Zen Buddhist Rhetoric in China, Korea, and Japan

Conceptual History and Chinese Linguistics

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Christoph Anderl

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Cover illustration: Detail from a wall-carving with an illustrated transmission chart of 24 patriarchs, based on the *Fù fǎzàng* [*yīnyuán*] *zhuàn* 付法藏[因緣]傳 *Account of the [Avādana] of the Transmission of the Dharma Treasure* (T.50 no.2058). This is probably the first Chinese illustration of this topic and was carved as part of an iconographic program concerned with *mòfǎ* 末法 thought. The 'Decline of the Dharma' and the pending apocalypse was an idea which became very important during the 6th century in Northern China. Transmission theories were consequently adopted by the Tiāntái School, and from the late 7th century onwards also by adherents of the emerging Chán factions. *Transmission Texts* eventually developed into one of the most important genres of Chán/Sŏn/Zen Buddhism. (Dàzhù 大住 Cave at Bǎoshān 寶山, Hénán Province; constructed in 589 AD; photograph by Christoph Anderl)

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CHÁN RHETORIC IN ROSENDAL

I was standing on the lawn, facing two mountains, each lording over a glacier stream, one pitched one quint above the other. Behind me the barn where the conference on Chán rhetoric was held.

I spoke to the thrush, perching on a branch of a pine some ten yards away, and said: “Pray tell me, whose are the voices I hear from the barn behind my back?”

“Ah”, replied the thrush, “they are pilgrims from afar, seeking the truth.”

“What truth?,” I said.

“The truth about The way!,” the thrush replied. “The way to The other shore.”

Looking at my Chinese jacket, the thrush added: “彼岸! 他們找的是到彼岸的路!”

“彼岸!” No sea in sight. No shore! Two mountains and two streams of melting ice, one highly pitched, though not as high as one voice from the barn, one of lower pitch, though not as low as another voice from the barn.

“That’s it,” the thrush said, “those mountains are your sea and the two streams your shore.”

Two voices from the barn blended with the voices of the streams, one highly pitched, one low.

“Two mountains a sea?
Two glacier streams a shore?”
“It’s windy to-night!”

南坡居士 (Göran Malmqvist)

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PREFACE

The papers included in this volume are originally based on presentations given at a conference on Zen Buddhist rhetoric in the autumn of 2008 in Norway.

The conference took place in the secluded *Baroniet Rosendal* on the west coast of Norway, a place of exquisite natural beauty, surrounded by the ocean, mountains, woods, glaciers, and water falls. I would like to thank all the participants for their contributions to that memorable event.

The idea for the conference originated from the realization that—despite the great amount of secondary literature produced on many aspects of Chán/Zen doctrine and history—there were still few comparative studies on the aspect of rhetoric and language in Chán/Zen/Sŏn genres and texts. This is surprising, since the great focus on the use of language, the creation and adaption of genres, and an enormous production of literature is of paramount importance for the success of the Chán/Zen/Sŏn Schools throughout East Asia.

Needless to say—faced with the fact of a vast literary production during more than 1,300 years, texts belonging to many different genres, using different languages and styles, authored and compiled at different places and times, and under a variety of historical and sociopolitical circumstances—only a few aspects of this vastly complex question could be pursued.

In order to engage in the study of Chán/Zen/Sŏn rhetoric in a broader context, the question was approached diachronically and by including case studies from different periods and regions in East Asia. Significantly, also more general discussions of Indian and Chinese Buddhist rhetoric, as well as the study of important developments prior to the emergence of Chán, have been included. Hopefully, this approach has helped to determine continuities and changes in the development of Buddhist genres, rhetoric, and language on a more general basis, and embedded the discussion of more specific Chán/Zen/Sŏn developments in this broader framework. It was also a great concern to include several scholars of Korean Buddhist studies, a field—despite the significant contributions of Korean monks to the development of Chán/Zen/Sŏn in East Asia—unfortunately still

underrepresented as compared to the study of Chinese and Japanese Buddhism.

Another important factor in the approach to the topic has been the question of audience and readership: what are the 'internal' aspects of Chán/Zen/Sŏn texts, and what are the 'public' or 'external' features? As can be deduced from the case studies, many developments in Chán/Zen/Sŏn literature and rhetorical strategies have been directly triggered and influenced by paradigmatic shifts concerning the sociopolitical and institutional framework, or by sectarian struggles. As such, the 'public' aspect is of paramount importance, for example, Chán/Zen/Sŏn rhetoric directed to audiences consisting of members of the ruling class, powerful lay supporters, officials, literati, lay practitioners, or other important 'agents' in society. Modes and modalities of Zen rhetoric, the use of language and genres, have undergone significant developments and changes based on these interactions.

Some other questions which have been pursued in the course of the project, include the following: what were the 'precedents' of Chán/Zen/Sŏn literature, how did the development of the 'narrative' and the great popularity of didactic and entertaining stories influence Chán/Zen/Sŏn genres and literature? What were the rhetorical strategies in specific texts? How were these strategies adapted to different ideological purposes? How did innovations in Chán literature interact with other genres and traditions?

Methodologically, the approach to these topics has tried to combine a philological text-based analysis of linguistic devices (language, genre, rhetoric devices, etc.) with a discourse-oriented analysis (in its broadest sense!), trying to relate the texts and doctrines to 'external' circumstances, and to reveal aspects of motivation, intent, ideology, targeted readerships, and similar questions.

On behalf of all the contributors, I would like to thank the many people who made the conference and the resulting publication possible, including Brill's anonymous reader who gave useful comments on earlier versions of the papers. I also want to thank the Brill editors Albert Hoffstadt and Patricia Radder for their diligence and patience, and Bryan Hugill for proofreading the draft versions of the papers. Many thanks to William Bodiford, Jörg Plassen, Steven Heine, and Stuart Lachs for their advice concerning the introduction to the volume, as well as to Therese Sollien for her great work in proofreading the introduction (in addition to assisting with the

organization of the conference). I also want to express my special gratitude to Göran Malmqvist for participating in the conference and for contributing with his vast knowledge concerning Chinese literature and language.

I am much indebted to the two co-organizers of the conference, Mark Teeuwen, and Vladimir Tikhonov, as well as to the staff of the *Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages* (Univ. of Oslo), especially the Head of the Department, Arne Bugge Amundsen, and the Head of Research, Rune Svarverud; in addition, I want to express my special thanks to Mona Bjørbæk, Sathya Sritharan, and Richard Susegg for their great work in the administration of the conference.

The conference and publication received generous financial support from the *Norwegian Research Council* (NFR) and the *Department of Oriental and Culture Studies* (IKOS).

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ZEN RHETORIC: AN INTRODUCTION

CHRISTOPH ANDERL

What Kind of Rhetoric…and Why?

The division between 'China,' 'Korea,' and 'Japan' (expediently used in the very title of this publication) is to a certain degree artificial, and especially in the early stages of Chinese Chán 禪 and Korean Sŏn, these regional divisions only make limited sense. Korean monks, for example, took a very active part already during the formative period of Chán development (as far as in the distant area of nowadays Sìchuān 四川), and there was by no means a one-way transmission from China to Korea, but rather a constant exchange between regions. In the same way that there are no clear divisions along state borders in terms of the characteristics of Buddhist practices and doctrines, Chán is no unified phenomenon but there have been many kinds of Chán, Sŏn, and Japanese Zen. Especially in the formative period of the Táng 唐 Dynasty (618–907), impulses and ideas were emerging from and pulsating between cultural and religious 'hubs,' for example in the form of important centers of Buddhist practice and culture, e.g., large cities such as Cháng'ān 長安, Luòyáng 洛陽, or regions at the periphery of or beyond the influence of Chinese control (e.g. Dūnhuáng 敦煌, the region of nowadays Sìchuān, and Southeast China), or in the form of Buddhist communities living in secluded monasteries. In accordance with sociopolitical, geographical, sectarian, and many other settings and conditions, ideas, practices, and doctrines would at times be contained within limited spatial borders, and during other periods they would spread with great speed throughout large areas. During their journey to other areas, ideas or sets of doctrines could undergo significant modifications (e.g., in the form of the selection of texts which were circulating, or by incorporating influences absorbed during their journey, or based on the personal preferences by the human agents transmitting these ideas). In addition, having spread to specific areas, these ideas, doctrines, or practices would undergo adjustments and modifications, and be adapted to local religious and cultural contexts. Although the

study of the historical and doctrinal developments of early Chán has progressed immensely during the last decades, research of these important questions of regional variety is still in its initial phase.[1]

This volume does not focus on theoretical discussions on rhetoric,[2] or on the interpretation of Zen doctrines. Rather, it is an attempt to identify concrete linguistic and rhetorical devices and 'rhetorical modes' that have been used in Chán, Sŏn, and Zen texts at specific times and occasions, and relate them to sociopolitical, doctrinal, and sectarian contexts; as well as pursuing questions concerning motives, continuities or changes of rhetorical strategies, and target-audiences.

It suffices to note that in China—as in the case of ancient Greece—the relationship between language/rhetoric and 'truth' was a question of ardent discussion among Buddhists, especially from the 6th century onwards. As will be discussed below—despite the predominant negative attitude towards words frequently expressed in Zen texts, stressing their incapability to express the ultimate truth—we find ample reference in late Táng and Sòng 宋 (960–1279) sources, for example, that enlightenment was triggered/conditioned exactly by words. Linguistically, this is not indicated by constructions with coverbs/prepositions indicating 'cause' or 'dependence' (such as *yīn* 因 or *yī* 依), as we would expect, but it is idiomatically expressed by using an extended meaning of the relative place word *xià* 下 'under' (typically, *yán-xià dà wù* 言下大悟 'he was greatly enlightened based on these words'). To my knowledge this construction *yán-xià* is not current in other text-types, and seems to be specific 'Chán/Zen language' ('UNDER > AT THE OCCASION OF (?) > caused by, triggered by words'). Why was this unusual construction chosen? As will be demonstrated below, in 'Chán/Zen language' the semantics of common words are frequently manipulated or metaphorically extended, rare words are introduced or 'revived,' and even

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[1] E.g., the form of Chán practiced in the Northwestern regions, most importantly in Dūnhuáng during the Táng Dynasty; or, later on, the specific varieties of Chán developed in the non-Chinese context of the Liáo 遼 (Khitan), the Tangut (scholars such as Kiril Sollonin have recently addressed this issue), or the translation of Chán scriptures into Uyghur (an aspect studied by Peter Zieme, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften). Recently, a large project on Tibetan Chán has been initiated by Sam VanSchaik ("Tibetan Zen," funded by the British Academy, 2011–2013).

[2] On a short discussion concerning the differences between Western and Indian/ Chinese rhetoric, see the article by Jens Braarvig.

grammatical constructions are used in unusual ways. Thus we can speculate that *xià* in this usage is meant to indicate that the words that triggered the insight were not 'common' words, or words based on the canonical scriptures,[3] but rather the 'live words' (recorded in vernacular language in encounter dialogues) of the masters.

Posing the question concerning the relation of rhetoric vis-à-vis 'truth' in Western philosophy, it is probably more appropriate to focus on rhetoric and its relation to the Two Truths paradigma (i.e., a 'relative' *vs.* an 'ultimate' truth) in the context of East Asian Buddhism. How did Chán adepts navigate between a feeling of deep distrust towards the capabilities of language concerning its capacity to express the ultimate truth on the one hand, and a huge literary output and great creativity concerning the invention of genres and the use of language on the other hand? The following factors seemed to have played an important role: the application of multilayered literary structures and heterogeneous genre features within single texts, the introduction of written representations of the colloquial language(s) (representing the 'live words' of the masters of old), an extensive use of metaphorical, non-referential and poetic language, as well as the inclusion of non-linguistic signs. These were creative strategies to solve the underlying paradox between the conviction concerning the limitations of linguistic expression, and the necessity of using language to express one's views and to spread the message of Chán, as well as attracting the attention of supporters and potential consumers of Chán/Zen/Sŏn literature.

Concerning the topic of 'persuasion,' Dale Wright notes:

> "Two basic features place this discursive practice in contrast to the rhetorical tradition of Western thought. First, we notice that the political or polis-oriented character of early Greek rhetoric and the forensic or legal context of Roman rhetoric shape this tradition toward a discourse of persuasion. Indeed, rhetoric comes to be defined and constituted as the 'art of persuasive communication' […]. By contrast we have seen that the particular way in which Buddhist principles come to be manifest in medieval Chán practice renders persuasion, by rational or emotive means, irrelevant to their concern."[4]

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[3] Of course, also in this respect we encounter many exceptions, for example, the Sixth Patriarch *in spe* Huìnéng was enlightened the moment he heard somebody reciting the *Diamond Sūtra* (Skr. *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā sūtra*).

[4] Wright 1993:23–40.

I think that there is still a very strong element of persuasion in many Chán records—based on their 'public' nature and the aim to attract the attention of the potential readers and supporters.[5] The element of 'persuasion' is, thus, frequently directed towards an external readership. However, the persuasion does not necessarily concern a doctrinal issue or specific argument (although these features are also present in Chán texts), but the persuasion—in the *Recorded Sayings*, for example, embedded in sequences of dialogues—is often of a more fundamental kind: it concerns the question of the general superiority of the Chán master and by extension the Chán faction or 'school' he is representing. This form of persuasion often creates a two-fold rhetorical structure in the text, 'persuading' or defeating the opponent, and at the same time hoping to persuade the reader, as well. The matter of right or wrong concerning a specific doctrinal issue often ends with a *judgment* on a specific person (the oppenent being defined as 'ignorant' and incapable of formulating the truth). As is amply illustrated in this volume, this device reminds us of the procedures of a court trial. Although this approach predates the appearance of *gōngàn* 公案 (J. *kōan*) literature, in the *gōngàn* genre of the Sòng this aspect of Chán rhetoric becomes prominent and embedded in specific literary structures. Even though this remains somewhat hypothetical at this point, it is tempting to reflect on the roots of this aspect of Chán literature in the broader context of Táng Buddhism and medieval Chinese culture.[6] Also on the level of 'popular' Buddhism, the procedures and power structures of the Chinese legal system had a profound impact. Most prominently, it is reflected in the depiction and description of 'legal' procedures which the deceased (the 'culprit') had to undergo in his meetings with the ten kings/judges (*shíwáng* 十王, among them King Yama) of the underworld (directly mirroring the procedures of the secular legal system). The question of 'guilt' or 'innocence' and the subsequent judgment (for example, to rebirth in one of the hells, or to one of the other forms of existence within the Six Destinies, *liùdào* 六道), is

[5] It should be noted here that the earliest rhetorically charged Chán texts seem to have been written on the occasion of Chán's entering the public light of the medieval megacities of Cháng'ān and Luòyáng during the end of the 7th century and the Chán movement soon becoming closely associated with members of the imperial household.

[6] As demonstrated below, the appearance of typical historiographic Chán genres was inspired by imperial historiography and lineage systems.

usually beyond the influence of the culprit and the power rests ultimately in the hands of the judges.[7] Similarly, the status of the Chán master guarantees him the judgment on 'right' or 'wrong' regardless of the arguments brought forth by his opponent or disciples. He is empowered by his participation in the Chán lineage (in the same way as the judge or official is empowered by his appointment through the imperial court) and the 'superior wisdom' implied by this position.[8]

I also think that Chán's silence concerning questions of ethics[9] in a traditional Buddhist sense and the appearance of many 'short-cut'

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[7] For a thorough study of this subject, see Teiser 2003. Besides the kings, also other figures could influence the process of judgement, such as the children of the culprit (through rituals and offerings) and the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha. The point is that the judgment is not necessarily based on the bad or good deeds which the deceased performed during his life, but rather on factors completely beyond the influence of the culprit.

[8] This view is still often echoed in the context of contemporary Zen practice in the West, stressing that a 'regular mind' cannot grasp the mysterious behaviour of an enlightened Zen master (and ultimately, deviant or transgressing behaviour is excused by this rhetorical device).

[9] On the reinterpretation of traditional ethical categories, see the contribution *Coming to Terms with Terms*. For early Chán in the context of '[precept] platform' (*tán* 壇 being a translation of Skr. *maṇḍala*, Ch. *màntúluó* 曼荼羅) rituals and ceremonies, see Anderl 2011a:15f and Anderl 2011b (with a focus on the *Platform Sūtra*). These practices are also described in the *Lìdài fǎbǎo jì* 歷代法寶記 (LDFBJ) and were an important part of the Chán style of the Bǎotáng 保唐 School during the 8th century in Sìchuān.

On these platforms the precepts were conferred during the *guàndǐng* 灌頂 (lit. 'sprinkling water on the forehead;' Skr. *abhiṣeka*) ceremony, an activity which also the charismatic monk Shénhuì was known for. In his article on Dūnhuáng Chán manuscripts, Sørensen (1989) discusses the syncretic features of many Dūnhuáng Chán scriptures and mentions a rather long text which seems to be an almalgation of practices conventionally referred to as esoteric and Chán Buddhism. This scripture (claiming to be authored by the Esoteric Master Amoghavajra) on the Dūnhuáng manuscript *Pelliot Chinois* 3913 with the elephantine name (which I will not attempt to translate here) *Jīngāng jùnjīng jīngāng dǐng yīqiè rúlái shēnmiào mìmì jīngāng jiè dà sānmèiyé xiūxíng sìshíèr-zhǒng tánfǎjīng zuòyòng wēi fǎ yízé dà Pílúzhēnà-fó jīngāng xīndì fǎmén mìfǎ-jiè tánfǎ yízé* 金剛峻經金剛頂一切如來甚妙秘密金剛界大三昧耶修行四十二重壇法經作用威法儀則大毗盧遮那金剛心地法門秘法戒壇法儀則 is written in the style of a *sūtra* but has been identified as *apocryphon* probably dating from the late Táng. The text is more concisely also referred to as *Ritual Guidelines for the Platform Dharma* (*Tánfǎ yízé* 壇法儀則). The text is divided into thirty-five sections, each section dealing with a specific function of the Platform ceremonies. The instructions are very detailed and include the exact size and

approaches to salvation or enlightenment that appeared in the context of medieval Chinese Buddhism indirectly played an important role in this development. These issues became very significant for the development of Buddhist traditions in East Asia. Traditional Buddhists ethics was firmly rooted in the assumption that unwholesome actions, speech acts, and thoughts would necessarily entail unfavorable results, and vice versa good actions, etc. would eventually lead (at least theoretically after countless life times of spiritual practice or the performance of good deeds) to liberation/ enlightenment. There was a definite theoretical 'logical' connection and chain of causation between the actions of an individual and the ensuing results. However, as can be evidenced by many (often non-canonical but very popular) texts of medieval Chinese Buddhism, the reality of Buddhist practice and ritual developed in a different direction.[10]

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material for building the platforms, as well as the dates when the rituals should be performed for the specific purposes. In addition, the decoration and the rituals to be performed are described in great detail, as well as the merits achieved through the performance of these rituals. It is noteworthy that in many sections the role of the ruler is emphasized and many rituals are connected to the protection of the state (*hùguó* 護國; on this concept, see also below) and its people. The last part of the text is the longest and most elaborate and deals with the transmission of Chán (from page 113, line 5 onwards in the Dūnhuáng booklet). After the description of the transmission of the Indian patriarchs, the Six Chán patriarchs from Bodhidharma (the 32rd Patriarch, page 138 of the booklet, following the sequence of patriarchs of the *Bǎolín zhuàn*) to Huìnéng (37th Patriarch) are described. It is interesting that the appellation *zǔ* 祖 'patriarch' (or *zǔshī* 祖師) is not used (as typically done in Chán transmission texts), but the rather long appellation *fù fǎzàng rénshèngzhě* 付法藏仁聖者 'benevolent sage transmitting the Dharma-treasure.' As a special feature, the transmission between the patriarchs takes place after they ascended to the 'Diamond Realm of Vairoccana' (*Dà pílú jīngāng jiè* 大毗盧金剛界). As such Chán transmission—mixed with the description of platform rituals for the laity—is placed in a somewhat unusual and 'esoteric' framework. The transmission is also placed at the stage of attainment of the '8th level of Bodhisattvahood.' After the description of this transmission the text returns to the 'Platform dharmas' (the text enumerates 42 of those) as the essence of the Buddhist teachings and the foundation of attaining 'unexcelled *bodhi*' (*wúshàng pútí* 無上菩提). The object of transmission is identified as 'the secretly transmitted mind-seal' (*mì chuán xīnyìn dìxiàng* 蜜傳心印地相, page142).

[10] One of the many 'short-cut' approaches to liberation included the practice of copying Buddhist scriptures. Specifically, apocryphal texts often promised a nearly infinite amount of merit or even the very attainment of buddhahood and liberation through the act of copying a text.

Internal vs. External Functions of Chán Texts

A special focus in this book will be on the 'internal' and 'external' aspects of Chán/Sŏn/Zen rhetoric, i.e., the question to what audience and readership Chán discourse was directed during specific periods and circumstances, and to what degree Chán texts constituted 'public documents'[11] as opposed to texts primarily directed towards an internal readership of Chán monks and practitioners (or simultaneously to several target audiences). Of great interest is also the question how the Chán clergy reacted and adapted to sociopolitical changes, sectarian and doctrinal challenges and paradigmatic shifts in the relationship to supporters, target audiences or institutional settings. How did Chán/Zen/Sŏn react to these factors in terms of literary production, the invention or use of genres, as well as the range of linguistic and rhetorical means deployed in texts?

Structure as Rhetorical Device

Many Chán texts have a heterogeneous structure and this 'multi-genre' approach serves several purposes. Chinese Chán scriptures often use layers of different language styles (e.g., Literary, Buddhist Hybrid, and colloquial Chinese), possibly as an attempt to implement the 'Two Truths'-model on the linguistic and literary level, trying to bridge the paradox that is implied in the claim of being independent of the scriptural teachings (since the ultimate truth is beyond the realm of linguistic signs) and the necessity of literary production. The implementing of the 'spoken word' in written form was maybe an attempt to solve this dilemma. Using the vernacular as means of expression tries to go beyond the 'teachings based on (written) words,' and the 'live words' of the master were meant to reflect an 'ultimate truth.'

Seeking new forms of literary expression was probably also motivated by the fierce sectarian competition between Buddhists factions during the time of the emergence of the Chán School. After intense discussions and adaptations concerning Buddhist doctrines and practices during the 6th and early 7th centuries, many aspects of doctrine, practice, and ritual had become more or less common ground for the majority of Buddhist factions. Since doctrinal aspects were

[11] An expression used in McRae 2003.

often difficult to distinguish, the focus shifted partially away from these discussions to the question of *how* the religious message should be conveyed and by what means support from the public could be attracted.

The Development of the Narrative and Chán Literature

One of the key events in the development of Chán Buddhist literature was the gradual adoption/adaptation of the narrative as means of transporting religious messages. Whereas many key texts of early Chán literature were written in the form of treatises using a language which occasionally is referred to as Buddhist Hybrid Chinese (i.e., a language based on literary Chinese intermixed with Buddhist terminology and syntactic constructions typically used in translation literature, in addition to a few vernacular elements), from the middle of the Táng Dynasty onwards the use of dialogues and 'story telling' became one of the prominent features of Chán texts. The first peak of this new development was reached during the Five Dynasties period (907–960) and the early Sòng, and the typical Chán genres, such as the *Transmission of the Lamp Texts* (*Transmission Texts*) and *Recorded Sayings* literature, started to enjoy tremendous popularity well beyond the limits of a strictly Chán Buddhist context. The exact circumstances concerning the emergence of these genres centered around the historiographic narratives are still not quite clear, but it seems to be grounded in the broader context of Buddhist literary production (such as the highly colloquial *Transformation Texts*) and the gradual transformation of the vernacular language into a legitimate means of expression. However, the roots for this development seem to go back to pre-Táng times and are grounded in the increasing interest in texts in which Buddhist doctrines and ethical issues are wrapped in instructive and didactic stories.

