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CONTENTS

THE OX-HEAD SCHOOL OF CHINESE CH'AN BUDDHISM: FROM EARLY CH'AN TO THE GOLDEN AGE

by

John R. McRae

The Ox-head (Niu-t'ou 牛頭宗) School has occupied rather a unique position within modern research on early Chinese Ch'an Buddhism. On the one hand, it has not received anything like the attention accorded the Southern School of Hui-neng 慧能, Shen-hui 神會, and the Liu-tsu t'an-ching 六祖壇經 (Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch, hereafter simply Platform Sūtra). The "sudden" teachings of this latter school have generally been considered the mainstream and, at the same time, the most innovative, even revolutionary, expression of the entire Ch'an tradition. On the other hand, neither has the Ox-head School been treated with the obvious disregard accorded the so-called Northern School of Shen-hsiu 神秀, and P'u-chi 普寂, et al., which has almost invariably been interpreted according to the originally perjorative description of "gradualism" that derives from the vituperative attacks of Shen-hui and the comprehensive, if biased, analysis of Tsung-mi 宗密. The Ox-head lineage is supposed to have been a transmission ancillary to that of the Ch'an School per se, but to have had teachings closely akin to that of the Southern School. As such the Ox-head School has been analyzed, admired, and argued about, but never with quite the thoroughness or intensity associated with the study of the other two Schools of North and South. Although some of the early research on the Ox-head Ch'an, specifically, that by Kuno Hōryū

久野芳隆, is remarkable for its suprising degree of sophistication, it is only recently, with the work of Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山, that the true significance of this school has become apparent.

Although this situation is understandable in view of the more spectacular and more thoroughly documented discoveries from the Northern and Southern Schools, it is no longer possible to consider the Ox-head School as merely an intriguing but unimportant footnote to the development of the Ch'an tradition as a whole. My own research in early Ch'an--which has been inspired by that of Professor Yanagida--indicates that it was the Northern School, not the Southern, which formed the mainstream of Ch'an throughout the first half of the eighth century and that the teachings of the Northern School were fundamentally different from the simplistic gradualism of traditional ascription. These findings are significant here because of the following corollary: Far from being only an interesting tradition of meditation practice and doctrine ancillary to the true transmission of "Bodhidharma Ch'an," the Ox-head School may actually constitute a bridge between the "early Ch'an" of the Northern and Southern Schools and the "golden age" of spontaneous repartee or "encounter dialogue" typified most clearly by Ma-tsu Tao-i 馬祖道一 and his associates.

This article constitutes the first step in the investigation of this hypothesis about the Ox-head School and will include: (1) a short review of previous scholarship on Ox-head Ch'an, (2) a critical analysis of the biographies of the major Ox-head masters, and (3) a brief discussion of the School's teachings. The ultimate goal of this study is to

establish meaningful correlations between the available biographical and doctrinal information concerning the Ox-head School. Since the hypothesis stated above can only be fully tested after a similar investigation of the Hung-chou 洪州 School associated with Ma-tsu Tao-i, the reader must be forewarned that only the most general and basic introduction to the study of the Ox-head School can be made in the present context. The detailed investigation of all available doctrinal materials relating to the Ox-head School, not to mention the examination of Ma-tsu's Hung-chou School and the earliest forms of true "encounter dialogue," must be left to a later date.

1. The Modern Study of the Ox-head School

Modern research on the Ox-head School began with, and until recently has been almost entirely limited to, the study of its most important text, the Chüeh-kuan lun 絶觀論 (Treatise on the Transcendence of Cognition). Knowledge of this text began with the publication of D. T. Suzuki's 鈴木大拙 Shōshitsu issho 少室逸書 (Lost Works from Bodhidharma's Cave) in 1935.[1] Several additional manuscripts and critical editions of the Chüeh- kuan lun were published in the next few years by Suzuki and Kuno Hōryū.[2] The best early analysis of the teachings and historical significance of the Ox-head School were a long article by Kuno and a chapter in the first volume of the great Ui Hakuju's 宇井伯壽 Zenshūshi kenkyū 禪宗史研究 (Studies in the History of the Ch'an School), both published in 1939.[3] Kuno's article includes a long introductory discussion of the various Schools of early Ch'an and an analysis of the

doctrinal relationship of the Chüeh-kuan lun to various texts of the Chinese Mādhyamika tradition, while Ui's work includes a critical discussion of the biographies of many of the Ox-head masters, cites the various listings of Ox-head works taken to Japan by ninth-century pilgrims, and concludes with a short anthology of material attributed to Ox-head School masters, not including the Chüeh-kuan lun. Although new findings have rendered many of their specific conclusions obsolete, these two contributions by Kuno and Ui were written with such technical and analytical sophistication that they are both eminently worthy of consultation even today.

Comprehensive editions of all the extant Tun-huang 敦煌 manuscripts of the Chüeh-kuan lun were published by Suzuki in 1945 and Yanagida in 1970.[4] The latter includes three separate, critically edited versions of the treatise printed together on different registers of the same page, each version being based on two of the six extant manuscripts. The authoritative edition of the text is to be found in a volume published in 1976 by the Institute for Zen Studies at Hanazono College in Kyōto. This volume includes an introductory statement by Yanagida, photo-reproductions of all the six Tun-huang manuscripts, a single Chinese text edited by Yanagida, the same scholar's translation into modern Japanese (a real translation, not just a mechanical transposition into Japanese grammar), and an English translation by Tokiwa Gishin 常盤義伸 .[5] Would that all the major early Ch'an documents from Tun-huang could be treated in such admirable fashion!

Meanwhile, the study of the Ox-head School progressed apace, the most common topic of discussion

being the authorship of the Chüeh-kuan lun. Suzuki's published works indicate that he vacillated on this question, at different times favoring attributions to either Shen-hui or Bodhidharma or someone in their immediate lineages.[6] Suzuki argued vigorously against the attribution of the text to Niu-t'ou Fa-jung 牛頭法融, the legendary figurehead of the Ox-head School, an attribution that was supported first by Kuno and then by Sekiguchi Shindai 関口真大.[7] Sekiguchi's work on the subject consolidates all the available evidence regarding the traditional attribution of the Chüeh-kuan lun to Fa-jung, in the process thoroughly confuting the attributions to Bodhidharma and Shen-hui. Although he fails in his attempt to prove the attribution to Fa-jung (rather than to a later anonymous member of the Ox-head School), Sekiguchi's combined output on the subject of the Ox-head School's history and doctrines constitutes the most comprehensive treatment yet attempted by any scholar.[8]

The year 1967 saw the publication of what is unquestionably the single most important volume in the modern study of early Ch'an: Yanagida's Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū 初期禅宗史書の研究 (Studies in the Historical Texts of the Early Ch'an School).[9] The importance of this book lies in the fact that it goes beyond the simple questions of textual and biographical authenticity and analyzes the contents of the most influential and explicit of the early works in order to show how each one derived from and contributed to the growing Ch'an tradition. Professor Yanagida is the first scholar within the field of Ch'an studies to diagnose the relative merits of both historical "fact" and legendary fabrication, clinging to neither but rather showing how each affected the

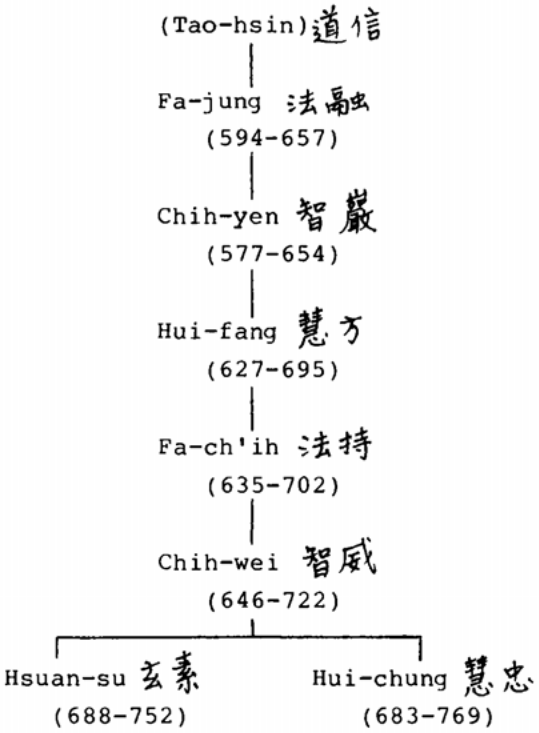
other. Yanagida's overall purpose was to show how the Ch'an School and its religious ideology developed between the publication of two milestone texts, the Hsü kao-seng chuan 續高僧傳 (Supplement to the "Lives of Eminent Monks," or HKSC) of 645/667 and the Sung kao-seng chuan 宋高僧傳 (Lives of Eminent Monks [compiled during the] Sung [Dynasty], or SKSC) of 998. The conclusions made by Yanagida which are most relevant to the present study are as follows:

1. the basic conception of the "transmission of the lamp" theory of the history of Ch'an was first stated in several Northern School works;
2. the ideas on which Shen-hui based his attack upon the Northern School did not derive directly from Hui-neng, but were developed by Shen-hui himself in the course of his own religious development;
3. the Ox-head School developed not as a seventh-century offshoot of the tradition of Bodhidharma, but rather as an eighth-century reaction to either the Northern School or the combination of the Northern School and Shen-hui's Southern School;
4. the Chüeh-kuan lun was probably written during the Ox-head School's greatest period of activity, i.e., during the third quarter of the eighth century; and
5. it was a member of the Ox-head School named Fa-hai 法海 --neither Hui-neng, Shen-hui nor one of their students--who was responsible for the first recension of the Platform Sūtra.[10]

The most striking of the points listed above is indubitably the last. Although the genesis of the Platform Sūtra is a subject of great complexity which cannot be treated here in any detail, suffice it to say that Yanagida has shown the first version of this text to have been an Ox-head School compilation that included some direct criticism of Shen-hui's teachings as well as other samples of that master's teachings introduced under the name of Hui-neng. To date there has been no critical challenge to this unique interpretation of the identity of the Ox-head School and the origins of the Platform Sūtra. There have been other contributions to the study of the Ox-head School after the appearance of Yanagida's work, but, with one exception, they need not concern us here.[11] The exception is an article by Yanagida himself on the teachings of the School, to which we shall refer at the very end of this paper.[12]

2. The History of the Ox-head School

The starting point of this brief outline of the history of the Ox-head School, as is invariably the case in the study of early Ch'an, is the statement and criticism of the traditional version of the School's transmission. This traditional account begins with a meeting between Fa-jung and Tao-hsin 道信 (580-651), the Fourth Patriarch in succession from Bodhidharma, in which the depth of the former's experience was supposedly verified by the latter.[13] From this point the Ox-head lineage is generally traced through six generations, with Fa-jung at the beginning and either of two individuals at the end:



It is obvious that the very notion of a list of six generations is drawn from the Bodhidharma tradition; we may even note the similarity in the bifurcated nature of the sixth generation of each. Also, a brief glance at the dates of the first two patriarchs given above indicates a problem, one that is rendered even greater by investigation of the biographies of the men involved. That is, not only was Chih-yen some seventeen years older than his supposed teacher, but he also died a year or two before his supposed student's (Hui-fang's) first ordination. The only available data for Hui-fang's biography, the admittedly unreliable Ching-te ch'üan-teng lu 景德傳灯錄 (Records of the Transmission of the Lamp [compiled

during the] Ching-te [Period], hereafter CTL) of 1004, has him studying with Chih-yen after his full ordination, so this implies a definite contradiction. Actually, close attention to specific dates and ages given in the CTL suggests that Fa-jung, Hui-fang, and Fa-ch'ih were all together in the same location at one point in their careers--a most unlikely situation in the context of a supposedly lineal succession.[14]

The most that can reliably be said about the earliest Ox-head School "patriarchs" is that Fa-jung and Chih-yen each had some individual impact on the general tradition of Buddhist Studies and meditation practice at Mt. Niu-t'ou and the surrounding area. The possibility of their being teacher and student notwithstanding, it is of course quite out of the question that one transmitted any kind of patriarchate to the other. Both of these men were figures of some prominence and the subjects of HKSC biographies. Fa-jung[15] was from the very prominent Wei 韋 family[16] in Yen-ling 延陵 (Tan-yang 丹陽 hsien, Kiangsu) who became a monk at age nineteen, or in the year 612. He studied for an unknown length of time with a Mādhyamika master of some repute[17] and spent over three months in Ch'ang-an 長安 in 624 attempting to induce the T'ang authorities to relax certain local restrictions against Buddhism.[18] The rest of Fa-jung's life was devoted to meditation practice and scriptural study, perhaps for a time under another Mādhyamika master in Yüeh-chou 越州 (Shao-hsing 紹興 hsien, Chekiang). He resided at two different temples on Mount Niu-t'ou from at least 637 until the very last years of his life, when he gave public lectures on the Lotus, Perfection of Wisdom, and Great Collection (Ta-chi 大集) sūtras. The beginning of the Ox-

head School is usually traced to his founding of a meditation center at Yü-hsi 幽栖 Temple on Mount Niu-t'ou in 642, and there may be some truth in this assertion. That is, the HKSC does say that Fa-jung's new center attracted ever greater number of students, and there may have been some continuity with later Ox-head School figures. Various hagiographical anecdotes that occur in Fa-jung's lengthy biography will be omitted here, but please note that there is no mention of either Tao-hsin or Chih-yen. Ui and Sekiguchi take opposite views on the historicity of the meeting between Fa-jung and Tao-hsin, the negative conclusion of the latter scholar being definitely preferable. Fa-jung's HKSC biography does not mention any written works.

Chih-yen,[19] who was from the Hua 華 family of Ch'ü-a 曲阿 (also Tan-yang hsien, Kiangsu) in Tan-yang, spent the early part of his life as a military officer. He became a monk at age 45,[20] after which he became known for the practice of the contemplations of "impurities" (pu-ching kuan 不淨觀, i.e., on the body and corpses), compassion (tz'u-pei kuan 慈悲觀), and "birthlessness" (wu-sheng kuan 无生觀, i.e., on the essentially unconditioned nature of all things). He resided at different locations in what is now Chiang-ning 江寧 hsien, Kiangsu, the home of many of the later Ox-head figures, as well as on Mount Huan-kung 峴公 (Ch'ien-shan 潛山 hsien, Anhwei), a location connected with the Third Patriarch of Ch'an, Seng-ts'an 僧璨. In spite of later assertions, there is no known link between him and either the Ox-head School or Seng-ts'an.[21] No written works are known.

The biographies of Hui-fang and Fa-ch'ih are based on such late sources, and even there are so lacking in detail, that it is impossible to ascertain their true relationships with predecessors and successors.[22] There are no doubts about the succession from Fa-ch'ih onward, but there is some question about when that succession became associated with Ch'an. The SKSC and CTL claim that Fa-ch'ih studied under Hung-jen, the Fifth Patriarch of the Bodhidharma tradition, and that he was one of that master's ten major disciples. Nevertheless, there are enough problems with this assertion to infer that the connection with Hung-jen was not of major importance to the development of the Ox-head School.[23]

As Yanagida points out, it was during Chih-wei's life that we must look for the real beginnings of the Ox-head School. Although Chih-wei's specific teachings are unknown, he seems to have taken deliberate actions aimed at expanding the purview of his following: After spending many years on Mount Niu-t'ou or "Ox-head Mountain" (Chiang-ning hsien, Kiangsu), this being the origin of the Ox-head Schools' peculiar name, he deputed supervision of his community there to Niu-t'ou Hui-chung and moved into Yen-tso延祚 Temple in Chin-ling金陵 (the modern Nanking, in the same hsien in Kiangsu). Even while there he continued to teach, the transmission to Hsuan-su occurring at this new location.[24] Chih-wei is also supposed to have had several other students, and an excerpt of one of his students' teachings is still extant. The biography of this student, An-kuo Hsuan-t'ing安國玄挺, is unknown.

