Tibetan 837. See Ueyama Daishun, "Peyan cho no mahāyoga bunken--P. tib. 837 ni tsuite," Bukkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō, 16 (June 1977), pp. 9-11. Here we have a striking example of the link between Ch'an and Mahāyoga, in the person of an abbot of early Tibet's most important monastery.

26. Stein, sBa-b'zed, p. v.
27. Stein, sBa-b'zed, pp. 19.16-20.1.
28. T 51, pp. 185a and 187c. Yanagida, Shoki no Zenshi II, pp. 143 and 172.
29. Obata, "Chibetto no Zenshū," p. 153, discusses the high probability that Gsal-snañ actually met Wu-chu rather than Reverend Kim. He concludes that the author of the Sba-b'zed, due to conditions at the Tibetan imperial court, converted Wu-chu into Reverend Kim. This seems quite likely. It is difficult, however, to say just what those conditions were. Perhaps Reverend Kim's reputation at the court was substantial and to be called upon.
30. The Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh (Demiéville, Le Concile, fols. 156b.6-157a.1) says that Mo-ho-yen had heard the Dharma fifty to sixty years earlier from Hsiang-mo Tsang, Hui-fu, and I-fu. For all three, see Ui Hakuju, Zenshū shi kenkyū (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1939), pp. 287-289, 290, and 276-279. Hsiang-mo Tsang probably studied under Shen-hsiu at Yü-ch'üan Monastery in Ching-chou (Hupeh) during the last quarter of the seventh century. He subsequently entered T'ai Shan (Shantung), where he collected many disciples and lived to a very advanced age. Hui-fu and I-fu are listed by the Northern history Leng-chia shih-tzu chi as two of the four heirs of Shen-hsiu: "Ch'an master P'u-chi of Sung-kao Shan [Sung Shan] in Lo-chou [outside the eastern capital Lo-yang], Ch'an master Ching-hsien of Sung Shan, Ch'an master I-fu of Lan Shan in Ch'ang-an, and Ch'an master Hui-fu of Yü Shan in Lan-t'ien [southeast of Ch'ang-an] are all students of the same master, Dharma-brothers with the flight formation of wild geese, and they have all succeeded Ta-t'ung ho-shang [Shen-hsiu]." T85, p. 1290c. Yanagida, Shoki no Zenshi I, p. 320. Little is known of Hui-fu (Hsiao-fu or Little Fu), but he was important in metropolitan Northern Ch'an; I-fu (Ta-fu or Big Fu) continued Shen-hsiu's imperial connection and died in 736. Mo-ho-yen, then, must have studied Northern Ch'an in Shantung and Ch'ang-an during the first half of the eighth century. He subsequently migrated to Tun-huang and was resident there when Tibetan troops captured it in the 780's. His fame was sufficient to elicit from the Tibetan emperor an invitation to come to central Tibet.

31. Demiéville, Le Concile, fols. 154a.6-154b.1: "Your subject, Śramaṇa Mo-ho-yen, says that, in Sha-chou [Tun-huang] on the day of its submission [to Tibet], receiving the order of universal kindness [of the Tibetan emperor], I went seeking afar in order to open up and illustrate the Ch'an gate and eventually arrived in Lo-so." Mo-ho-yen's arrival date thus depends upon whether one dates Sha-chou's surrender as 781 (Fujieda) or 787 (Demiéville). During this period the center of Tibet was Yar-klun or Brag-mar (the Bsam-yas region). The Tibetan imperial entourage still moved from place to place according to the seasons. Chinese Lo-so transliterates Tibetan Ra-sa (= Ra-ba'i-sa), "the walled ground." Ra-sa was only one of the summer residences of the emperor; the Bsam-yas area was the winter residence. Mo-ho-yen did not meet the emperor in Ra-sa, but probably in the Bsam-yas area. Tucci, Minor, pp. 32-34.