In his contribution *'Thus Have I Heard' and Other Claims to Authenticity*, Bart Dessein addresses the setting of canonical Buddhist texts within a literary context and tradition. As an important feature the scriptural tradition is rooted in the oral tradition of Indian literature. He points out that early Indian prose usually does not aim at convincing the listener/reader of a specific truth. With the appearance of Buddhist texts the situation changed drastically, aiming at converting the audience to the truth of Buddha's teachings. This shift also entailed the

> appearance of new rhetorical devices which Dessein labels 'inter-textual' and 'intra-textual.' The process of committing Buddhist texts to a written form probably started in the 1st century BC. Not being in the possession of a long tradition of oral transmission the adherents of Mahāyāna seem to have concentrated on the written tradition, an example which eventually was followed by the Theravādins. Writings began to serve the function of defining specific doctrinal standpoints in an increasingly sectarian environment. In addition, this entailed a dual form of transmission, one based on written texts, and the other one on oral versions, each employing different rhetorical devices. Dessein provides ample evidence of the development of this sectarian aspect within the Sarvāstivāda School, and illustrates the rhetorical strategies used to attract and convince an 'external' audience. By using the concepts of 'intra-' and 'inter-textual' devices, the gradual development of these strategies is shown.

Concerning the popularization of Buddhist messages in the form of entertaining and didactic stories, two of the most popular works in this respect are the *One Hundred Parables Sūtra* (*Bǎiyù jīng* 百喻經) and the *Sūtra of the Talented and the Stupid* (*Xiányù jīng* 賢愚經).[12]

> As Christoph Harbsmeier points out in his contribution *Reading the One Hundred Parables Sūtra*, it is all about "entering *nirvāṇa* with a smile." Narrative works like the *Bǎiyù jīng* avoid any sophisticated doctrinal and ethical discussions but rather illustrate Buddhist key issues in the form of witty and entertaining stories, which were understandable also for less educated people. Harbsmeier provides a detailed linguistic and rhetorical analysis of the preface to the text, illustrating in detail the typical mix of styles and linguistic devices, combining Literary Chinese with the lexical and syntactic items typical for the Chinese used in translation literature, as well as including vulgar expressions and colloquialisms. Harbsmeier shows that many linguistic and rhetorical features found later in Chán texts have their origin in this kind of Buddhist narrative literature. The analysis of such narrative texts also shows how much they have been adapted to a Chinese audience, rather than being directly translated from Sanskrit. Buddhists at that time were keenly aware of the fact that purely doctrinal texts had limitations for spreading the Buddhist

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[12] For extensive bibliographic references to the *Bǎiyù jīng*, see the bibliography in the article of Christoph Harbsmeier.

> message to a broader audience and rather 'packed' these messages into entertaining narratives, or 'playful *sūtras*,' as Harbsmeier refers to them.

The *Sūtra of the Wise and the Stupid*[13] was so popular and widely read that many depictions of *avadāna*s and *jātaka*s (i.e., dramatic stories about Buddha's previous rebirths) were based on these texts, rather than on more canonical versions of the stories. This tendency is exemplified by the wall-paintings of the Mògāo 莫高 Caves at Dūnhuáng.

Curiously, one of the earliest references to the didactic stories in the Chán Buddhist context was precisely '*avadāna*' (*yīnyuán* 因緣), a term usually used for certain types of Buddhist narratives.[14] However, in the traditional *avadāna* accounts the seed and 'cause' for the future career as bodhisattva or Buddha is laid by extreme deeds of selflessness and virtue (typically, the virtues of giving, patience and perseverance, including the sacrifice of one's body),[15] illustrated in the numerous *jātaka* stories which give an account of Buddha's former lives. These accounts had on the one hand clearly didactic purposes; on the other hand they *explained* why Śākyamuni became a Buddha and how he created the foundation for his career as enlightened being and saviour. As the term *yīnyuán* suggests, there is a clear causal connection between his countless good deeds and his rebirth as Buddha. *Jātaka* stories enjoyed enormous popularity especially at the beginning of the Táng dynasty, and there was a revival of the genre at the end of the Táng and the early Sòng.

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[13] T. 4, no. 202: *Damamūka-nidāna sūtra*, translated in 445 by Huìjué 慧覺; more generally on the genre of 'causality texts': "[…] are a genre consisting of stories of allegories showing the causal relationship between actions in one existence and those in a subsequent existence." (Sasaki/Kirchner 2009:419).

[14] Lit. 'cause and conditions' or 'primary and secondary causes' (Skr. *hetu-pratyaya*); besides its reference to *nidāna* and *avadāna* the term was also used to translate 'dependent origination' (Skr. *partītya-samutpāda*). According to Griffith Foulk "in the Japanese popular imagination, the idea that certain events were 'bound to happen' because they were the result of actions taken or relationships fostered in past lives." (DDB, entry on 因緣). The term *yīnyuán* has dozens of interpretations in Buddhist dictionaries. It should be noted that it can also refer to a monk's family background in biographies, e.g. *zúxìng yīnyuán* 族姓因緣 "causes and conditions of his clan and family" (Chen 2007:65). On Chán and 'kinship,' see Faure 1991:23f.

[15] Self-immolation was a very popular Buddhist practice in medieval China, as well as in the larger East Asian context; for a study of this issue, see Benn 2007.

It is interesting to note that early references to ‘cases’ (essential utterances by Chán masters on the basis of which the *huàtóu*, ‘catch phrases,’ and *gōngàn*/*kōan* developed) exactly involved the term *yīnyuán*. In the 10th century historiographic Chán text *Zǔtáng jí* 祖堂集[16] (ZTJ, *Collection From the Patriarchs' Hall*), *yīnyuán* was frequently used and was the most important term referring to these essential words by the masters.

> “如何是無情因緣？”
> “What about the *case* of non-sentients?” (ZTJ, ed. Yanagida 1974: 1.117)

Frequently, the term *yīnyuán* is the object of transitive verbs referring to specific Chán vocabulary, e.g. *jǔ* 舉 ‘LIFT UP > bring up for discussion, cite (a case of old, story, etc.),’ or *niǎn* ‘PICK UP WITH THE FINGERS > take/bring up (for discussion), cite.’ *Yīnyuán* can be modified (e.g. by pronouns, or specified by phrases), quantified and counted, and also appears with nominal classifiers such as *zé* 則, *gè* 個, and *zhuǎn* 轉:

> 帝乃詔耽源，舉此因緣，問：“此意如何？”
> The Emperor thereupon summoned Dānyuán and *took up this case*, asking: “What is the meaning of it?” (ZTJ, ed. Yanagida 1974:1.129)

> 道悟云：“有什摩佛法因緣？”其僧舉兩三因緣， 道悟便歡喜。
> Dàowù said: “What kind of *yīnyuán* on the Buddha-dharma are there?” The monk *cited several* (lit. ‘two-three’) *yīnyuán*, and thereupon Dàowù rejoiced. (*ibid*.:2.019)

> “昨日答那個師僧一轉因緣。”
> “Yesterday I *answered one* (*yī zhuǎn* 一轉) *yīnyuán* by that monk.” (*ibid*.:5.025)

The syntactic structures it is used with indicates that *yīnyuán* refers to clearly delineated ‘chunks’ or segments of narratives, countable entities of ‘cases’ and stories of the masters circulating already during the time of the compilation of ZTJ and used for didactic purposes and discussions, as well as for expounding and interpreting the Chán teachings (as illustrated by the example above, *yīnyuán* can also be

[16] Although during the Sòng other references to the cases of the masters of old were used, the term *yīnyuán* is still occasionally encountered in Chán texts during that period, e.g., in the LJL: 臨濟破夏因緣 (“The case/story of Línjì breaking [the rules of] the summer [retreat],” LJL, ed. Sasaki/Kirchner 2009:326).

'answered'). Why was this term used for referring to essential Chán phrases and stories which illustrate the enlightened behaviour of the masters of old? Is it a direct allusion to the popular genre of *avadāna* narratives,[17] indicating that the accounts of the deeds and sayings of the masters belong to the group of non-doctrinal didactic texts? Or is the emphasis rather on the notion of 'causation'? Maybe the use of the term was meant to draw the attention of the reader to a similar function of Buddhist *avadāna* and Chán cases: in the same way the heroic deeds by the protagonists described in the *jātaka* and *avadāna* narratives eventually conditioned the rebirth as a buddha or bodhisattva and the attainment of salvation (as well as encouraging the reader of the stories to take a similar path), the enigmatic and densified Chán cases were thought to encapsulate the insight of the masters and the essence of the Buddha, having the power to *cause* (and transfer) this insight and *trigger* similar experiences in the mind of the practitioner or succeeding masters (who use these stories as didactic and expedient means).[18] The above assumption must remain tentative at this point and the relationship of the development of Chán Buddhist genres and expedient teaching devices in relationship to narrative literature will need more thorough research.

Early Chán Texts from Dūnhuáng

The Chán texts discovered at Dūnhuáng[19] in the beginning of the 20th century gives us unique insights in developments concerning the early Chán movement. They are doctrinally, structurally, and linguistically were different from the 'classical' Chán literature produced during the Sòng Dynasty.[20] One of the first major paradigm shifts can be

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[17] *Yīnyuán* referring to *avadāna* also appears in an early text which became important for the formation of Chán transmission theories: *Fù fǎzàng [yīnyuán] zhuàn* 付法藏[因緣]傳 *Account of the [Avādana] of the Transmission of the Dharma Treasure* (T.50 no.2058: 297a-322b): "This is a Buddhist transmission history compiled in China from a number of different sources. It narrates the sequential transmission of the Dharma from Mahākāśyapa to Siṁha Bhikṣu and is the basis of the *Lìdài fǎbǎo jì* author's account of the transmission of the Indian patriarchs" (Adamek 2007:516).

[18] This hypothesis about the 'conditioning' power of Chán utterances would also fit well to the parallel development of the image of the Chán master into a 'living Buddha.'

[19] On early Chán texts from the Dūnhuáng findings, see also the contribution *Coming to Terms with Terms*.

[20] Sørensen (1989:117) on the Dūnhuáng Chán manuscripts: "One of the main

observed when early Chán (often referred to as Dōngshān 東山, 'East Mountain' School) enters the public light of the Táng capitals during the end of the 7th century:

> "As environments of rhetorical exchange and religious discourse, there was a radical difference between East Mountain and the two capitals, with its literate society and incomparable larger urban scale, that well-written texts were required for disseminating the teachings."[21]

The rhetorical shift towards the public is also accompanied by a growing focus on lay-orientation, and Buddhist practices were often illustrated in the framework of activities of daily life. This orientation towards a lay audience became even more significant from the middle of the 8th century onwards, for example in texts attributed to the rhetorician Shénhuì 神會 (670–762),[22] the Dūnhuáng versions of the *Platform Sūtra*,[23] as well as in the *Lìdài fǎbǎo jì* 歷代法寶記 (LDFBJ) of the Sìchuān Bǎotáng 保唐 faction of Chán.

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characteristics of the Dūnhuáng Chán manuscripts is their great diversity in terms of literature. Despite the fact that several manuscripts testify to a relatively high literary standard, a large number of them have been written in a decidedly provincal or even countrified form, not to mention the countless basic scribal errors, something which can only be explained as a lack of proper schooling at the part of the writer."

[21] McRae 2003:49.

[22] "Shénhuì's success is due in large part to his skilful manipulation of the symbols of ritual politics so that the literati audience (mainly bureaucrats, but also some monks) were captivated and won over by his propaganda. Shénhuì used the literati ideal of the orthodox lineage, or rather the idea of the legitimate imperial clan lineage, to try to convince his audience that his was the legitimate line of succession, and that the leading lights of Northern Chán were pretenders to the 'throne' of Chán Buddhism" (Jorgensen 1987:96; on Chán transmission, see also below); and generally, on the relationship between lay people and Chán masters: "On the whole, Chán teachers were successful in presenting their doctrines and traditions in ways that appealed to the spiritual predilections and horizons of expectation of elite segments of Táng society. Cultivated literati and officials of the imperial bureaucracy—including many of the leading figures in the Táng's intellectual, literary, and political spheres—were key supporters of various Chán teachers and the monastic groups associated with them, as well as main recipients of their teachings in their oral and textual forms. The need to reach out to and communicate with this important audience was undoubtedly a contributing factor to the manner in which Chán monks conveyed their personal insights and formulated their ideas about diverse facets of the Buddhist path. Moreover, the literati were also actively involved in the recording of Chán history, as they typically wrote the stele inscriptions that became main sources of information about the lives of individual Chán teachers" (Poceski 2007b:10).

[23] Concerning the *Platform Sūtra*, McRae (2003:66) comments in the following way: "In addition, the text clearly admits laypeople to full participation in this process,

In the early *Xiū xīnyào lùn* 修心要論 (*Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind*), a work reflecting the teachings of the 'Fifth Patriarch' Hóngrěn 弘忍 (601–674), there is already a clear multi-layered rhetorical structure. On the one hand doctrinal issues are discussed in the form of dialogues with anonymous disciples (in the alternating pattern *wèn yuē* 問曰… *dá yuē* 答曰… '[somebody] asked…, [the master] answered…'), on the other hand the text is also directed to an (not necessarily monastic) external audience, i.e., the reader of the text. In the dialogues there are not only doctrinal expositions but the master is also directly addressing his disciples in the form of exhortations. Typical topics current among Buddhists at that time are taken up in the conversations and explained with the repertoire of certain key terms, usually relating to the mind or mental activities.[24]

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something that the monastic recruiter and fund-raiser Shénhuì never did. (For him laypeople were potential converts to the monastic life or, in some cases, prominent scholar-officials who lent prestige to his activities.) The *Platform Sūtra* inherits the style of reinterpreting conventional Buddhist pronouncements as meditation instructions that had been originally developed by Shénxiù and that was maintained to some extent by Shénhuì and to an even greater degree by the Oxhead [Niútóu 牛頭] School."

[24] David Chappell notices an emphasis on direct teachings styles and 'experience' already in early Chán texts (however, I think, many of these texts still used a rather conservative style typical for treatises), connecting to the 'Pure Conversation' *qīngtán* 清談 tradition of argumentation, and rhetorical contests popular during the Six Dynasties period. Chappell refers to this as the earliest hermeneutical phase of Chán, exemplified by texts such as Dàoxīn's 道信 (580–651) *Rùdào ānxīn yào fāngbiàn fǎmén* 入道安心要方便法門 (*The Dharma-gate of Essential Expedient Means of Entering the Way and Pacifying the Mind*), and Hóngrěn's 弘忍 (600–674) *Xiū xīnyào lùn*. Another group includes texts attributed to Shénxiù 神秀 (606?–706) and his circle, such as the *Yuánmíng lùn* 圓明論 (*Treatise of Perfected Insight*), *Guānxīn lùn* 觀心論 (*Treatise on the Contemplation of Mind*), a text traditionally attributed to Bodhidharma, but written in the circle of the 'Northern School' master Shénxiù, and the *Dàshèng wǔ fāngbiàn* 大乘五方便 (*The Five Expedient Means of the Mahāyāna*, ed. in T.85, no.2834), with many references to *sūtras* such as the *Vimalakīrti* and *Laṅkāvatāra*: "As a hermeneutical device, the doctrine of an esoteric teaching was used (1) to justify the role of the enlightened master, (2) to allow a certain measure of freedom from scholasticism and literal interpretation of texts, (3) to support the idea that each text had a 'cardinal meaning,' and (4) to protect the central article of faith that the underlying meaning was the same in all authentic Buddhist writings." (Chappell 1988:194). Another group of texts include the early *Transmission Texts* such as Fǎrú's 法如 *Epitaph* (689 AD), the *Chuán fǎbǎo jì* 傳法寶紀 (*Record on the Transmission of the Dharma Treasure*, by Dù Fěi 杜朏, ed. in T.85, no.2838),

Chán Poetry

Sections in verse-form have traditionally been an integral part of Buddhist literature, frequently summing up key passages of the preceding narratives. Already in the Dūnhuáng corpus sections in verse-form played an important role in the structure of Chán texts. At the latest since the *Platform Sūtra*'s famous description of the poetry competition between the 'Northern School' monk Shénxiù and the illiterate Huìnéng, poetry has been regarded as a legitimate way of expressing a monk's degree of insight, and instances of enlightenment have often been 'verified' by the composition of stanzas.[25] As

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and the *Léngqié shīzī jì* 楞伽師資記 (*Record of the Masters and Disciples of the Laṅkā[vatāra-sūtra]*), by Jìngjué 淨覺, ca. 714; ed. in T.85, no.2837): "This lineage and its transmission of an elitist and esoteric teaching of the Buddha based on the *Awakening of Faith* and the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition became formalized in the early eighth century in the *Chuán fǎbǎo jì* (Annals of the Transmission of the Dharma-treasure). In spite of the Chán emphasis on mind and nonreliance on any external authority, the role of the enlightened master and the importance of an explicit line of transmission were used in this text to form a substitute structure of authority and legitimacy" (*ibid*.:196). For bibliographic references to the Dūnhuáng manuscripts and editions of these texts, see Yanagida 1974b; for a description and a discussion in the context of early Chán, see McRae 1986; for extensive references to Chinese Chán texts, see also the bibliographies of Adamek 2007 and Sasaki/Kirchner 2009:365–436; for a useful discussion of Dūnhuáng Chán texts (including their relation to esoteric texts), see Sørensen 1989.

[25] For a collection of Chán poetry found on Dūnhuáng manuscripts, see Wāng Fànzhōu 2002:152-181. Poetry also played a prominent role in Chán transmission, see for example the 'transmission verses' in the *Bǎolín zhuàn* 寶林傳 (BLZ, 801; see also Poceski 2007a:29) and the *Zǔtáng jí* 祖堂集 (ZTJ, ca. 952). For examples dating from the Sòng Dynasty, see the transmission from the Chinese master Fózhào Déguāng 佛照德光 (1121–1203) to Nōnin 能忍, the founder of the sect Dharmashū 達磨宗. The transmission was actually performed in the form of a literary device, i.e., a poem (Bodiford 1991:424f.). Sòng Dynasty models of Chán poetry set the standard which was followed also by Japanese Zen monks of the Kamakura and Muromachi periods (1185–1568); on this issue, see Pollack 1979:504: "These poems are successful partly because of the apparent ease with which the poets observe the Chinese rules of tonal regulations, antithesis, and rhyme while making apt use of Japanese vocabulary" (*ibid*.:507). On the role of death poems in Japanese funeral rituals, see Bodiford 1992:151,160; see also Faure 1991:187–191. On poetical language in Chán, see Faure 1993:205f., on the identity of Chán and poetry, see *ibid*.:208-209, in the Japanese context, *ibid*.:209–211; "Mujū [無住] deems necessary to reinforce this conception with notions derived from Japanese literary theories and esoteric Buddhism. The equation between Japanese poetry (in particular the *waka* genre) and esoteric *dhāraṇī* (J. *waka soku darani* [和歌即陀羅尼]) is a recurrent

Carmen Meinert has recently shown, by analyzing Chán poetry in Dūnhuáng texts, that sections of poems were frequently reused similar to the use of '*Textbausteine*' in narrative texts.[26]

> In his paper *Beyond Perfection – The Rhetoric of Chán Poetry in Wáng Wéi's Wăng Stream Collection*, Halvor Eifring analyzes the phenomenon of how famous poets retrospectively were linked with Chán, and how 'Chán-like feelings' were discovered in poems—quite detached from Chán institutional settings, a situation not unlike the modern reception of Chán in the West when typical cultural phenomena in China and Japan were retrospectively linked to Chán/Zen. Through this device Chán/ Zen is divorced from its religious and institutional settings and reduced to its esthetic dimension. Eifring stresses the important lay Buddhist perspective of literati based on which the difference between the effects of Chán and poetry disappear. Through reinterpretations of Chán during Míng 明 (1368–1644) times the Táng poet Wáng Wéi becomes closely related to Chán. Analyzing the structural, linguistic, and rhetoric features of the Wăng Stream collection—usually not associated with Buddhist poetry—Eifring shows that Wáng Wéi employs devices that aim, for example, at creating the impression of an unrestrained and liberated mind; aspects which were very attractive to the Míng readers and at that time associated with Chán literature. Wáng Wéi's literary devices were thus reinterpreted as an expression of 'subtle enlightenment,' which was regarded as a basic feature of both Chán and poetry.

Strategies of Recording the Spoken Word

TRANSCRIBING THE SPOKEN WORD

Victor Mair has pointed out the great impact Buddhism had on the creation of the written vernacular in Asia: "[…] nearly all of the written vernaculars east of the Pamirs to the Pacific Ocean were a

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theme in medieval Japanese Buddhism, and the syncretistic theories (*honji suijaku* [本地垂迹]) of esoteric Buddhism played a significant role in the Buddhist legitimization of poetry" (*ibid*.:209–210).

[26] See Meinert 2008; on 'Textbausteine' taken from a 'text pool,' see also Sørensen 1989:126–127, and "hence it is apparent that there was a sort of 'text pool' or 'source pool' of Chán literature in Dūnhuáng from which the local authors made their own compositions according to the circumstances" (*ibid*.:134).

direct result of the Buddhist missionary enterprise"[27] and that basically all vernacular or semi-vernacular writing before Sòng times were done by Buddhists: "With such tremendous emphasis on the presumed orality of the canon, there might have been resistance to rendering it in stilted, 'unsayable' LS [Literary Sinitic]."[28] This preoccupation with orality was manifested by an unprecedented focus on sound, i.e., systems to indicate pronunciation, rhyme dictionaries, *dhāraṇi*, recitation of the Buddha's name, psalmody, popular lectures, sacred singing and chanting, and the use of *mantra*s.[29]

One of the most important features of Chán genres is the integration of the 'spoken word' in textual form. This development reached an initial peak with the introduction of the colloquial *Transmission Texts* in the 10th century, paralleled and preceded by the appearance of the popular Buddhist *Transformation Texts* (*biànwén* 變文),[30] which were designed as didactic stories directed towards a lay audience. One of the many differences between the genres of *Transmission* and *Transformation Texts* seems to be the targeted audience: whereas the *Transformation Texts* have been composed in the context of multimedia performances (including iconographic materials, story-telling, recitations, maybe also accompanied by music and other types of performances) targeted at a general (and not necessarily very educated) audience, already the earliest Chán historical texts, on the other hand, seem to have been written rather for an elite audience. The ZTJ, for example, was composed for the military commanders and local rulers of the Southeast, and Sòng texts first in the context of imperial sponsorship, and later on with the educated literati as clear target-readership. This marketing strategy

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[27] Mair 1994:722; for example, written Tibetan (7th century), Sogdian, Khotanese and Tocharian, later Tangut, and in the middle of the 15th century the Korean alphabet *han'gul*.