Certainly the example of the Northern School's recent success would have been a major inspiration for

this Southern tradition, but there is no evidence that any specific theory of an Ox-head School transmission was known during Chih-wei's life. Chih-wei's position as the Fifth Patriarch of the Ox-head tradition is analogous to that of Hung-jen 弘忍 in the Bodhidharma tradition, in the sense that each tradition achieved its first real growth during the lives of their students. This similarity only makes it more reasonable to assume that the lineage innovations which define the Ox-head School as independent from the Northern and Southern Schools may have developed in nuclear form during Chih-wei's life, but were only crystallized during the sixth generation and later.[25]

The later development of the Ox-head School is generally described in terms of four factions or sub-lineages, which are named after the figures standing at the head of each: (a) the "Mount Niu-t'ou faction" headed by Niu-t'ou Hui-chung; (b) the "Fo-k'u faction" headed by Hui-chung's disciple Fo-k'u I-tse 佛窟遺則 ; (c) the "Ho-lin faction" headed by Ho-lin Hsüan-su 鶴林玄素 ; and (d) the "Ching-shan faction" headed by Hsuan-su's disciple Ching-shan Fa-ch'in 徑山法欽 . Let us first summarize the biographies of these major figures and some of their students and then add some closing comments about the historical identity of the "school" with which they were associated.

(a) The Mount Niu-t'ou Faction: Niu-t'ou Hui-chung[26] was from Shang-yuan 上元 (also Chiang-ning hsien, Kiangsu) in Jun-chou 潤州 and of the surname Wang 王 . He was ordained at Chuang-yen 莊嚴 Temple in Chin-ling in the year 705 at the age of twenty-three. The SKSC and CTL give slightly different

accounts of the dialogue between him and his soon-adopted teacher Chih-wei, and it is impossible to tell how long he stayed at Mount Niu-t'ou or whether he left for a period of wandering before taking over there. After deputing control of Mount Niu-t'ou to Hui-chung, Chih-wei moved to Yen-tso Temple in Chin-ling, where he taught for at least a short while before his death. Hui-chung remained in charge at Mount Niu-t'ou until his own death, but in 742, at the request of the prefectural magistrate, he moved back to Chuang-yen Temple, the site of his ordination. He labored to repair the temple, which had fallen into disuse since its high point in the Liang 梁 Dynasty, adding a new Dharma Hall (fa-t'ang 法堂), a very important component of Ch'an temple construction in later years. His death, which is described with the sort of hagiographical detail that is typical of these texts, occurred there in 769. Hui-chung is said to have written two works, one called the Chien-hsing hsu 見性序 (Preface on Seeing the [Buddha]-nature) and another called the Hsing-lu nan 行路難 (How Difficult, the Traversing of the Path!). As Sekiguchi suggests, the first of these may have been the source of the long citation of Hui-chung's teachings found in the Tsung-ching lu 宗鏡錄 (Records of the Mirror of Truth, hereafter TCL) by Yung-ming Yen-shou 永明延壽 (904-975), while the second may be represented in other materials from Tun-huang and elsewhere but not bearing Hui-chung's name.[27] The CTL says that he had thirty-six major disciples, who taught at quite a few different locations throughout southeastern China. Biographical details are available for only three of these, as well as for three others not listed in the CTL, but there is nothing that would be gained from

sifting through these rather sparse, stereotypical accounts here. Only one of Hui-chung's students is known through a roughly contemporary epitaph: T'ai-po Kuan-tsung 太白觀宗 (731-809). His epitaph is of some value in the study of Ox-head School history and doctrine.[28] It is unfortunate that no such document exists for Hui-chung himself.

(b) The Fo-k'u Faction: The fact that Fo-k'u Wei-tse (751-830)[29] is placed at the head of a sub-lineage independently of his teacher's derives from his alleged success in establishing his own thriving center at Mount T'ien-t'ai 天台山 (T'ien-t'ai hsien, Chekiang). The SKSC even contains allegations that the "Fo-k'u learning" flourished there no less than did the T'ien-t'ai School of Chih-i and that it attained a status independent of the Northern, Southern, and Ox-head Schools. Whatever the validity of these assertions, there are only a few passages and documents left with which to gauge the nature of this faction's teachings and virtually no information at all about the lives of its members. What is known is that Fo-k'u himself was a gifted individual whose calligraphy and writings were widely praised and sought after even during his own lifetime.[30]

Fo-k'u I-tse was of the Ch'ang-sun 長孫 family from the capital of Ch'ang-an, where his grandfather had been an official in the central government. Fo-k'u's father, however, had retired from public life and moved to Chin-ling. The youth supposedly became a student of Hui-chung's after becoming a Buddhist and being ordained at age twenty-two, but the fact that Hui-chung is said to have died when Fo-k'u was only nineteen (by the Chinese method of reckoning) renders

this assertion problematic. After achieving enlightenment he moved to Fo-k'u cliff on Mount T'ien-t'ai--hence his name[31]--where he stayed for some forty years until his death in 830. If Fo-k'u did stay at Mount T'ien-t'ai for some forty years--and such figures are often exaggerated--then there was a gap of twenty years or more between Hui-chung's death and the beginning of this long residency. In view of this gap and Fo-k'u's young age at the time of his master's death, it seems reasonable to doubt the extent of the relationship between the two. It is impossible to ascertain any particulars at this late date, but it would seem likely that other teachers had an influence on Fo-k'u as well. Nevertheless, the SKSC and the catalogues of the Japanese pilgrims to China indicate that he compiled at least one specifically Ox-head work, as well as several others of uncertain nature:

1. Hsu-chi jung tsu-shih wen 序集融祖師文 (Writings of the Patriarch [Fa]-jung, with Preface), in three fascicles
2. Pao-chih shih-t'i erh-shih-ssu chang 寶誌釋題二十四章 (Explanation of the Titles of Pao-chih's [Works] in Twenty-four Sections)
3. Nan-yu fu ta-shih i-feng hsu 南遊傅大士遺風序 (Preface to the Religious Legacy of Bodhisattva Fu [Hsi], Who Roamed the South)
4. Wu-sheng teng i 無生等義 (The Meaning of Birthlessness and Other [Doctrines]) (Given in the Japanese catalogues as Wu-sheng i, or The Meaning of Birthlessness), in two fascicles

5. Fo-k'u chi 仏窟集 (Anthology of Fo-k'u's [Teachings]), in one fascicle
6. Fo-k'u ch'an-yuan ho-shang hsing-chuang 仏窟禪院和尚行狀 (Outline of the Actions of the Preceptor of Fo-k'u Meditation Chapel), in one fascicle
7. Fo-k'u ta-shih hsieh-chen ts'an 仏窟大師寫真讚 (Eulogy on a Portrait of the Great Master Fo-k'u), in one fascicle
8. Huan-yuan chi 還源集 (Anthology on Returning to the Source), in three fascicles[32]

In the absence of the original texts, the English equivalents given above must be considered tentative. Some of the works listed were obviously not written by Fo-k'u himself but were about him (numbers seven and eight), some were anthologies compiled and prefaced by him (one, three, and possibly two), leaving only four works that were entirely his own (four, five, six, and nine). Of course, it is impossible to tell what part Fo-k'u had in the compilation of the poems and sayings attributed to such early figures as Pao-chih and Fu Hsi.[33] At the moment, the only remnants of Fo-k'u's works that still exist are excerpts from the Wu-sheng i and the Huan-yuan chi (numbers four and nine) found in the TCL and another work by Yen-shou. Incidentally, the Wu-sheng i was perhaps the earliest of the lot, since Saichō took it and not the others back to Japan upon his return there in 805.[34] Finally, it may be noted that the CTL claims the Fo-k'u's temple on Mount T'ien-t'ai was destroyed during the persecution of 845 and eventually taken over by Taoists. Only his stele

was saved, to be removed to safety by a Buddhist monk in 865.[35]

In contrast to Hui-chung's "Mount Niu-t'ou faction," which included well over thirty named monks and nuns, the name of only one of Fo-k'u's students is known. Even here, there is no biographical information whatsoever, although excerpts from his works occur in the TCL.[36]

(c) The Ho-lin Faction: Whereas the "Mount Niu-t'ou faction" and the "Fo-k'u faction" allow virtually no insight into their historical realities and only the slightest glimpse at their teachings, the other two sub-lineages of the Ox-head School are known in much greater detail. Indeed, the lives of both Ho-lin Hsüan-su and Ching-shan Fa-ch'in are known through lengthy epitaphs preserved in the Ch'üan T'ang wen (Complete Writings of the T'ang [Dynasty], hereafter CTW) and elsewhere. The first of these in particular is an extremely important document for its doctrinal contents and biographical detail. In addition, several of the students of each man are known through epitaphs and other contemporary material. Although there are internal contradictions and other problems that make some of these sources unusable for the present purposes, the very existence of these contradictions and other problems is in itself an important clue to the eventual role of the Ox-head School.

The biography of Ho-lin Hsüan-su is known primarily through an epitaph by Li Hua 李華 (d. ca. 766), a figure who is himself of no little importance in the development of early Ch'an.[37] Hsüan-su is said to have been from Yen-ling (Tan-yang hsien, Kiangsu) in Jun-chou and of the surname Ma 馬. Like the Vinaya

Master Yin-tsung 印宗 (627-713) and the famous Ma-tsu Tao-i (709-88), Hsüan-su was often referred to as Ma-tsu 馬祖 ("Patriarch Ma"), or even by the amalgam of his family and religious names, Ma-su 馬素. As one might expect, the former usage has led to some confusion between him and Ma-tsu Tao-i, who is more often referred to in contemporary sources by the title Ta-chi 大寂.[38] At any rate, in 692 Hsüan-su was ordained and registered at Ch'ang-shou 長壽 Temple in Chiang-ning 江寧 (also Chiang-ning hsien, Kiangsu).[39] Sometime thereafter he went to Yü-hsi Temple on Mount Niu-t'ou and received the teachings from Chih-wei. During the years 713-714 Hsüan-su was invited to a place named Ching-k'ou 京口 (Tan-t'u 丹徒 hsien, Kiangsu) and installed in Ho-lin Temple there.[40] Later, during the years 742-755, he moved temporarily to Kuang-ling 廣陵 or Yang-chou 揚州 (Chiang-tu 江都 hsien, Kiangsu),[41] but the people of Ching-k'ou petitioned strongly for his return, which led to a bitter struggle between the two communities. In fact, the epitaph describes the reception received by Hsüan-su from people in various areas all around Yang-chou as having been so effusive that one is inclined to think that the stature of this septagenarian monk was very great indeed. In any case, he eventually returned to Ho-lin, where he died at midnight on the eleventh day of the eleventh month of the eleventh year of the T'ien-pao period (752).[42]

In addition to the above outline of Hsüan-su's life and some extremely important material on the doctrines and lineage theories of Ox-head Ch'an, there is one item recorded in his epitaph that bears consideration here. This is Chih-wei's prediction upon first meeting him:

> The Great Master [Chih]-wei rubbed [Hsüan-su's] head and said: "The true teaching of the Southeast awaits your propagation. I will have you teach the students who come to you in a separate situation."

It is tempting--and probably accurate--to interpret the phrase "true teaching of the Southeast" (tung-nan cheng-fa 東南正法) as a reference to the Ox-head School's independent status apart from the Northern and Southern Schools. As Sekiguchi suggests, the term "separate situation" (as the troublesome expression pieh-wei 別位 has been translated here) is probably based on Chih-wei's prior delegation of control of the Mount Niu-t'ou center to Hui-chung.[43] Of course, it is not certain that the statement above was actually made by Chih-wei. It may have been supplied retrospectively in order to explain the equivalent status of his two major successors. One hypothetical interpretation is that Chih-wei and Hsüan-su left Mount Niu-t'ou at the same time, in 713 or shortly thereafter. According to this interpretation, the established and relatively stable center at Mount Niu-t'ou was left to the gifted but still comparatively inexperienced Hui-chung, whereas Chih-wei and Hsüan-su, who was much older than Hui-chung but still had not finished his training, moved on to Yen-tso Temple in Chin-ling. As mentioned above, it was only at this temple that Hsüan-su received the final transmission of the Dharma from Chih-wei.

Hsüan-su's epitaph lists five students: Fa-ching 法鏡 of Wu-chung 吳中, Fa-ch'in 法欽 of Ching-shan 徑山, Fa-li 法勵, Fa-hai 法海, and

Hui-tuan 慧端. In addition, it lists the names and titles of eleven prominent lay supporters, several of whom--perhaps all--held office at one time or another in Jun-chou. Finally, we should not forget the two other monks and one layman mentioned previously in the epitaph, as well as the author Li Hua, who lists himself as a personal disciple of Hsüan-su.[44]

Regarding Hsüan-su's ordained students, there exists biographical information for Fa-ch'in, Fa-hai, Lung-an Ju-hai 龍安如海, Lung-ya Yüan-ch'ang 龍牙圓暢, and Ch'ao-an 超岸. The last of these studied under Hsüan-su and then under Ma-tsu Tao-i, and, probably earlier in his career, perhaps also under a Northern School monk named T'ung-kuang 通光.[45] The next-to-last, Lung-ya Yüan-ch'ang, has been mistakenly listed in the CTL as a student of Tao-i rather than Hsüan-su, no doubt through the use of the name Ma-tsu for each teacher.[46] Lung-an Ju-hai, on the other hand, "studied under Hui-yin 惠隱 in the North and sought (the Dharma) from Ma-su of the South." Hui-yin was perhaps a student of the Northern School figures Chiang-ma Tsang 降魔藏 and/or I-fu 義福, but no biographical details about him are available. It is known, however, that Ju-hai first became a monk at Hsi-ming 西明 Temple in Ch'ang-an after the travails of 755 (his family had originally pressured him into a civil career). He eventually lived at Ch'ang-sha 長沙 (Ch'ang-sha hsien, Hunan) and Mount Kou-lou 岣嶁山(Heng-shan 衡山 hsien, Hunan), where Lung-an Temple was built. Very little beside this is known about his life, the importance of which is over-shadowed by some of the statements about Ch'an found in his epitaph, a document written by the great literatus Liu Tsung-yüan 柳宗元.[47]

Considering the particular perspective of this study, it is possible to argue that these sketchy details about Hsüan-su's lesser-known disciples constitute at least partial support for the contention that the Ox-head School formed a bridge between early Ch'an, specifically the Northern School, and the golden age of "encounter dialogue."[48] Even so, more extensive and substantive evidence is obviously necessary. Ultimately, this evidence will have to be extracted from doctrinally-oriented material, but the following discussion of Hsüan-su's two most important disciples is also relevant.