32. Tsung-mi, in his Chung-hua ch'uan hsin-ti ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi t'u (ZZ 2, 15, 5, p. 435a; Kamata, Zengen, p. 290), lists a Mo-ho-yen among the eighteen students of Ho-tse Shen-hui. However, he says nothing else about this Mo-ho-yen in his Ch'an writings, and we can only assume that this Mo-ho-yen of the Ho-tse school is unrelated to the one of Tibetan Ch'an. Jao Tsung-i, "Shen-hui men-hsia Mo-ho-yen chih ju-tsang," Symposium on Chinese Studies Commemorating the Golden Jubilee of the University of Hong Kong 1911-61, Vol. I (1964), pp. 173-181, argues that the Mo-ho-yen of Tsung-mi's chart is indeed the one famous in Tibet, and in the process Jao identifies the Hsiang-chou Fa-i of Tsung-mi's list of Shen-hui's students with the Ta-mo-ti (= Dharmamati) who worked in tandem with Mo-ho-yen to "open the Ch'an teaching." Demiéville, Le Concile, fol. 154b.4.

33. See the Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh (Demiéville, Le Concile, fol. 135a.2-4); Pelliot Tibetan 116 (fol. verso 48.1 et passim); and Stein Tibetan 468 (fols. 1b.3-2a.2). On Mo-ho-yen see Harada Satoru, "Mahaen Zenji kō," Bukkyōgaku, 8 (1979), pp. 109-133; Harada Satoru, "Mahaen Zenji to tonmon," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XXVIII, 1 (1979), pp. 428-432; and Tanaka and Shinohara, eds., Tonkō butten to Zen, pp. 379-407 and 422-425.

34. Obata, "Pelliot. tib. n. 116 bunken," pp. 23-24. Kim-hun and Kim-hu appear in Pelliot Tibetan 116; Kyin-hu in the Bsam-gtan-mig-sgron; Kin-hun in the Bsam-gtan-mig-sgron; and Ke-hun in the Bka-thaṅ-

sde-lña. For more on such variants see Yamaguchi, "Chibetto Bukkyō to Shiragi," p. 28 (n. 28).

35. Obata, "Kodai Chibetto ni okeru tonmonha," pp. 75-76.

36. A number of Chinese sutras, that is, Chinese compositions, circulated during the eighth century and were used by the Pao-t'ang and the late Northern of Mo-ho-yen. In fact, both seem to have relied solely on sutras, not on treatises and commentaries. The opening passage of the Li-tai fa-pao chi lists twenty-five sutras as support, but no treatises or commentaries (T 51, p. 179a; Yanagida, Shoki no Zenshi II, p. 39). Four of the twenty-five are Chinese compositions: Ta fo-ting ching (T no. 945); Chin-kang san-mei ching (T no. 273); Fa-chü ching (T no. 2901); and Ch'an-men ching (Stein Chinese 5532). The Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh states: "I, Mo-ho-yen, for all of my life have practiced only great vehicle Ch'an--I am not a Dharma-master. If you wish to hear of dharma-marks, then listen at the side of the Brahman Dharma-masters. What Mo-ho-yen says does not rely upon the commentaries or treatises. I depend upon the texts of the great vehicle sutras to instruct. Mo-ho-yen's cultivation relies upon the Mahā-prajñā, Lañkā, Viśesa-cinti, Ghana-vyūha, Vajra, Vimalakīrti, Ta fo-ting, Hua-yen, Nirvāna, Ratna-kūta, Pu-chao san-mei, and other sutras, which are faithfully received and practiced." (Demiéville, Le Concile, fol. 156b.3-6) The Tun-huang text Chu-ching yao-ch'ao (T no. 2819), an anthology of sutra quotations which was used by Ch'an people, shows a great deal of overlap with both the Li-tai fa-pao chi list and the Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh list. It quotes the same four apocryphal sutras as the former. Concerning the Handbook for Mahāyogists and Questions on No-examining contained in Pelliot Tibetan 116 (V and VI.a), several observations can be made. (See n. 6.) With the exception of the Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun, only sutras are quoted, and this pool of sutras shows a great deal of overlap with those listed in the Li-tai fa-pao chi and the Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh, and those quoted in the Chu-ching yao-ch'ao. Four apocryphals appears: Ta fo-ting ching, Fang-kuang ching (T no. 2871), Chin-kang san-mei ching, and the Fa-wang ching (T no. 2883). Perhaps those disputatious ones putting forth the objections in the handbook, the "ones who, from without beginning, have been attached to the manifestations of real things and words" (thog med pa nas dños po dañ sgra la mñon bar

zen pa rnams), are related to the followers of the Brahman Dharma-masters who "wish to hear of dharma-marks" (yü t'ing fa-hsiang). However, Kimura, "Tonkō shutsudo Chibettobun shahon Pelliot 116 kenkyū (sono ichi)," p. 281, argues that the handbook material is not directly related to Mo-ho-yen and the questions and answers of the Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh. See Obata Hironobu, "Chibetto no Zenshū to zōyaku gigyō ni tsuite," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, XXIII, 2 (March 1975), pp. 170-171; Okimoto Katsumi, "Zenshū shi ni okeru gigyō--Hō-ō-kyō ni tsuite," Zen bunka kenkyūjō kiyō, 10 (July 1978), pp. 27-61; and Tanaka and Shinohara, eds., Tonkō butten to Zen, pp. 351-376.