[28] *Ibid*.:714; and: "The first vernacular Buddhist texts in Sinitic did not appear until the middle of the eighth century (the *biànwén*, after the vernacular revolution had already taken place in Central Asia)" (*ibid*.:718).

[29] "*Dhāraṇī*, for example, were thought to be potent only if properly pronounced, hence they were transcribed in their entirety, not translated" (*ibid*.:719). Esoteric Buddhism played an important role in this development: "During the Táng, esoteric Buddhism, recently introduced, provided a further rationale for this tendency to extol words with its stress on *mantra* (a Sankrit term translated in Chinese as 'true words') and *dhāraṇī*" (Faure 1993:202); and: "Esoteric Buddhism and its theory of language significantly influenced early Chán and later Japanese Zen" (*ibid*.:202).

[30] On this genre, see below.

during the Sòng was very successful and guaranteed a dominating status of the Chán factions during that period. As such, the use of the colloquial language had different functions in the two genres.

Since there did not yet exist any specific Chinese characters for transcribing items of the spoken language during the late Táng, many function words were recorded phonetically by 'loaning' the pronunciation of other characters. In the texts found at Dūnhuáng, for example, the use of phonetic loans was a common feature found in many types of manuscripts.[31] Whereas the majority of phonetic loans found in the manuscripts are for full lexical words, from the late Táng period onwards an increasing number of colloquial function words (such as interrogative pronouns, verbal complements, and sentence final particles) were transcribed by this method. Often, the same function word could have several written forms. These graphic representations are already relatively homogenous in texts such as the ZTJ, and this suggests the possibility that there already existed certain standards for graphically representing vernacular grammatical markers during that time.[32]

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[31] One example is the phrase *yìmò shí zuòwùshēng* 異沒時作勿生 'if it is like this what shall one do (lit. how about it)?' found in the 8th century *Shénhuì yǔlù* 神會語錄 (Pelliot Chinois 3047). In Late Middle Chinese the pronunciation would be something like *ji`-mut ʂɦi tsak-vjyt(mut?)-ʂa:jŋ* (reconstructed according to Pulleyblank 1991). The only Chinese character which is *not* used phonetically in the phrase is *shí* 時 (the phrase corresponds roughly to Modern Mandarin 這麼時怎麼樣)! During the early Sòng the vernacular morphemes were assigned specific graphical forms in order to make them immediately recognizable in this function: 沒 (磨, 摩) ⇒ 麼 (么); 作 ⇒ 怎. Suffix 生 survived until today in the Wú 吳 dialect.

[32] The scholar Méi Zǔlín 梅祖麟 suggests that there already existed a *koine* during the Táng Dynasty. Many vernacular grammatical markers that have their origin in the language of the capital spread to other areas by waves of migration during periods of war and unrest. These waves also led to the spread of function words and syntactic patterns, eventually becoming part of many Chinese dialects (e.g., the Modern Mǐnnán 閩南 dialect). The ZTJ actually represents several features of this dialect (see Mei Zulin 1991:39 ff.). The studies of early vernacular Chinese and Buddhist Hybrid Chinese were for a long time neglected areas in the field of Chinese linguistics. Even in China, systematic studies were very rare prior to the 1980s. In the West, already at the end of the 19th century Thomas Watters noticed the influence of Buddhism on the Chinese language and devoted an interesting chapter to this problem in his book 'The Chinese Language' (see Watters 1889:379–496). Another scholar who devoted several studies on the vernacular vocabulary in Buddhist texts is Erich Zürcher (e.g., Zürcher 1978). One of the earliest systematic studies of an early vernacular text was conducted by M.A.K. Halliday (Halliday 1959), and not long afterwards Michael Sawer (1969) wrote a Ph.D. thesis on the language of a number of

As an important development during the early Sòng, the 'standardization' of the written forms of colloquial function words progressed quickly, and many syntactic markers received specific graphical written forms, e.g., the Late Middle Chinese morpheme /*mua*/ appearing as part of colloquial interrogative pronouns, or as interrogative sentence final particle, had several written forms before it assumed its final form 麼; in the following example as part of the pronoun *shénme* 什麼 ('what'):

> [*héwù* 何物 (WHAT THING > what)] ⇒ 是物 / 是勿 / 是沒 (8th cent.) ⇒ 是沒 / 甚沒 / 甚物 (8th–9th cent.) ⇒ 什摩 / 什磨 (9th/10th cent.) ⇒ 什麼 ('standard form' from the 11th cent. onwards)

Occasionally, the different graphical forms possibly also represent different stages of development in the pronunciation of a function word, as in the following example:[33]

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early *Recorded Sayings* texts. Unfortunately, this concise and insightful work is nearly forgotten today.

Alfredo Cadonna conducted studies on several aspects of the vernacular grammar of the Táng (e.g. Cadonna 1978–1979, Cadonna 1981, and Cadonna 1983). For the study of the vernacular language of the *Transformation Texts* (*biànwén*) and the influence of Buddhism on the development of Chinese, see the works of Victor Mair (see bibliography). A person who contributed significantly to the study of Chinese historical syntax and the development of the vernacular language is Alain Peyraube, who, as the first Western scholar, systematically applied the methods and theories of historical linguistics to the study of the development of Chinese. For a recent systematic study of the language of ZTJ in the perspective of historical linguistics, see Anderl 2004b (including an extensive bibliography with further references in vol.2). During the last decade the study of aspects of medieval Chinese and early colloquial Chinese has virtually developed into an industry in China (with results of greatly varying quality).

For a description of the vernacular in the Korean context, see Plassen, *forthcoming* (on producing vernacular lecture notes, see *ibid*.:8f.; on the imitative use of the 'vernacular' Chinese in the production of Korean *Recorded Sayings*, see *ibid*.:14; on texts written with the Korean alphabet invented in the 15th century, see *ibid*.:16f.; on the project of producing Buddhist scriptures in the vernacular, see 20f. "All *ŏnhae* texts follow the same layout, basically constituting an interlinear commentary to the source text(s): For a given portion of the main text (very often only a sentence, at times also a longer passage) usually first the wordings of the Hanmun [Ch. *hànwén*, J. *kanbun* 漢文] source would be given, with annotations directly inserted into the main text. These parts are the ones which in the editorial information to some of the texts […] are labeled as *kugyŏl*. Then, a translation into the vernacular would follow" (*ibid*.:23).

[33] According to Jiang Shaoyu 1994:142.

/ʂɦimiuət/ (early 8th cent.) ⇒ /ʂɦimuət/ (mid-8th cent.) ⇒ /ʂɦima/ (late 8th cent.) ⇒ /ʂɦi^m ma/ (9th cent.) ⇒ /ʂɦimma/ (mid 10th cent.) ⇒ /ʂɦimmo/ (late 10th cent.)

LINGUISTIC RESTRAINTS ON RHETORIC: INFLATION OF FUNCTION WORDS AND THE INFORMATIVENESS OF WRITTEN TEXTS

The early vernacular texts written during the Late Táng and Five Dynasties periods did not only integrate elements of Literary Chinese in their structure, but in addition also made use of syntactic and semantic patterns deriving from previous stages of language development. This led to a great variety of function words deriving from Literary Chinese, several periods of medieval Chinese, as well as integrating the function words of the respective contemporary vernacular language. In the early vernacular texts, this led to a situation where many different grammatical markers would frequently be used for the same or similar function, in addition to representing the same function word with a variety of Chinese characters. On the one hand, these special linguistic features are responsible for the particular charm of the early colloquial Chán texts, in contrast to the linguistically and rhetorically streamlined texts from the Sòng period. However, similar to the contrast between the textual versions as represented in the Dūnhuáng materials, as compared to the later edited versions of the Sòng, these heterogeneous features were unacceptable for the highly educated readership of Chán works during the Sòng dynasty, and many linguistic features were standardized and adapted to the spoken language of Sòng times.

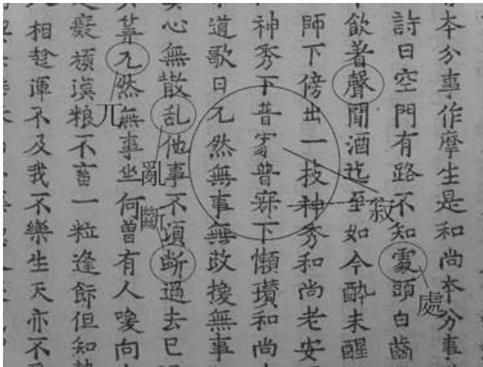
本分事作摩生是和尚本分事
詩日空門有路不知處頭白齒
飲著聲聞酒迷至如今醉未醒
師下傍出一枝神秀和尚老安
神秀下普寂普寂下懶瓚和尚
道歌日兀然無事無改換無事
心無散亂他事不須斷過去已
算兀然無事坐何曾有人喚向
癡頑漢粮不畜一粒逢飯但知
相趁渾不及我不樂生天亦不

Figure 1: Detail of a printed page of ZTJ. Although the text was carved on wooden blocks in Korea during the 13th century, many variant forms of characters (including abbreviations) were preserved. Many forms are typical for the Táng and Five Dynasties periods. Note the two different variants of 寂 in the same line (see circle)!

The rhetorical structure of texts is heavily dependent on the array of linguistic features which can be applied in a text. The adaptation of

the vernacular language and the imitation of actual speech acts in the written form opened for new forms of expression. The introduction of the vernacular is an event the significance of which cannot be overemphasized, both in terms of the success of the Chán School during the Sòng and, more generally, for the development of literary genres in China.[34] One linguistic aspect which underwent significant changes was the system of modal markers, typically used to express 'forces' and 'barriers' in speech acts (e.g., requests, commands, prohibitions),[35] as well as expressing the speaker's attitude towards the addressee or the truth value of a proposition (e.g., 'necessity,' a statement is necessarily true, or 'possibility,' a statement is possibly true). All these functions are of great importance in the rhetorical structure of the (semi-)vernacular Chán texts.

HOW TO RECORD THE WORDS OF THE ENLIGHTENED MASTERS?

The accounts found in early *Transmission Texts* such as ZTJ and *Jǐngdé chuándēng lù* 景德傳燈錄 (JDCDL, 1004) centered around conversations between the masters—who were frequently regarded as 'living' or 'embodied' buddhas or bodhisattvas (*ròushēn púsà* 肉身菩薩)—and their disciples, and it was quintessential to record these encounters in the way they were thought to have happened, i.e., in

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[34] For a short discussion of the development of vernacular literature, see Hanan 1981: 1-16. On *Transformation Texts* and other vernacular Dūnhuáng texts, see the works of Victor Mair (especially Mair 1980, Mair 1983a, Mair 1986, Mair 1989, Mair 1992, and Mair 1999). Mair refers to the language used in early vernacular literature as 'semiliterary-semivernacular' (*bànwén-bànbái* 半文半白, Mair 1994:708). He also points out that Literary Chinese and Vernacular Chinese are to a great degree structurally compatible, which makes it easier to intermix them (*ibid.*:709). It is important to note that the 'vernacularization' of certain narrative genres of Chinese Buddhist texts was maybe also influenced by a phenomenon which Mair calls the 'second vernacular revolution' (*ibid.*:717f., the 'first vernacular revolution' being the appearance of Buddhist Hybrid Chinese (or 'Sinitic') from the 2nd century onwards). This second revolution is characterized by the appearance of non-Sinitic and non-Indian written languages from the 7th century onwards, e.g., written Tibetan.

> "Probably more important in raising the consciousness of some Chinese that the simple sounds of language were just as essential as their elaborate and exalted script, if not more so, was the Buddhist penchant for psalmody. There was no precedent in the indigenous literary and religious traditions for the flood of sacred singing and chanting that engulfed China with Buddhism. […]" (*ibid.*: 719).

[35] For a study of the evolution of the system of modal markers with an emphasis on ZTJ, see Anderl 2004b, vol.1:385–435 and Anderl 2006a.

their *situational context* and by recreating the encounter in the 'spoken' language. In addition, the conversations often involved lively argumentations, including imperatives, requests, prohibitions, suggestions, suppositions, insults,[36] highly subjective views on the doctrinal proposition, and so on. All this added immensely to the rhetorical complexity of the texts. It would have been virtually impossible to transcribe these subtle nuances of the speech acts into Literary Chinese (or Buddhist Hybrid Chinese),[37] using its rather restricted and rigid system of grammatical and modal markers.

In addition, Literary Chinese also lacked the refined vocabulary of the contemporary colloquial language, and also to a certain degree the syntactic flexibility necessary for transcribing dynamic dialogues into the written form (e.g., highly complex modifications of the head-noun, the use of multiple coverbal phrases in the same sentence, appositions).[38] In written vernacular texts, it is often said *more than what is necessary* in order to convey a certain mood or modality. This is done in order to express the speaker's subjective attitude toward the proposition or his dialogue partner (e.g., multiple modal marking). This is in striking contrast to the economical use of language in Literary Chinese.

Below is an example of the use of vernacular model markers:

> *yì xū zhuó jīngshén hǎo* 亦須著精神好！
> "You really should put in efforts!"
> (ZTJ, fascicle 7; ed. Yanagida 1974:2.101)

In this short example, there is a complex interaction of several function words, the intensifying adverb *yì* 亦, the modal verb *xū* 須 expressing obligation, and the semi-grammaticalized vernacular sentence final *hǎo* 好, reinforcing the request. In addition, the colloquial expression *zhuó jīngshén* 著精神 'ATTACH MIND > put in efforts, concentrate' is used.

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[36] For a study of the syntax and semantics of insults in early *Transmission Texts*, see Anderl 2006b.

[37] The term 'Buddhist Hybrid Chinese' was designed parallel to the earlier term 'Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit,' according to Mair a "[…] Prākrit with augmented elements from Sanskrit" (Mair 1994:723).

[38] In polemical exchanges, appositions are a useful device to define the opponent already in the address (e.g., LDFBJ, ed. Adamek 2007:315; tr. *ibid*.: 316 "汝大風患人，見我何益？" "For *you*, *person afflicted with palsy*, what good is it to meet with me?").

The significance of the linguistic and rhetorical aspects in the development of Chán genres can hardly be exaggerated.[39] ‘Chán/Zen language’ is as such not only restricted to certain types of semantics, terminology, metaphorical extensions, figures of speech, etc., but can also include semantic and syntactic elements preserved from earlier stages of language development or typical for specific literary genres. In addition, already in early Chán literature specific grammatical markers are seemingly restricted to Chán texts and are not found in other types of genres.[40]

LANGUAGE ‘STANDARDS’ AND REGIONAL VARIETIES

Many early Chán texts show intrusions of regional varieties of the colloquial language. Examples are the Dūnhuáng versions of the *Platform Sūtra*, which use phonetic loans typical for the Northwestern dialect of the period of the mid- and late Táng.[41] Another example is the LDFBJ (originating in the area of nowadays Sìchuān), which uses a number of specific syntactic construction.[42]

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[39] Concerning this question, see also McRae (2003:99): “Most readers approach Chán recorded sayings literature quite naively, taking the words as simple and basically accurate transcriptions of what was actually said during the event depicted. But the impression of vivid immediacy that we gain through reading these texts is primarily a literary effect, a direct result of their rhetorical style.”

[40] Examples are the ‘semi-grammaticalized coverbs’ *lán* 攔 and *mò* 驀 which first appeared in ZTJ and later in Chán works of the Sòng period. The use of the two words is highly specialized and seems to be restricted to Chán texts, marking an object (which has to be a body part!) affected by an unpleasant action (such as being beaten, spat at, dragged, pulled, etc.): 師便驀面唾 ‘The master spat *into* his face.’ (ZTJ, ed. Yanagida 1974:2.026); 我早是將一塊屎驀口抹了 ‘I have already smeared a piece of shit *on* your mouth!’ (*Gŭ zūnsù yŭlù* 古尊宿語錄, CBETA, X68, no.1315:256c1); 攔胸把柱(=住)叫云 ‘He grasped him *by* the chest and exclaimed.’ (ZTJ, ed. Yanagida 1974:5.048). Another example is the preposition *sì* 似 attached to verbs referring to speech acts (*shuō-sì* 說似 ‘speak *to*,’ *jŭ-sì* 舉似 ‘cite to; bring up *to*,’ etc.), a function which became ‘frozen’ in this usage and is only encountered in vernacular Chán texts.

[41] For a list of the many regular phonetic loans, dialect loans, erroneous characters, and other features of the Dūnhuáng versions of the *Platform Sūtra*, see the *Appendix* in Anderl 2011b (forthcoming); concerning the Northwestern dialect (which also features influences of the Tibetan language), see Takata 1987 and 1988. On multilingualism in Dūnhuáng (and how this reflected on texts), see Takata 2000.

[42] E.g., throughout the text the interrogative final particle *fŏu* 否 is used, a feature which seems to be specific to this Chán text.

On the other hand, there probably existed the notion of something like a 'standard language' or *koine*[43] (used in a trans-regional context) during the late Táng Dynasty. Based on the dialect spoken in the capital, this was most likely the only variety of the spoken language for which certain standards of transcription into the written form existed. For example, although the ZTJ was written in the Southern province of Fújiàn 福建, the language rather resembles the one spoken in the Northern part of China at the time of the late Táng and Five Dynasties periods.[44]

> "We know, moreover, that vernacular authors took some pains to avoid words and idioms with too narrow a currency and tended to choose a vocabulary intelligible within the whole Northern area."[45]

The monks who assembled in the South after the collapse of the Táng came from many different areas of China and possibly used this *koine* for oral communication.

TEXT EDITING AND 'SANITATION'

Based on the features of Dūnhuáng manuscripts of the Táng described above, in addition to those of the vernacular texts of the Five Dynasties period, we can identify a very strong tendency towards *orality*. Influenced by the popularity of sermons expounded in the vernacular language, the medium of didactic story telling, as well as the immense success of esoteric Buddhism from the 8th century onwards (with its focus on the chanting of *mantra*s and *dharaṇī*s), there was a clear shift towards the spoken language in the framework of Buddhism, as well as towards the perception of texts *the way they were heard*. Phonetic studies flourished and contemporary dictionaries and word lists frequently focused on the pronunciation of Chinese characters. In addition, non-Chinese people from Central Asian

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[43] On '*koine*' as supradialectical forms of speech (as opposed to regional 'topolects') in the Chinese context, see Mair 1994:728–730.

[44] However, there are also several words and grammatical markers typical for Modern Southern dialects in ZTJ. But this is not necessarily proof of an influence of Southern dialects of the late Táng on the language of ZTJ, since many words typical for the spoken language of the North in the area of the capital Cháng'ān were actually preserved in the South. The *Transformation Texts* are representative for the language spoken in the Northwest in the area of the capital. The system of grammatical markers in ZTJ is not quite identical with the one of the *Transformation Texts*, but the two systems overlap significantly.

[45] Hanan 1981:2; see also McRae 2003:99–100.

regions had started to create their own writing systems based on their spoken languages. It is not surprising that under these conditions the Chinese started to create written texts based on the vernacular and, in addition, included an increasing number of vernacular elements in texts written in Literary or Buddhist Hybrid Chinese.

As a byproduct of this development, many Buddhist manuscript texts became increasingly difficult to decipher, since they included large amounts of phonetic loans, sometimes even dialect loans, as well as many non-standard character forms based on vernacular writing styles, in addition to erroneous characters or mistakes made in the process of copying texts.

As a consequence, many Chán texts originating from the Táng were unacceptable for the educated Sòng Dynasty readership—both in terms of their 'form' and their frequently outdated doctrinal and lineage formulations. 'Textual sanitation' (i.e., the adaptation of earlier texts to the Sòng readership) became thus an important feature of the transition between the Táng/Five Dynasties periods and the beginning of the Sòng Dynasty.

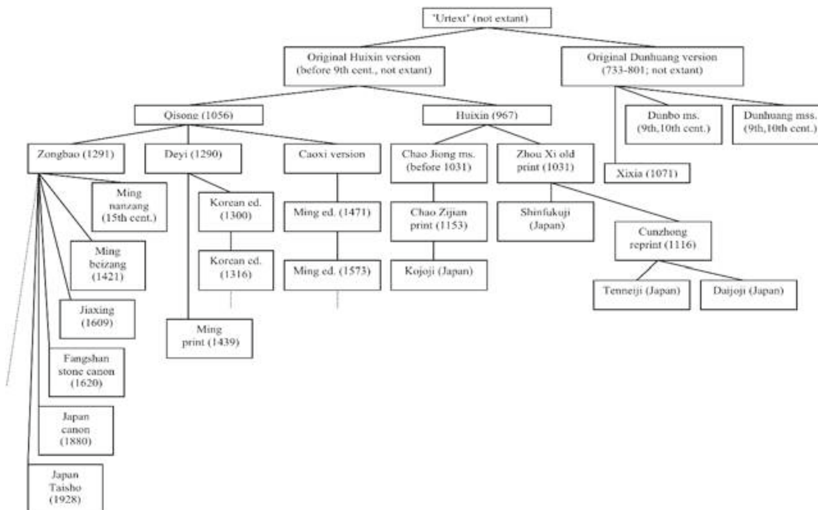

Figure 2: Reconstruction of the relations between the many versions of the *Platform Sūtra*, based on Yáng Zēngwén 1993:297 and Lǐ Shēn 1999:19; Yáng and Lǐ assume the existence of an 'Urtext,' on which the Dūnhuáng versions of the text are based on. From the early Sòng onwards the Huìxīn 惠昕 (967) version became popular, resulting in the dominant Zōngbǎo 宗寶 version of 1291 (which was integrated in the Míng Dynasty Buddhist canon), adapted to the contemporary doctrinal and stylistic framework. For an alternative theory on the origin of the Dūnhuáng versions, see Anderl 2011b.

Good examples are the development of the different versions of the LJL and the *Platform Sūtra*.[46] The extant versions of the *Platform Sūtra* differ significantly from the later versions of the Sòng and Yuán dynasties.

Through the heavy editing and revision processes performed in the process of 'text sanitation,' the language was to a certain degree adapted and homogenized, including orthography and grammatical markers. Phonetic loans were removed or reduced, the rhetorical structure became more stringent, and dialect influences were removed. Passages that doctrinally or structurally did not fit into the context of the Sòng Dynasty, were modified, and elements of current popular literary genres and techniques were added (e.g., passages in the style of *Recorded Sayings* were inserted into the *Platform Sūtra*).[47]

Narrative Blocks and the Reemergence of Commentary

Structurally, many of the same stories or 'narrative blocks' (*Textbausteine*) were used in different texts at different times, often with modifications, abbreviations, deletions, added commentaries, etc.

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[46] For a recent study on the textual features of the Dūnhuáng versions of the *Platform Sūtra*, see Anderl 2011b (forthcoming). This text has an extraordinarily complicated history; in the article I argue that the textual features of the Dūnhuáng versions open for the possibility that *tán jīng* 壇經 originally might not have referred to the text as '*sūtra*' at all, but referred to the *sūtra* used during Platform ordination ceremonies, i.e., the *Varjracchedika* (*Diamond*) *Sūtra*, and the text of the *Platform* scripture originated as a sermon on this *sūtra*.

On the differences between parallel sections found in Dūnhuáng materials and the Sòng standard *Transmission Text* JDCDL: "When comparing the *ghātas* and songs […] with the text included in the JDCDL, we find that they match to a surprisingly high degree. This is not to say that they are identical, since even in the cases of the same work, we can normally find a number of differences. However, it is abundantly clear that the versions from Dūnhuáng are more primitive and less homogenous both as literature and with regard to their contents" (Sørensen 1989:131).