Fa-hai was not originally considered Hsüan-su's most favored disciple, being listed only fourth in his master's epitaph, but in terms of individual historical impact it is possible to describe him as one of the most important figures in all of early Ch'an Buddhism. This assertion is based on the elaborately documented suggestion by Yanagida that Fa-hai was the original compiler of the Platform Sūtra. Fa-hai's SKSC biography, which refers to him as Wu-hsing 吳興 Fa-hai, says that his lay surname was Chang 張, his style Wen-yün 文允, and his native place Tan-yang 丹陽 (Chen-chiang 鎮江 hsien, Kiangsu).[49] He left home to become a monk at Ho-lin Temple (thus the connection with Hsüan-su) while young, after which he studied the scriptures and achieved what is called a unique level of understanding. During the years 742-755 he studied under a Vinaya Master named Fa-shen 法珍 in Yang-chou, being listed as a disciple of this teacher elsewhere in the SKSC. Fa-hai was thus a part of the movement of combined meditation and Vinaya studies so popular then in the vicinity of the lower Yangtze River.[50] His

primary filiation, however, was to Hsüan-su, whose epitaph states that Fa-hai was exceptional among the group of disciples in his efforts at building the departed master's stūpa and keeping his memory alive. Fa-hai's dates are unknown, but it may be inferred that he was still alive around the year 780, the approximate date of the compilation of the Platform Sūtra.

The SKSC also mentions that Fa-hai "wandered in the forests and had a formless communion" with the poet-monk Chiao-jan 皎然.[51] This monk, also known as Ch'ing-chou 清晝, had a remarkably large oeuvre of poetry, only a small portion of which is on religious subjects. Some of these works are directly relevant to the study of early Ch'an--particularly his short eulogies to such figures as Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng, Lao-an 老安 and P'u-chi 普寂 (two important Northern School masters), and Hsüan-su. At present, however, it is his participation in a large cooperative literary project organized by Yen Chen-ch'ing 顏真卿 (709-785), an official known to posterity as a great literatus and calligrapher, that is of interest here. During the slightly more than four years of his appointment as magistrate of Hu-chou 湖州 (Wu-hsing 吳興 hsien, Chekiang) from 773 to 777, Yen enlisted the cooperation of more than fifty local literati and monks to complete a 360-fascicle encyclopedia of poetic usages and rhymes. Although Yen had begun work on this project many years before, it was only completed with Chiao-jan's assistance using his temple (Miao-hsi 妙喜 Temple on Mount Chu 杼 in K'uai-chi 會稽, which is in the present-day Shao-hsing hsien, Chekiang) as a base of operations. The basic description of this project, which was

published under the name Yün-hai ching-yüan 韻海鏡源 (Mirror-origin of the Sea of Rhymes), placed Fa-hai's name at the very top of the list of those involved.[52] In other words, not only did Fa-hai's experience in the combined study of meditation and the Vinaya give him the sort of religious background one might expect of the author of the Platform Sūtra, he also had the literary ability necessary to compose such a gem of dramatic prose.

(d) The Ching-shan Faction: At last we come to Ching-shan Fa-ch'in (714-792), who was without question Hsüan-su's major disciple, who became very prominent at the Court of Emperor Tai-tsung (r. 762-779), and whose students are notable for their extensive contact with Ma-tsu Tao-i and Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien 石頭希遷 (700-790).[53] Fa-ch'in's lay surname was Chu 朱 and his native place Wu-chün k'un-shan 吳郡崑山 (Wu 吳 hsien, Kiangsu). Having mastered the Chinese classics in his youth, at age twenty-eight he happened to be passing through Tan-yang on his way to Ch'ang-an when he heard of Hsüan-su at Ho-lin Temple. He went to visit the great master and experienced a "complete transmission of the secret seal of the Tathāgata in a single moment" during his very first encounter, shaving his head and becoming a disciple that very day. Hsüan-su is supposed to have been extremely impressed with his new disciple, but Fa-ch'in apparently stayed with his teacher for only a short time. According to his epitaph, he arrived at Hsüan-su's temple at age twenty-eight, i.e., in 741, then left and took up residence at Mount Ching 徑山 to the south (Yü-hang 餘杭 hsien, Chekiang), not taking the complete precepts until 743, at the age of thirty.

The SKSC suggests that he took the full precepts before leaving Hsüan-su, but it says nothing about the length of this study under that teacher. At any rate, when Fa-ch'in did set out on his own, the only advice that Hsüan-su would give him was: "Follow your own intuition and stop when you reach a by-way (ching 徑)." As one might suspect, he eventually took up residence on a mountain described to him by a wood-cutter as such a "by-way"--hence his name, Ching-shan (Fa-ch'in).

In 766 or 768 (the latter according to the SKSC) Fa-ch'in was summoned to court by Emperor Tai-tsung.[54] Fa-ch'in's entry into court is somewhat reminiscent of the treatment accorded the great Shen-hsiu some two-thirds of a century before: After the master was carried into the palace on a palanquin amid lavish pomp and circumstance, Tai-tsung respectfully inquired of his teachings. Almost a thousand members of the ruling class were supposed to have visited him every day. Indeed, three short oral exchanges of a very novel sort between Fa-ch'in and such extremely prominent lay-people are recorded in an early ninth-century work.[55] Taking no pleasure in the lavish gifts bestowed on him, Fa-ch'in requested and received permission to return to his temple, but only after he had been given the title Kuo-i 國一 ("First in the Land") ta-shih and his temple the official name of Ching-shan Temple. Fa-ch'in's title was supposedly coined by none other than one of Hui-neng's successors, Nan-yang Hui-chung 南陽慧忠 (d. 775, not to be confused with Niu-t'ou Hui-chung).

During his journey from Ch'ang-an back to his temple, Fa-ch'in was besieged by supplicants and overwhelmed by donations (all audiences with him had been

prohibited by the emperor during the monk's trip to Ch'ang-an). All the offerings he received were given away, so that he supposedly received the nickname of Kung-te shan 功德山 or "Merit Mountain."[56] According to the SKSC, Emperor Tai-tsung invited him to court again in 789, but Fa-ch'in declined the offer. At the end of his life, in 780-783 according to the epitaph or 790 according to the SKSC, Fa-ch'in moved from Ching-shan Temple to the Lung-hsing 龍興 Temple in Hang-chou,[57] where his death occurred on the evening of the twenty-eighth day of the twelfth month of 792. The magistrate of Hang-chou immediately notified the Emperor, who granted the title Ta-chüeh 大覺 ("Greatly Enlightened") ch'an-shih. There is no mention of any written works.

Of all of Fa-ch-in's disciples (that is, of the few whose biographies are known), Ch'ung-hui 崇慧 of Chang-hsin 章信 Temple in Ch'ang-an was no doubt the most prominent during his own lifetime.[58] This is not to say that he was Fa-ch'in's most intimate successor (the biography of the man who is said to fit this description is unknown), but that his activities attracted the greatest public atention. What is surprising is how atypical of Ch'an these activities were: A native of Hang-chou, Ch'ung-hui first studied meditation under Fa-ch'in and then spent several years in mountain retreat reciting a dhāraṇī or incantation of Esoteric Buddhism. Ching-hui moved to Ch'ang-an in 766 and two years later became involved in a sorcerer's competition with a Taoist priest. Ching-hui's ultimate success in this competition was based on his ability to walk barefoot up a ladder of knives and through fire, thrust his hands into boiling oil, and chew up pieces of iron with his teeth. All this

greatly pleased Emperor Tai-tsung, who showered various privileges upon Ch'ung-hui. Verses describing the event were widely circulated in China and taken back to Japan by two of the Buddhist pilgrims from that country. Note that the year in which this event occurred, 768, was either the very year that Fa-ch'in was invited to the imperial court or just a couple of years afterward. Although the entire incident constitutes an interesting example of syncretism between Ch'an and Esoteric Buddhism, the closeness of the relationship between Fa-ch'in and Ch'ung-hui is unclear. It is entirely possible that the latter exaggerated the importance of his much earlier contact with the former after learning how highly the great Ch'an monk was regarded at court.[59]

In contrast to Ch'ung-hui's example, virtually every other monk known to have studied under Fa-ch'in was also connected in some way with more "orthodox" Ch'an figures such as Ma-tsu Tao-i and Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'üan. In the first place, some of these famous masters' students spent time with Fa-ch'in, e.g., Ma-tsu's disciples Hsi-t'ang Chih-tsang 西堂智藏 and Chia-shan Ju-hui 夾山如會 and Shih-t'ou's student Tan-hsia T'ien-jan 丹霞天然 . On the other hand, some practitioners became students of Fa-ch'in only to study under these other famous masters at a later time: Fu-niu Tzu-tsai 伏牛自在 , T'ien-huang 天皇 (or T'ien-wang天王) Tao-wu道悟 , and, perhaps, Yao-shan Wei-yen 藥山惟儼. Actually, this tendency was not limited to the Ching-shan faction of the Ox-head School, for Hsüan-su's student Chao-an and Hui-chung's student Fu-jung T'ai-yü 芙蓉太毓 both studied under Ma-tsu Tao-i. (Chao-an was the first known Ox-head figure to do so.) Even though some of these

individuals' biographies are contained in the SKSC, which lacks the relentless editorial bias of the CTL, there is little that would be gained by enumerating the details here. The study of such figures must await a better understanding of the rise of "encounter dialogue," a task that must be carried out, as far as possible, with reference to material other than those filtered through the Sung Dynasty editors.[60]

3. The Historical Identity of the Ox-head School

The most convenient way to approach the problem of the historical identity of the Ox-head School is to consider the various segments of its lineage diagram:

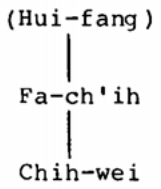
(a) The First Four Generations:

(Tao-hsin)
|
Fa-jung
|
Chih-yen
|
Hui-fang

This part of the lineage is an obvious fabrication. It is unlikely that Fa-jung ever met Tao-hsin, while Fa-jung, Chih-yen, and Hui-fang were almost certainly not lineal successors. Nevertheless, Fa-jung and Chih-yen were men of some status in the Chinese Buddhist world of the late seventh century. Both were meditation specialists, Fa-jung in particular being closely connected with Mount Niu-t'ou. As such, they may well have had an actual, direct effect on the

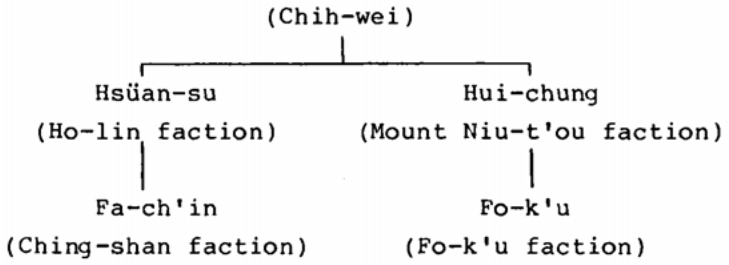
development of the Ox-head School. Whether or not this was the case, it is undeniable that their names and reputations had a strong appeal for the later members of that School. In Ch'an, the force of such legendary reputations was often very great, sometimes greater than that of the actual historical roles of the individuals in question.

(b) The Fifth through Seventh Generations:



It was at this stage that the awareness of the Ox-head School as a single, discrete entity probably developed. Fa-ch'ih is something of an unknown entity--his study under Hung-jen and his attachment to Pure Land practices need not be denied,[61] but it is difficult to assess how much impact they had upon the subsequent development of Ox-head Ch'an. Chih-wei's teachings are unknown, but it is certain that he actively strove to expand the influence of his own faction in southeastern China. Yanagida's suggestion that the germ of the Ox-head lineage scheme developed under the influence of the Northern School during Chih-wei's lifetime seems eminently reasonable.

(c) The Eighth and Ninth Generations:



Although it is clear that the period of greatest Ox-head School activity was the second half of the eighth century, it is difficult to assess precisely the relative strengths of the School's different factions. Certainly, the Ho-lin and Ching-shan factions seem to have been more numerous, but this may be a result of the epigrapher Li Hua's close association with Hsüan-su and other similar factors. Acknowledging this possible bias, we may still note the different characters of each of the four factions:

Mount Niu-t'ou: The absence of epitaphs and other contemporary materials is most keenly felt here, for there is really nothing special that can be said about Hui-chung and his students. We will have to await consideration of the brief doctrinal comments attributed to Hui-chung in the TCL to detect any possible unique identity of this faction.

Fo-k'u: The most striking feature of the Fo-k'u faction is that it is composed of Fo-k'u and virtually no one else. It is hard to believe that the "Fo-k'u learning" flourished on Mount T'ien-t'ai as much as the T'ien-t'ai School of Chih-i, but even so, Fo-k'u himself seems to have had a very special reputation among his contemporaries.

Ho-lin: Two characteristics of the Ho-lin faction stand out. These are the great number of its members for whom significant biographical information is still available and the high percentage thereof who had some contact with Ma-tsu Tao-i and Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'üan. The biographies of the members of this faction suggest the very transition hypothesized above, i.e., from early Ch'an to the classical or golden age.

Ching-shan: The contact with Ma-tsu and Shih-t'ou is continued here, but Ching-shan's successful visit to the imperial court is also of great significance. Several decades earlier, such a visit would have been of cardinal importance in the establishment of a Buddhist School; one can only wonder how drastically the new regionalism of Chinese society after the An Lu-shan rebellion had changed the impact of imperial support.

There are two general characteristics that apply to all, or all but one, of the above lineages. The first of these is the evidence of literary creativity. Hui-chung, Fo-k'u, and Fa-hai are all known for their endeavors in the field of religious literature. The number of passages from the works of other Ox-head masters preserved in Yen-shou's works suggests that this tendency probably obtained in all the different factions.[62] The second general characteristic is the very weakness of the links from one teacher to the next. Hui-chung died when Fo-k'u was still a boy, and Hsüan-su and Fa-ch'in were together only a brief while during the latter's youth. This is different from the problems involved in the alleged transmission from Fa-jung to Chih-wei, since it cannot be doubted that Fo-k'u and Fa-ch'in believed them-

selves to be, or at least presented themselves as, successors to Hui-chung and Hsüan-su. It seems unreasonable, a priori, to suppose that Hui-chung and Hsüan-su were the sole influences on the religious development of their successors--the general environment of the day must have had a significant impact, even if there were no other individual teachers involved. What, then, was the validity of their identity as successors to Fa-jung within the Ox-head School?

It should go without saying that his was not a "school" in any organizational or institutional sense. Even though Chih-wei and others strove actively on its behalf, there never was any strictly defined unit to which some monks clearly belonged and others did not. On the contrary, even more than in the cases of the earlier schools of Northern and Southern Ch'an, the term "Ox-head School" (Niu-t'ou tsung) represented a religious ideal with which one might empathize, a loose sense of fellowship rather than a precisely defined clique. This was the real function of the School's lineage of early Patriarchs--not a historical explanation of the development of the Ox-head Ch'an, but a set of names of men who collectively represented a certain religious ideal that developed in a certain part of China. Even the association with Mount Niu-t'ou soon became largely sentimental, for by the middle of the eighth century members of the Ox-head School were present at Mount T'ien-t'ai, in Hang-chou, Kuang-ling, and a dozen other locations throughout southeastern China. Indeed, this is the implication of the reference in Lung-an Ju-hai's epitaph to the "true teaching of the Southeast."