37. See n. 9. However, in Stein Tibetan 710 he is referred to as Bodhidharma (Bod-de-dar-ma) or Dharma (Dar-ma). See Okimoto, "Ryōga shiji ki no kenkyū," p. 66.

38. See n. 9.

39. See Obata, "Pelliot tib. n. 116 bunken," pp. 16-18. Hsiang-mo Tsang has sayings in Pelliot Tibetan 116, the Bsam-gtan-mig-sgron, and the Bka-than-sde-lña.

40. See n. 9. The Tun-wu chen-tsung chin-kang pan-jo hsiu-hsing ta pi-an fa-men yao-chüeh (or chen-chüeh) speaks of "gazing at the place of wu" (k'an wu so-ch'u = myed pa'i gnas la bltas). See Ueyama, "Chibettoyaku Tongo shinshū yōketsu no kenkyū," pp. 96-97.72-74 et passim.

41. See n. 9.

42. For an English translation (but with Sanskrit equivalents rather than Chinese) see Houston, "The System of Ha Śāṅ Mahāyāna," pp. 108-110; for a Japanese translation see Okimoto, "bSam yas no shūron (3)," p. 6.

43. Ueyama, "The Study of Tibetan Ch'an Manuscripts," p. 22.

44. Parallels the Yin-yüan hsin lun sung yin-yüan hsin lun shih by Nāgārjuna, T 32, p. 490b.

45. The Pao-t'ang school used this form of the first patriarch's name. See Philip Yampolsky, The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch (New York:

Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 8-9, for a table of the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs according to the various Ch'an histories. See Paul Demiéville, "Appendice sur 'Damoduoluo' (Dharmatrā/ta/)," Mémoires archéologiques, XIII, fasc. I (1978), pp. 43-49.

46. "Seven generations" (bdun rgyud) crops up elsewhere in the Tibetan Ch'an literature. Ma-ha-yan, for instance, is said in the Bka-thañ-sde-lña to be the seventh emanation from Dha-rmo-ttā-ra-la (Tucci, Minor, p. 68.1-3).

47. Parallels the Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun. Yanagida, Daruma no goroku, pp. 31-32. However, for the key line ning-chu pi-kuan ("in a coagulated manner abides in wall-contemplation"), the Tibetan reads rtoḡ pa spañs te lham mer gnas ("puts aside discrimination and abides in light or brightness"). This may be an interpretative translation; if that is the case, it could shed some light on Bodhidharma's famed "wall-contemplation." Stein Tibetan 710, a Tibetan translation of a version of the Northern history Leng-chia shih-tzu chi, shows a more literal rendering of the Chinese: gtsañ mar 'dug ste rtsig fōs la bltas pa ("remains in purity and gazes at the wall-surface"; fol. 28b.3-4). See Okimoto, "Ryōga shiji ki no kenkyū," p. 68.4-5. The Bsam-gtan-miḡ-sgron, in quoting the Rgya-luñ-chen-po, gives rtoḡs pa spañs te lham mer gnas (Gnubs chen Sañs-rgyas-ye-śes, Rñal 'byor miḡ gi bsam gtan, fol. 130.2-3); it gives exactly the same rendering somewhat earlier in a quotation from "the teaching of the Great Master Bodhidharmatrāta" (fol. 57.6). The Bka-thañ-sde-lña also gives lham mer gnas in a saying of the "Great Master Bodhidharmatrāta" (Tucci, Minor, p. 70.28). The bltas ("gazing") in Stein Tibetan 710 brings to mind Mo-ho-yen's characteristic teaching, but we are left with the problem of what "abiding in light" or "abiding in brightness" might mean. Perhaps this comes from a form of the Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun which circulated in the Pao-t'ang school. Obata, "Pelliot tib. n. 116 bunken," pp. 12-30, discusses each of the following Ch'an masters of Pelliot Tibetan 116 and provides transliterated versions of related Tibetan materials (Bsam-gtan-miḡ-sgron, Bka-thañ-sde-lña, and the Tibetan Tun-huang manuscripts).