[47] John McRae (2003:100f) discerns several stages in the emergence of vernacular Chán literature, including the initial stage of transcription during which a variety of contemporary spoken Chinese is rendered into a written form. During the second stage, the texts undergo a process of 'editorial modification' (usually done during the Sòng Dynasty). On the evolution of the LJL until it assumed its final 'standard' form (*Zhènzhōu Línjì Huìzhào chánshī yǔlù* 鎮州臨濟慧照禪師語錄, edited by Yuánjué Zōngyǎn 圓覺宗演; T.47, no.1985) in 1120, see Welter 2008:109–130 (Welter refers to the final version of the text as "the product of a collective Chán consciousness;" *ibid*.:109).

Thorough research on how these 'blocks' were assembled, modified, and circulated would be very awarding for our understanding of Chinese Buddhist literature in general, and Chán Buddhist literature in particular.

> In the article *Some Preliminary Remarks to a Study of Rhetorical Devices in Chán Yŭlù Encounter Dialogues*, Christian Wittern conducts a case study on the rhetorical structure of encounter stories in Chán texts, with an emphasis on the *Jĭngdé chuándēng lù*. He analyzes the responses to one of the most frequently used questions used for initiating 'encounter dialogues,' specifically questions concerning the 'Meaning of the Coming of the Patriarch [Bodhidharma],' identifying several patterns of responses. Although answers to the questions varied, several basic rhetorical devices can be singled out, most importantly the use of poetic diction. Wittern points out several possibilities of using these methods of analysis based on the electronic corpus of Chán texts included in CBETA for future research, as well as the necessity of refining electronic texts and search methods for this purpose. This kind of studies will be of significance for a more thorough understanding of the development and distribution of Chán stories as 'Textbausteine,' the variations of the stories, as well as their rhetorical function in specific Chán texts.

The use of these stories was an important device to connect to the tradition and authority of previous Chán masters and the texts attributed to them. On the other hand, modifications and the addition of commentaries gave room for challenging this authority (or rather reestablishing it in the context of a specific Chán or Zen master, as well as 'actualizing' the narrative in the respective contemporary context), and adding innovative interpretations. As such, the use of narrative blocks fulfilled a similar function as interlinear commentary literature for the Neo-Confucian scholars of the Sòng period.[48] Certain stories (one narrative block usually consisting of one story or an exchange in dialogue form) became so commonly known that short allusions to it (in the form of a phrase for example) would be sufficient to recreate the whole story in the mind of the reader.[49]

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[48] However, there are also significant differences; for example, in the Neo-Confucian context, the source text usually could not be altered and the 'innovative' aspect had to be packed into the commentary.

[49] This technique is also common in many other forms of Buddhist literature, for example, in the allusions to popular stories known from the *avadāna* literature. In commentary literature, a short phrase would often represent the entire story.

Commentaries on stories and passages contained in the Chán classics—although not written in the traditional form of interlinear commentary style—seemed to have developed a similar function as commentaries in the Confucian tradition.[50] Based on a set of 'sacred' and 'orthodox' texts, these commentaries and reinterpretations allowed a constant reflection and reinterpretation of the tradition. Frequently, enigmatic and obscure passages enjoyed great popularity and were subject to constant interpretations and reinterpretations. As Daniel Gardner observes in the Neo-Confucian context:

> "[…] every word, every sentence, every paragraph of the canonical text is profoundly significant, deserving of the most genuine and thorough reflection" (Gardner 1998:401)

Similar to the Confucian context, there developed a 'dialogic' relationship between the classics and the commentaries[51] in Chán/Zen Buddhism (e.g., on the *gōngàn*/*kōan* literature).[52] The words of the 'masters of old' turned into 'classical/orthodox' literature, commentaries on them at the same time served the function of relating to the alleged wisdom, authority, and lineage of the former masters, as well as being an opportunity to 'actualize' the masters' experience and add one's own understanding and interpretation.[53] However—in contrast to Confucian commentary style—in the rhetoric of the Chán commentaries, the authority of the masters is often challenged and at the same time confirmed by this act, i.e., the masters' *significance* is established by using them as the basis for the commentaries.[54] This

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[50] "Commentary is a genre, then, that illuminates the diversity of philosophical reflection in the Confucian tradition; that points to the Confucian canon as a vital, on-going source of inspiration, one capable of generating its own interpretation; and that shows the classics as both complex and indeterminate enough to allow the Chinese tradition its necessary pluralities" (Gardner 1998:398); in the Chán context, Faure introduces the concept of 'rhetorical exegesis': "After their earlier criticism, Chán commentators could not simply return to traditional exegesis. Thus, despite its intrinsic conservatism, Chán exegesis retained at least an appearance of freedom and displayed a strong rhetorical tendency; it was a rhetorical exegesis" (Faure 1993: 240).

[51] Gardner 1998:401.

[52] For an example, see below.

[53] In the Neo-Confucian context: "Commentary thus is capable of giving *new* meaning to a text; and by giving this new meaning to a text, the commentator is in a very clear sense creating a new text" (*ibid.*:415)

[54] Similar to the Confucian context: "In writing commentary to a text a person is acknowledging that that particular text has value and importance […]" (*ibid.*:404).

stylized act of challenging the Buddha, the patriarchs or the masters of old is a ritualized confirmation of the Chán/Zen doctrines of 'not relying on the written word,' and the 'transmission from Mind to Mind,' aiming at establishing a specific master as living embodiment[55] of the wisdom and realization (and the authority accompanied by it) of his predecessors.

> In the contribution *Dōgen's Appropriation of Chinese Chán Sources: Sectarian and Non-sectarian Rhetorical Perspectives*, Steven Heine focuses on Dōgen's approach to texts and language, analyzing his major writings, the *Shōbōgenzō* (written in the vernacular), and the *Eiheikōroku* (composed in Chinese). It is shown that rhetorical and linguistic devices used in these texts are directly related to key concerns of Zen, such as questions concerning transmission, spiritual authority, and sectarian identity. For example, the vernacular language is used as means of challenging Dōgen's illustrious predecessors. Although Dōgen uses the method of selective citations to connect and pay respect to the Chinese Chán masters he studied with, he often imposes his own interpretations as a means to create 'self-identity' as a Zen master as well as a sectarian identity in the Japanese context. Other methods in the approach of 'transgressing while transmitting' include outright criticism of the former masters, or a combination of praise and criticism (as frequently encountered in the *Eiheikōroku*), the rephrasing or rewriting of the sayings of the master of old, or the emphasis on a 'trans-sectarian' standpoint.

During the Sòng Dynasty, there are also parallels between the processes of writing commentaries on enigmatic Chán dialogues or *huàtóu* as compared to, for example, writing commentaries of the equally cryptic (and popular) *Classic of Changes* (*Yìjīng* 易經). As Gardner points out:

> "The outpouring of commentarial activity on the *Yìjīng* in the Sòng period, for example, attests to a pronounced struggle over the way an increasingly central work is to be read and used; but it also points to an intent by literati to rein in a particularly unwieldy and cryptic work"[56] (Gardner 1998:406)

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[55] On the Chán master as 'concrete embodiment of ultimate truth,' see Heine 1994:44–45; and as Faure remarks: "Paradoxically the rejection of the Buddhist canon allowed the canonization of the Chán patriarchs" (Faure 1993:240).

[56] On the motives of writing Confucian commentaries, see Gardner 1998:404.

Zhū Xī's 朱熹 (1130–1200) comments on the approach to Confucian commentary literature are surprisingly close to the description of the use of *gōngàn* in the context of Sòng Dynasty Chán Buddhism:

> "In this sort of intense, concentrative engagement with the classic, the words of the sages are, in Zhū's language, to be 'chewed' over their flavor fully 'savored,' so that their true taste might be known."[57]

Even today, Chán/Zen masters often engage in *line-by-line commentaries* on important Chán works in dharma talks during meditation retreats.[58]

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[57] Gardner 1998:406; and: "The Sòng reformation of the canon, to which we have alluded, was likewise, in large part, a response to 'cultural and religious tension.' This tension was one that had evolved over centuries with the introduction of new issues and new questions into the culture. Since the post-Hàn period, 'Neo-Taoism' and, especially, Buddhism had raised concerns more metaphysical and ontological than those addressed traditionally by the Confucian school […]" (*ibid.*:412).

[58] The sermon on and the interpretation of a passage is usually embedded in a specific ritual setting. During several years in the 1980s, I had the opportunity to regularly attend the dharma talks of the Japanese Zen Master Jōshu Sasaki 承周佐々木 (born in 1907) during retreats in his monasteries in the United States. The lectures were an integral part of the intensive retreat periods (J. *sesshin* 接心) and were usually based on his favourite Chán scripture, the LJL (J. *Rinzairoku*). After the monks, nuns, and participating lay people had formally walked from the Meditation Hall to the Dharma Hall, the *Heart Sūtra* (Skr. *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya sūtra*) was chanted in Sino-Japanese pronunciation. Thereafter, the Zen Master would climb up the high-seat and be formally invited by the head monk (performing a number of ritual bows) to give a Dharma-talk. Next, the master would recite in a rather dramatic way a short passage from the text, first reading it in the traditional *bungo* 文語 style based on the original Chinese, followed by a version in Modern Japanese, after that being translated into English by the interpreter. In this setting, a short and often enigmatic passage of the text would serve as a point of departure for expounding his teachings in the form of a 'response' to the text. Often, each phrase or even each word would be explained or reinterpreted in order to display their 'deeper meanings,' actually a process which reminds me of the technique of 'contemplative analysis' *en vogue* already during the early days of the Chán School. Since a short passage of a couple of lines of the LJL entailed a lengthy Dharma-talk, it would take a year or more to 'read' through the text and comment on it. After he was finished with the text, Sasaki would typically start again at the beginning of the LJL; a procedure that has been repeated for nearly 50 years during his time as Zen teacher in the United States. As such, this type of oral 'commentary' and communication with the classics is very specific and embedded in a ritual setting. It is worth adding that these talks are literarily 'recorded sayings'—in fact, recorded on a tape recorder.

On aspects of the interplay of Chán/Zen rhetoric devices and ritual settings, see also the contribution by William Bodiford in this volume.

Speaking is Not Just Speaking…

> 言語道斷 心行處滅
>
> The way of words is cut off and the *locus* of mental activity is extinguished[59]

Is the way of words really cut off in Chán texts? On the contrary, there is an amazing variety of words referring to speech acts; indicating the great emphasis on the 'recreation of the spoken word.' Below is a list of a few of these expressions appearing in Chán literature of the later part of the Táng and the Five Dynasties periods:[60]

bái 白 'say to; address' (this is originally an elevated expression for addressing the Buddha, 白佛曰 'address the Buddha, saying;' also used in the pattern 白 X 云 Y 'tell X Y; report Y to X')

chányǔ 讒語 'slander'

chū 出 'CAUSE TO COME FORTH > utter'

chū huì yán 出穢言 'utter rude/insulting words, saying Y'

cí 詞 'word; speech' (ZTJ, ed. Yanagida 1974:4.108 空拳黃蘗止啼之詞 [...] '[like the] *words* of empty-handed Huángbò stopping the wailing [of the infant]')

dá 答/*dáyuē* 答曰 'answer Y' (introducing direct speech)

dài yuē 代曰 'REPLACE SAY > say as a comment; comment, saying Y' (this is a technical term introducing a comment on a master's statement in the rhetorical structure of the *Recorded Sayings*; also *dài yún* 代云 is common but—since 云 typically introduces a quotation—not **dài shuō* 代說)

dào 道 'speak; speak up; say' (rarely used as introduction to direct speech; commonly used in imperative sentences in which somebody is requested to speak up or make a statement)

dàohuà 道話 'words; speech' (ZTJ, ed. Yanagida 1974:2.088 "道無橫經，立者皆危。 與摩道只是說道話道， 未審如何是道？" "The Way is without side-roads, those standing [still] are all in danger. Talking like this is just expounding the Way (i.e., the Truth) *with words*; I wonder, how is the Way?" (note this play with words here, including in one phrase several words referring to speech acts, in

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[59] *Zhōnglùn* 中論, T.30, no.1564:25a.

[60] Based on Anderl 2004b, vol.2:565, fn.1508. X refers to a nominal phrase with the feature [+HUMAN]; Y refers to an object of a transitive verb referring to a speech act, Y typically consisting of a phrase, direct speech, or quotation.

addition to playing with the ambiguity of meanings of *dào*, which means both 'WAY > Truth' and 'to speak, words')

dàozhuó 道著 'SPEAK AND ATTACH > convince; nail down with words' (probably 著 should be regarded as verbal complement here)

duì 對 'TO FACE > RESPOND > reply'

gào 告 'to address somebody; to report to' (can also introduce direct speech, often in the pattern X1 告 X2, or X1 告 X2 曰/言 Y)

jiǎngshūo 講說 'lecture; to lecture'

jǔ 舉 'TO RAISE > to bring up; raise the topic Y' (this is a technical term; Y is usually a phrase or statement by a master which is brought up/cited in order to initiate a discussion or dialogue)

jǔsì 舉似 'bring up to X' (*sì* 似 is an unusual colloquial preposition from the Late Táng)

kǒu 口 'MOUTH > WITH THE MOUTH > verbally; orally (adverbial usage);' there are also nominal usages as in *sēngkǒu* 僧口 'the words of the monks' (以口亂說 'chaotically expound [the teaching] with words')

kǒután 口談 'verbal; oral'

kǒutóu 口頭 'oral' (this is a very interesting example of a Late Táng compound, a word referring to a speech act being combined with suffix *tóu*, e.g.: ZTJ, ed. Yanagida 1974:2.067: "口裡道得有什摩利益， 莫信口頭辦！" "Being able to speak up with words, what's the use of it? Do not trust oral discussions (or: discussions based on words)!")

liánshēng 連聲 'join somebody speaking; chime in [saying Y]'

míng 名/*míngwéi* 名為 'be called; be named' (usually with a nominal object)

niān 拈 'TO PICK UP WITH ONE'S FINGERS > quote' (a case of old for discussion; this is a technical term in Chán *Transmission Texts* and *Recorded Sayings*; it is common in the construction: X1 拈問 X2 Y 'X1 raises the case/question asking X2 [about] Y')

shuō 說 'speak' (often used with coverbal constructions introducing the addressee, but rarely used as introduction to direct speech); 'expound' (with direct object); sometimes *shuō* is also used as a noun as in *zuò cǐ shuō zhe* 作此說者 'if one makes this (doctrinal) statement/proposition'

wèi 謂 'be called Y'

wèiyán 謂言 'state, claim that Y'

wénzì 文字 'written/canonical words'

wèn 問/*wènyán* 問言/*wènyuē* 問曰 'ask' (introducing direct speech; often in the pattern 有 X 問言 Y 'a certain X asked Y')

xù 敘 'account; description; narration; talk' (e.g., ZTJ, ed. Yanagida 1974:3.015 "特教阿誰敘？" "Whose phrases, in particular, are you teaching?")

yán 言 can introduce direct speech similar to *yuē* and *yán* (*xiàng* 向 X *yán* 言 Y 'tell X that Y'); 'be called' (凡言聲者 'as for what is called *sound*'); nominal usage: 'phrase, statement, saying' (can be counted!); adnominal usage: 'oral' (similar to *kǒu* 口)

yáncí 言詞 'words; speech' (言詞所說法 'the dharma expounded with words/speech')

yánjiào 言教 'teaching based on words' (usually refers to something written down or transmitted in written form, not necessarily transmitted orally; compare *yánshuō* 'speech')

yánshuō 言說 'spoken words, speech; verbal usage: to speak'

yánshuō wénzì 'spoken and written words'

yán-xià 言下 'UNDER WORDS > based/caused/triggered by words' (very frequent in the formula *yánxià dàyù* 言下大悟 'he was greatly enlightened caused by these words/when he heard these words')

yányǔ 言語 'speak, speech' (*yányǔ jiǎnsè* 言語謇澀 'his speech was stammering (i.e., difficult to understand); to stutter;' *yányǔ xué* 言語學 'teachings based on words'

yányǔ dàhé 言語大曷 'SPEAK WITH A BIG/LOUD VOICE > to brag (?)'

yǐn yún 引云 'quoting (Z) saying Y'

yǔ 語 'words' (*wú yǔ* 吾語 '*my* words;' often emphatic and elevated in combination with pronoun *wú* 吾; 'sayings;' verbal usage: 'say Y; tell that Y;' there is also the rather exotic pattern X1 語 X2 言 Y 'X1 addressed X2 saying Y')

yǔhuà 語話 'to speak; words; the sound of speaking' (a word not common before the Táng Dynasty)

yǔjù 語句 'words and phrases; speech' (ZTJ, ed. Yanagida 1974: 2.091 "我宗無語句，實無一法與人。" "My central doctrine is not based on words (lit., 'is without *words and phrases*') and truly there is not a single teaching to pass on to people.")

yǔyún 語云 'say Y' (introducing direct speech)

yuē 曰 'say Y' (introducing direct speech, more rarely quotations from scriptural sources)

yún 云 'say Y' (introducing a citation or quotation; often *yuē* 曰 is used in the same way; note that the mood of speech acts can of course be specified such as in 其婦更嗔口云 'his wife said even more angrily')

The Eloquence of Silence

The vocabulary concerning the description of 'silence' is nearly as diverse and sophisticated as the one describing speech acts. From the very beginning, references to the incapability of responding to the questions of a master have been an important element in the rhetorical structure of the dialogues in Chán texts. In early Chán this 'passive silence' (i.e., the incapability of giving an adequate response) efficiently signaled the defeat of the opponent, often emphatically described in the form of four-letter phrases, for example: *dù kǒu wú cí* 杜口無詞 'BLOCK MOUTH NOT HAVE WORDS;' *liàngjiǔ bù yǔ* 量久不語 'be not able to speak for a long while;' *wú cí gǎn duì* 無詞敢對 'having no words daring to respond with;' *mòrán wú duì* 默然無對 'be silent and not able to answer;' *mòrán bù yǔ* 默然不語 'be silent and without words;' *wú cí kě yán* 無詞可言 'unable to utter any word;' *qián kǒu jié shé* 鉗口結舌 'RESTRAIN MOUTH BIND TONGUE> keep silent; to silence somebody;' *tǔ-bù-chū* 吐不出 'SPIT OUT NOT COME FORTH > not be able to speak out; not be able to utter a word.'

Silence (or certain types of silence) eventually developed into positive concepts,[61] and the silence of the master developed into one of the standard responses to the questions of the students (by contrast to the dumbfounded silence of the ignorant disciple), indeed, the story of Mahākāśyapa's silence (accompanied by a smile, though!) as response to the Buddha holding up a flower became one of the iconic stories, expressing the 'special transmission outside the teachings [based on canonical texts]' (*jiàowài biéchuán* 教外別傳; J. *kyōge betsuden*) and the 'transmission from Mind to Mind' (*yǐ xīn chuán xīn* 以心傳心; J. *ishin denshin*).[62]

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[61] On the emphasis on silence in the context of the promotion of 'silent illumination' by the Cáodòng 曹洞 School (J. Sōtō) during the Sòng Dynasty, see Schlütter 1999:130. On the story of the 'thundering silence' by Vimalakīrti as response to a question by Mañjūśri, see Faure 1993:197.

[62] See Welter 2000; on the development of this story into a *gōngàn*, see *ibid*.:94f. Another interesting interpretation of silence appears in Sōtō funeral rituals, in the context of the postmortem bestowal of the precepts: "A corpse, however, can offer no indication that it hears and understands the questions of the precept administrator. The silence of the corpse presented medieval Sōtō monks with a *kōan*—a Zen problem to be resolved through Zen insight. In resolving this *kōan*, medieval Sōtō monks reinterpreted silence as the ultimate affirmative response, the proper Zen expression of the ineffable" (Bodiford 1992:160).

Indeed, silence can be a powerful rhetorical device—also in terms of *what is not mentioned* or topics which are neglected or suppressed in specific Chán/Zen texts.

One of the most striking features of Táng Chán texts is the nearly complete silence on ethical issues (and even the 'Pure Rules' of the Sòng predominantly deal with ritualistic behaviour in monastic settings rather than with ethical or moral issues). On the one hand, the Chán Buddhist clergy was firmly embedded in the *vinaya* regulations of the Táng period concerning ordination and precepts; on the other hand, ethical discussions are basically absent in Chán texts or transformed into the 'teachings of the Mind.'[63] The reintroduction of ethical issues and the discussion (and criticism) of the moral dimension of Buddhist concepts eventually played an important role in the Neo-Confucian *yǔlù*, and added to their popularity among literati.[64]

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[63] See the article *Coming to Terms with Terms*.

[64] On this issue, see also Gardner 1991:595. On the study of one of the few remains concerning the view of Táng Chán monks on *vinaya* and regulations, see Poceski 2006 (a study of *Guīshān's Admonitions*, *Guīshān jǐngcè* 溈山警策, preserved on Pelliot Chinois 4638). It shows that Chán monks were subjected to the common regulations and restrictions concerning the Buddhist clergy during the Táng (*ibid*.:20). It also shows the awareness concerning monastic corruption and the decline of moral behaviour during that time: "Even though the problem of monastic corruption was a perennial issue and not unique to the ninth century, there was a sense of a steady worsening of the quality of the clergy that was related to the increase of its size. Part of the problem can be traced back to government's policy of selling ordination certificates in order to raise cash for its treasury" (*ibid*.:21); and on the attitudes toward discipline and morality: "Notwithstanding the call for radical transcendence invoked by the Chán idea, the text repeatedly makes it clear that normative monastic practices and observances are the foundation of authentic spirituality" (*ibid*.:35). This fits also well in the soteriological scheme of sudden awakening followed by gradual cultivation. On *Rules of Purity* (*qīngguǐ* 清軌, J. *shingi*) in the Japanese context, see, for example, Foulk 2006. Both Dōgen and Eisai were also concerned with the Hīnayāna rules in addition to the Bodhisattva precepts (*ibid*.:146). However, the *Chányuàn qīngguī* 禪苑清規 and later texts on monastic rules seemed to have had a dominating role in establishing Japanese monasticism and eventually led to the abolishment of the 'Hīnayāna' precepts (*ibid*.:147f.). For authoritative texts on Rinzai and Sōtō monastic rules in contemporary Japan, see *ibid*.:162f.; for an interpretation of the precepts as the 'essence of the Buddha' by Dōgen and his disciple Kyōgō, see Bodiford 1992:157; the (re)interpretation of the basic Mahāyāna precepts is actually very close to those found already in early Dūnhuáng Chán texts in the context of 'contemplative analysis.' Kyōgō's interpretation of 'not killing': "The Mahāyāna precept 'not to kill' should be interpreted not as a vow against killing, but as a realization of living enlightenment that clears away the 'dead,' static entities of our

Through the *device of exclusion* specific doctrinal issues or questions of lineage/transmission can be effectively suppressed or superseded. This method is often much more effective than direct attacks or criticism. However, these processes are of course not always conscious strategies but rather the result of sectarian, historical, or doctrinal developments. As in the case of Chán, the whole formative period was retrospectively rewritten in the context of Sòng orthodoxy, with the effect that this entire formative period became 'deleted' (and replaced by a normative account) in historiographical works. Fortunately, the discovery and study of the Dūnhuáng materials enable us to get a glimpse of this early period.