Although some of the links in its genealogy may seem tenuous, there was nothing understated about the way in which its members perceived the message of the Ox-head School. Li-Hua's epitaph for Hsüan-lang 玄朗 (673-754), a T'ien-t'ai monk who was not involved directly with Ch'an, contains the earliest list of the factions of Ch'an. These include two separate Northern School factions, the Southern School associated with Hui-neng (and Shen-hui, although he is not mentioned), and the Ox-head School of Fa-jung and Ching-shan Fa-ch'in.[63] Another epitaph that was written by Li Chi-fu 李吉甫 for Fa-ch'in contains the following statement on the identity of the Ox-head School:

> After the extinction of the Tāthagata the mind-seal was transmitted successively through twenty-eight Patriarchs to Bodhidharma, who propagated the great teaching widely and bequeathed it to later students. At first those later students formed themselves into the two schools of "North" and "South." Also, in the third [sic] generation from [Bodhi]-dharma, the Dharma was transmitted to Dhyāna Master [Tao]-hsin. [Tao]-hsin transmitted it to Dhyāna Master Niu-t'ou [Fa]-jung, [Fa]-jung transmitted it to Dhyāna Master Ho-lin Ma-su [= Hsüan-su], and [Ma]-su transmitted it to Ching-shan [Fa-ch'in] or Dhyāna Master Kuo-i. This is a separate teaching outside of the two schools [of North and South].[64]

It is especially significant that the teaching transmitted from Fa-jung to Fa-ch'in was a "separate

teaching outside of the two schools."

This is a standard position of Ox-head Ch'an, which could not establish its own identity as a unique school of Ch'an without clearly differentiating itself from the earlier schools associated with Shen-hsiu and P'u-chi, Hui-neng, and Shen-hui.

Contrary to what one might expect, there is no evidence that the members of the Ox-head School considered either Northern or Southern Ch'an superior to the other. Instead, they wished to place a certain distance between themselves and the entire dispute between those two that had been instigated by Shen-hui. Three passages should be sufficient to prove this point. The first is by the poet-monk Chiao-jan:

Eulogy on the Two Patriarchs
[Hui]-neng and [Shen]-hsiu

The minds of these two men
were like the moon and sun.
With no clouds in the four directions
did they appear in space.

The Three Vehicles share the same path;
the myriad teachings are one.
The "division into Northern and Southern
Schools" in an error of speech.[65]

It is significant that Chiao-jan offers eulogies to Bodhidharma, Chih-i, Lao-an, and P'u-chi of the Northern School, Hui-neng and Shen-hsiu, Pao-chih, Shen-hsiu (individually), and Hsüan-su--but none survives that is dedicated to Hui-neng or Shen-hui alone.

Liu Tsung-yüan's epitaph for Lung-an Ju-hai is even more outspoken in its rejection of small-minded sectarianism:

> The Buddha's birthplace is only twenty thousand li away from China, while his death was only two thousand years ago. Thus the greatest aberration in the diminution of the religion is the term "Ch'an": Grasping, it defiles things; misleading, it becomes separate from the truth. This separation from the truth and increase of deception is greater than the [entire realm of] space of [both] present and past. Such stupid errors and deluded self-indulgence [only] debase oneself, misrepresent ch'an [here meaning "dhyāna"?], and do injury to the teachings [of Buddhism. Those who make this error] are characterized by stupidity and moral dissolution.
>
> He who is different from this is the master of Lung-an to the south of Ch'ang-sha. The master has said: "Twenty-two generations separated Kāśyapa and Siṁha [Bhiksu]. It was further to [Bodhi]-dharma and five generations further to [Hung]-jen. It was further to [Shen]-hsiu and [Hui]-neng. North and South reviled each other like fighting tigers, shoulder-to-shoulder, and the Way became hidden.[66]

Although the above is just a paraphrase of the original Chinese, it should serve to give some impression of the strength of Ju-hai's feelings in the matter.

A simpler statement by Chih-wei's student An-kuo Hsüan-t'ing is preserved in the TCL:

> A lay supporter asked: "Are you [a follower] of the Southern School or the Northern School?" [Hsüan-t'ing] answered: "I am not [a follower of either] the Southern School or the Northern School. The mind is my School."[67]

Here we confront a problem of translation: Although the English version above implies that Hsüan-t'ing was talking about a school in the sense of a sectarian entity, the Chinese character tsung 宗 is better taken as a reference to a teaching or doctrinal principle. The question is thus whether he follows the teachings of the Northerners or the Southerners, the answer being that the true teaching of Buddhism concerns the mind and transcends any "teachings" to which one might adhere. Similar exchanges on the rejection of both Northern and Southern Schools occur in the epitaph of a monk who died in 751[68] and the Li-tai fa-pao chi 歷代法寶記 (Records of the [Transmission of the] Dharma-Treasure through the Generations), a product of the Szechwan Schools that was written in 774 or shortly thereafter.[69] Obviously, a major problem of Ch'an Buddhism in the second half of the eighth century was the need to move beyond the division into Schools of North and South.

Although Ox-head Ch'an wished to supersede the Northern and Southern Schools, it still had to build upon the foundation laid by those earlier Schools. The Li-tai fa-pao chi manifests consideration of the same problem, which it solves by adopting Shen-hui's

version of the transmission from Bodhidharma to Hui-neng, then concocting an outlandish story about the transmission of Hui-neng's robe from Hui-neng to Empress Wu and eventually to Wu-chu 無住 (714-774), for whom the text was written.[70] In the case of the Ox-head School, the same problem produced a different sort of peculiarity. This occurs in Fa-hai's composition of the Platform Sūtra, which is devoted to Hui-neng even though the Ox-head lineage was traced through Tao-hsin.[71] Technically, Hui-neng and the Ox-head tradition were unrelated, but, in actual fact, that tradition grew out of the earlier era of the Northern and Southern School and had to define itself in relation to them. The nature--and even the weakness--of the Ox-head tradition may be seen in the fact that Fa-hai's work never makes any intimation of its own origins. This is the ultimate identity of the Ox-head School: an ideal with which to identify, an ideal which sought to go beyond simple sectarianism, but one which of its very nature required the suppression of its own identity.

In order to define the nature of the Ox-head ideal more precisely, it will be necessary to turn to strictly doctrinal matters. As it turns out, the Platform Sūtra will be a very useful guide in this endeavor as well.

4. The Teachings of Ox-head Ch'an

In the discussion of the historical development of the Ox-head School above, it was necessary to begin with a statement of the traditional explanation of the School's lineal development. In a somewhat analogous fashion, it will be convenient here, at the

beginning of our brief analysis of the School's doctrines, to sketch the basic positions of modern scholarship on the development of early Ch'an. The following three points define the general consensus of modern scholarship prior to 1967:

1) The Northern and Southern Schools represent two different factions or interpretations that developed under the tutelage of Hung-jen, the teacher of both Shen-hsiu of the North and Hui-neng of the South. The Northern School, which was clearly dominant at first, taught a basically "gradualistic" doctrine of spiritual practice, while the Southern School maintained the more advanced and authentic "sudden" teaching of Ch'an.[72] (The terms "sudden" and "gradual" will be explained below.)

2) The beginning of the Southern School's march to its rightful ascendancy was the vigorous anti-Northern School campaign by Hui-neng's disciple Shen-hui. This campaign initiated a battle which was hard-fought on both sides, but which eventually induced the followers of Ch'an to desert the Northern School in favor of the banner of Hui-neng.[73]

3) The Ox-head School preceded and thus stood apart from the events just mentioned. It was derived from the Mādhyamika tradition of South China, but its teachings were fundamentally similar to those of the Southern School of Ch'an.

The newer interpretation of the development of early Ch'an, which is based on the research of Professor Yanagida and myself, is as follows:

1) The Northern School represents the first flowering of early Ch'an. This School was responsible for the basic formulation of Ch'an--its pseudo-historical theories, its approach to meditation, and its doctrinal expression. The exceptional treatment accorded Shen-hsiu by Empress Wu in Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an at the very beginning of the eighth century was an important source of the School's momentum and, eventually, both a standard of comparison for subsequent factions of Ch'an to emulate and a target for them to criticize. Although the teachings of the Northern School included many different elements, some of them "gradualistic" and some "sudden," the primary or ultimate position of the School was that enlightenment should be manifest constantly in all activities. This was called the "perfect teaching" (yüan-tsung 圓宗 or yüan-chiao fa-men 圓教法門).[74]

2) Shen-hui's campaign was not only partly designed to correct perceived excesses on the part of Shen-hsiu's successors, but also to establish Hui-neng as the legitimate Sixth Patriarch of Ch'an and to advance Shen-hui's own personal status as his successor. Shen-hui's attacks were made vigorously and persistently and, although the Northern School apparently never saw fit to respond to them directly, they irrevocably stigmatized both

attacker and victim. On the one hand, Shen-hui's ideas were incorporated into the works of later factions, even though his own lineage was not accepted as orthodox. No doubt the self-serving nature of Shen-hui's campaign and his penchant for personal invective before large public audiences rendered association with him relatively undesirable. The sub-lineages of the Northern School, on the other hand, continued to flourish numerically, but the teachings of the School itself came to be thought of in some circles as simplistic and superficial. It had never really existed as a single, discrete "school" in the institutional sense, so that in the second half of the eighth century it lost most of its former appeal and creative momentum.[75]

3) That momentum shifted to the several other factions of Ch'an that emerged in the second half of the eighth century: the Szechwan Schools, the Ox-head School, and the Hung-chou School of Ma-tsu Tao-i. The last of these occupies a very special place in the development of Ch'an, being the first phase of Ch'an's classical or golden age. Like the Szechwan Schools, however, the Ox-head School was clearly transitional in nature in its attempt to transcend the sectarianism of North versus South and to create a doctrine and style of practice fit for the new age.

Previous scholarship on the Ox-head School has emphasized its anti-contemplative, anti-Northern School stance and its Mādhyamika ties. Note, for

example, the following lines drawn by Kuno from the Hsin ming 心銘 (Inscription on the Mind), a work that is attributed (no doubt falsely) to Niu-t'ou Fa-jung:

> If you wish to attain purity of mind, then make effort [in the context of] no-mind (wu-hsin 無心).
>
> To maintain tranquility with the mind is still not to transcend the illness [of ignorance].
>
> One's numenous penetration [of wisdom] responds to things and is always [focused on] the immediate present.[77]
>
> Do not struggle to maintain an infantile practice.
>
> Enlightenment (bodhi) is fundamentally existent and needs no maintenance; the illusions (kleśa) are fundamentally non-existent and need no eradication.
>
> Without refuge and without accepting [the influence of other entities] transcend contemplation (chüeh-kuan, literally, to "cut-off" or "extirpate contemplation")[76] and forget maintaining [awareness of the mind].

Kuno concludes that these and other lines from Hsin ming clearly display the Ox-head School's opposition to the contemplative tendencies of the Northern School--specifically, the doctrine of shou-hsin or "maintaining [awareness of] the mind" found in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun 修心要論 (Treatise on the Essentials on Cultivating the Mind) attributed to Hung-jen.[78] Although we cannot undertake a detailed analysis of the Hsin ming here, at least one modern

authority would have the last line introduced above translated differently. Nakamura Hajime's dictionary of Buddhist terminology defines the phrase chüeh-kuan wang-shou 絶觀忘守 as the rejection of the "examination of truth" (i.e., kuan) and the "conscientious practice of the path" (shou).[79] Further examination of the term chüeh-kuan indicates that Nakamura's definition is essentially correct.

The first known usages of the term chüeh-kuan occur in the Ta-sheng hsüan-lun 大乘玄論 (Treatise on the Mysteries of the Mahāyāna) by the great Madhyamika scholar Chi-tsang 吉藏 (549-623). Before introducing these usages themselves, we should first note his explanation of the term kuan in the same text. It is clear from the equivalents that he uses--"comprehension" (liao-ta 了達), "illumination" (lü-chao 履照), "investigation" (chien-chiao 檢校), and "examination" (kuan-ch'a 觀察)--that Chi-tsang is not referring specifically to the practice of vipaśyanā or insight meditation, but rather to the function of perceptual cognition in general. To paraphrase his explanation, just as light illuminates both good and bad, so does cognition (kuan) perceive (also kuan) both success and failure. Chi-tsang mentions but ignores the use of kuan in the terminology of meditation. Instead, he approaches the term by way of the "view of the middle" (chung-kuan 中觀), saying that the meaning of kuan is understood concurrently with the understanding of the middle, i.e., the middle truth that lies between the extremes of phenomenal and ultimate reality.[80] To refer once again to Nakamura, kuan is to "cognize the truth of things with wisdom."[81]

Although Nakamura's definition is based on the Mādhyamakākarikā, he could just as well have referred to the following statement by Chi-tsang:

> The myriad transformations [of phenomenal reality] are not without their own truth (tsung), but that truth is their characterlessness. The truth of emptiness (hsü-tsung 虛宗, presumably śūnyatā) is not without correspondence [in the mind of the sage], but that which corresponds is [the sage's] no-mind (wu-hsin 無心). Therefore, the sage uses the wondrous wisdom of no-mind to correspond to that characterless truth of emptiness. Internal and external are both effaced; conditions (i.e., the objects of perception) and wisdom are both serene. Wisdom is a name for the illumination of knowing (chih-chao 知照). How could it be equivalent to the prajñā that transcends cognition (chüeh-kuan, i.e., of things with wisdom.)[82]

This passage occurs in the context of a discussion about the meaning of the Sanskrit term prajñā and its various translations into Chinese. The difference between prajñā and the native term chih-hui 智慧 or "wisdom," Chi-tsang is saying, is that the latter involves the perception of objects. True prajñā, on the other hand, is beyond all types of discrimination and is thus without any specific objects. Wisdom is thus the understanding of the superficial veneer of phenomenal reality, while prajñā reaches the ultimate truth of śūnyatā and is entirely beyond all phenomenal distinctions. As we shall see, the "Chüeh-kuan lun"

refers to the illumination of wisdom, but only in the sense of the sage's no-mind embracing the non-substantial or "empty" character of reality. Hence the title of this Ox-head text must be translated, not as the Treatise on the Eradication of Contemplation, but as the Treatise on the Transcendence of Cognition.[83]

(a) The "Chüeh-kuan lun" or Treatise on the Transcendence of Cognition: The Chüeh-kuan lun is presented as a dialogue between two openly hypothetical individuals. One is a teacher named Ju-li hsien-sheng 入理先生, "Mister Entered-into-the-Absolute" or, for a simpler interpretive reading, "Professor Enlightenment." The other is a student named Yüan-men 緣門, "Teaching of Conditionality" or just "Conditionality." Here are the opening and closing sections of the main part of the text:

> Professor Enlightenment was silent and said nothing. Conditionality then arose suddenly and asked Profesor Enlightenment: "What is the mind? What is it to pacify the mind (an-hsin 安心)? [The master] answered: "You should not posit a mind, nor should you attempt to pacify it--this may be called 'pacified.'"
>
> Question: "If there is no mind, how can one cultivate enlightenment(tao 道)?" Answer: "Enlightenment is not a thought of the mind, so how could it occur in the mind?"
>
> Question: "If it is not thought of by the mind, how should it be thought of?" Answer: "If there are thoughts then there is

mind, and for there to be mind is contrary to enlightenment. If there is no thought (wu-nien 無念) then there is no mind (wu-hsin 無心), and for there to be no mind is true enlightenment."