48. Tibetan transliterations vary a great deal: Wu-chu = Bu-cuñ, Bu-cu, Bhu-cu, 'Jug-du, and so on.

49. Parallels Li-tai fa-pao chi, T 51, p. 189a. Yanagida, Shoki no Zenshi II, p. 200. These are the so-called "three phrases" (san chü-yü). Tsung-mi noted that Reverend Kim's teaching centered around a form of the three phrases, but that Wu-chu's followers, the Pao-t'ang lineage, changed the last of the three from "no-forgetting" (mo-wang) to "no-falseness" (mo-wang).

50. Parallels Leng-chia shih-tzu chi, T 85, p. 1287a. Yanagida, Shoki no Zenshi I, p. 192. The Leng-chia shih-tzu chi, however, does not attribute these words to Hsiang-mo Tsang: "The Ta-p'in ching [25,000 Prajñapāramitā Sūtra] says: 'Having nothing to be mindful of is called Buddha-mindfulness' [wu so-nien che shih ming nien-fo; T 8, p. 385c]. [If you ask] what is it that is called 'having nothing to be mindful of,' the mind which is mindful of the Buddha is called 'having nothing to be mindful of.' Apart from mind there is no separate Buddha; apart from Buddha there is no separate mind. Being mindful of the Buddha is precisely being mindful of the mind; seeking mind is precisely seeking the Buddha. Why is this so? Consciousness is formless; the Buddha is characteristicless. If you understand this principle of the Tao, then it is pacification of the mind. If you always remember Buddha-mindfulness and objects do not arise, then in quiescence it is markless, level, non-dual. If you enter this position, the mind which remembers the Buddha disappears, and there is no further need to verify [that it is the Buddha]. Then gaze at this level mind [k'an tz'u teng-hsin]--it is precisely the body of the real Dharma-nature of the Thus-come-one." I would like to thank Bernard Faure for this identification.

51. This is the India master whose lineage is traced in Pelliot Tibetan 996. His name in variant transliterations also appears in the Bsam-gtan-mig-sgron and the Bka-thañ-sde-lña.

52. Parallels the opening lines of the Wo-lun ch'an-shih k'an-hsin fa (Stein Chinese 1494 and others). See Suzuki Daisetsu, Suzuki Daisetsu Zenshū, Vol. II (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1968), p. 452, and Wu Ch'i-yü, "Wo-lun ch'an-shih i-yü Tun-huang T'u-fan wen (Pelliot 116) i-pen k'ao-shih," Tun-huang hsüeh, 4 (1979), p. 44. In the light of the Chinese the myi of myi dmyigs na has been deleted. Very little is known of Wo-lun. However, discussion of gazing in the Wo-lun ch'an-shih k'an-hsin fa suggests an affinity to

the teaching of Mo-ho-yen and the Tun-wu chen-tsung chin-kang pan-jo hsiu-hsing ta pi-an fa-men yao-chüeh: "[The mind] is intrinsically, always quiescent, neither arising nor extinguishing, markless and inactive. Because of no-awakening, we falsely speak of movement; in reality it is unmoving. Therefore, the practitioner, as to the thoughts which follow mind-movement, merely faces the interior of mind, abides connected to the one-mind, and internally and externally ripens gazing [shu-k'an], until there is neither the finest mark of movement nor non-movement. This is called the great samadhi. As to this sort of great samadhi, all common men and sages themselves possess it. Because of the false thoughts of sentient-beings, they incorrectly speak of movement. By incorrectly speaking of movement one becomes a common man. Because this mind-nature is intrinsically unmoving, therefore, for those who can train in it, movement produces quiescence and we call them sages. It is like the inside of a mine. Even though there is real gold, if you do not put forth effort, in the end you will not obtain it. The one who makes effort gets the gold. The mind is also like this. Even though one knows that from the outset it is constantly quiescent, one must avail oneself of examination-illumination [kuan-chao]. If one does not examine-illuminate, then he will be together with false movement." Suzuki, Suzuki Daisetsu Zenshū, Vol. II, pp. 452.6-453.2, and Wu Ch'i-yü, "Wo-lun ch'an-shih," p. 45.7-12. "Gazing," of course, is closely associated with Mo-ho-yen. The "ripening of gazing" is discussed at several points in the Tun-wu chen-tsung yao-chüeh: "You should investigate-examine and make your gazing ripen, and then it is the purity of the original nature" (ju tang ti-kuan k'an-shu chi-shih pen-hsing ch'ing-ching = khyod kyis rtag par ltos te byañ na gdod mthoñ ño//khyod kyi ño bo ñid gtsañ gdañ ba yin no; Ueyama, "Chibettoyaku Tongo shinshū yōketsu," p. 98.82); "You merely ripen gazing and minutely gaze and from time to time you will see brightness in the room" (ju tan shu-k'an hsi-k'an huo chien wu-chung ming = khyod kyis ci nas kyañ byañ bar bltas//ñib du bltas na//bar bar ni khyim gyi nan na snañ ba mthoñ; p. 99.85). In addition to the above manuscript there is also the Wo-lun ch'an-shih chi (Stein Chinese 5657 and others). Also, see Obata, "Pelliot tib. n. 116 bunken," pp. 19-21.