Finally, another version of silence should be mentioned: one which is retrospectively broken and where a discourse or state of affairs is projected onto earlier historical periods. Examples of this are the Sòng Buddhists' projections of lineages, doctrines, and 'encounters' into the Táng period, thus creating a 'golden age of Chán' (an issue which has been widely discussed and studied in Japanese and Western secondary literature). More recent examples can be found in the period of adaptation of Zen to the sociopolitical and religious context of the Meiji period, and the introduction and adaptation of Zen to a Western audience.[65]

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illusions" (*ibid*.:158).

[65] For an interesting case study on the introduction of the notion of 'Zen experience' (and the Japanese neologisms used in this discourse: "The irony of this situation is that the key Japanese terms for experience—*keiken* 経験 and *taiken* 体験—are rarely attested in premodern Japanese texts."), see Sharf 1993:21f; on 'Zen enlightenment': "Zen 'enlightenment' far from being a transcultural and trans-historical subjective experience, is constituted in elaborately choreographed and eminently public ritual performances" (*ibid*.:2); on the rhetoric of Zen and its compatibility with science, technology, and philosophy, see ibid.:9; on Zen war rhetoric, see ibid.:9. More generally, concerning the supposed close relationship between Zen and Japanese culture and art (one of the stereotypes created in the course of the transmission of Zen to the West), Bodiford states: "Zen artists and Zen monks can be found in limited numbers. But at the vast majority of Zen temples—and there were about twenty thousand Zen temples versus only seventy-two monasteries—no one practices art, no one meditates, and no one actively pursues the experience of enlightenment. The popular image of Zen known in the West and the image promoted by scholars both fail to reflect this reality. Neither tells us what religious functions truly occur at Zen temples. Surveys of Zen priests reveal that most monks stop practicing meditation as soon as they leave the monasteries at which they receive their basic training. Once monks return to their local village temple, lay-oriented ceremonies, especially funeral services, occupy their energies to the total exclusion of either Zen art or Zen meditation" (Bodiford 1992:149).

As demonstrated above, the vocabulary referring to speech acts was very diverse and sophisticated in the Chán texts of the Táng and Five Dynasties periods. Parallel to the development of specific Chán genres during the Sòng, the reintroduction of often multi-layered commentaries, as well as the export and further development of these genres in Korea and Japan, the technical terminology underwent further expansion and sophistication. Kenneth Kraft[66] cites a few examples from the *Blue Cliff Record*, referring to terms related to 'capping phrases'[67] in *kōan* literature, e.g., *zhuóyǔ* 著語 (J. *jakugo*), still the most common term for this type of phrases in Japan; *xiàyǔ* 下語 (J. *agyo*) "to give a turning word" (*ibid.*), *yī zhuǎnyǔ* 一轉語 (J. *ittengo*) "one turning word" (*ibid.*), *biéyǔ* 別語 (J. *betsugo*) "a response to a *kōan* that differs from an answer already given by someone else" (*ibid.*). *Dàiyǔ* 代語 (J. *daigo*), which was already common in *Transmission Texts* from the middle of the 10th century, assumed a more technical meaning, "an answer given on behalf of another person (i.e., when a monk in a recorded dialogue cannot answer the master's question)" (*ibid.*). In Japan, several additional terms became current, such as *sego* 俗語, referring specifically to phrases that originated in Japan, *heigo* 評語 "ordinary Japanese expressions, taken from daily life rather than published anthologies" (*ibid.*), *zengo* 前語 "phrase that presents only one aspect of a *kōan*" (*ibid.*), and *hongo* 本語 "phrase that caps a *kōan* in a final or comprehensive manner" (*ibid.*), *omote no go* 表の語 "surface word" used to "comment from a conventional standpoint," *ura no go* 裏の語 "inside words," which were used to "comment from an absolute standpoint" (*ibid.*) and *sōgo* 総語 "combined words" which are supposed "to express the integration of the ultimate and the conventional" (*ibid.*:133).[68]

Thus, this terminology concerning speech acts and literary references developed into an important tool for navigating through the increasingly vast and complex Chán/Zen/Sŏn literature, marking and identifying sections in multilayered and complicated Chán texts.

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[66] Kraft 1992:132.

[67] On 'capping phrases,' see Hori 2003.

[68] Needless to say, many of these technical terms reflect the underlying hermeneutical systems of the texts which employ them.

In his contribution *The Rhetoric of Chinese Language in Japanese Zen*, William Bodiford focuses on the ways in which medieval Japanese monks handled the large amount and variety of Chán literature imported from China. Chinese literary forms were regarded as an authentic medium for transporting the message of the Buddha. The bulk of Chinese Chán literature was introduced to Japan during a period of significant political and social changes, and at a time when Japanese Zen searched for an own identity as well as a supreme status among the Buddhist schools. Zen institutions became not only religious centers but also introduced many aspects of Chinese material culture, Sòng-style Confucianism, and Chinese learning. Zen monks were confronted not only with new ritual and literary texts, but also with numerous new terms and nomenclature, as well as the vernacular language of the Sòng and new readings of Chinese characters. Bodiford analyses various characteristics of the 'rhetoric of Chinese' practiced by Japanese monks and the creation of a specific Sino-Japanese style of expression; a type of language which eventually also spread beyond the confines of Zen monastic institutions and developed into a medium of communication between temples and secular officials. It is shown that the genre of *Recorded Sayings* (J. *goroku*) developed a very clear reference in the Japanese context, referring to the "records of Chinese sayings pronounced by Zen teachers as part of their official monastic duties," with basically 13 types of *goroku* found in the libraries of Japanese Zen temples. The dynamics between different styles of expressions, including texts written in 'pure' Literary Chinese, mixed-style texts, as well as those written in Japanese, became one of the defining characteristics in the development of Zen language, literature and genres. Bodiford emphasizes the high demands on the literary abilities of Zen teachers, expected to produce sermons and texts in a variety of specific genres, styles, and pronunciations (leading occasionally to a situation where the very same text can be read in three different ways!). Even in contemporary Japan these skills are still expected from Zen priests, often in the context of funeral services, which are of great importance for the interaction with lay believers and the income of the temples. Faced with the high demands on their linguistic and rhetorical skills, Japanese Zen priests nowadays often rely on sophisticate computer software assisting in the composition of their funerary sermons.

Ambivalence Towards the Written Word

> "[…] the negation of language had to be attempted in nonlinguistic ways, through 'skillful means' (*upāya*) and 'body language' (blows, shouts, gestures, facial expressions) or some kind of 'qualified' or paradoxical silence."[69]

'Non-reliance on the written word' (*bù lì wénzì* 不立文字)[70] became one of the most important Zen slogans, despite the fact—as has been pointed out many times previously—that no other East Asian Buddhist school produced so many written and printed words in the course of its history. This slogan was an important rhetorical device (in written texts…) to distinguish oneself from more scholarly and canonical approaches to Buddhism, and to justify the claim of a transmission of the truth beyond the realm of language (functioning from person-to-person and Mind-to-Mind). As such, the ambivalent attitude[71] towards the written word and language *per se* was an important feature already found in early Chán works and reappearing throughout the history of Chán/Sŏn/Zen.

Language and its soteriological function, as well as its relationship to an 'ultimate truth,' were issues frequently addressed in canonical Buddhist literature, both in the translated *sūtra* and *śāstra* literature, and in pre-Chán Chinese commentary literature. The topic of 'language' was thus familiar during the formative period of the Chán movement during the late 7th and early 8th centuries. In addition, the

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[69] Faure 1993:198.

[70] The slogan appeared in the 8th century (see *ibid*.:196).

[71] For a good example, see the legend of Dàhuì Zōnggao (1089–1163) destroying the woodblocks of the famous *gōngàn* collection *Blue Cliff Record* (*Bìyán lù* 壁巖錄): "This episode suggests the tensions at play in Chán's attempt both to condemn and to create texts. Although the work had been produced by his own teacher, Dàhuì felt strongly that the circulation of these texts were a detriment to Chán. Handwritten notes presented similar dangers" (Heller 2009:111; see also Levering 1978:32–33). For letters (*shūjiăn* 書簡, *chídú* 尺牘) as important media for the exchange between Sòng Chán master and their lay followers, see Heller 2009:112. Another example is Línjì's criticism of Chán students taking notes of the lectures of their teachers, encouraging his students not to blindly trust even his own words: 道流，莫取山僧說處。說無憑據，一期間圖畫虛空，如彩畫像等喻 "Followers of the Way, *don't accept what I state*. Why? Statements have no proof. They are pictures temporarily drawn in the empty sky, as in the metaphor of the painted figure." (LJL, ed. and tr. in Sasaki/Kirchner 2009:278; emphasis added). Note that the LJL does not generally devaluate words but rather assigns them a function of expedient means valid temporarily under specific circumstances.

6th and 7th centuries had witnessed massive scholarly efforts by Buddhist monks to sort out and adapt the many (often contradictory) doctrinal statements found in the scriptures, and many Buddhist schools of thought had formed around sets of doctrines. One aspect of the emergence of the Chán movement was certainly as a reaction against dominantly scholastic approaches trying to cut their way through the doctrinal and terminological jungle of Buddhist texts.[72]

> In Christoph Anderl's contribution *Coming to Terms with Terms: The Rhetorical Function of Technical Terms in Chán Buddhist Texts*, the approach to terms and concepts during different periods of development of Chinese Chán is analyzed. Certain techniques of tackling the enormous amount of terms and doctrines circulating during the Táng Dynasty can be singled out, such as the creative reinterpretation of key terms and assigning them a specific 'Chán flavour,' often interpreting traditional Buddhist concepts as functions of the Mind (*xīn* 心), the analysis of terms using a Two-Truths model, the 'conventional' truth being valid in the realm of a canonical meaning of a term, and the 'absolute' truth applying to the Chán interpretation. As important device, the amount of terms discussed by Chán masters became restricted to a number of key terms. In the course of time many of these terms became specifically associated with the Chán school(s).[73] Other important techniques were the simplification

[72] "The rhetorical discourse of Chán was partly a response to this exegetical excess, which was itself an attempt to overcome the closure of the Buddhist canon" (Faure 1993:237–238); for a discussion of the shift from the hermeneutical to the rhetorical model, see *ibid*.:238; on the notion of 're-oralizing' the scriptural tradition, see *ibid*.:239; on the survival of the hermeneutical tradition in the theory of the 'harmony between the canonical teachings and Chán' (*jiào Chán yīzhì* 教禪一至), see *ibid*.:239.

[73] Including the term '*chán* 禪' itself, by the way. Originally, *chánshī* 禪師 generally referred to a monk specialized in the practice of meditation (Skr. *dhyāna*). However, by the end of the Táng *chánshī* had acquired a sectarian notion and referred to a master related to the Chán School. This re-definition of '*chán*' started already at an early stage: "[…] early Chán ideological tracts redefine the term '*chán*' (also one of the six perfections), such that it no longer refers to a particular practice, but rather denotes the enlightened perspective itself. The claim that Táng Chán actually rejected ritual and formal meditation practice is in part founded upon a misunderstanding of this polemic use of '*chán*' or '*zuòchán*' 坐禪 in early Chán ideological tracts (i.e., texts attributed to the East-Mountain or Northern School teachings). According to these works, '*chán*' does not refer to a specific practice or activity at all, but is used as a synonym for 'seeing directly one's true nature'" (Sharf 1991:89). And, more generally on the process of integrating Buddhist terms and concepts in a 'Chán

> of the meanings of terms (often by limiting their semantic range and their references) and the integration of them in Chán slogans, the 'personalization' of terms (i.e. assigning sets of terms and phrases to specific masters, these terms and phrases consequently becoming easily identifiable trademarks of these Chán masters and their styles of teaching). Eventually, important terms were integrated in the linguistic and rhetorical structure of vernacular texts of popular genres such as the *Recorded Sayings* and the *gōngàn* collections, and underwent creative transformations and re-interpretations.

Another example of an attempt to justify the use of language is the division into 'live words' (Ch. *huójù* 活句; K. *kwalgu*) and 'dead words' (Ch. *sǐjù* 死句; K. *sagu*).[74] The latter refers to the writings of canonical Buddhist literature whereas 'live words' are able to cease conceptual thinking and trigger enlightenment. Naturally, the 'live words' are attributed to the utterances of the Chán masters:

> "By resorting to the device of the 'live word,' Chán exegetes justified their use of conceptual ideas—provided of course that such ideas were intended to catalyze awakening—without belying their claim that such descriptions differed fundamentally from those used in the scholastic schools."[75]

Also the scholar and Chán monk Guīfēng Zōngmì 圭峰宗密 (780–841) marginalized the role of canonical scriptures in the process of attaining realization, and for Chinul (知訥, 1158–1210) only *hwadu* (Ch. *huàtóu* 話頭) qualified as live words.[76]

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environment': "Much like the boy with the golden finger, everything touched by Chán rhetoric turns to Chán. This tendency—latent in Mahāyāna and blatant in Chán—to swallow up rival traditions in a rhetorical slight of hand which refuses to recognize significant differences persists to the present day" (*ibid*.:91). Also in more modern times certain terms became 'hyped' and meanings and interpretations projected upon them. One good example is the word *jiki* (直, Ch. *zhí*) which in Chinese Chán texts was used as an adjective meaning 'straight, direct, straightforward,' etc. In Meiji Japan it was promoted to expressing the 'essence' of Zen with several sub-meanings: "[…] (1) going forward without hesitation, (2) direct mind-to-mind transmission, and (3) 'the spirit of Japan' [!] […]" (Sharf 1993:12).

[74] "As these terms are used by Chán teachers, any type of theoretical description, whether found in Chán or in scholastic writings, would be considered a 'dead-word,' while any teaching that is intended not to explain but to enlighten would be a 'live-word'" (Buswell 1988:247).

[75] *Ibid*.:247.

[76] *Ibid*.:248.

In the *Recorded Sayings* of Chán Master Yuánwù Kèqín 圓悟克勤 (1063–1135)—one of the most important precursors of *kànhuà* Chán ('Chán observing the *key phrase*, *huàtóu* 話頭') and commentator on one hundred *gōngàn*s (*Sòng gǔ bǎi zé* 頌古百則) compiled by Xuědòu Zhòngxiǎn 雪竇重顯 (980–1052)—there is an interesting discussion on this topic (a tentative translation is added); it becomes also clear from his discussion that *huójù* should be translated with 'live phrase' in this case rather than with 'live words,' since Yuánwù Kèqín refers to fixed units of popular phrases uttered by the former masters:

> 他參活句不參死句。活句下薦得。永劫不忘。死句下薦得。自救不了。只如諸人。即今作麼生會他活句。莫是即心即佛是活句麼沒交涉。莫是非心非佛是活句麼沒交涉。不是心不是佛不是物是活句麼沒交涉。莫是入門便棒是活句麼沒交涉。入門便喝是活句麼沒交涉。但有一切語言盡是死句。作麼生是活句。還會麼。
>
> They [i.e., the Táng masters Déshān 德山 and Línjì 臨濟] consulted *live words* (or: *live phrases*) and did not consult *dead words* (or: *dead phrases*). If one makes achievements[77] based on *live words* (*phrases*) then they will not be forgotten for eternal *kalpas*. If one makes achievements based on *dead words* (*phrases*) then one will not even be able to save oneself. As for all of you people, how do you understand their [i.e. those masters'] *live words* (*phrases*)? Isn't 'this very mind is the Buddha' a *live phrase*?—It is of no relevance! Isn't 'it is not the Mind, it is not the Buddha' a *live phrase*?—It is of no relevance! Isn't 'it is the Mind and not the Buddha' a *live phrase*?— It is of no relevance! Isn't 'entering the gate and then use the staff [to hit]' a *live phrase*?—It is of no relevance! Isn't 'entering the gate and then shouting' a *live phrase*?[78]—It is of no relevance! There are just all these utterances and all of them are *dead phrases*. How then are *live words* (*phrases*)? Do you understand?" (*Yuánwù Fóguǒ chánshī yǔlù* 圓悟佛果禪師語錄, fascicle 11, T.47, no.1997:765b13-20)

It is quite clear that according to Yuánwù's opinion the transmitted phrases and teaching methods of the famous Táng master have themselves turned into 'dead words/phrases' and have assumed a

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[77] *Jiàn-dé* 薦得 here in the sense of 'achieving realization;' this is a colloquial expression frequently found in Sòng Dynasty Chán scriptures. It could be also translated 'hit the jackpot' (lit. 'ATTAIN [FROM] THE MAT') since it originally refers to obtaining all the money placed on a straw-mat while gambling.

[78] I.e., teaching methods typical for the famous Táng masters.

status not different from the written words found in canonical Buddhist literature. After the above passage, the text continues with the description of several encounters, including short enigmatic phrases. Without further specifying it, Yuánwù seems to regard these utterances as real 'live words/phrases.'[79] Seen from a linguistic angle, Yuánwù excludes the phrases of the former masters based on the fact that they still have a transparent structure, both in terms of their grammar and semantic contents. Only the enigmatic and often paradoxical statements seem to qualify as real 'live phrases.'

Another solution to the problematic status of language and written words is the device of reverting to *non-linguistic* signs, such as symbols (for example, in the form of circular graphics), a practice probably initiated by Nányáng Huìzhōng 南陽慧忠 (675–?), and also used by Dòngshān Liángjié 洞山良價 (807–869) and Gāofēng Yuánmiào 高峰原妙 (1238–1295). In the Korean context this was initiated by Sunji 順之 (fl. 858) and revived by Hamhŏ Tŭkt'ong 涵虛得通 (1376–1433) and Paekp'a Kŭngsŏn 白坡亙璇 (d. 1852).[80]

[79] As already mentioned above, based on this interpretation and the fear that 'live words' may turn into 'dead words' it is not surprising that Yuánwù's famous disciple Dàhuì Zōnggǎo 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163) (one of the most famous promoters of *kànhuà* 看話 meditation) later on supposedly tried to destroy the wooden printing blocks of the *Blue Cliff Record*; see Schlütter 2008:110. In Chán literature there are of course cases in which enlightenment is achieved based on the words of the canonical scriptures, most prominently the Sixth Patriarch Huìnéng who—according to the *Platform Sūtra*—achieved sudden enlightenment when hearing the *Diamond Sūtra*.

[80] For the use of diagrams in the Korean context, see Plassen's contribution to this volume. On the issue of non-linguistic signs, see also Buswell 1988:248–250. For symbols related to the teachings of the Korean monk Sunji, appearing in fascicle 20 of ZTJ (ed. Yanagida 1974:5.114–5.121), see Anderl 2004b, vol.1:31, fn.192. For the design and format of 'succession certificates' (J. *shisho* 嗣書) in the Japanese context and other documents related to transmission, see Bodiford 1991:447:

> "The format of the succession certificate (*shisho*) that has been used since at least the sixteenth century depicts the names of all the buddhas and patriarchs (legendary and historical) down to the present master and disciple, arranged in a large circle around Shakyamuni's name, which occupies the center. An unbroken, wavy red line winds circles through and connects all the names. The circular arrangement depicts not so much a linear, historical transmission from one generation to the next, but rather the simultaneous enlightenment of all beings with Shakyamuni. The second document, the blood lineage (*kechimyaku*) chart, records the genealogical transmission of the mythical Zen precepts (*zenkai* [禪戒]) that embody enlightenment. Here all the patriarchs are listed in sequential fashion, one after the other. The third chart, known as the

Therese Sollien's contribution *Sermons by Xū Yún: A Special Transmission within the Scriptures* investigates Chán rhetoric and language, as well as the use of authoritative scriptures in a more modern Chinese context, concretely, in a study of the Chinese Chán master Xū Yún (1840–1959) who played an important role in revitalizing Chán Buddhism in China. The emphasis of the study is on an analysis of his approach to doctrines and language in his writings. Sollien observes that already in his biographical/ hagiographical account the model of the 'classical' Chán masters is followed, including the account of severe hardships and oral and physical abuse by his teacher, eventually leading to his enlightenment experience and mirroring the prototypical disciple-master relationship between Huángbò and Línjì. It is shown that his approach to Chán did not attempt to be innovative or iconoclastic but rather characterized by a heavy dependence on the traditional Chán literature, and his role defined as transmitter of the classical texts of Chán. This close relationship to the classics is also characterized by his use of language, often recreating the Chán idiomatic language based on the Sòng period colloquial Chinese. By comparing his sermons to a variety of source texts, Sollien demonstrates the heavy reliance on these texts, the incorporation of the passages being one of the most important components in the rhetorical structure of his sermons. Having committed many of the Chán classics to his memory, he verbatim quotes passages throughout his sermons.

Genre and Rhetoric

Chán Hagiographies and Transmission Texts

"Never an institutionally distinct or independent entity in China, the Chán school was not distinguished by its practices but indeed by its rhetoric and mythical genealogy—two powerful ideological weapons

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'Great Task' (*daiji* [大事]), a reference to the statement in the *Lotus Sutra* that all buddhas appear in the world for the sole task of leading beings to enlightenment, is the most problematic of the three documents. Its appearance and format vary widely, even among versions bestowed by the same master. Usually it consists of geometric diagrams that symbolize the wordless content of Zen enlightenment."

On transmission certificates in 20th century China, see Welch 1963. On the 'blood lineage' documents (J. *kechimyaku* 血脈), see also Faure 2000:64f.

> that were used successfully to create a socially and politically privileged elite of 'enlightened masters' within the Buddhist clergy."[81]

Typical Chán genres, such as the *Transmission Texts*[82] or the *Recorded Sayings*, are characterized by their heterogeneous structure: they constitute multifunctional texts combining several features, layers, and sub-genres. Each sub-genre has specific rhetorical and linguistic features (see *Figure 3*).

The short narrative passages in ZTJ, for example, have a larger number of Literary Chinese features as compared to the language of the dialogues. Occasionally, sentences in the narrative passages are even rephrased in the dialogues in order to fit the vernacular structure, as for example in the following passage. It is based on the *Bǎolín zhuàn* 寶林傳 (BLZ) from the beginning of the 9th century, an early *Transmission Text* composed in the context of the Hóngzhōu 洪州 School.[83]

> 心生歡喜，則往寶缽羅窟，擊其石門。爾時迦葉在於窟中問："是何人敲我此戶？"

> His mind produced joy and consequently he went to the Pippala cave and *knocked at the stone-gate*. At that time Kāśyapa was in the Pippala cave and asked: "Who is *knocking at this door of mine*?" (ZTJ, ed. Yanagida 1974:1.027, based on BLZ)

In the dialogue, Literary Chinese *jī qí shímén* 擊其石門 is rephrased in a much more colloquial style, using the vernacular *qiāo* 敲 'to knock' (which was virtually absent in texts dating from before the Six Dynasties period) instead of Literary Chinese *jī* 擊 'to strike,' and the unusual combined usage of a personal and demonstrative pronoun in adnominal position ('MY–THIS–DOOR').

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[81] Foulk 1992:526.

[82] There is abundant secondary literature on Chán *Transmission of the Lamp* texts (*chuándēng lù* 傳燈錄): for a systematic studies on early historical Chán texts, see Yanagida 1967; for a concise overview of the evolution of this genre, see McRae 1986:73-97; see also McRae 2003; for a very good recent study (with a focus on the Dūnhuáng transmission text LDFBJ, as well as the symbols of transmission), see Adamek 2007.

[83] For a study on the Hóngzhōu School, see Poceski 2007a and Jia Jinhua 2007.