Question: "Do all sentient beings actually have mind or not?" Answer: "If there are thoughts then there is mind, and for there to be mind is contrary to enlightenment. If there is no thought (wu-nien) then there is no mind (wu-hsin), and for there to be no mind is true enlightenment."

Question: "Do all sentient beings actually have mind or not?" Answer: "[To say that] all sentient beings actually have minds is a mistaken view. To posit mind within [the realm of] no-mind is to generate wrong ideas."

Question: "What 'things' are there in no-mind?" Answer: "No-mind is without 'things.' The absence of things is the Naturally True (t'ien-chen 天真). The Naturally True is the Great Enlightenment (ta-tao 大道)."

Question: "How can the wrong ideas of sentient beings be extinguished?" Answer: "If you perceive [i.e., "think in terms of"] wrong ideas and extinction, you will not transcend (li 離) wrong ideas."

Question: "Without extinguishing [wrong ideas], can one attain union with the principle of enlightenment?" Answer: "If you speak of 'union' and 'non-union' you will not transcend wrong ideas."

Question: "What should I do?" Answer: "You should do nothing."

Question: "I understand this teaching now even less than before." Answer: "There truly is no understanding of the Dharma. Do not seek to understand it."

Question: "What is the ultimate?" Answer: "There is no beginning and no end."

Question: "Can there be no cause and effect [i.e., training and enlightenment]?" Answer: "There is no fundamental (pen 本) and no derivative (mo 末)."

Question: "How is this explained?" Answer: "The true is without explanation."

Question: "What is knowing and perception (chih-chien 知見)?" Answer: "To know the Suchness of all dharmas, to perceive the sameness of all dharmas."

Question: "What mind is it that knows, what eye is it that perceives?" Answer: "This is the knowing of non-knowing, the perception of non-perception."

Question: "Who teaches these words?" Answer: "It is as I have been asked."

Question: "What does it mean to say that it is as you have been asked?" Answer: "If you contemplate [your own] questions, the answers will be understood [thereby] as well."

At this Conditionality was silent and he thought everything through once again. Professor Enlightenment asked: "Why do you not say anything?" Conditionality answered:

"I do not perceive even the most minute bit of anything that can be explained."

At this point Professor Enlightenment said to Conditionality: "You would appear to have now perceived the True Principle."

Conditionality asked: "Why [do you say] 'would appear to have perceived' and not that I 'correctly perceived' [the True Principle]?" Enlightenment answered: "What you have now perceived is the non-existence of all dharmas. This is like the non-Buddhists who study how to make themselves invisible, but cannot destroy their shadow and footprints."

Conditionality asked: "How can one destroy both form and shadow?" Enlightenment answered: "Being fundamentally without mind and its sensory realms, you must not willfully generate the ascriptive view [or, perception] of impermanence."

* * *

Question: "If one becomes [a Tathāgata] without transformation and in one's own body, how can it be called difficult?" Answer: "Willfully generating (ch'i 起) the mind is easy; extinguishing the mind is difficult. It is easy to affirm the body, but difficult to negate it. It is easy to act, but difficult to be without action. Therefore, understand that the mysterious achievement is difficult to attain, it is difficult to gain union with the Wondrous Principle. Motionless is the True, which the three [lesser types of] are only rarely attained."

> At this Conditionality gave a long sigh, his voice filling the ten directions. Suddenly, soundlessly, he experienced a great expansive enlightenment. The mysterious brilliance of his pure wisdom [revealed] no doubt in its counter-illumination. For the first time he realized the extreme difficulty of spiritual training and that he had been uselessly beset with illusory worries. He then lamented aloud: "Excellent, excellent! Just as you have taught without teaching, so have I heard without hearing. Hearing and teaching being unitary is equivalent to serene non-teaching...."[84]

Other scholars have analyzed the contents of the Chüeh-kuan lun by focusing on individual lines and terms from the text,[85] but I believe that it is the transformation experience by Conditionality that is its most important and revealing aspect. The stages in this transformation are as follows:

> 1. From the very beginning through the greater part of the text, Conditionality asks one question after another without ever really understanding the point of Enlightenment's answers. The questions are not always particularly profound, but they serve as a useful aid in the presentation of the Ox-head approach to religious practice. The impact of the Mādhyamika on this approach is quite evident in Enlightenment's consistent refusal to allow the conscious postulation or willfull

generation of any religious ideal or activity.

2. At the end of the second segment presented above, Conditionality achieves what he thinks is a major breakthrough: the complete disappearance of all discriminative perception. This is not sufficient for his teacher, who greets this attainment with pointedly faint praise and rejects it as a form of cognitive nihilism.

3. Although Enlightenment continues to talk in negative terms about extinguishing the mind and body, his student's final experience of enlightenment is described in very positive terms. That is, "the mysterious brilliance of his pure wisdom [revealed] no doubt in its counter-illumination."

Although one might quibble that this dramatization of Conditionality's enlightenment is not very realistic, it is more important to notice that it adds substantially to the literary effect of the Chüeh-kuan lun at the same time that it helps to underscore an important point of Ox-head religious doctrine. The Ox-head School, if we are to judge by the Chüeh-kuan lun was not entirely against the notion of meditative contemplation per se. On the contrary, it sought to promote the practice--but demanded a certain sophistication that was all too frequently lacking in the beginning student. Throughout the course of the Chüeh-kuan lun, Professor Enlightenment struggles diligently to bring his student to this level of religious sophistication. In the process he deflects Conditionality's interests in pacifying the mind,

achieving the extraordinary abilities associated with meditative endeavor (telepathy, levitation, and the like), and maintaining the letter rather than the true spirit of the precepts, etc. When Conditionality succeeds in eliminating all these tendencies, his teacher carries him still further, so that he ultimately achieves a state of perfect wisdom. The point of all the negation and denial, then, is not that there was no positive goal to be reached, but that the discrimination or conceptualization of goals, techniques, and moral standards was absolutely rejected. This is no different from the most fundamental message of the Prajñā-pāramitā or Perfection of Widsom texts: that one should practice the Bodhisattva path, but never perceive there to be any path or any person practicing it. The distinctive feature of the Chüeh-kuan lun is thus not its ultimate message, but the form in which it presents that message.

The final state of wisdom reached by Conditionality is described in terms that are essentially identical both to Chi-tsang's definition of prajñā and the religious ideal of the Northern School. Concerning the former, Conditionality's penultimate achievement represents the transcendence of all discriminatory cognition, while his final achievement represents a breakthrough into the pure, non-discriminating illumination of śūnyatā. Before considering the relationship between this achievement and the teachings of the Northern School, let us first consider the very informative example of the Platform Sūtra. The question of immediate antecedents to Ox-head School doctrine can then be introduced and discussed in a more integrated and meaningful way.

(b) The Platform Sūtra: The Platform Sūtra, which is now thought to have been written around the year 780, begins with a very charming narrative about the transmission of the Dharma from Hung-jen, the Fifth Patriarch, to Hui-neng. In this account Shen-hsiu is depicted as a highly learned and sincere, but unenlightened, chief student of the Fifth Patriarch. Hui-neng, on the other hand, is represented as an illiterate barbarian from the far South who is not even a monk, but who is nonetheless intuitively enlightened to the true meaning of Buddhism. Realizing that the time of his death is approaching, Hung-jen gives his students the following assignment: Each of them was to write a verse describing his own understanding of Buddhism, the one with the best verse to receive transmission of the Dharma and become his successor, the Sixth Patriarch. The majority of Hung-jen's students do not even attempt to enter this competition, since they are convinced that victory will go to Shen-hsiu. After all, had he not been their own instructor over the years? Shen-hsiu himself, however, is intensely aware of his own lack of true understanding. Finally, in great consternation, he writes:

> The body is the Bodhi Tree.
> The mind is like a bright mirror's stand.
> Laboring all the time to wipe [the mirror],
> one should not let there be any dust.

The Fifth Patriarch inwardly realizes the limitations of this verse, but exhorts his students to recite it and practice accordingly. When Hui-neng, who has been serving as a lowly temple menial since his arrival

eight months previously, hears about the competition and Shen-hsiu's verse, he composes the following:

> Bodhi fundamentally has no tree.
> The bright mirror likewise has no stand.
> The Buddha-nature is always clear and pure--
> where could there be any dust?[86]

Although this verse is the key to Hui-neng's accession to the status of Patriarch, thereby upsetting the favorite candidate, Shen-hsiu, it is not the final statement of the Platform Sūtra's teachings. This final statement must be sought in the long sermon that completes the core portion of this important text. Although it is difficult to select one segment that is in itself representative of the entire sermon, the following verse is "Hui-neng's" last pronouncement before accepting questions from his listeners:

> The ignorant person practices seeking future happiness, and does not practice the Way,
> And says that to practice seeking future happiness is the Way.
> Though he hopes that almsgiving and offerings will bring boundless happiness,
> As before, in his mind the three [types of] karmas are created.
> If you wish to destroy your crimes by practicing seeking future happiness,
> Even though in a future life you obtain this happiness, the crime will still be left.
> If you can, in your mind cast aside the cause of your crimes,

Then each of you, within your own natures,
will truly repent,
If you awaken to the Mahāyāna and truly
repent,
Evil being removed and good achieved, you will
truly attain to crimelessness.
If students of the Way observe their own
selves well,
They will be the same as those already
awakened.
I am causing this Sudden Teaching to be trans-
mitted,
And one who aspires to learn it will become
one with me.
If in the future you wish to seek your
original body,
Wash out the evil abuses of the three poisons
from within your minds.
Work hard to practice the Way; do not be
absent-minded.
If you spend your time in vain your whole life
will soon be forfeited.
If you encounter the teaching of the Mahayana
Sudden Doctrine,
Join your palms in devotion and sincerity,
and strive earnestly to reach it.[87]

Although the Chüeh-kuan lun and the Platform Sūtra are obviously two very different works, there is a certain parallelism in the structure of their arguments. Each work begins with the statement or implication of a relatively unsophisticated doctrine of religious training, i.e., Conditionality's questions and implicit preconceptions and "Shen-hsiu's" verse.

This relatively primitive doctrine is then rejected, by Professor Enlightenment's relentless negations and "Hui-neng's" verse, respectively. The final or ultimate position of each text is then stated in positive terms, in Conditionality's final experience of enlightenment and "Hui-neng's" sermon. In other words, both texts relate their message by means of a thesis, antithesis, and synthesis.

On the surface, such a tripartite structure should not seem surprising in the context of any major religious tradition, especially Buddhism. Considering the Mādhyamika affiliations of the Ox-head School, we could compare this structure to the doctrine of the Two Truths, the samvṛti-satya or Conventional Truth and the paramārtha-satya or Ultimate Truth. In Mādhyamika texts, the conventional apprehension of the world by ordinary, discriminative consciousness is never granted ultimate validity, but it is only through the investigation of the contradictions inherent in that unenlightened perception of reality that the higher truth is indicated.

This being the case, it would be a relatively simple matter to search for similar styles of presentation in texts written well before the advent of the Ox-head School. Nevertheless, I have not observed this particular structure of argument in any text of early Ch'an, which is after all the subject at hand. Shen-hui, of course, indicates his own teachings with the aid of comparison to a well-criticized version of Northern School teachings, but his approach was more inclined to simple comparison than integrated dialectical progression. Other early texts will state different series of teachings with the implication of ascending hierarchies of profundity, but I recall no

example where the lower doctrines are actually repudiated in favor of the higher. It would seem that this type of argument is a trademark of the Ox-head School.

Even more than the Chüeh-kuan lun, the Platform Sūtra has long been associated with Shen-hui and his teachings. In this case, the suspicion that it was actually written by a member of his lineage received much greater credence because of the text's numerous borrowings from his works. Yanagida's analysis of the Ox-head origins of the Platform Sūtra was based principally on issues other than those under consideration here. Briefly, then, how do the verses attributed to Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng relate to the long sermon that follows?

The traditional interpretation of "Shen-hsiu's" verse is that it represents a gradual teaching. That is, the practitioner is supposed to strive constantly to purify and perfect himself, progressively ridding himself of illusions just as a mirror might be cleaned of dust. According to this interpretation, one achieves enlightenment upon completely ridding one's mind of illusion, just as a mirror that is made completely clean will reflect or "illuminate" all things perfectly.

This interpretation of "Shen-hsiu's" verse is consistent with the other references to Northern School doctrine in the sermon that follows. In particular, the practice of "viewing purity" (k'an-ching 看淨), a well-known mainstay of Northern School meditation practice, is rejected because it supposedly implies a dichotomy between what is pure and what is impure.[88] The sudden teaching, of course, refuses to stipulate any difference between purity and impurity.

Hence "viewing purity" is incorrect because it implies the attempt to reject impurity and embrace purity, just as polishing the mirror of the mind is incorrect because the dusts of illusion are fundamentally non-existent.

Two questions of real significance here are, first, whether or not these interpretations of the metaphor of the mirror and the practice of "viewing purity" are accurate representations of Northern School doctrine and, second, whether or not Fa-hai was aware of the authentic teachings of the Northern School at the time of his compilation of the Platform Sūtra. The answer to the first of these questions is definitely negative, but that to the second is uncertain.

A simple key to the understanding of the teachings of the Northern School and the original intent of the metaphor of the mirror as found in the Platform Sūtra verse is provided by the following excerpt from Shen-hsiu's Kuan-hsin lun 觀心論 (Treatise on the Contemplation of the Mind):

> Further, lamps of eternal brightness (ch'ang-ming teng 長明灯 , i.e., votive lamps) are none other than the truly enlightened mind. When one's wisdom is bright and distinct, it is likened to a lamp. For this reason all those who seek emancipation always consider the body as the lamp's stand, the mind as the lamp's dish, and faith as the lamp's wick. The augmentation of moral discipline is taken as the addition of oil. For wisdom to be bright and penetrating is likened

> to the lamp's flame (or, in an alternate version, "brightness"). If one constantly burns such a lamp of truly such-like true enlightenment, its illumination will destroy all the darkness of ignorance and stupidity. If one can [inspire others to] become enlightened by using this teaching, then one lamp lights a hundred or a thousand lamps. Since the lamps are bright successively, the brightness is never exhausted. In the past there was a Buddha named "Burning Lamp" (Dīpaṁkara), the meaning of which is the same as this.[89]

This passage does not describe a doctrine of gradual practice, but rather one that the Northern School texts variously refer to as "perfect and sudden" (yüan-tun 圓頓) or "perfectly accomplished" (yüan-ch'eng 圓成).[90] It defines a style of religious practice that is to be maintained constantly. There is no mention of any instantaneous flash of insight, a single moment in which one is transformed from ignorant to enlightened person , simply because there is no essential difference between these two states. The congruence between the metaphor of the lamp in the passage above and that of the mirror in the Platform Sūtra verse hardly needs explication; the latter reads like a fragment of the former. Omitting the reference to the Bodhi Tree for a moment, wiping the surface of the mirror and never allowing any dust to alight thereon is not the key to the mirror's first attainment of its reflective capacity (i.e., a moment of enlightenment), but rather a standard maintenance operation necessary for the on-going functioning of the mirror. Analogous elements in the metaphor of the

lamp are the addition of oil and trimming of the wick, both of which are necessary to the lamp's continued function of illumination.