53. See Obata, "Pelliot tib. n. 116 bunken," pp. 21-23.

54. Parallels Li-tai fa-pao chi, T 51, p. 189a. Yanagida, Shoki no Zenshi II, p. 200.

55. No parallel in Chinese materials has yet been discovered.

56. Ch'an masters Dzañ, Lu, Pab-śvan, Par, Dzva, Tshvan, Vañ, Dzvañ-za, the Chinese layman Keñ-śi, and Ch'an masters 'Byi-lig and De'u remain unidentified. Luo Charngei, T'ang wu-tai hsi-pei fang-yin, Series A, No. 12 (Shanghai: Kuo-li chung-yang yen-chiu yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu so, 1933), is very useful in attempting to reconstruct the Chinese originals of Tibetan transliterations.

57. Probably Niao-k'o Tao-lin (781-824). See Okimoto, "bSam yas no shūron (1)," p. 7.

58. See Okimoto, "bSam yas no shūron (1)," p. 7.

59. This saying shows parallels with a Chinese Tun-huang text, the Nan-yang ho-shang tun-chiao chieh-t'o ch'an-men chih liao-hsing t'an-yü (Pelliot Chinese 2045 and others). See Hu Shih, Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi (Taipei: Hu Shih chi-nien kuan, 1968), pp. 235-236.

60. The following Bu-cu sayings parallel Li-tai fa-pao chi, T 51, pp. 185c-186a. Yanagida, Shoki no Zenshi II, pp. 163-164.

61. Supplied from Li-tai fa-pao chi, T 51, p. 186a.9.

62. Pelliot Tibetan 116, fols. verso 41.1-67.4. For a transliteration and Japanese translation of all these sayings see Obata, "Pelliot tib. n. 116 bunken," pp. 4-12.

63. Ueyama, "The Study of Tibetan Ch'an Manuscripts," pp. 20-21. For instance, the Bsam-gtan-mig-sgron has the same sayings for Bo-dhe-da-rmo-ta-ra, 'Dug-ba (Wu-chu), Bdud-'dul-sñin-po (Hsiang-mo Tsang), A-dha-na-her, 'Ga-'lun (Wo-lun), and Ma-hayan, as well as ten of the eighteen Ch'an masters mentioned in section VIII. The Bka-thañ-sde-lña has the sayings for Bo-dhi-dha-rmo-tta-ra, 'Jug-du, Bdud-'dul-sñin-po, A-dhan-her, and Ma-hā-yā-na, as well as six of the eighteen sayings of VIII. For a chart of all these masters, see Okimoto, "bSam yas no shūron (2)," pp. 7-8.