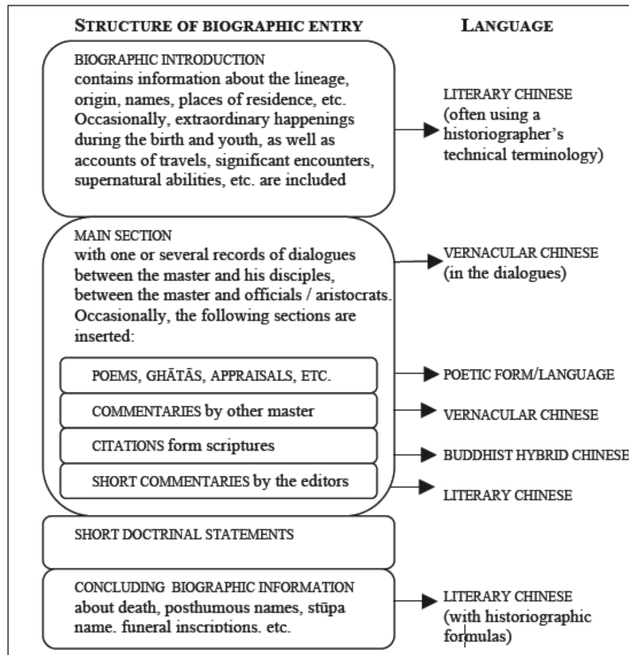

Figure 3: *Structure as Rhetorical Device*
This is an example of the heterogeneous build-up of a typical bibliographic entry in Chán historiographical works such as ZTJ. The 'frame narrative' provides biographic information and assigns a monk's place in the lineage (or 'clan'), basically using Literary Chinese as linguistic means, heavily intermixed with historiographical terminology (similar to the structure of secular historical writings). The main focus is on the account of a monk's encounters and deeds. Also here, the frame narratives to the dialogues use a more conservative language, whereas the dialogues themselves are mainly written in the vernacular, expressing the 'live words' of a master (contrasted to the 'dead words' of the canonical scriptures).

Notes on the Beginnings of the Chán Historiographic Genre

The *Zǔtáng jí* 祖堂集 (ZTJ, 952 AD)[84] is the first comprehensive Chán transmission history and as such a milestone in the development of the Chán historiography. There are certain particularities that differ from the somewhat later JDCDL (1004 AD), which became the first imperially sanctioned Chán history, eventually being incorporated in the Sòng Dynasty Chinese Buddhist canon.[85]

STRUCTURE AND SOURCES

As a special feature of ZTJ, there are 'empty slots' in the sequence of the bibliographic entries and occasionally only minimal information on the lineage of a given monk is provided. When there are no other records other than the basic lineage association, then this is marked by the phrases *wèi dǔ xínglù* 未覩行錄 (or *wèi dǔ xíngzhuàng* 未覩行狀) 'we have not (yet) read the *Record of Deeds*'[86] or *wèi dǔ shílù* 未覩實錄 'we have not yet read the *Veritable Records*.' By contrast, this kind of reference to missing information is not recorded in the JDCDL. A typical entry in ZTJ is introduced by biographic information that varies considerably in length. However, all entries

[84] On the background of ZTJ and its lineage system, see Anderl 2004b:1–95; see also Jorgensen 2005:729–752. The ZTJ represents an inclusive lineage system with a focus on the lineage of Xuěfēng Yìcún 雪峰義存 (822–908): "The Southern Táng rulers supported Buddhism as a source of legitimacy for their regime, and it is thought that a number of representatives of different regional Chán movements gathered in the Southern Táng area, bringing the lore and lineage mythology of their traditions together and making possible the construction of a unified vision of Chán as a large family" (Schlütter 2008:21). By contrast, the JDCDL favoured the Fǎyǎn Wényì 法眼文益 (885-958) lineage, whereas the *Tiānshèng guǎngdēng lù* 天聖廣燈錄, compiled by Lǐ Zūnxù 李遵勗 (988–1038) in 1029, promoted the Línjì Yìxuán 臨濟義玄 (d. 866) lineage.

[85] On the imperial sanctioning of Chán transmission texts, see Schlütter 2008:13; Emperor Rénzōng 仁宗 (r. 1022–1063), for example, wrote the preface for the *Tiānshèng guǎngdēnglù* 天聖廣燈錄 (*Expanded Record [of the Transmission] of the Lamp from the Tiānshèng Era* [1023–1032]); concerning texts sponsored by emperors, Schlütter adds: "Rather than expressing Huìzōng's personal feelings about Chán Buddhism, his preface can be understood to mirror a sentiment widely shared by all levels of the educated elite, and it shows how thoroughly Chán Buddhism had become established and integrated into elite culture by the late eleventh century."

[86] *Xínglù* typically contain information on the name, background, place of birth, monastic affiliation and career, etc.

record the line of succession, and this seems to be the most essential information provided by the authors of ZTJ. Usually, there follows information about the place of birth, the main locations of the teaching activities, the canonical name as master (*shīhuì* 師諱), the family name (*xìng* 姓), and the courtesy name (*zì* 字). Occasionally, the name of a monk's father, supernatural occurrences during the pregnancy of the mother or during birth, special events during the childhood or adolescence, the age of ordination as monk, physical or mental characteristics, and special happenings at the time of death are recorded.

At the end of each entry, usually the posthumous name (bestowed by the emperor) and the pagoda name (*tǎmíng* 塔名) are recorded. As opposed to traditional Buddhist hagiographies, biographic information is limited and obviously not the main concern of the compilers of ZTJ.[87] The central section of each biographic entry consists of one or several dialogues between the master and his disciples or between the master and other masters, officials, occasionally also lay people. Sometimes, commentaries by other masters are inserted between the dialogues, usually introduced by the phrase *dài yuē* 代曰.[88] Long doctrinal discussions are comparatively rare as compared to earlier Chán texts. Exactly this focus on the dialogue form written in vernacular Chinese is the most striking feature of ZTJ (and subsequent *Transmission Texts*), marking the dawn of a new literary genre, usually referred to as *Recorded Sayings* (*yǔlù* 語錄).[89]

In the year 1004, the monk Dàoyuán 道原[90] edited the *Jǐngdé chuándēng lù* 景德傳燈錄 (*Record of the Transmission of the Lamp of the Jǐngdé Era*, JDCDL) in 30 *fascicles,* and submitted it to Emperor Zhēnzōng 真宗 (r. 993–1022). Subsequently, the work became officially recognized as the first 'official' historiographic work of the Chán school, and in 1011 the text was incorporated in the Chinese Buddhist Tripiṭaka sanctioned by the emperor. By the time when the JDCDL was compiled, the printing techniques in China had already developed significantly; this fascilitated the large-scale

[87] A feature already encountered in the early Chán text LDFBJ.
[88] There are 115 instances of *dài yún* 代云 and fifteen of *dài yuē* 代曰 in ZTJ.
[89] The early *Recorded Sayings* of the Sòng consisted basically of the dialogues extracted from the *Transmission Texts*, with minimal biographic information added.
[90] He is regarded as the third generation successor in the Fǎyǎn 法眼 School of Chán.

distribution of Buddhist texts among monks and lay people. All these factors contributed to the popularity of the JDCDL and probably led to the situation in which a work, such as ZTJ (which had not undergone a thorough process of revision and editing), became superfluous and eventually disappeared. The compilers of ZTJ used materials from the BLZ and the *Xù Bǎolín zhuàn* 續寶林傳 (not extant) as sources for the sections on the buddhas and patriarchs.[91] As basis for the information on Chán masters they seem to have used written (probably in the form of notes which had been taken by students) and oral sources circulating at that time.

HISTORIOGRAPHIC TERMINOLOGY

In ZTJ there is an abundant usage of terminology[92] used by secular historiographers, such as *xíngzhuàng* 行狀 ('account of deeds/ behavior'): *xíngzhuàng* originally referred to records on a person's dates of birth and death, place of birth, as well as a person's major actions and achievements. Alternative names are *xíngzhuàngjì* 行狀記, *xíngshù* 行述, *xíngshí* 行實, *xíngyè* 行業, and *xíngyèjì* 行業記.[93] Early mention of the term *xíngzhuàng* is made in the historical work *Records of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sānguó zhì* 三國志, written in the 3rd century AD), in the section on the State of *Wèi* 魏, *fascicle* 6 (*xiān xián xíngzhuàng* 先賢行狀 'Records on the Deeds of Former Virtuous Men'). There is also mention of this term in the *Jìnshū* 晉書 (*Book of Jìn*, written during the early Táng), *fascicle* 18 (*gōng chén xíngzhuàng* 功臣行狀 'Records of Deeds of Meritorious Ministers'). Thus, the term can be traced back to secular historiographical works of the 3rd century.

In the Buddhist context the term seems to have appeared at a much later date, e.g., in the *New History of the Táng* (*Xīn Táng shū* 新唐書, fascicle 59, *xīnchóng zhī sēngqié xíngzhuàn* 辛崇之僧伽行狀), and in the *Guǎng hóngmíng jí* 廣弘明集,[94] fascicle 23, where several *xíngzhuàng* of monks are recorded (also in Volume 50 of the Taishō

[91] In addition, information on the life of the previous buddhas and Śākyamuni was based on several texts of the Chinese *avadāna* literature.
[92] This discussion is based on Anderl 2004b:9–12; more recently, see also Welter 2008:60–61.
[93] These terms are not used in ZTJ.
[94] Included in T.52, no.2103, compiled by Dàoxuán 道玄 (596–667).

there are several *xíngzhuàng*). Seemingly, in ZTJ *xíngzhuàng* refers to records that provide basic biographic information on monks, including the canonical name, the family name, the place of birth, and important locations of the teaching career. It does not necessarily include direct information on a monk's teachings since after the remark *wèi dú xíngzhuàng* 未覩行狀 '[we] have not read his *xíngzhuàng*' occasionally accounts of the respective monk's encounters with disciples or other teachers are recorded (unless these records were inserted in ZTJ—which did not assume a printed form before the middle of the 13th century—at a later date of compilation). Thus, it seems possible that these accounts circulated separately.

In ZTJ, the term *xíngzhuàng* occurs only five times, whereas *xínglù* 行錄 'Records of Actions/Deeds' is used 27 times. *Xínglù* is a term which is specifically used in ZTJ and seems to be very rare in other Chán texts.[95] From one passage in ZTJ it can be concluded that *xínglù* contained information on concrete teachings, including dialogue exchanges with disciples and other masters:

> 自餘法要， 及化緣之事， 多備《仰山行錄》。
>
> Other dharma-essentials besides this and the circumstances of his teaching activities are amply provided in the *Yǎngshān xínglù* (*Record of Deeds of Yǎngshān*). (ZTJ, ed. Yanagida 1974:5.080)

The term *shílù* 實錄 'Veritable Record' is used 18 times. From one passage in a *Transmission Text* it can be concluded that *shílù* probably also included accounts of a monk's teaching methods (in dialogue form):

> 有僧製得雪峰實錄云："師每至上堂，良久顧視大眾。遂云：'是什麼？' "師云："雪峰只有此語，為當別更有。"僧云："別更有。"
>
> There was a monk who wrote the *shílù* of Xuěfēng: "Every time the master ascended the hall, he was silent for a long time and looked at the great assembly. Then [Xuěfēng] would say: 'What is it?'"[96] The master

[95] I found one example in the *Wǔdēng huìyuán* 五燈會元 (*Compendium of the Five Lamps*, compiled in 1253 by Dàchuān Pǔjì 大川普濟; CBETA, X80, no.1565) and two examples in the *Sòng gāosēng zhuàn* 宋高僧傳 (compiled by Zànníng 贊寧 in 988), and in the (*Chóng kè*) *Gǔzūnsù yǔlù* (重刻)古尊宿語錄 (*Recorded Sayings of the Ancient Worthies*, compiled by the lay woman Juéxīn 覺心 in 1267; CBETA, X68, no.1315) the term occurs twice.

[96] The simple question *shì shímó* 是什麼？'what is it?' became by the way one of

> said: "Did Xuěfēng only use this phrase [for teaching] or were there any other [phrases]." The monk said: There were other phrases." (*Gǔzūnsù yǔlù* 古尊宿語錄, CBETA, X68, no.1315:244b04)

Thus, *shílù* primarily seem to contain records of encounters between the masters and their disciples. Significantly, these records were also produced by lay people; at the end of the biographic entry on the monk Wénzhì 文質 in the *Sòng gāosēng zhuàn* 宋高僧傳, there is the following phrase:

> 越州刺史萬式為行錄焉。
> The governor of Yuè province, Wànshì, wrote a *xínglù* on [Wénzhì]. (*Sòng gāosēng zhuàn*, T.50, no.2061:881c14)

Shílù, '*Veritable Records*,' probably also included records of the succession from masters to disciples:

> 石上者，秀大師弟子磨卻南宗碑，神秀欲為六代，何其天之不從，乃得會大師再立實錄，故有功勳。
>
> 'On the rock' means that the disciples of Grand Master Xiù were grinding away the stele of the Southern School;[97] Shénxiù wished to become the sixth generation (i.e. the Sixth Patriarch) but what can one do if Heaven does not agree to this and consequently caused Grand Master [Shén]Huì to re-establish the *Veritable Record* [of succession], therefore it says [in the prophecy]: 'there will be merit.'[98] (ZTJ, ed. Yanagida 1974:1.069)

It should be emphasized that *shílù* is an important term in secular historiography, relating to the *proof of legitimate succession*. For example, Emperor Xuánzōng 玄宗 (685–762) legitimated the reign of Empress Wǔ Zétiān 武則天 by accepting her 'Veritable Records' along with those of previous emperors.[99]

The related terms *xíngzhuàngjì* 行狀記, *xíngshù* 行述, *xíngshí* 行實, *xíngyè* 行業, and *xíngyèjì* 行業記 are virtually absent in other Chán texts and seem to be restricted to secular historiographic texts. It

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the most commonly used *huàtóu* in Korea.

[97] *Nánzōng bēi* 南宗碑 is preserved in Shénhuì's *Pútídámó nánzōng dìng shì fēi lùn* 菩提達摩南宗是非論; on this text, see Yanagida 1990:368, fn.156.

[98] However, this passage is written in small characters as commentary to a prediction in the Bodhidharma biography and was possibly added in Korea at the time of printing in the 13th century.

[99] Jorgensen 1987:105; the usurper Empress Wǔ Zétiān used Buddhism in order to legitimate her rule, claiming to be a Cakravartin King (*ibid*.:108).

can be concluded that the terms *xíngzhuàng*, *xínglù*, and *shílù* are terms particularly used by the compilers of ZTJ. These terms did not seem to have become common in later Chán historiographic texts or texts belonging to the *Recorded Sayings* genre.

Another historiographic term is *zhōngshǐ* 終始 'END-BEGINNING> FROM END TO BEGINNING> the entire process of a matter from the beginning to its end.' In ZTJ it probably refers to the (main) events that happened in the process of a person's career as a monk and teacher (and sometimes just indicating the dates of birth and death). Liáng Tiānxí 梁天錫 thinks that the term refers to records on the place of birth, the family name, the date of ordination as monk, the date of death, the pagoda name, etc.[100] However, I think that this basic information is covered by the term *xíngzhuàng* 行狀 and that *zhōngshǐ* includes the main facts of a monk's life, including the circumstances of his teaching activities. In ZTJ, there is the following phrase:

> 自餘化緣終始年月，悉彰實錄。
>
> 'Besides this, the years and months of *the main events of* his life and teaching career [?] are provided in his *Veritable Records*.' (ZTJ, ed. Yanagida 1974:5.092)

There is another term, *huàyuán* 化緣 'TRANSFORM/TEACH-REASON > the reason for the Buddhist teaching.' The word originally referred to the buddhas and bodhisattvas that constitute the 'reason (basis)' for the Buddhist teaching.[101] In ZTJ the word seems to refer to the teaching career of a monk. It is actually difficult to grasp the exact meaning of this word in ZTJ since it is always used in the same context, when the compilers obviously did not have any substantial information regarding a monk's biographic background. As term, *huàyuán* usually does not appear independently, but only in combination with *zhōngshǐ* in the phrase (*bù jué*) *huàyuán zhōngshǐ* (不決)化緣終始 '(cannot determine) the circumstances of his teaching career,' and as such it modifies *zhōngshǐ*. I think that *huàyuán zhōngshǐ* specifically refers to information about a monk's teaching career whereas *xíngzhuàng* contains more general biographic

[100] Liang Tianxi 2000:45.

[101] I did not find any reference to this word prior to the Táng dynasty. The word also acquired the secondary meaning 'to beg for alms' but this meaning is of even later origin.

information. In addition, the compilers used a number of other sources, such as songs (*gē* 歌), appraisals (*zàn* 讚), *gāthās* (*jì* 偈), funeral and pagoda inscriptions. Since the place where the ZTJ was compiled (in the southern city of Quánzhōu 泉州) had attracted numerous monks from all over China, it can be assumed that informal notes on the teachings of masters produced by their respective disciples were one of the important sources of information.[102] Rarely is there also reference to *biélù* 別錄 'separate records.'[103] However, there is no information on the nature of these records.

A study of the historiographic terminology in ZTJ shows that the compilers modeled their biographic accounts on imperial historiographic writings,[104] hoping to authorize the claim that the lineages of contemporary masters go all the way back to the buddhas of the past, Śākyamuni, and the Indian and Chinese 'patriarchs.' As an important rhetorical device, the records of the masters' dialogues are embedded within the biographic frame of legitimate transmission, recorded in the contemporary vernacular language as their 'live words,' echoing and at the same time actualizing the enlightenment that Śākyamuni experienced. After Chán records had become imperially sanctioned at the beginning of the Sòng and integrated in the official Buddhist canon, this reliance on secular terminology in order to legitimize transmission became less important.[105]

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[102] Compare the preface of ZTJ in which Wéndēng 文僜 (884–972) states that fragmentary information on the teachings of the masters is scattered all over China, and that the main motivation of compiling the ZTJ was the fear that the records of the teachings of the masters of old will be lost (see Anderl 2004b, vol.1:15–17). None of these 'notes' by Chán adepts of the Táng are extant and, thus, the assumption of their importance in the compilation process of the sayings of the masters is hypothetical at this point. However, the role of notes made by students in the compilation of the Neo-Confucian *yŭlù* is more directly attested (see Gardner 1991:574).

[103] On *biélù*, see Welter 2008:61–62.

[104] As John Jorgensen has pointed out, many monks came from families of literati and officials and were familiar with Confucian ritual and ethics: "The exemplary rituals were those conducted by the emperor and his court, so it should not be surprising that Chán Buddhism reflects some of the court-ritual concerns of the state and their political ramifications" (Jorgensen 1987:90); and on the relationship between master and disciple: "The state even legally recognized that a monk had to treat his teacher like a father, in the same way that a layman was required to serve his father. Pupils even inherited their master's property at times" (*ibid.*:97). On the ideas of transmission in Northern Chán, see *ibid.*:103; on the importance of lineage in Shénhuì's thought, see *ibid.*:104–111.

[105] At the beginning of the Sòng the goal of establishing Chán as dominant Buddhist

Adaptations to Lineages during the Sòng

Descriptions of transmissions are often characterized by the extensive use of metaphorical language.[106] Although the core lineage of Six Previous Buddhas, Śākyamuni, 27 Indian and Six Chinese Patriarchs, as well as the lineage of most of the Chinese Táng masters had been firmly established by the early Sòng, the lineages of succeeding masters could occasionally be opportunistically changed and adapted according to circumstances.[107]

One case in question is the revival of the Cáodòng lineage, which was broken off in the beginning of the Sòng, and creative measures had to be taken in order to recreate a convincing line of transmission:

> "The transmission Yìqīng [義青, 1032–1083] is said to have received from Jìngxuán [警玄, 942–1027], however, was highly unusual, because Yìqīng never met Jìngxuán and, indeed was not even born when Jìngxuán died. Instead, Yìqīng received Jìngxuán's transmission from the Línjì master Fúshān Fǎyuǎn [浮山法遠, 991–1067], who was acting on behalf of Jìngxuán. […] Since, according to the tradition, there were no other heirs to Jìngxuán or no other Cáodòng lineage in existence at the time, it was only through this unusual transmission that the Cáodòng tradition survived. The way this transmission is said to have taken place is unique in Chán history, and it is remarkable that it seems to have been accepted as completely valid by almost all of the Chán community."[108]

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school had been achieved, and the line of succession was generally recognized. For the increasingly important lay supporters and readership of literati, the aspect of literature became a more and more important aspect of Chán: "However, among the Sòng secular elite, just like in modern popular understanding, Chán was considered distinctive not so much for its lineage as for its unique literature and its depictions of iconoclastic Chán masters" (Schlütter 2008:15).

[106] For the function of 'transmission poems,' see above. Body parts often played an important role in the metaphorical language, for example, the Second Patriarch Huìkě is said to have received the transmission by Bodhidharma only after cutting off his left arm. Frequently, the transmission between successive masters is compared to a 'bloodline,' e.g., the Japanese monk Gikai received a succession certificate called 'Bloodline Transmitted by the Patriarchs' (*soshi sōden kechimyaku* 祖師相傳血脈); see Bodiford 1991:427.

[107] "Even in the Sòng, the Chán lineage was subject to constant manipulation and reinterpretation in order to legitimize the lineages of certain masters and their descendants or to bolster polemical and religious claims" (Schlütter 2008:15).

[108] Schlütter 1999:127; in this respect, the production of hagiographies was crucial, as well as the establishment of a distinct identity (for example, in terms of specific practices connected to the school); as Schlütter remarks in the context of the

There are several examples of the adaptation of lineages at the beginning of the Sòng (e.g., in the LJL), and in later periods also in Japan. There are examples with no face-to-face encounter between a master and his dharma heir at all,[109] or not even involving a living master.[110] In the Japanese context,[111] Sōtō Zen lineages could be changed according to which temple a monk resided over.[112]

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promotion of 'Silent Illumination' (*mòzhào* 默照) propagated by the (reestablished) Cáodòng School: "This emphasis was accompanied by a distinctive vocabulary with many expressions for silence and stillness" (*ibid*.:130).

[109] On the 'Transmission by Distance' (J. *yōfu* 遙附), see Bodiford 1991:426.

[110] On the 'Transmission by a Representative,' see *ibid*.:427 (there are some cases dating back to the Sòng Dynasty).

[111] Japanese terms concerning transmission include 'inherit the dharma' (*shihō* 嗣法) and the formal acknowledgement is called *inshō* 印證 or *inka shōmyō* 印可證明, "[granting] the seal of approval to a realization of enlightenment" (Bodiford 1991: 424).