The mirror is, in fact, a better metaphor than the lamp for the never-ending brilliance of the mind's inherent capacity for wisdom: A lamp can go out, but a mirror always shines, whether obscured by dust or not. As the Northern School texts themselves point out, the mirror's reflective capacity is inherent, a fundamentally existent capacity. The dust that might obscure it, however, is quintessentially illusory and non-existent and thus has no real impact on the mirror at all. There are, in fact, a number of passages within Northern School texts that indicate basically the same idea as that found in "Hui-neng's" verse, i.e., that the illuminative capacity of the mirror (the mind) is so fundamental that dust (the illusions) either have no impact whatsoever or do not even really exist.[91]

The original meaning of "viewing purity" is a bit more subtle and, therefore, more difficult to explain quickly than the metaphor of the mirror. There are numerous references in Northern School works to the correct type of "viewing" to be undertaken in the course of meditation, but the most revealing one is the very simple statement attributed to Shen-hsiu: "View purity in the locus of purity (ching-ch'u k'an ching 淨處看淨)."[92] The implication of this and other references to the same subject is not that one should reject impurity in favor of purity, but that one's entire existence, both subjective and objective, self and environment, is essentially pure. To paraphrase the Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun 大乘起信論 (The Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna), this is not the

purity of pure and impure, but a higher sort of purity that transcends all dualities. In addition, the notion that one should willfully generate or "activate" (ch'i 起) the mind in order to view purity--or to do anything, for that matter--was specifically proscribed in the Northern School texts. Indeed, the early Northern School devotion to the ideal of pu-ch'i 不起 or "non-activation" of the mind is one of the best-documented facts about the School's teachings and practices.[93]

Next, did Fa-hai know the real Northern School interpretations of the metaphor of the mirror and the practice of "viewing purity?" Were it not for the discussion of the latter subject in the Platform Sutra, the answer to this question might well be affirmative. This is only in part because of the remarkable coincidence between that metaphor and the passage introduced above from Shen-hsiu's Kuan-hsin lun. In addition to this, the reference to the Bodhi Tree in the same verse can also be keyed to passages within Northern School literature.[94] If Fa-hai had been aware of the authentic interpretation of this metaphor, we could argue as follows: Instead of positing a relatively primitive doctrine of spiritual training, Fa-hai chose the most sophisticated doctrine known to him. "Hui-neng's" verse would thus have even greater impact as the repudiation of something previously considered to be extremely profound and valuable. Naturally, this would have important implications regarding the relative importance of Northern School teachings in the formation of Ox-head doctrine.

However interesting this possibility might be, the entire scenario does not fit with the contents of

the rest of the Platform Sūtra. First of all, the verse from "Hui-neng's" sermon introduced above quite openly criticizes the quest of ignorant people for future happiness. Within a Buddhist context there can hardly be any more primitive approach to religious activity. This willingness to criticize quite elementary doctrines prevails throughout the entire sermon. In addition, there is repeated evidence that Fa-hai's understanding of Northern School doctrines (and it should be pointed out that the most characteristic of Northern School doctrines discussed in the Platform Sūtra are never labeled as such) was based primarily on the polemical positions of Shen-hui.

We now come to the question of Northern Ch'an influence on the doctrines of the Ox-head School. Before beginning, it is necessary to point out that it will be impossible in the present context to include the sort of elaborate cross-referencing of primary sources that will ultimately be necessary to prove the assertions made here. Such documentation will accompany a new translation of the Chüeh-kuan lun to be published sometime in the future. Further, all discussion of Shen-hui's influence on the development of Ox-head doctrine will also be deferred to a later occasion. Although the precise dimensions of Shen-hui's contribution to the development of early Ch'an are, in my opinion, still to be delineated, the fact of that contribution is beyond question. It is the matter of the Northern School's influence that is much more obscure and, perhaps for that very reason, of much greater importance to our own search for understanding. What we are looking for here is not the obvious impact of Shen-hui's high-profile campaign,

but the more pervasive influence of over a century of Ch'an activity.

What, then, are the areas of similarity between Northern and Ox-head School doctrine as demonstrated in the Chüeh-kuan lun and the Platform Sūtra? Certain minor indications of commonality are almost immediately evident--such as the presence of quotations from the Leng-ch'ieh ching 楞伽經 or Lankāvatāra Sūtra in the former and a reference to the i-hsing san-mei 一行三昧 or the Samādhi of Oneness, to use Yampolsky's translation, in the latter.[95] In other cases the Ox-head doctrines are clearly built upon earlier Northern School formulations--such as the equivalence of meditation and wisdom. (Shen-hui's teachings on the subject played a part in the development of this doctrine as well.)[96] A complete listing of such matters would be excessively intricate and tedious, so that at present it will be best to focus on the following three points:

1. The Metaphor of the Sun and Clouds: The Platform Sūtra contains a description of the Buddha nature existent within all sentient beings that is couched in terms of an ever-shining sun obstructed by the clouds of ignorance. Part of this description reads:

> The sun and the moon are always bright, yet if they are covered by clouds, although above they are bright, below they are darkened, and the sun, moon, stars, and planets cannot be seen clearly. But if suddenly the wind of wisdom should blow and roll away the clouds and mists, all forms in the universe appear at once. The purity of the nature of

> man in this world is like the blue sky; wisdom is like the sun, knowledge like the moon. Although knowledge and wisdom are always clear, if you cling to external environments, the floating clouds of false thoughts will create a cover, and your own natures cannot become clear.[97]

This is an elaboration of a metaphor that first occurs in two very important early Ch'an works, the Hsiu-hsin yao lun attributed to Hung-jen and Shen-hsiu's Kuan-hsin lun.[98] Please note that it is not acceptable to consider this metaphor to be part of some common legacy received by both Shen-hsiu Hui-neng from Hung-jen. The point is not so much that the date of composition of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun is in doubt, but that the "Hui-neng" who appears in the Platform Sūtra is not the same as the historical figure of the same name.

It is interesting that his metaphor, or rather the conception of latent enlightenment shared by all people that it describes, formed the basis for the practice of shou-hsin or "maintaining [awareness of] the mind." Shou-hsin has already been mentioned above as the apparent object of criticism by the Ox-head School's Hsin ming. If both the Platform Sūtra and the Hsin ming are to be accepted as products of the Ox-head School, then we must infer that the lines introduced above from the latter work cannot be interpreted as a simple repudiation of meditation practice.

2. The Importance of Pu-ch'i or "Non-activation": We have already discussed this concept above.

Note its importance in the following statement by "Hui-neng":

> Men of the world, separate yourselves from views; do not activate (ch'i) thoughts. If there were no thinking, then no-thought (wu-nien) would have no place to exist.... If you give rise to thoughts (ch'i-nien 起念) from your self-nature, then, although you see, hear, perceive, and know, you are not stained by the manifold environments, and are always free.[99]

The concept of pu-ch'i may best be explained with reference to the metaphor of the mirror, not the specialized example that occurs in the Platform Sūtra verse, but the more general understanding that abounds in the works of Northern Ch'an and other Buddhist schools. According to this metaphor, the sage's mind is supposed to perceive all things perfectly, just as a mirror perfectly reflects its objects. As in Chi-tsang's concept of wisdom, the enlightened person's mind "illuminates" all things. Illuminating or perceiving all things perfectly, the enlightened person is supposed to react immediately to the needs of sentient beings. Just as the mirror displays an image when an object is placed in front of it but does not create images on its own, so the sage reacts perfectly to the world around him but generates no independent activities of his own. This avoidance of the intentional generation of any activity, physical or mental, is known as pu-ch'i. Although not as prominent in the Platform Sūtra as other concepts such as wu-nien or "no-thought," the presence of pu-ch'i here indicates a

direct continuity between the Northern Ox-head Schools.

3. The Use of Kuan-hsin-shih or "Contemplative Analysis": The Platform Sutra gives some very interesting definitions for the term tso-ch'an 坐禪 or "sitting in meditation" and ch'an-ting 禪定 or "Ch'an meditation":

> In this teaching "sitting" means without any obstruction anywhere, outwardly and under all circumstances, not to activate thoughts (nien pu-ch'i). "Meditation" is internally to see the original nature and not become confused.
>
> And what do we call Ch'an meditation (ch'an-ting)? Outwardly to exclude form is "ch'an"; inwardly to be unconfused is meditation (ting).
>
> ...Separation from form on the outside is "ch'an"; being untouched on the inside is meditation (ting). Being "ch'an" externally and meditation (ting) internally, it is known as ch'an meditation (ch'an-ting).[100]

These explanations are obviously far removed from the primary meanings of the compounds involved. Although not immediately manifest in the Chüeh-kuan lun, this style of interpretation occurs in other fragmentary writings associated with the Ox-head School, so that Yanagida has called it a characteristic practice of that School.[101] Before it became associated with Ox-head Ch'an, however, this style of "contemplative analysis" was originally associated with the Northern School and, in particular, with Shen-hsiu.

The original tendency of "contemplative analysis" as practiced by the Northern School was to redefine standard Buddhist terms and doctrines as direct metaphors for the practice of meditation. The metaphor of the lamp introduced above from Shen-hsiu's Kuan-hsin lun is one example of this practice; other examples, including those in which two-character compounds are split up and defined separately, abound in the literature of his school. The Platform Sūtra discussion of tso-ch'an and ch'an-ting is interesting in that it applies this process to a term for meditation itself.[102]

5. Conclusion

This article has been the first step in the investigation of a hypothesis about the Ox-head School: that it represents a link between the early and classical phases of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism. Obviously, the precise dimensions of the School's historical role are still far from clear. The following types of research endeavor are still necessary:

a. a more detailed examination of the writings of Ox-head masters, including extensive cross-referencing between their ideas and those of earlier and later figures in other schools;

b. study of the biographies of those monks known to have trained under teachers of both the Ox-head and later factions of Ch'an; and

c. The search in early "encounter dialogue" material for any specific Ox-head influence.

Several preliminary conclusions may be stated as a result of study to date:

1. The Ox-head School was a uniquely Southern tradition, all of its members being from the South. In fact, all of its major figures--the very early Fa-jung and Chih-yen included--came from or were active in a small area of what is now Kiangsu.

2. The bonds that joined the Ox-head masters were not based on long years of study together. Although the limits of existent documentation may have concealed a more extensive network of teacher-student relationships, we must still infer that the School represented some sort of an abstract religious ideal with which personal identification was both attractive and easily accomplished.

3. Biographical data has suggested that the Ox-head School was indeed related to both earlier and later phases of Ch'an. Two or three Ox-head monks are known to have studied under Northern School masters, and even more are associated with Ma-tsu Tao-i and Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'üan. It is notable that there is so little association of Ox-head monks with figures from Shen-hui's lineage. In addition, it is curious that all of the monks associated with the later Ch'an figures are members of the Ho-lin and Ching-shan factions of the Ox-head School.

4. A major part of the Ox-head School's unifying religious ideal was the sense of its identity as something separate from both the Northern and Southern Schools. There was no clear statement of any hierar-

chical judgment applied to these two earlier factions of Ch'an, only the express desire to transcend the sectarian division between the two.

5. Two of the Ox-head School's most important works state their message by means of a common structure of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Although the length, complexity, and textual problems of "Hui-neng's" sermon in the Platform Sūtra make comparison with the conclusion of the Chüeh-kuan lun difficult, it is clear that both texts are indebted to the much earlier contributions of the Northern School. That is, even though Shen-hui's perjorative interpretation of the Northern School's teachings was accepted and used, the ultimate teaching of the two Ox-head School texts remained in basic conformity with some of the most basic tenets of Northern School religious theory.

The most interesting aspect of the Ox-head School is the way in which its teachings mirror its historical identity. The opening narrative of the Platform Sūtra, for example, can be read as historical allegory. Although the story itself is palpably false--Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng were never at Hung-jen's side at the same time and neither of them was there at the time of the master's death[103]--Shen-hsiu was a learned individual who taught great numbers of disciples within Hung-jen's lineage and Hui-neng was an obscure figure from the far South. The fact that Hui-neng is made to disappear for a time after his acquisition of the Dharma, as well as the popularity among Hung-jen's disciples of practice according to "Shen-hsiu's" verses, parallels the early ascendancy of the Northern School. Although Hui-neng's accession to the status of Sixth Patriarch implies an alignment of the

Platform Sūtra with Shen-hui's Southern School, note that the virulence of Shen-hui's anti-Northern School campaign is entirely missing. The Platform Sūtra espouses the "sudden teaching" of the "Southern School," but the content of each is different from that of Shen-hui.

Even more than the allegorical interpretation of the Platform Sūtra, the shared logical structure and specific contents of it and the Chüeh-kuan lun are entirely appropriate to the historical identity of the Ox-head School. The use of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis imply a legitimate association with the Mādhyamika tradition. In addition, the School's criticism of the ascribed teachings and use of the authentic teachings of the Northern School and its acceptance of Shen-hui's doctrinal innovations at the same time as it rejected the polemical virulence of his anti-Northern School campaign both demonstrate that the Ox-head School was indeed an integral part of the burgeoning Ch'an movement. As such, it was indebted to previous developments at the same time as it embraced its own unique and fully independent ideal. Certain aspects of this unique ideal seem to foreshadow the new spirit of Ch'an that was developing in southeast China, but the discussion of such matters is best left for a later occasion.

NOTES

1. The full title is Tonkō shutsudo shōshitsu issho (Ōsaka: Ataka Bukkyo bunko, 1935). This volume included photo-reproductions of the Tun-huang texts found by Suzuki in Peking; printed editions and Suzuki's comments were published by the same publisher the following year under the title Kōkan shōshitsu issho oyobi kaisetsu. The place-name shōshitsu, which literally means "small room," refers to a cave on Mount Sung which is traditionally associated with Bodhidharma, hence the English paraphrase used here. Please note that the English equivalents for Chinese and Japanese titles given in this article are offered for the reader's convenience and are not always literal translations.

2. Suzuki published his "Tonkō shutsudo Daruma oshō zekkanron ni tsuite" in Bukkyō kenkyū I:1 (1937). This included a critical edition based on three Tun-huang manuscripts and comments on the authorship of the treatise. This article is reproduced, with some revisions, in the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, II (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1968), 161-168. See note 6 below. Kuno had introduced these three manuscripts, which each man had independently discovered in the Pelliot Collection at Paris, and his own critical edition just a few months earlier in his "Ryūdōsei ni tomu Tōdai no Zenshū tenseki--Tonkō shutsudobon ni okeru Nanzen-Hokushū no daihyōteki sakuhin," published in Shūkyō kenkyū, new series XIV:1 (1937), 117-144.

3. See Kuno's "Gozu Hōyū ni oyoboseru Sanronshū no eikyō," Bukkyō kenkyū III:6 (1939), 51-88, and Ui's Zenshūshi kenkyū, I (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1939), 91-134. The second volume of Ui's Zenshūshi kenkyū (1941), pp. 511-519, includes a discussion of Fa-jung's relationship with five Chinese Mādhyamika masters.

4. See Suzuki and Furuta Shōkin, eds., Zekkanron (Kyōto: Kōbundo, 1945), or the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, II, 188-200, and Yanagida's "Zekkanron no hombun kenkyū," Zengaku kenkyū LVIII (1960), 65-124.