64. Tucci, Minor, p. 68.2-3.
65. Obata, "Chibetto no Zenshū," p. 166, and Obata, "Kodai Chibetto ni okeru tonmonha," p. 78.
66. Lalou, "Document tibétain sur l'expansion du Dhyāna chinois," pp. 505-522.
67. For the relevant passages see Obata, "Pelliot tib. n. 116 bunken," pp. 18-19.
68. It has been suggested that this Man is identical to the Ch'an master Ma-ha-yan of the Council of Tibet, Man's departure for China being Ma-ha-yan's return Tun-huang after the council, but there is nothing to substantiate this. See Okimoto, "bSam yas no shūron (2)," p. 5.
69. Kudara Kōgi, "Unidentified Mahāyāna Text in Uighur," MS, describes the former. Its reconstructed Chinese title, Kuan shen-hsin lun (Treatise on Examining Body and Mind), is curiously close to the Northern Kuan-hsin lun. It is a translation from Chinese executed by a Uighur translator active in the tenth century. The fragments of the Yuan-chüeh ching commentary were discovered in Stockholm (personal communication). It does not seem to be one of Tsung-mi's commentaries.
70. The question of Tsung-mi's motives is an important one. Yanagida Seizan has suggested that both Tsung-mi and Ma-tsu Tao-i established their positions in opposition to Pao-t'ang. See "The Li-tai fa-pao chi and the Ch'an Doctrine of Sudden Awakening," pp. 10, 26-27, 31, and 41-43, to be published in a volume in the Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series. This English version is based on Yanagida Seizan, "Mujū to Shūmitsu: Tongo shisō no keisei o megutte," Hanazono Daigaku kenkyū kiyō, 7 (March 1976), pp. 1-36; the latter is itself a revision of Yanagida's introduction to Shoki no Zenshi II. Tsung-mi's attitudes toward Ching-chung, Pao-t'ang, Northern, and Hung-chou deserve further attention. We must make distinctions among the following: Tsung-mi's descriptions of the Ch'an schools and attempts to trace their lineages; his critiques of the teachings of the Ch'an schools and his p'an-chiao (or p'an-ch'an) evaluations; and his lineage claims for himself, that he is in the fifth generation of the Ho-tse Shen-hui line. Tsung-mi's description of the situation in the halls of the Pao-t'ang school, their lack of ritual, study,

imagery, and so on, is corroborated by criticism of Pao-t'ang in the Pei-shan lu of Hui-i Shen-ch'ing, who was in the Ching-chung line (T 52, p. 612c). On the other hand, his p'an-chiao evaluations and critiques are less reliable. He ranks Ching-chung, Pao-t'ang, and Northern in the lowest rung of his schema as Yogācāra Ch'an, but Wu-chu Ch'an clearly comes out of the wu-nien of Shen-hui and has little to do with Yogācāra. Tsung-mi's evaluation of Northern is part of the complex of distortions passed down with the Ho-tse tradition. Perhaps Tsung-mi saw his own teachings, the positivistic or expressive Knowing of Shen-hui and the Tathāgata-garbha teachings, as upāya or skill-in-means to counteract the excesses in both Pao-t'ang and Hung-chou; his p'an-ch'an in that case would be part of such an upāya. In the early (Szechwan) phase of his career Tsung-mi had almost Neo-Confucian misgivings about Pao-t'ang's antinomian interpretation of Shen-hui's wu-nien; in the later (Ch'ang-an) phase of his career he had the same sort of misgivings about Hung-chou's antinomian interpretation of the Tathāgata-garbha teachings. In short, Tsung-mi was a Neo-Confucian before the advent of Neo-Confucianism. Finally, we come to Tsung-mi's lineage claims. As in the case of so many Ch'an figures of this period, such as Wu-chu and Ma-tsu, we probably cannot take these at face value. Hu Shih argued that Tsung-mi was in the fifth generation of the Reverend Kim line, not in the fifth generation of the Ho-tse Shen-hui line. According to Hu Shih, Tsung-mi obscured his descent from Ching-chung Shen-hui (whom he always refers to as I-chou Shih rather than "Shen-hui") and, by sleight of hand, converted Ching-chung Shen-hui into Ho-tse Shen-hui. See Hu Shih, "Pa P'ei Hsiu te T'ang ku Kuei-feng ting-hui ch'an-shih ch'uan-fa pei," Chung-yang yen-chiu yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu so chi-k'an, 34 (1962), pp. 3-8; or Yanagida Seizan, ed., Koteki Zengaku-an (Kyoto: Chūbun shuppansha, 1975), pp. 397-402. We must remember that the pull to connect with Hui-neng was very powerful--Ma-tsu also began in the Ching-chung line and only later made the Hui-neng connection. However, I find it difficult to imagine that no one at the time would have challenged such a fabrication. One thing stands out: Szechwan Ch'an was pivotal in the world of eighth-century Ch'an.