[112] A practice called *in'in ekishi* 因院易嗣, common until the beginning of the 18th century (*ibid*.:424); Rinzai Zen accepted only direct transmission from one master (ibid.:436). For the rhetoric of ardent debates between Sōtō factions in the context of the reform movements in the 18th century, see *ibid*.:434f.: "They [i.e., Manzan and Jikushin] briefly outlined the traditional account of the Zen teachings being transmitted from buddhas and patriarchs, from India to China, placing emphasis on Dōgen's role as the Japanese patriarch of Sōtō Zen. They compared the master-disciple bond to the Confucian relationship between lord and minister, father and son. Manzan and Jikushin declared that the switching of Dharma lineages in order to become abbot of a temple was practiced by monks who 'upon seeing profit, forget righteousness' (*ri wo mi*, *gi wo wasaru* 見利忘義), and they likened this to a scion of the imperial family who constantly switched back and forth between the Genji, Taira, Fujiwara, and Tachibana lines of descent. The two monks argued that while such a person might acquire great wealth, his family fortune was not founded upon the proper samurai virtues of administration and martial arts, but upon the merchandising skills of a townsman" (*ibid*.:437). In the debate, the rhetorical device of blending the voices of tradition and authority with one's own opinion was deployed (ibid.:439). Interestingly, also the use of language was of great importance in this sectarian conflict: Jōzan used Japanese (as Dōgen did) in his replies to Manzan (who used Chinese in his polemics); *ibid*.:441. The complex pro- and contra arguments used by both sides also show the 'flexibility' of the fashion 'authorative' texts (such as Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō*) could be used by both factions. One central point of argument/ disagreement is the way how language is used in these authorative writings, referring to particularities of Zen language, i.e., does the text mean what it says or is language used metaphorically, or as expedient means to lead to insight, etc.). In other words, basically everything could be interpreted into the text!

On Dōgen and linguistic practice, see also Faure 1993:242, stressing the element of 'persuasion' in his writings: "[…] truth does not precede words but it comes into being together with speech, Chán texts are necessarily rhetorical in the sense that they imply a departure form an ontological conception of truth towards a more

As recent studies of 'transmission' in the modern Chán/Zen context have shown, there are many continuities concerning the rhetoric of transmission. Stuart Lachs analyzed the 'hagiographies' of the famous Taiwanese Chán master Sheng Yen (Shèng Yán 聖嚴), and of the American 'Zen Master' Walter Nowick, as they were presented in the Buddhist magazine *Tricycle*:[113]

> "Recently the popular Buddhist magazine Tricycle presented biographical articles about two modern day Zen teachers: the American Zen teacher Walter Nowick coming from the Japanese tradition and the recently deceased Taiwanese Chán Master Sheng Yen. Both are presented as iconic, fully enlightened Chán/Zen Masters, following model of the classical ideal from the Sòng Dynasty (960–1279). In examining their actual lived lives, it can be shown how real people are sanitized and transformed into hagiographic figures. Mechanisms very similar to those that created iconic Chán Masters during the Sòng dynasty continue to be at work today, creating modern day fully perfected Masters." (Lachs 2011, abstract to the podcast)

Note also Lachs' observation of how elements typical for Chinese Buddhist Chán hagiographies are translated into modern terms:

> "Instead of living among wild animals, Sheng Yen translates this into roaming among the wild, often drugged and/or intoxicated and dangerous homeless population of New York City. Instead of living in a cave or a rickety self-built hut, Sheng Yen sleeps in front of churches or in doorways and in parks or passes the night in all night diners with other homeless denizens of the night. Instead of foraging for nuts, berries and roots in the mountains of China as Chán stories of the Táng dynasty tell us, Sheng Yen picks through dumpsters for discarded and no doubt damaged fruits and vegetables or discarded bread, or drinks coffee in cheap all night diners with other homeless and most likely dangerous people." (Lachs 2011:13)

Some Remarks on the Recorded Sayings

Whereas *Transmission Texts* already included lengthy sections with records of dialogues between masters and their disciples, the *genre* of

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performative and dialogical conception."

[113] The articles referred to are *The Wanderer* (in *Tricycle* 18 no.2, Winter 2008) and *Down East Roshi* (in *Tricycle* 18 no.3, Spring 2009).

Recorded Sayings—recording the encounters and dialogues of specific masters—did not emerge until the early Sòng.[114]

It is still a matter of discussion when the word *yǔlù* as term for a new genre appeared. Christian Wittern (1998:62) cites the phrase *yǔ lù ér xíng yú shì* 語錄而行於世 from the *Sòng gāosēng zhuàn*,[115] correctly interpreting 語錄 not as compound ('*Recorded Sayings*') but as noun + passivized verb construction: "*His words were recorded* and spread throughout the world." In the same text there is also the following sentence: 語錄大行為世所貴也; this phrase is more difficult to interpret; one interpretation would be 'the records of his

[114] Precursors of the term *yǔlù* 語錄 included *yǔběn* 語本 'Booklet of Sayings,' *yánjiào* 言教 'Oral Teachings,' *guǎnglù* 廣錄 'Extended Records,' *yǔyào* 語要 'Essentials of Conversations,' *lüèlù* 略錄 'Concise Records,' *biélù* 別錄 'Separate Records;' see Wittern 1998:66 and Yanagida 1974:229; for a recent thorough overview of this kind of terminology, see Welter 2008:56−64; for an overview of the antecedents of 'encounter dialogue,' see McRae 2000; see especially the section of the style of Chán explanation in the 8th century, *ibid*.:59−61, and ritualized dialogue (including the concept of 'rhetorical purity'), *ibid*.:63−65. For a recent discussion of the development of the *yǔlù* genre, see Welter 2008:47−75, with a very useful appendix of Neo-Confucian *yǔlù* (*ibid*.:76−78): "[…] the impulse to edit, evaluate, and publish the *yǔlù* materials became strong at the beginning of the Sòng 宋. The stimulus for this activity was the Fǎyǎn 法眼 lineage situated in Wúyuè 吳越 and Nán Táng 南唐. Members of this lineage were immediately responsible for publishing the *Zōngjìng lù* 宗鏡錄 and the *Chuándēng lù*. Associates of an affiliated lineage in the same geographical area compiled the *Zǔtáng jí*" (*ibid*.:52). In the Neo-Confucian context, the *Recorded Sayings* had developed into an independent and important genre by the 12th century (Gardner 1991:575). In contrast to traditional line-by-line commentaries the voice of the student played an important role in this genre (*ibid*.:581), and being more flexible (also because of the adaptation of the vernacular language!) it allowed a more free and creative exegesis (*ibid*.:583). Having witnessed the success of the Chán *yǔlù*, Confucian scholars were certainly motivated to experiment with this genre, realizing its potential for reaching a larger audience. Despite the paramount importance of the written word in the Confucian tradition, Sòng scholars debated the limits of expressiveness of the written word and the relationship to an oral transmission (*ibid*.:590). In the 17th and 18th century, critical voices among Confucian scholars started questioning the legitimacy of the Confucian *yǔlù* and promoted a return to the canonical traditions (*ibid*.:598).

Already early Chán texts employ the dialogue form (see also Wittern 1998:62), such as the *Juéguān lùn* 絕觀論 (*Treatise on the Cessation of Notions*, a text attributed to the founder of the Oxhead School of Chán, Niútoú Fǎróng 牛頭法融 (594–657); on this text, see Sasaki/Kirchner 2009:395).

[115] T.50, no.2061:842b26−c23.

sayings spread greatly and were appreciated by the world.'[116] According to Wittern's analysis, the phrase (interpreting the last part correctly as passive construction) could be interpreted in the following way:

> "Seine Reden und kritisch prüfenden [Dialoge], sowie sein untadeliges Voranschreiten auf dem Weg des Bodhisattva wurden in der Welt geschätzt."[117]

However, I tend to analyze *yǔlù* and *dàxíng* as two compound words, 'recorded sayings' (or: 'records of the dialogues') and 'great deeds' (i.e., his actions and deeds as monk): "His *recorded sayings* and *great deeds* were appreciated by his contemporaries (lit. 'his generation')."

There is no evidence to suggest that the term was used as reference to a genre in the Chán Buddhist context before the 11th century.[118] *Yǔlù* thus appeared first in the context of historiographic writings *before* it was adopted as a genre name in the Chán Buddhist context in the 11th century. Besides the spread of the genre-term to non-Buddhist traditions such as Neo-Confucianism and Daoism, the term also was used in secular sources and referred, for example, to the protocols of transcriptions from diplomatic missions.[119]

The adaption of the vernacular language for this genre is still a matter of ardent discussion (see the discussion above). Wittern makes the interesting observation that some versions of dialogue exchanges become more 'vernacular' in later textual versions: "Die Veränderungen erhöhen den umgangssprachlichen Charakter und unterstreichen die rhetorischen Elemente des Textes." Wittern concludes that the *Recorded Sayings* did not necessarily develop based on their closeness to the spoken word but as literary style aimed at imitating the spoken word.[120] The development is highly complex and there are probably several factors involved.

As for the emergence of the *Recorded Sayings* we can single out various components. The *Recorded Sayings* aim at recording the utterances of the masters and describing their deeds, often in lively interactions with their disciples, and the authors and compilers of

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[116] Wittern 1998:54, citing an interpretation by Yanagida Seizan.
[117] *Ibid*.:54.
[118] In the *Tóuzǐ héshàng yǔlù* 投子和尚語錄 from 1021 (Wittern 1998:55).
[119] *Ibid*.:348.
[120] *Ibid*.:348.

these utterances and deeds must have felt the need to record them as closely to actual conversations as possible. However, many of these records dated from several hundred years after the death of the masters they described, and it is difficult to assume that the records as such were transcriptions of actual dialogues or descriptions of actual events (during the Sòng[121] this temporal gap between the actual life of a specific Chán master and the compilation of his *Recorded Sayings* would become more narrow, indeed, occasionally Chán masters would already prepare their *Recorded Sayings* as testimony of their teaching activities and literary production when still alive). It is rather likely that the strategy of using the oral language was aimed at *evoking the impression* that these conversations and deeds actually had taken place, and one of the important factors is the *performative* aspect of these texts. Since numerous Buddhist schools and factions were in competition with each other—in addition to rivaling with other religious and philosophical schools for support and money—many texts that were produced by the Chán Buddhist communities ceased to be mere scholarly treatises to clarify matters of doctrine (as in the case of the early Chán School), but they certainly also aimed at impressing upon the reader the validity of the author's understanding of particular practices or doctrines, and by these means propagate their teachings.

Thus, *Recorded Sayings* make use of numerous linguistic and rhetorical devices in order to record the performative behaviour of the masters, as well as highlight the superiority of Chán masters as compared to other masters and/or secular officials, occasionally even emperors. Many 'non-linguistic' means in the didactic repertoire of the masters are described, as well as linguistic means that do not employ conventional types of semantic referencing or syntactic structures.[122]

As is well known through recent scholarly investigation, basically all *yǔlù* of the Táng masters were edited or produced during the Sòng, a period characterized by increasing institutionalization and state control of the Chán School. It is in genres such as the *Recorded Sayings* and *gōngàn* that the independence and freedom of the ideal Chán teacher is evoked and projected to the 'golden' period of the Táng. During the Sòng the freedom from sociopolitical norms

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[121] More than a hundred *Recorded Sayings* of Sòng masters are extant.

[122] Dale S. Wright (1993:24) discerns four kinds of rhetoric in 'classical' Chán texts: (1) the 'rhetoric of strangeness,' (2) the 'rhetoric of direct pointing,' (3) the 'rhetoric of silence,' and (4) the 'rhetoric of disruption.'

(including linguistic norms!) in the figure of the Chán master as described in the *Recorded Sayings* and *gōngàn* literature became an important rhetorical device, and crucial for attracting a large readership.[123]

Recorded Sayings can vary significantly in their form and rhetorical structure and lay Buddhist literati played an important role in their compilation.[124]

The *Tóuzǐ héshàng yǔlù* 投子和尚語錄, for example, is one of the earliest *yǔlù*, and has a simple structure as compared to the complex and rhetorically sophisticated LJL[125] and other *Recorded Sayings* texts. The *Tóuzǐ héshàng yǔlù* is rather short and starts immediately with questions and answers, as well as accounts of the master's teaching activities. It basically consists only of dialogues, and short biographic information is attached at the end of the text.

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[123] It is noteworthy to mention in this context that the main target-readership of the *Recorded Sayings* during the Sòng actually were the literati and officials, a social class often wrapped up in a bulk of duties and social norms, notoriously known for their (at least occasional) longings for 'freedom' and a life independent of numerous restrictions and obligations. These longings were traditionally projected onto the ideal figure of the Daoist recluse, but it seems that (Chán) Buddhism in this respect also played an important role, especially from Sòng times onwards: I try to imagine an official returning home after a long day of work at the imperial court or a local magistrate, and after dinner opening the LJL or another work of a famous Chán master and projecting himself into the world of the utterly liberated masters of old. Matching this set of often diffuse longings and emotional needs seems to have been important also during other periods and circumstances, including the strong attraction Zen scriptures (and the projected 'Zen culture') exercised on Western intellectuals from the 1960s onwards.

[124] Wittern 1988:77–78; see also Anderl 2011a. On the relationship of literati and Chán monks during the Táng, see Poceski 2007b: "On the other hand, monks associated with the Chán movement, like monks outside of it, interacted with the larger society and their monasteries were integrated into the broader cultural matrix of Táng China. The points of contact and patterns of interaction with the secular world beyond the monastic enclaves were especially evident at the elite level, as many literati and officials were deeply involved with Chán teachings and had close ties with noted Chán teachers, many of whom originally came from local gentry families. The keen interest in Chán doctrines and methods of cultivation among the cultural and political elites was among the notable features of the religious milieu of mid-Táng China, although of course there was also attraction to other Buddhist traditions that flourished at the time" (*ibid*.:3).

[125] On certain aspects of the complex rhetorical structures of the LJL, see Anderl 2007; for a new edition with a heavily annoted translation, see Sasaki/Kirchner 2009; on a general discussion of Chán and lay supporters, see Anderl 2011a.

The admonitions by the master with subsequent dialogues are introduced by the phrases *shī shì zhòng yún* 師示眾云 'the master instructed the assembly, saying…,' *shī shàng táng yún* 師上堂云 'the master ascended to the [Dharma] Hall and said….' The questions are usually posed by anonymous monks (*sēng wèn* 僧問 … *shī yún* 師云 …'a monk asked… and the master answered…') and very rarely a specific monk is mentioned (usually only the monks who are selected to become dharma heirs). Occasionally, a eulogy is attached to the narrative part, as in the following passage:[126]

> 師示眾云。人人總道投子實頭。忽若下山三步外。有人問你投子實頭底事。你作麼生向他道。　問。和尚年多少。　師云。春風了。又秋風。　問。如何是截鐵之言。　師云。莫費力。　師問翠微。二祖見達磨。有何所得。　微云。你今見吾。有何所得。　師又問。如何是佛理。　微云。佛即不理。師云。莫落空否。　微云。真空不空。　翠微有頌送師。其有讖矣。佛理何曾理。真空有不空。大同居寂住。敷演我師宗。

> The master instructed the assembly, saying: "People everywhere are talking about the *true head of Tóuzǐ*. If I descend from the mountain, after three steps there will be somebody inquiring about the matter of the *true head of Tóuzǐ*. How do you speak to such a person?"
>
> Somebody asked: "How old are you, Preceptor?" The master said: "When the spring winds have ceased, there again are the autumn winds."
>
> Somebody asked: "How about the words which cut through iron?" The master said: "Do not waste your strength!"
>
> The master asked Cuìwēi: "How about the principle of the Buddha?" [Cuì]wēi said: "Buddha is just there not being a principle." The master said: "Haven't you fallen into [the fallacy of] Emptiness (i.e., nihilism)?" [Cuì]wēi: "True Emptiness is not empty."
>
> Cuìwēi had an eulogy he presented to the master, and which included a prophecy:
>
> When ever in the past did the Buddha-principle have a principle
> True Insubstantiality is constituted of not being insubstantial
> Dàtōng dwells at a quiet place
> Expounding the doctrine of my master.

As already in many early Chán scriptures, lay supporters play an important part in the rhetorical structure on the *Recorded Sayings*. The

[126] The text *Recorded Sayings of Preceptor Tóuzǐ* is included in fascicle 36 of the collection *Gǔ zūnsù yǔlù* 古尊宿語錄.

examples below show the significant differences between the ways of integrating powerful lay Buddhists in the structures of the text.

In the LDFBJ—an early transmission text and a product of the 8th century Sìchuān Bǎotáng School, which by the way probably was the most iconoclastic and anti-traditionalist among the early Chán factions (…and seemingly not only restricted to the textual and rhetorical level as paper tigers in the iconoclasm depicted in Sòng Chán literature and projected back to the Chán masters of the 'Golden Age' during the Táng Dynasty) the 'name dropping' of important officials and the listing of titles of texts (in a text otherwise very concerned with the refutation of canonical or traditional approaches to Buddhism) is so excessive that it occasionally disturbs the otherwise consistent rhetorical structure that is characterized by highly entertaining dialogues written in a rather colloquial language. The names of important officials (in the translation below italics are added to names and titles) are extensively inserted throughout the text and their involvement in the spread of the Buddha-dharma is emphasized, as illustrated in the following example. Note that the vivid account of the splendid welcome of the master includes basically all important local officials of the Shǔ area (Sìchuān) as well as the general population, and is accompanied by supernatural events; all this evokes the notion of an *embodied buddha* arriving in the outlands of Sìchuān:

> 永泰二年九月二十三日◦慕容鼎專使縣官僧道等◦就白崖山請和上。傳相公僕射監軍請頂禮。願和上不捨慈悲。為三蜀蒼生作大橋樑。慇懃苦請。和上知相公深閑佛法愛慕大乘。知僕射仁慈寬厚。知監軍敬佛法僧。審知是同緣同會不逆所請。即有幡花寶蓋。諸州大德恐和上不出白崖山。亦就山門同來赴請。即寶輿迎和上令坐輿中。和上不受。步步徐行。欲出山之日。茂州境內六迴震動。山河吼虫鳥鳴。百姓互相借問。是何祥瑞。見有使來迎和上。當土僧尼道俗再請留和上。專使語僧俗等。是相公僕射意重為三蜀蒼生。豈緣此境約不許留。

> On the twenty-third day of the ninth month of the second year of the Yǒngtài era (766), the *Imperial Entertainments Chief Minister Mùróng Dǐng* acting as *special messenger*, the *district officials*, Buddhists, Daoists, and such, all went to Mt. Báiyán to invite the Venerable [Wúzhù]. Conveying the invitations and obeisances of the *Lord Minister (Du Hongjian), the Vice-Director, and the Army Supervisor*, they implored the Venerable: "Do not forsake mercy, for the sake of beings of the Three Shǔ, make a 'Great Bridge'," they beseeched him fervently. The Venerable knew that the *Lord Minister* profoundly

> defended the Buddha-Dharma and cherished the Mahāyāna, he knew that the *Vice-Director* was benevolent and generous, and he knew that the *Army Supervisor* honored the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha. He judged that these were associates of the same karmic destiny and did not turn down the invitation. And so there were "fine pennants and a jeweled parasol" (i.e., a procession befitting a Buddha). *All the worthies* of the region, fearing that the Venerable would not come out from Mt. Báiyán, also went to the mountain gate to join in the invitation. They welcomed the Venerable with a jeweled sedan-chair and would have had him sit in it; but the Venerable declined and proceeded step by step in a slow and dignified manner. When he was about to leave, the earth quaked six times in the Màozhōu area, the mountains and rivers roared, and the insects and birds cried out. The *ordinary people* all asked one another, "What good omens are these?" When they saw that *official representatives* had come to welcome the Venerable, then the local monks, nuns, followers of the Way, and *laypersons* redoubled their pleas that the Venerable remain. The *special messenger* told the monks and laypersons and the others, "*The Lord Minister and the Vice-Director* consider this important for the benefit of all the beings of the Three Shǔ. Of what account is this area, when we have promised not to let him be detained?" (LDFBJ, T.51, no.2075; ed. Adamek 2007:357 (punctuation modified); tr. *ibid.*:359)

The passage continues with enumerations of dozens of officials and their acts of veneration of Master Wúzhù, as well as describing the expounding of his essential doctrines (centered on the doctrine of *wúniàn* 無念 'No-thought'). This passage—and many other in the LDFBJ—are constructed in a way that suggests a complete merging of clerical and secular interests, and an immense impact by the main protagonist Wúzhù on all strata of society (with a great emphasis on the military and civic officials of the Sìchuān era who act as lay supporters of the master), transforming his secular surroundings in a Buddhist-inspired way.

In the LJL, several frame-narratives within which the sermons or dialogues unfold consist of invitations by officials to give a Dharma-talk. Also here a certain ambivalent relationship with the secular powers is expressed; however, in contrast to the description of the rulers and officials in the LDFBJ, the relationship in the LJL is completely demystified. Below is the opening paragraph of the LJL (emphasis added):

> 府主王常侍，與諸官請師昇座。師上堂云，山僧今日不獲已，曲順人情，方登此座。若約祖宗門下，稱揚大事，直是開口不得，無爾措足處。山僧此日以常侍堅請，那隱綱宗。
>
> The *Prefectural Governor*, *Councilor Wáng*, along with the *other officials*, requested the master to address them. The master took the high seat in the Dharma Hall and said:
>
> "Today, I, this mountain monk, having no choice in the matter, have perforce yielded to customary etiquette and taken this seat. If I were to demonstrate the Great Matter in strict keeping with the teaching of the ancestral school, I simply couldn't open my mouth and there wouldn't be any place for you to find footing. But since I've been so earnestly entreated today by the councilor, why should I conceal the essential doctrine of our school?" (LJL, ed. and tr. Sasaki/Kirchner 2009:117)

Línjì also frequently addresses the audience using appellations that can refer both to clergy and lay persons, as, for example, *dàoliú* 道流 'followers of the Way.' Also the ideal person who has grasped the truth is not referred to with specific Buddhist terms but the LJL often uses the expression *dà zhàngfū hàn* 大丈夫漢 which has rather military and 'masculine/manly' connotations, such as 'heroic person.' This kind of terminology[127] and the refined rhetorical and linguistic structure of the LJL, including many poetic allusions, creative re-interpretation of traditional Buddhist terms, the inclusion of many non-monastic references, as well as the straightforward and 'tough' (and often insulting) language used in the dialogues are ample evidence that the work was primarily targeted at an educated audience with a refined taste for literature, expecting to be entertained by a

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[127] In Kirchner/Sasaki 2009 translated with 'resolute fellow;' the expression *dà zhàngfū* appears already in classical Chinese literature; compare *Hánfēizǐ* 韓非子 20.9: 所謂"大丈夫"者，謂其智之大也。 "The 'great fellow' refers to his wisdom being great;" *Huáinánzǐ* 淮南子 1.4: 是故大丈夫恬然無思，澹然無慮，以天為蓋 "Hence, the person of great stature: Being placidly free of all worries and serenely without thoughts for the morrow, has the heavens as his canopy." The word also appears three times in the *Mèngzǐ* 孟子 (translations based on search results in the *Thesaurus Linguae Sericae* database, TLS). Besides the 大丈夫漢 the LJL uses the equally vernacular variant *dà zhàngfū-ér* 大丈夫兒 (translated by Burton Watson with 'really first-rate fellow'). One of the first occurrences in the Buddhist context is probably in the ZTJ, fascicle 4: 大丈夫當離法自淨，焉能屑屑事細行於布巾耶？ "A great hero should transcend the dharma and purify himself, how can I thoroughly engage in trivial matters until I die?" (tr. Anderl, TLS).

text.[128] Since its compilation until now the work has been one of the key texts of Chinese and Japanese Chán/Zen, and more recently has been also highly appreciated by Western Zen teachers and lay students.