5. This volume has both Japanese and English titles: Tokiwa Gishin and Yanagida Seizan, Zekkanron--Eibun yakuchū, gembun kōtei, kokuyaku (Kyōto: Zen Bunka Kenkyūjo, Chūgoku zenroku kenkyūban, 1976) and Tokiwa Gishin, tr., A Dialogue on the Contemplation-Extinguished--A Translation based on Professor Seizan Yanagida's modern Japanese translation and consultations with Professor Yoshitaka Iriya (Kyōto: Institute for Zen Studies, 1973). The Institute referred to is connected with Hanazono College, which is itself affiliated with the Rinzai Zen School. Of the two dates given, the later one represents the date of the book's actual publication, although its preparation may have taken place much earlier.

6. Sekiguchi Shindai's Daruma daishi no kenkyū (Tōkyō: Shōkokusha, 1957; rpt. Toykō: Shunjūsha, 1969), pp. 85-93, contains a very convenient summary of the various arguments made in various articles by Suzuki, Kuno, and Sekiguchi himself. In addition to the works mentioned in notes 1, 2, and 4 above, Suzuki also discussed the Chüeh-kuan lun and the Ox-head School in his Zen shisōshi kenkyū, dai-ni--Daruma kara Enō ni itaru--which was actually written in 1943-1944, but published by Iwanami shoten in Tōkyō in 1951 and reprinted in the Suzuki Daisetzu zenshū, II, 161-208. Pages 161-168 contain a reproduction of Suzuki's article of 1937, pages 168-187 represent his comments to the edition of 1943, while pages 188-209 are devoted to editions of portions of two Tun-huang manuscripts. For the contributions of Kuno and Sekiguchi, see notes 2, 3, and 8.

7. Actually, Kuno first suggested the attribution to Shen-hui, but soon abandoned it in favor of that to Fa-jung. Suzuki never made any explicit response to Sekiguchi's arguments, which were published in "Zekkanron (Tonkō shutsudo) sensha kō," Taisho Daigaku gakuho XXX and XXXI (1940).

8. In addition to the article mentioned in the previous note, Sekiguchi has also written the following: "Tonkō shutsudo Zekkanron shōkō," Tendai Shūkyōgaku Kenkyūjo hō I (1951), which includes further evidence on the Ox-head affiliations of the Chüeh-kuan lun; Daruma daishi no kenkyū, already cited above, which includes long sections on the Chüeh-kuan lun (pp. 82-185) and the closely related Wu-hsin lun (Treatise on No-mind, pp. 186-212); "Gozuzen no rekishi to Darumazen," Shūkyō bunka XIV (March 1959), 1-118, republished in his Zenshū shisōshi (Tōkyō:

Sankibō busshorin, 1964), pp. 240-402, which includes a painstaking examination of every available shred of information about the lives of all the known Ox-head masters; "Gotaisan to Gozusan," Tōhō shūkyō XVI (November 1960), 21-39; and Daruma no kenkyū (Tōkyō: Iwanani shoten, 1967), 344-356, which adds interesting speculation about the apparent connection between Fo-k'u Wei-tse and Fu Hsi. (Note that Daruma Daishi no kenkyū and Daruma no kenkyū are completely different works.) Sekiguchi's failure to prove the attribution of the Chüeh-kuan lun to Fa-jung is based on a methodological oversight: He showed the text to be associated with Fa-jung's name in ninth-and tenth-century sources and Fa-jung to lack any historical relationship to the Ch'an School, but this does not prove that the Chüeh-kuan lun itself was also created independently of the Ch'an School. Rather, it is most likely that the Chüeh-kuan lun was a later compilation by a member or members of the Ox-head School and attributed to the legendary founder, who himself had had no contact with the Ch'an School per se and nothing to do with the Chüeh-kuan lun.

9. Yanagida's book was published by Hōzōkan in Kyōto.

10. Yanagida discusses the establishment of the "transmission of the lamp" (dentōshi or tōshi in Japanese) genre within the Northern School on pp. 33-100; other examples of Northern School precedents to various facets of Southern School thought occur on pp. 102, 148-149, 153, and 182-184. On the Ox-head School's being a reaction or alternative to the Northern and/or Southern Schools, see pp. 127, 132-133, and 181-182. On the date of authorship of the Chüeh-kuan lun, see p. 143. The probable authorship of the Platform Sūtra by Fa-hai is discussed on pp. 101-212, most specifically on pp. 195-209.

11. Kamata Shigeo has written the following on the subject of the Ox-head School: "Chōkan ni okeru zenshisō no keisei--gozuzen no sōjō--," Indogaku Bukyōgaku kenkyū IX:2 (1961), 73-78; Chūgoku Kegon shisōshi no kenkyū (Tōkyō: Tōkyō daigaku shuppansha, 1965), pp. 390-393 and 475-500; Chūgoku Bukkyō shisōshi kenkyū (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 1969), pp. 6, 61, 115, 132, 225, 237-258, and 394; and "Sanronshū-Gozuzen-Dōkyō o musubu shisōteki keifu--sōboku jōbutsu o tegakari to shite--," Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu kenkyū kiyō, XXVI. Kamata's contributions are interesting and skillfully done, especially on the

doctrinal relationship between the ideas of Ox-head Ch'an and Taoism, but they are too specialized to be of use here. Nakagawa Taka has written two articles on the Chüeh-kuan lun: "Zekkanron kō," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū VII:2 and "Zekkanron o chūshin to shite mitaru shoki Zenshushi no mondaiten, "Tōhoku Yakka Daigaku kiyō V (November 1958). Unfortunately, her attempts to make Bodhidharma's disciple Hui-k'o and Fa-jung the primary and secondary authors of the Chüeh-kuan lun and Fo-k'u Wei-tse its editor are quite unacceptable.

12. "Gozuzen no shisō," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū XV:2 (1967), 16-23.

13. On the supposed meeting between Tao-hsin and Fa-jung, see Ui, pp. 91-96. The historical summary presented here has been compiled with close reference to Sekiguchi's long article in Zenshūshi kenkyū. Some information from additional sources will be introduced, but all arguments based on "encounter dialogue" material from the CTL and other late sources will be omitted.

14. The point that Fa-jung, Hui-fang, and Fa-ch'ih were all together at one time is made by Ui, p. 100. The other observations made here are taken, with some modification, from Sekiguchi, Zenshū shisōshi, pp. 265-268.

15. See T50.603c-605b and Sekiguchi, Daruma daishi no kenkyū, pp. 134-147.

16. It is possible that Fa-jung was thus related to Ching-chüeh of the Northern School and some of the prominent lay supporters of Buddhism (the Ox-head School included) active during the second half of the eighth-century. See Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū, pp. 203-204.

17. Fa-jung's teachers are discussed by Ui. See note 3 above.

18. These restrictions, which involved limitations on the number of temples, etc., in areas of the South which the T'ang authorities felt were supporting rebels against the newly-established state, were imposed in 621. See the HKSC, T50.633c.

19. See T50.602a-c and Sekiguchi, Zenshū shisōshi, pp. 251-258.

20. The text reads age forty, but Sekiguchi, p. 252, shows that the correct figure is forty-five.

21. See Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū, pp. 36 and 45, note 4.

22. See the CTL T51.228c, for their biographies.

23. This assertion is made in the SKSC at T50.757c and the CTL at T51.228c. The SKSC, which is the earlier and longer of the two accounts, devotes more space to this alleged connection with Hung-jen than to Fa-ch'ih's studies under Hui-fang. The wording of the assertion presumes knowledge of the description of Hung-jen's last words as found in the Leng-ch'ieh jen-fa chih (Account of the Men and Teachings of the Laṅkā [vatāra School]), but Fa-ch'ih's name is not included in the list contained in this work--only in one of the lists in Tsung-mi's voluminous writings. See Yanagida, Shoki no Zenshi I--Ryōgashijiki, Den'hōbōki--, Zen no goroku, Vol. 2 (Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1971), p. 273 or T85.1289c and Kamata Shigeo, Zengen shosenshū tojo, Zen no goroku, Vol. 9 (Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1971), p. 289. Furthermore, the age at which the SKSC has Fa-ch'ih studying under Hung-jen corresponds to the year 647--four years before the death of Hung-jen's own teacher Tao-hsin and fully a decade before that of Niu-t'ou Fa-jung. If, on the other hand, one accepts the CTL version that Fa-ch'ih studied under Hung-jen at age thirty or in 664, this is only one year before Chih-wei is supposed to have studied under Fa-ch'ih. Yanagida, who points out these details on p. 129 of his Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū, suggests that Fa-ch'ih's study under Hung-jen was relatively brief and not enough to inspire his inclusion in the list of that master's major disciples. Although Yanagida acknowledges that he is using late materials, he further suggests that the attempt to link the Ox-head School with the Ch'an tradition of Bodhidharma through Hung-jen and Fa-ch'ih was an early enterprise that had already disappeared by the 750's (p. 130, his emphasis). Although it is impossible to corroborate this hypothesis, it does agree with the general tendency of early Ch'an to elaborate matters relating to the patriarchs in the reverse order of their presumed succession. Thus it would have been quite natural for the Ox-head School to identify itself first with Hung-jen and then with Tao-hsin.

24. Chih-wei's SKSC biography is at T50.758b-c. His move from Mount Niu-t'ou to Chin-ling was supposedly modeled after a similar move by Fa-ch'ih, but one tends to wonder whose biography was modeled after whom. Obviously, the emergence of the Ox-head School as an alternative to both the Northern and Southern Schools must have been a post-732 phenomenon, but even before that year, in which Shen-hui opened his attack upon the so-called "Northern School," there may have been some feeling of community identity shared by Chih-wei and his students in southeast China. Yanagida's suggestion about Chih-wei occurs on p. 180 of Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū.

25. See Sekiguchi, Zenshū shisōshi, pp. 270-272, for the several brief references to An-kuo Hsüan-t'ing in primary sources. The TCL contains a passage attributed to him, T48.944b.

26. See T50.834c-835b, T51.229a-230b, and Sekiguchi, Zenshū shisōshi, pp. 275-281.

27. See Sekiguchi, p. 279. For the excerpt of Hui-chung's teachings that occurs in the TCL, see T48.945b. The title Hsing-lu nan is taken from a fixed refrain in the text--that is, in the Tun-huang manuscript of the text, which is not necessarily that by Hui-chung. For a discussion of this refrain, see Iriya Yoshitaka, "Chōshin kōro nan--teikaku renshō no kakyoku ni tsuite--," Tsukamoto hakase juki kinen Bukkyō shigaku ronshū (Kyōto: Tsukamoto hakase juki kinen kai, 1961), pp. 82-83. For information about the text itself and the extant Tun-huang manuscripts, see Yanagida's "Zenseki kaidai," Nishitani Keiji and Yanagida Seizan, eds., Zenke goroku, sekai koten bungaku zenshū, No. 36B)(Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1974), II, 465.

28. The CTL's list of Hui-chung's disciples occurs at T51.223c-224a. For a discussion of their biographies, see Sekiguchi, pp. 282-292. T'ai-po Kuan-tsung's epitaph may be found in the Ch'üan T'ang-wen (Complete Writings of the T'ang, hereafter abbreviated CTW), in the fascicle 721.

29. See T50.768b-c, T51.231a, and Sekiguchi, Zenshū shisōshi, pp. 328-335. By all rights this monk should be referred to as Wei-tse, but the toponym Fo-k'u has been used throughout to minimize the possibility of confusion. Fo-k'u is also the more common in the primary sources.

30. See Sekiguchi, p. 334.

31. The same place-name is also used in reference to a location on Mount Niu-t'ou, but this fact is not mentioned in the primary sources vis-à-vis Fo-k'u Wei-tse.

32. See T50.768c, T55.1106b-c, and Sekiguchi, Zenshū shisōshi, p. 332. Some of the same works are also listed in other catalogues by Saichō (T55.1059b), Eun (1089a and 1091b), and Enchin (1093c, 1095a, and 1100c-1101b). These listings are generally made without attribution. The poems listed here as Fo-k'u's fifth work were not necessarily one integrated whole, but a number of different poems circulated either together or separately.

33. The Ch'an works that exist under the names of Pao-chih and Fu Hsi--which are, of course, totally spurious attributions--should be examined for their possible connection with the Ox-head School. Sekiguchi's Daruma no kenkyū, pp. 350-356, contains some interesting material in this regard, as already noted above.

34. For a complete list of the materials related to the Ox-head School that Saichō took back to Japan, see Sekiguchi, pp. 353-354. Also see his Zenshū shisōshi, pp. 333-334. Saichō's listing of the Wu-sheng i was mentioned in note 23 above; note that he also lists the CKL.

35. The SKSC lists the author of the inscription on this stele, but the work itself does not survive.

36. See T48.946b. The excerpts from his (no specific works are listed) occur at T48.910a and 947a. The student in question is known as Yün-chü Fu-chih. He is associated with both Mount T'ien-t'ai (which toponym is often prefixed to his name) and Yün-chü Temple on Mount Chung, just north of Chin-ling. The Japanese catalogues list a collection of his writings in juxtaposition with Fo-k'u's Huan-yüan chi. See T55.1089a, 1091b, and 1106b, cited in Sekiguchi, Zenshū shisōshi, p. 336.

37. Li Hua wrote some very interesting and useful epitaphs for members of several different Ch'an and non-Ch'an factions. See the brief discussion of his life and contributions by Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū , pp. 136-137 and 144, note 1. The

epitaph for Hsüan-su occurs in the CTW, fascicle 320. The SKSC account (T50.761c-762b) is obviously based on this epitaph. That in the CTL (T51.229b-c) is quite limited. See Sekiguchi, Zenshū shisōshi, pp. 293-299.

38. Unfortunately, this is not the only potential source of confusion surrounding Hsüan-su's names and titles. Not only is he also commonly referred to by the name of his temple, Ho-lin, he is known within his epitaph as Ching-shan ta-shih, a name one would have expected to find in reference to his student, Ching-shan Fa-ch'in. The epitaph also refers to Hsüan-su as Yuan-su, but this is merely a reflection of the ritual avoidance of the first character of Emperor Hsüan-tsung's name. The epitaph mentions Hsüan-su's style of Tao-ch'ing, which is apparently not used elsewhere. Neither does his official title, which will be mentioned just below, seem to have been widely used.

39. The name Yuan-su occurs in the inscription for the Shao-lin Temple written by one P'ei Ts'ui (CTW, 279). Since the individual in question is described as a Vinaya Master who lived after the Chen-kuan era (627-649) and is discussed before Fa-ju, who died in 689, it seems unlikely that he might be the Hsüan-su under consideration here. If Hsüan-su had actually lived at Shao-lin Temple, even for a brief period of time, it would be a significant indication of a link between the Northern and Ox-head Schools.

40. Ho-lin Temple was prepared for Hsüan-su by the magistrate of Jun-chou, an individual named Wei-Hsien. See Yanagida's discussion of this and other persons of the same surname active in the Ch'an movement during the latter half of the eighth century, pp. 203-204. See note 16 above.

41. See Sekiguchi, pp. 301 and 309, for comments about the official who supported Hsüan-su in Yang-chou.

42. Hsüan-su and his temple were both eventually granted official titles, his being Ta-lü ("Greatly Regulated") ta-shih. See Sekiguchi, pp. 296-297, for comments on the circumstances of this bequest.