71. The Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan chi tu-hsü lists ten lineages: Kiangsi (Hung-chou); Ho-tse (Shen-hui); Shen-hsiu in the North (Northern); Chih-hsien in the South (Ching-chung); Oxhead; Shih-t'ou (of which

Tsung-mi knew virtually nothing); Pao-t'ang; Hsüan-shih (Nan-shan Nien-fo Gate Ch'an); Ch'ou-Na (actually two lineages descended from Buddhahadra and Guṇabhadra); and T'ien-t'ai. T 48, p. 400c. Kamata, Zengen, p. 48. Tsung-mi divides these lineages into three tenets (tsung or siddhānta), corresponding respectively to Yogācāra, Mādhyamika, and Tathāgata-garbha teachings and texts.

72. T 48, p. 412c. Kamata, Zengen, p. 251. The Korean Sōn (Ch'an) master Pojo Chinul (1158-1210), who made a lengthy study of Tsung-mi's Ch'an writings, in his Fa-chi pieh-hsing lu chieh-yao ping ju-ssu chi (a reworking of the Chung-hua ch'uan hsin-ti ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi t'u with commentary) speaks of the unbiased nature of Master Mi: "Master Mi's intention is not yet clear to some. Does he mean to slander or praise the purports of the two lineages [Hung-chou and Oxhead]? However, he merely destroys later students' grasping of the words and makes them perfectly awaken to the Knowing-seeing of the Thus-come-one and has neither a mind of slander nor a mind of praise toward the two lineages." See Yanagida Seizan, ed., Kōrai hon, Zengaku sōsho, 2 (Kyoto: Chūbun shuppansha, 1974), p. 153. Chinul, of course, is not writing from a historical perspective. Nevertheless, he may have accurately perceived the underlying tone of Tsung-mi's Ch'an writings.

73. The numbers in parentheses refer to the section numbers in Yanagida, Shoki no Zenshi II.

74. This is revealing of the relationship between Wu-chu's teaching and that of Ho-tse Shen-hui. Wu-chu's wu-nien teaching did not come from direct study under Shen-hui, but from lectures on Shen-hui sayings.

75. Only a few years earlier Sañ-śi and his Tibetan party had attended one of the mass assemblies at the Ching-chung.

76. Reverend Kim was known for predictions; he also makes one to the Tibetan party of Sañ-śi. The important person who will welcome Wu-chu in the future is Minister Tu Hung-chien (709-769). See following note.

77. Biography Chiu T'ang-shu, 108, and Hsin T'ang-shu, 128. Tu came to Szechwan to suppress an insurrection; he was in charge of all Chinese armies

in Szechwan and at times himself negotiated with the Tibetans. His patronage was instrumental in bringing Wu-chu to the forefront of the Buddhist world of Ch'eng-tu.

78. Presumably, as a Korean, his command of spoken Chinese was poor.

79. "No-examining" (pu-kuan = myi rtog pa) is prominent in Ma-ha-yan's teaching in Tibet. It also appears in Shen-hui's writings. See Hu Shih, Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi, p. 236. The locus classicus is the Vimalakīrti: "No-examining is enlightenment" (T 14, p. 542b).

80. T 51, pp. 186a-196b. Yanagida, Shoki no Zenshi II, pp. 168-317.

81. Ch'an Chart, ZZ 2, 15, 5, p. 435a; Kamata, Zengen, p. 289. For biographical information on Ching-chung Shen-hui (720-794), see the Sung kao-seng chuan, T 50, p. 764a; Shen-hui's surname was Shih. The Pei-shan lu reference is T 52, p. 612c. For biographical information on Hui-i Shen-ch'ing, see the Sung kao-seng chuan, T 50, p. 740c.

82. ZZ 1, 14, 3, pp. 278a-278b. Kamata, Zengen, p. 305.

83. For Ch'eng-yüan see Ui Hakuju, Zenshū shi kenkyū, I, pp. 175-177, and for Hsüan-shih, pp. 179-192.

84. See Ueyama Daishun, "Tonkō shutsudo Jōdo hosshin san ni tsuite," Shinshū kenkyū, 21 (1976), pp. 62-71. Ueyama points out (p. 65) that during this period the tendency to versify doctrine for chanting shows up not only in the Pure Land tradition but in Ch'an as well. In Pelliot Chinese 2690 we find the Praises on the Pure Land Dharma-body accompanied by two sets of Ch'an verses, the Ch'an-men shih-erh shih and the Nan-tsung tsan, and in Pelliot Chinese 2963 we find it accompanied by the Nan-tsung tsan. This suggests that Ch'an people used these scrolls.