43. See Zenshū shisōshi, p. 296.

44. Li Hua's close connection with Hsüan-su and the Ox-head School is discussed by Yanagida, Shoki

Zenshū shisho no kenkyū, pp. 136-137 and 144-145, notes 1-2. Of the laymen listed in the epitaph, the only one of interest is Li Tan, who could through orthographic error be the same as the Li Chou mentioned in a Sung Dynasty work as the author of a biography of Hui-neng. Although there is no way to test this quite tenuous speculation, if correct it would supply an additional link between the Ox-head School and the biography of Hui-neng (additional, that is, to the Platform Sūtra). See Yanagida, p. 99, note 16. Another layman is known as the author of an epitaph for a southeastern Vinaya Master; see Yanagida, pp. 198, 210 note 13, and 255. The CTL (T51.223c and 225b) lists only two other students of Hsüan-su's; their biographies are unknown.

45. See Ui, Zenshūshi kenkyū, I, 328, for the occurrence of Chao-an's name among T'ung-kuang's students, and Sekiguchi, Zenshū shisōshi, pp. 319-320 and 371-372.

46. See Sekiguchi, pp. 313-319.

47. Ibid., pp. 320-322. On Ju-hai's teacher Hui-yin, the CTL lists a Hui-yin of Nan-yüeh as a student of the Northern School monk Chiang-ma Tsang (T51.226b). The identification of this monk with Nan-yüeh could have developed after Ju-hai's studies with him, if such were the case. In fact, Ju-hai could have studied under him at Nan-yüeh, which was something of a Northern School center at the time, if one takes the epitaph to refer to the Northern School rather than the northern part of China. (An earlier line in the epitaph implies that this is the case.) In addition, Ui, Zenshūshi kenkyū, I, 295, notes a Ta-yin of Ch'ang-an listed in the CTL as a student of I-fu (T51.224c). A passage from Liu Tsung-yüan's epitaph for Ju-hai will be quoted below.

48. The term "encounter dialogue" is a convenient usage that I selected during the translation of an article by Yanagida. It corresponds to the Chinese chi-yüan wen-ta, but this pair of compounds does not generally appear as a single unit in the original texts. See "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts of Chinese Ch'an" in Lewis Lancaster and Whalen Lai, eds., Early Ch'an in China and Tibet, Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series, Vol. III (Berkeley: University of California Press, forthcoming).

49. See T50.738c-9a and Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū, pp. 195-212.

50. The SKSC reference is at T50.796c. See Sekiguchi, Zenshū shisōhi, pp. 308-312, and Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū, pp. 197-198, on the probable identity of Fa-shen and Huai-jang. See pp. 197-200 for Fa-hai's place within the combined meditation and Vinaya movement.

51. Chiao-jan's dates are unknown, but see the epitaph for him by Shen-hui's disciple Fu-lin (CTW 918) and various short works as well as an epitaph by Chiao-jan himself (CTW 917 and 918). Besides several references to Chiao-jan in Yanagida's Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū, see the article by Ichihara Kōkichi on T'ang Dynasty poet-monks, "Chūtō shoki ni okeru kōsa no shisō ni tsuite," Tōhō gakuhō, Kyōto series XXVIII (March 1958). The discussion below is based chiefly on Yanagida, pp. 200-203.

52. See the inscription by Yen Chen-ch'ing cited in Ichihara, p. 228.

53. Fa-ch'in's epitaph (CTW, 512) was written by Li Chi-fu (760-814), who was Prime Minister during part of Emperor Te-tsung's reign (779-805). The closing lines of the SKSC account (T50.764b-765a) mention epitaphs by four other prominent officials, but only Li's is still extant. Shih-t'ou has traditionally been paired with Ma-tsu as one of the first leaders of the new "encounter dialogue" style of Ch'an. See Ui, Zenshūji kenkyū, I, 396-418.

54. See the purported text of this invitation in the CTW, 48, and Sekiguchi, Zenshū shisōshi, p. 342.

55. This work is the T'ang kuo-shih pu by Li Chao, written in the second decade of the ninth century. It includes events from circa 713-824. See the Shih-chieh shu-chü yin-hang edition (publisher's number 0155, Yang Chia-lo, general editor), pp. 21 and 24. The existence of this evidence concerning the Ox-head School is mentioned at the very end of Yanagida's "Gozuzen no shisō," p. 23.

56. The source mentioned in the previous note gives a different derivation of this name (p. 24).

57. The SKSC gives some specific information about this move, i.e., that the magistrate of Hang-

chou wished Fa-ch'in to occupy the temple so that it would not be destroyed by an overly-aggressive regional military commander. The epitaph points out that Hang-chou was a major cultural and mercantile center. Fa-ch'in's center at Ching-shan eventually grew into one of the most important of all Chinese Ch'an temples, being considered one of the "five mountains" (wu-shan), but the growth that led to this status did not really begin until some three-quarters of a century after Fa-ch'in's death.

58. See T50.816c-817a and Sekiguchi, Zenshū shisōshi, pp. 349-353.

59. This was not, of course, the first example of contact between the Ch'an and Esoteric Buddhist traditions. The Northern School monks Ching-hsien (660-723) and I-hsing (685-727) are associated with Subhākarasiṁha and Vajrabodhi, I-hsing in particular being one of the most important figures in the entire Chinese Esoteric School. See Yanagida's "Zenseki kaidai," p. 468, and Ui, Zenshūshi kenkyū, I, 299-300.

60. Sekiguchi, Zenshū shisōshi, pp. 291-292, 319-320, and 371-394 (see the table of contents on pp. 242-243), discusses the biographies of the men mentioned in the paragraph above. In general, the study of the development of encounter dialogue is made difficult by the fact that almost all the texts available from the period in question are extant only because they were edited and published in woodblock form during the Five Dynasties period and Sung Dynasty. There are exceptions to this treatment--Ma-tsu's recorded sayings are known through a later but potentially more authentic Ming Dynasty edition, for example--but there is no equivalent of the Tun-huang cache for this particular period. (Virtually nothing from the post-Ma-tsu years of Ch'an literature is represented at Tun-huang.) See Yanagida's "Zenshū goroku no keisei," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū XVIII:1 (35) (1969), or my translation mentioned in note 48 above.

61. See Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū, pp. 130-131.

62. The entire catalogue of Ox-head doctrinal statements preserved in Yen-shou's works is listed in Yanagida's "Gozuzen no shisō." Note that he inadvertently overlooks one such citation at T48.910a. Several of the quotations from works attributed to

Fa-jung must be considered later anonymous contributions.

63. See the convenient summary in Yampolsky, The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 38-39.

64. CTW, fascicle 512. The mistaken reference to Tao-hsin as the third, rather than the fourth, generation successor to Bodhidharma also occurs in the CTW texts of other epitaphs by Li Hua.

65. CTW, 917.

66. CTW, 817. The last sentence of the first paragraph reads, literally: "Capped with stupidity, released in dissolution."

67. T48.944b.

68. See Li Hua's epitaph for Hui-chen (673-751), CTW 319. Although Hui-chen is not really a member of the Northern School per se (see the lineage diagram in Yanagida, pp. 199-200), his epitaph contains material very reminiscent of Northern School teachings.

69. See Yanagida's critical edition and annotated translation, Shoki no zenshi II--Rekidai hōbō ki--, Zen no goroku, Vol.3 (Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1976), p. 231, or T51.190c. The term "Szechwan Schools" is used as a convenient means of reference to the factions headed by the Korean Reverend Kim (Chin ho-shang or Wu-hsiang in Chinese) and his self-proclaimed Chinese successor, Wu-chu. See Jeffrey Broughton's article elsewhere in this volume.

70. See Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, II, 129-130, 137, 140, and 142-143, or T51.184a-185c.

71. The implicit contradiction between the Ox-head School's own lineage claims and Fa-hai's authorship of the Platform Sūtra was first pointed out to me by Robert Gimello. See Yanagida's Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū, pp. 253-278, for a discussion of the complex origins of the contents of the Platform Sūtra.

72. Kuno, p. 56, and Ui, Zenshūshi kenkyū, I, 271-272, are each careful to reject the traditional bias of orthodox Ch'an sources against the Northern School. This simplified account may do these two

scholars a slight injustice, but it is useful for the present.

73. The main exponent of the importance of Shen-hui's role in the development of the Ch'an School was Hu Shih. See the first page of the introduction to his Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi, originally published in 1930 by the Ya-tung t'u-shu kuan in Shanghai and reprinted along with additional material in 1968 by the Chung-yang yen-chiu yüan Hu Shih chi-nien kuan in Taiwan. Also see his biographical study of Shen-hui in the same volume, pp. 5-90. The most convenient and accessible article by Hu Shih in English is his "Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China: Its History and Method," Philosophy East and West II:1 (1963). See pp. 4-9. Immediately following this article is D. T. Suzuki's "Zen: A Reply to Hu Shih," and it is interesting to note that, in spite of his fundamental disagreement with Hu Shih's approach to the study of Ch'an, Suzuki was in essential agreement with him on strictly historical matters. See pp. 27-28. A more sophisticated analysis, if not the final word on the subject, occurs in Paul Peachey's translation of Heinrich Dumoulin, S.J., A History of Zen Buddhism (New York: Random House, 1963; repr., Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), pp. 83-85.

74. See lines 13 and 216 of the Tun-huang manuscript, Pelliot number 3559. Also note the use of yüan-tun, "perfect and sudden," in the Ch'üan fa-pao chi (Annals of the Transmission of the Dharma-Treasure). See Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi I, 346.

75. See my doctoral dissertation on the Northern School of Ch'an, being written under the direction of Professor Stanley Weinstein at Yale University.

76. The translation given here is intended to fit with Kuno's understanding of the text. The meaning of this term will be discussed below.

77. See Kuno, p. 57. The original text occurs in the last fascicle of the CTL, T51.457b-58a.

78. Hung-jen's treatise may be found at T48.377a-379b and in the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, II, 303-307. My dissertation includes a new edition, English translation, and analysis of this text.

79. Nakamura Hajime, Bukkyōgo daijiten (Tōkyō: Tōkyō shoseki, 1975), p. 833a.

80. T45.76a-b.

81. Nakamura, p. 195b (third definition). Nakamura gives the Sanskrit equivalent for this usage of kuan as pariksa.

82. T45.50a.

83. The subtle difference between these two readings of chüeh-kuan is manifest in a passage from Tsung-mi's shorter commentary on the Yüan-chüeh ching (Sūtra on Perfect Enlightenment). In this passage chüeh-kuan is indeed juxtaposed to kuan-hsing, "contemplative practice," but it is further identified as the attainment of complete mental quiescence. Clearly, meditative practice is only one part of that which is transcended or eradicated in chüeh-kuan. Although it is not certain that Tsung-mi's passage was written with specific reference to the CKL, it exhibits a similar type of dialectical argument to that outlined below. See the Yüan-chüeh ching lüeh shu and Yanagida, "Zekkanron no hombum kenkyū," p. 75.

84. The portions translated here are from sections 1, 14, and 15 of Yanagida's Institute for Zen Studies text, pp. 87 and 97-99. All notes to the translation will be deferred until a later occasion.

85. This statement applies not only to the work of Kuno, Suzuki, and Sekiguchi, but to that of Kamata as well. The most frequent focus of attention has been the term wu-hsin or "no-mind."

86. See Yampolsky's translation of the Platform Sūtra, pp. 128-132 in particular, for the complete account of this fictional exchange. For the present purposes we will ignore "Hui-neng's" second verse in the Tun-huang version and the famous third line, "Fundamentally there is not a single thing" (pen-lai wu i wu), from later versions of the Platform Sūtra. Apparently, this anecdote and the exchange of verses circulated independently of the Platform Sūtra. Tsung-mi was obviously aware of the verses, but he never mentions the Platform Sūtra. See Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū, pp. 203-204. In addition, the ninth-century Japanese catalogues list works that were almost certainly devoted to the exchange between Hung-jen's two successors. See T55.1094a, 1095a, 1101a (two different titles), and 1106b. The Platform Sūtra itself is listed in the same context at

T55.1095a, 1100c, and 1106b. Assuming that no other material was involved, these works either formed the nucleus of what eventually became the Platform Sūtra or were extracted from that text itself.

87. This is Professor Yampolsky's translation. See pp. 154-155 for his notes on several textual problems. The verse that is translated on pp. 159-161 of his book might have been a better choice as the grand conclusion of the Platform Sūtra's message, but it is too long and so completely riddled with textual problems that authoritative interpretation seems impossible.

88. See Yampolsky, p. 137. K'an-ching is one of the basic elements in Tsung-mi's description of the teachings of the Northern School. See Z1, 14-277c.

89. See T85.1272a and the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, suppl. Vol. I, pp. 622-623. This text occurs, under a different title, at T48.368c.

90. See note 74 above.

91. The most explicit of these passages occurs in a work called Liao-hsing chü (Stanzas on the Comprehension of the [Buddha]-Nature), which reads:

> It is like a bright mirror on which there is dust. How could [the dust] damage its essential brightness? Although [the dust] may temporarily obstruct [the mirror], rubbing will return the brightness. The brightness is fundamentally bright....

See the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1968), II, 450.

92. This line occurs in the Tun-huang manuscript, Pelliot number 3559, line 614 (plate 26, line 9).

93. The Esoteric Buddhist master Śubhākarasimha seems to be criticizing the practice of pu-ch'i when he says in a discussion with Ching-hsien of the Northern School: "You beginning students are quite afraid of activating the mind and moving the thoughts...and single-mindedly maintain no-thought as the ultimate." See T18.945a. The term pu-ch'i occurs more than once in the Wu fang-pien or Five Expedient Means material of the Northern School. See the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, III, 170, for example.

94. See ibid., p. 233.

95. The lines from the Leng-ch'ieh ching used (without attribution) within the text of the Chüeh-kuan lun are noted by Kuno, pp. 72-73, and again by Yanagida, p. 148, note 21. For the I-hsing san-mei, see Yampolsky, p. 136, and Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 186-298.

96. This is one of the major points of the Platform Sūtra's message, one that distinguishes it from Shen-hui's teachings. See, for example, Yampolsky, p. 135; Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, III, 224, and Yanagida, Shoki Zenshi shisho no kenkyu, pp. 156-157.

97. See Yampolsky, p. 142.

98. See T48.377a-b and 367a.

99. See Yampolsky, p. 139.

100. Ibid., p. 140.

101. "Gozuzen no shisō," pp. 20-21.

102. In part, the Northern School practice of "contemplative analysis" may be understood as a means of overcoming the great weight of Chinese Buddhist tradition and legitimizing a new emphasis upon individual spiritual endeavor. The metaphors of Shen-hsiu's Kuan-hsin lun are perfect examples of this process. By the time of the Platform Sūtra, however, the practice of "contemplative analysis" was no longer limited to the re-interpretation of general Buddhist jargon as metaphors for the practice of meditation, but was also applied to the terminology of meditation itself.

103. The Ch'üan fa-pao chi has Shen-hsiu studying under Hung-jen for six years beginning at the former's age 46, of the year 651. See Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, 396. The earliest source for Hui-neng's biography to include any dated information is attached to a work of Shen-hui's. This has him first traveling to Hung-jen's temple at age 22, or 659. This is at least two years after Shen-hsiu is said to have left. See Suzuki and Kuda Rentarō, Tonkō shutsudo Kataku Jinne zenji goroku (Tōkyō: Morie shoten, 1934), p. 60. Later sources have Hui-neng arriving at Hung-jen's side even later, so that the transmission to him

occurred closer to the end of the master's life. The fact that Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng did not study under Hung-jen at the same time was first pointed out to me by Robert Zeuschner.