85. Verses 3, 7, 9, 10, 11, 15, and 17 in Ueyama's edition.

86. In Yüan-chüeh ching ta-shu ch'ao, ZZ 1, 14, 3, p. 279b.

87. ZZ 2, 15, 5, p. 435a. Kamata, Zengen, p. 289.

88. Thus, great assemblies with lay people present ("the multitude") were characteristic of both the Hsüan-shih and Reverend Kim schools. Both also seem to have been oriented to disciplinary formalism.

89. ZZ 1, 14, 3, p. 279b. This is obviously speaking of an oral recitation or nembutsu.

90. Presumably fo.

91. T 51, p. 185a. Yanagida, Shoki no Zenshi II, p. 143.

92. In Tsung-mi's terms, the ideas (i) of the Wu-chu and Reverend Kim houses are the same (the idea of the Yogācāra texts), but their praxes (hsing) are radically different.

93. Perhaps those around Shen-hui of Ching-chung Monastery (that is, I-chou Shih) were transmitting the "no-forgetting" form of the three phrases. Clearly, Pao-t'ang held that Ching-chung was distorting the teaching of Reverend Kim.

94. ZZ 1, 14, 3, p. 278b. Kamata, Zengen, p. 306.

95. This evaluation appears in Kamalaśīla's third Bhāvanā-krama (Demiéville, Le Concile, p. 348). See Ueyama Daishūn, "Chibetto shūron ni okeru Zen to Kamalaśīla no sōten," Nihon Bukkyō gakkai nempō, 40 (1975), pp. 56-57.

96. Tucci, Minor, p. 69.1-22.

97. Tucci, Minor, pp. 115-121. Vimalamitra was an Indian who visited Tibet and then China. Tucci connects him to Vairocana and Myan-tiñ-ñe-'dzin. The former also traveled to China.

98. Peking No. 5306.

99. Harada Satoru, "bSam yas no shūron igo ni okeru tonmonha no ronsho," Nihon Chibetto gakkai kaihō, XXII (March 1976), pp. 9-10.

100. Kimura, "Tonkō shutsudo Chibettobun shahon Stein 709," pp. 11-13, gives an outline of its contents.

101. Sections II-VII in Kimura's numbering.

102. Fols. 14b.5-15a.4. The text gives Tibetan transliterations and translations of Shen-hui's famous aphorisms criticizing Northern Ch'an. However, it simply labels them four errors of understanding and mentions nothing of the Northern/Southern context. They run as follows: rgya skad du/sab sim 'do'i je 'u//bod skad du sems bsdu sin nan du rtog pa//rgya skad du/khi sim pa'u hve'i//bod skad du sems ldan sin skye ba'o//rgya skad du/'gin sim sa byi deñ//bod skad du/sems lhan ne 'dug cin rtse gcig du 'jug pa//rgya skad du/the'u sim khan tseñ//bod skad du/sems gnas sin dben ba la dmyigs pa//. In Shen-hui's writings these four phrases ("coagulate mind and enter samadhi; abide in mind and gaze at purity; raise mind and externally illuminate; collect mind and internally realize"/ning-hsin ju-ting chu-hsin k'an-ching ch'i-hsin wai-chao she-hsin nei-cheng) are said to be the teaching of the Northern masters P'u-chi and Hsiang-mo Tsang. The order in the Tibetan version is different. See Hu Shih, Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi, pp. 133-134, 175-176, 239-240, and 287-288. The original target of these criticisms was no longer relevant in Tibet.

103. Fol. 40b.3-5.

104. Sections VIII-IX in Kimura's numbering.

105. The term Tathāgata Ch'an (ju-lai ch'an) seems to have begun with Shen-hui and to have been inherited by Pao-t'ang. The Li-tai fa-pao chi states: "Reverend Shen-hui of the Ho-tse Monastery in the eastern capital each month made a platform and discoursed on the Dharma for people. He destroyed purity Ch'an and erected Tathāgata Ch'an." T 51, p. 185c. Yanagida, Shoki no Zenshi II, p. 154.

106. Fol. 43a.2-43b.5.

107. Gnubs chen Sañs-rgyas-ye-śes, Rñal 'byor mig gi bsam gtan, Contents.