There are *Recorded Sayings* texts that were exclusively authored by lay persons (*jūshì* 居士), or in which a lay person is the main protagonist. The most famous work is probably the *Recorded Sayings of Layman Páng*, *Páng jūshì yǔlù* 龐居士語錄.[129] Here, tendencies towards a lay audience and the idealization of the lay practitioner as observed in texts such as the LDFBJ and the *Platform Sūtra* are further developed and brought into a sophisticated and entertaining literary form.[130] However, the structure of the text is not very different from regular *Recorded Sayings* texts and Layman Páng fills the 'slot' in the structure of the narrative in the same way as an ordained Chán masters would do, speaking similar 'enigmatic' phrases and performing similar acts, with the little difference that also his wife occasionally appears in the stories (and also she acting like a Chán master…). Here is a short example of a section of one of the stories involving his wife:

> 丹霞天然禪師一日來訪居士。纔到門首。見女子靈照携一菜籃。霞問曰。居士在否。照放下菜籃。斂手而立。霞又問。居士在否。照提籃便行。霞遂去。須臾。居士歸。照乃舉前話。士曰。丹霞在麼。照曰。去也。士曰。赤土塗牛。嬭霞隨後入見居士。士見來。不起亦不言。霞乃豎起拂子。士豎起槌子。[…]
>
> One day Chán Master Dānxiá Tiānrán came to visit the Layman. Just when he arrived in front of the gate he saw [the Layman's] wife Língzhào carrying a food basket. [Dān]xiá asked her: "Is the Layman at home?" [Líng]zhào set down the food basket and stood there doing nothing. [Dān]xiá asked again: "Is the Layman at home?" [Líng]zhào lifted up the food basket and then walked away. [Dān]xiá thereupon

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[128] On a study of some aspects of rhetorical devices in the LJL with an emphasis on the term *jìng* 境, see Anderl 2007; on insulting expressions in Chán texts, see Anderl 2006.

[129] This refers to an account of the lay person Páng Yūn 龐蘊 (d. 808), a dharma heir of Mǎzǔ Dàoyī 馬祖道一 (709–788). The earliest extant edition of the text dates back to the Míng Dynasty.

[130] As Wendi Adamek (2007:180) remarks: "The account of Layman Páng, whose entire family was able to manifest deep realization in everyday encounters, is a paradigmatic example of idealization of the one who 'cannot but have gone forth' and the monastery without walls."

> left. After a short while the Layman returned and [Líng]zhào told him what had happened. The Layman asked: "Is Dānxiá in?" [Líng]zhào answered: "[He] has left." The Layman said: "Barren land, muddy water buffalo (i.e., buffalo covered with mud)." Soon afterwards [Dān]xiá entered to see the Layman. When the Layman saw him coming, he neither raised up nor talked to him. [Dān]xiá thereupon lifted up his fly-whisk[131] and the Layman raised a mallet. […][132]

Another example—with a very different structure—is the *Recorded Sayings* of Yán Bǐng 顏丙 alias Rúrú jūshì 如如居士 (d. 1212), a second generation dharma heir of Chán Master Dàhuì Zōnggǎo 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163).[133] The record does not have the typical structure of *Recorded Sayings* of the Southern Sòng but seems to have been adjusted specifically to the needs of lay people. Although Rúrú emphasizes *huàtóu* 話頭 contemplation—the prevailing Chán mediation practice during the Southern Sòng—an array of other topics are included in the text, including the cultivation of merits, chapters on Buddhist precepts, and the pursuit of Amitābha's Pure Land.[134] The diverse chapters include transmission verses based on the *Transmission of the Lamp* histories, chapters on 'Ritual Invocations' (*Yīnshēng fóshì mén* 音聲佛事門), 'Ritual Protocol for Liberating Living Beings' (*Fàngshēng kēyí mén* 放生科儀門), 'Expressing Wishes' (*Chén yì mén* 陳意門), 'Dedication of Merit' (*Huíxiàng mén* 迴向門), 'Guiding the Souls of the Dead as They Enter the Bath' (*Yǐn wángguǐ rù yù mén* 引亡鬼入浴門), etc.[135]

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131 The fly-whisk is one of the items symbolizing the authority of a Chán master.

132 CBETA, X69, no.1336:131c7–12; attached is a very tentative translation.

133 On this lay Buddhist, see the recent study of Wagner (2008). On the background and extant versions of the text, see *ibid*.:2 ff. On Dàhuì and his teachings for lay students (often consisting of a Neo-Confucian audience), see Mohr 2000:251. The focus on lay practitioners of Zen was also a special concern of Hakuin—who followed the model of Dàhuì in this respect: "In comparison with other Sòng teachers, Dàhuì gives more explicit descriptions of practice. In particular, his *Letters* provide a firsthand account of how lay practitioners were advised to handle the *gōngàn*. Dàhuì's emphasis on sharpening the spiritual inquiry while engaged in secular labor represents a significant departure from teachings centered on the purely monastic environment. This emphasis on integrating spirituality with secular activity was later also stressed by Hakuin [Ekaku 白隠慧鶴, 1686–1769] when he addressed the lay community. In his Orategama [遠羅天釜], Hakuin writes that 'Master Dàhuì too said that [meditative] work in movement is infinitely superior to that in stillness'" (*ibid*.:250).

134 Wagner 2008:iv.

135 Titles and translations according to Wagner 2008, for the complete list of the 58

The Contextualization of Chán Literature

In recent scholarship, more comprehensive approaches have been pursued in order to study the emergence of specific Chán genres such as the *Recorded Sayings* and *gōngàn* literature. Traditionally, scholars concentrated on Buddhist literature and precedents, ignoring the fact that the emergence of these genres is as much a phenomenon within the field of literary studies and linguistics as it is in the context of East Asian religions. Recently, Albert Welter[136] has focused on the *chuánqí* 傳奇 ('miraculous tales') as possible influence, while Victor Sōgen Hori has studied the possible influence of Chinese literary games on *gōngàn* literature.[137] One of the future important tasks will be the study of these Chán genres in even a broader context (also including the Neo-Confucian and Daoist *yŭlù*, for example). It will be also necessary to contextualize Chán literature within the larger field of narrative traditions (primarily the immensely popular *avadāna* literature, including their visual 'transformations;'[138] see also the discussion on the term *yīnyuán* above), and focus on performative presentations of the Buddhist teachings during the Táng Dynasty. Important for the study of the adaptation of the written vernacular in Chán literature is also what Victor Mair refers to as the 'Second Vernacular Revolution,' and the oral culture prevailing in the Buddhist context, especially from the mid-Táng onwards.

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chapter headers (which even include 'Verses on Confucianism' and 'Verses on Daoism'), see *ibid*.:22–29.

[136] Welter 2008:131–156; this approach is promising, however, there are certain problems connected to focusing on *chuánqī* 傳奇 in this respect, and further studies will be necessary in order to verify a possible influence (for a response to Welter's approach, see also Anderl 2009).

[137] Hori 2006:194f.

[138] There a clear parallels between the concept of 'key phrases' (as used in Chán/Zen/Sŏn Buddhism) and the depiction of important events in the lives of the buddhas and bodhisattvas (iconographic motives which were all-pervasive during the Táng Dynasty). Conceptually, both operate with the notion of an *essential part extracted from a larger context*: in the case of Chán, a *key phrase* or *key phrases* had to be selected from the frame narrative or a dialogue between a master and his disciple; in the case of iconographic depiction, one or several *key scenes* had to be chosen from an *avadāna* (*yīnyuán* or *yuánqĭ* 緣起) or another type of Buddhist narrative. Both were regarded as important didactic and expedient devices reflecting and condensing an *essential truth*, expected to impact the reader or viewer, respectively, on her or his path to enlightenment/salvation. However, the 'visual context' of Chán has to await more thorough studies.

Remarks on the Literary Structure of Gōngàn/Kōan Literature

> "The *kōan*—a brief, enigmatic anecdote or dialogue between two contesting parties—defines the heart of Zen Buddhism and is the single most distinctive feature in the thought and practice of the Zen sect."[139]

Many of the utterances of the masters developed into 'cases of the masters of old,'[140] which were used again and again for pedagogical and rhetoric purposes, amassing multiple layers of commentaries in the course of time. During the Sòng, these 'cases' were often condensed into the famous '*gōngàn*'[141] (J. *kōan* 公案) collections, which are still among the most important primary texts in Japanese Zen Buddhism today.[142] From these and the *Recorded Sayings* collections 'essential/key phrases' (*huàtóu* 話頭)[143] and 'catch phrases' (*zhuóyǔ* 著語; J. jakugo) were extracted, developing into important soteriological devices in the context of *kànhuà* 看話 meditation.

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[139] Heine 2002:1, and: "Rhetorical devices that use paradox, wordplay, and ambiguity to communicate a message about the maddening quality and inherent limitations of language" (*ibid*.:5).

[140] Secondary literature on *gōngàn*/*kōan* is abundant (see, for example, Miura/Sasaki 1966; Rosemont 1970; Heine 1990; Heine 1994; Heine 2000; Heine/Wright 2000; Hori 2000; Wright 2000; Welter 2000); on the function of *kōan* in Sōtō funeral sermons, see Bodiford 1992:161.

[141] On issues of terminology concerning *kōan*, see Heine 1994:38–43.

[142] For a case study (the development of the doctrine 'Non-sentients teach the Dharma,' *wúqíng shuō fǎ* 無情說法, into an essential phrase), see Anderl 2004a.

[143] One of the earliest occurrences of this word seems to be ZTJ, but it is not clear whether it had already developed into a term in this text. Suffix *tóu* 頭 usually appears with concrete nouns in the language of the Late Táng; however, it could also combine with abstract nouns referring exclusively to speech acts. As in the case of many function words in Chinese, traces of the original lexical meaning frequently adhere to the grammaticalized word (the phenomenon of 'persistence' in the context of historical grammar). In the case of *tóu* combining with abstract words traces of the meaning 'HEAD > MAIN > ESSENTIAL' adhered to it. As such *huàtóu* is an 'essential phrase, key phrase;' *wèntóu* 問頭 an 'essential question; key question' (e.g., ZTJ, ed. Yanagida 1974:132: 師云："好個問頭！" The master said: "Good question!" On suffix *tóu*, see Anderl 2004b, vol.1:133–140). Although there probably did not exist any formal *gōngàn* practice in monastic settings at the end of the Táng/Five Dynasties period, 'essential phrases' played an important role, used as 'expedient means' in the teaching process. As stated in the preface to ZTJ: 最上根器，悟密旨於鋒鋩未兆之前；中下品流，省玄樞於機句已施之後。'Those of supreme capacity enlighten to the secret teaching before the 'point of the weapon' has become manifest yet; those with

Even more so than the *Recorded Sayings*, *gōngàn* literature is highly constructed and adapted to the literary taste of the educated reader. Below is a short analysis of the rhetorical structure of one of the cases of the famous collection *Chánzōng Wúmén guān* 禪宗無門關 (J. *Zenshū Mumonkan*), [144] complied by the monk Huìkāi 慧開 (1183–1260).

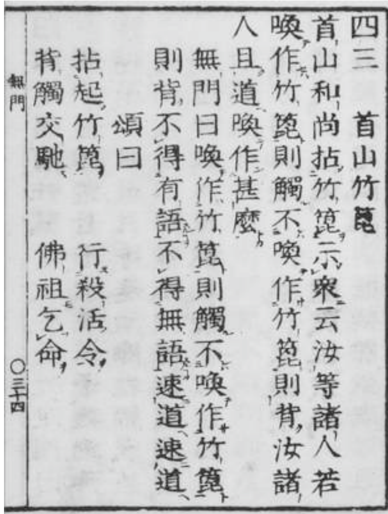
四三 首山竹篦
首山和尚拈竹篦示衆云汝等諸人若
喚作竹篦則觸不喚作竹篦則背汝諸
人且道喚作甚麼
無門曰喚作竹篦則觸不喚作竹篦
則背不得有語不得無語速道速道
頌曰
拈起竹篦 行殺活令
背觸交馳 佛祖乞命
無門 ○三十四

Figure 4: A page from a 19th century Japanese edition of the *Mumonkan* (with diacritics added, indicating the word order for reading the text in Japanese *bungo* 文語).

[*Title*:]
首山竹篦

[*Translation*:][145]
The Bamboo Staff of Shǒushān

{The title always consists of four Chinese characters in the *Wúmén guān*}

medium and inferior capacities investigate the mysterious essence after it has been exposed in *key phrases* (or 'expedient phrases,' *jījù* 機句);' see ZTJ, ed. Yanagida 1974:1.001; tr. in Anderl 2004b, vol.1:15.

[144] The example is taken from T.48, no.2005:298b15–22; Schlütter discerns three types of *gōngàn* in the Sòng Dynasty, '*gōngàn* stories,' 'catchphrase *gōngàn*,' and 'situation *gōngàn*' (Schlütter 2000:171–172).

[145] For an alternative translation, see Sekida 1977:124–125. My notes on the rhetorical structure and the language of the *gōngàn* are added in '{}' brackets. For a translation of this case, see also Hirata 1969:154–156.

[*Case*:]
首山和尚拈竹篦示眾云：「汝等諸人，若喚作竹篦則觸，不喚作竹篦則背，汝諸人且道：喚作甚麼？」

[*Translation*:]
Preceptor Shǒushān took up the bamboo staff and instructed the assembly, saying: "All you people, if you call [this] a bamboo staff then this is '*attachment/clinging*,' [?] if you do not call this a bamboo staff than this is '*turning against*;' [?] all you people, tell me: what do you call it?"

{The cases in the *Wúmén guān* are always introduced with the name of the main actor of the *gōngàn*, in this case Shǒushān, a master in the Línjì lineage. In the first line, the central topic is introduced, the lifting of the bamboo-staff, a symbol of authority of the master, occasionally used to 'punish' the students or to encourage them to greater efforts.[146] The address of master Shǒushān is formulated rhythmically, the 7-character couplets in the middle are arranged parallel to each other; in this couplet the main proposition of the case (in the form of an address to the disciples) is formulated. The direct speech is introduced by a second person pronoun (*rǔ* 汝) affixed with the plural indicator *děng* 等 and a quantifying apposition 'all you people' (*zhū rén* 諸人). In order to preserve the 7-character phrase the second part of the couplet deletes the sentence initial *ruò* 若 'if.' After the middle couplet, the audience is emphatically addressed again, this time including a small *variatio* by dropping the plural suffix after second person pronoun *rǔ*. The address is formulated in the form of a request/mild imperative, indicated by the adverb *qiě* 且. The last phrase features the colloquial question pronoun *shènmó* 甚麼 'what.' At this point, the main case stops and no answer by the students is included—through this device the feeling of suspension is kept and the question is transferred from the disciples in the text (i.e., the 'internal' audience of disciples as part of the textual structure) to the reader (i.e., the 'external' audience). Another special feature typical for *gōngàn*s is the inclusion of commonly used words, attaching a very specific 'Zen meaning' (frequently differing also from their common use in Buddhist texts) and unusual semantics to them. In this case, the common verbs *chù* 觸 'TOUCH > attach to, cling to (?),' and *bēi* 背 'TO TURN ONE'S BACK TOWARDS > oppose (?)' are used. Note that the verbs are transitive but the object is consciously deleted (and not understood from the context!). By applying this rhetorical device, the riddle-like and enigmatic features of the phrases are preserved and the reader wonders about the reference of the deleted object. This ambiguity also leaves ample room for future commentaries on the passage.}

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[146] For a description of the function of the *zhúbì* 竹蓖 (J. *shippei*), see the entry by Griffith Foulks in the DDB (http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=%E7%AB%B9%E7%AF%A6). He translates the term with 'bamboo clapper.'

[*Commentary by Wúmén*:]
無門曰：「喚作竹篦則觸，不喚作竹篦則背。不得有語，不得無語，速道！速道！」

[*Translation*:]
Wúmén comments: "Calling it a bamboo staff then this is 'attachment,' not calling it a bamboo staff then this is 'opposing.' It is not allowed to use words, it is not allowed to be silent. Speak up quickly! Speak up quickly!"

{Wúmén starts his comment by repeating the central couplet of the main case; the initial particle *ruò* 'if' is deleted in the first phrase and the parallel construction (and repetition of Wúmén's proposition) is rendered slightly off-balance; however, the comment continues with a strictly parallel (semantically and grammatically) and nearly identical couplet (only differentiated by the antonyms *yǒu* 有 'have' and *wú* 無 'not have,' which are among the most important contrastive terms in Chán Buddhist texts). The comment ends with another couplet, a repeated imperative phrase, as such constituting an identical couplet. As in the main case, Wúmén's commentary ends with a request, however, this time the reader is confronted with a straightforward imperative, the repetition of the phrase is adding to the sense of urgency: "Speak up quickly, speak up quickly!"}

[*Verse*:]
頌曰：
「拈起竹篦，行殺活令；背觸交馳，佛祖乞命。」

[*Translation*:]
The verse says:
Lifting up the bamboo-staff
Executing the order of either killing or letting live (i.e., pardoning)[147]
'Opposing' and 'attachment' race with each other
The Buddhas and Patriarchs are begging for their lives

{The *gōngàn* concludes with a short stanza of 4x4 characters, the last character of the second line rhyming with the last character of the fourth line, /*lìng* 令/ /*mìng* 命/. In the first line, the central topic of the *gōngàn*, the 'lifting of the staff' is repeated; followed by a phrase referring to legal procedures, i.e., dramatically and metaphorically comparing Shǒushān to a judge deciding over the release of the accused or the execution of a 'death' sentence;[148] the dynamic and urgent mood is maintained in the third phrase, resuming the two central verbs *chù* and *bēi* (which indicate the possible

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[147] Sekida (1977:123) translates "Holding up the shippei, He takes life, he gives life." This seems to be imprecise and ignores the construction *xíng* 行…*ling* 令 'to execute an order' (*xínglìng* being a current compound in that meaning), 'order' being specified by *shā* 殺 and *huó* 活.
[148] Legal terminology is frequently encountered in the language of *gōngàn*s/*kōan*s.

reactions to Shŏushān's raising the staff): the two (nominalized) abstract verbs are put in relation with a verb usually associated with concrete motion: they are actually *racing* with each other.[149] In the fourth line the link to the founders of the tradition/the authorative lineage is established—and at the same time challenged: the tradition is actualized and revived by actions of the master.}

On Some Rhetorical Moods and Modes

Rhetoric of Urgency

The 'rhetoric of urgency,'[150] the 'rhetoric of pending threats,' and the 'rhetoric of control' are often encountered in Chán historiographic works, including the accounts of immanent threats to the adherents of Chán, often by 'enemies' or rivals of the school. Note the following example of a rhetorically very terse passage from the LDFBJ, from the section on the first Patriarch Bodhidharma. In this short passage several central themes and rhetorical devices are compressed. It includes an account of the (fictive) poisoning attempts by the monk Bodhiruci (i.e., a polemical attack against somebody who is perceived as a rival of the Chán School). Bodhidharma is also described as possessing the powers of knowing the thoughts of others (i.e., the intentions of Bodhiruci) as well as knowledge of the past[151] (he knows the reason why he is poisoned, expressed by the statement *wǒ yuán cǐ dú* 我緣此毒), and of predicting future events (i.e., the pending troubles for the Second Patriarch *in spe* Huìkě 慧可 and the future line of transmission). In addition, the crucial topics of the patriarchical transmission (until the sixth generation, i.e., Huìnéng), the symbol of transmission in the form of the monk's robe (in many other Chán hagiographies also the monk's bowl is mentioned), and the relative understanding of his successors (i.e., until the Sixth Patriarch there can be only one main successor who caries on the lineage, in this case, Huìkě). The topic of transmission is further dramatized through metaphorical expressions, his disciples actually receiving parts of the body of Bodhidharma (an act of 'metaphorical cannibalism,' so to say,

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149 The rhetorical device of combining abstract nouns or verbs with words referring to concrete actions or motion is frequently encountered in Chán scriptures.

150 Concerning rhetorical devices and the creation of a notion of urgency, see the analysis of the *gōngàn* example above.

151 These are skills traditionally attributed to a buddha.

Huìkě receives the 'marrow' of Bodhidharma, i.e., the very essence of his teaching, thus qualifying him for the succession). As additional rhetorical elements, the notion of urgency and the great danger involved in transmitting the dharma are emphasized. Besides the description of the wicked attempts by Bodhiruci of poisoning Bodhidharma, it is also stressed that even these events are fundamentally caused by Bodhidharma himself,[152] who, thus, remains in *complete control* of the situation.

> 其詩魏有菩提流支三藏光統律師於食中著毒餉。大師食訖索盤吐蚍一斗。又食著毒再餉，大師取食訖，於大槃石上座，毒出石裂。前後六度毒。大師告諸弟子，"我來本為傳法，今既得人，久住何益？" 遂傳一領袈裟以為法信。語惠（惠）可"我緣此毒，汝亦不免此難。至第六代，傳法者命如懸絲。"言畢遂因毒而終。每常自言，"我年一百五十歲。"實不知年幾也。大師云"唐國有三人得我法，一人得我髓（髓），一人得我骨，一人得我肉。得我髓（髓）者（惠）可，得我骨者道育，得我肉者尼惣也。"葬于洛州熊耳山。
>
> Now it happened that in the Wèi the Trepiṭaka Bodhiruci and the Vinaya Master Guāngtǒng put poison in some food which they offered [to Bodhidharma]. When the Great Master had finished eating he asked for a dish and vomited up a pint of snakes. Once again they offered him poisoned food. When the Great Master had taken the food and eaten it, he sat atop a massive boulder, and when the poison came out the boulder cracked. Altogether they tried to poison him six times. The Great Master informed his disciples, "I originally came in order to pass on the Dharma. Now that I've gotten someone, what's the good of lingering?" Then he transmitted the *kāṣāya* robe as a verification of the Dharma transmission. He said to Huìkě, "My destiny is this poison; you also will not escape these tribulations. Until the sixth generation, the life of the Dharma heir will be as a dangling thread." He finished speaking and immediately died of the poison. He himself used to say, "I am one hundred and fifty years old," but it was not known how old he actually was.[153]

Note also another feature that is in contrast to the structure of traditional Buddhist historiographic/hagiographic writings: The section giving an account of his background, his teacher, his

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[152] Indicated by the interesting phrase *wǒ yuán cǐ dú* 我緣此毒, lit. 'I *conditioned* this poison,' i.e., Bodhiruci's act of poisoning has been caused (and thus foreseen) by Bodhidharma's actions in the past.

[153] LDFBJ, based on ed. Adamek 2007:310, tr. in *ibid*.:312 (slightly modified).

enlightenment and his activities as master (topics which would occupy ample room in more traditional historiographies such as the *Xù gāosēng zhuàn* 續高僧傳)[154] is actually compressed into one line!

> 菩提達摩多羅禪師者，即南天竺國王第三子，幼而出家，早稟師氏，於言下悟。闡化南天，大作佛事。
>
> Chán Master Bodhidharmatrāta was the third son of a South Indian king. He became a monk while still young, and as soon as he received instruction from his master he was immediately awakened. He preached in South India and greatly furthered Buddhism.

In contrast to this compressed section, the detailed sections of the entry consist of dramatized prose and dialogues. Here, we already see a distinct tendency away from the traditional historiographic/hagiographic style of writing and towards narratives including dramatic accounts and dialogues.

Antinomian and Anti-authoritarian Rhetoric

Accounts of iconoclastic, antinomian, anti-authoritarian, and anti-traditionalist behaviour of Chán masters, as well as their rejection of the canonical texts and traditional Buddhist practices, are important topics in Chán/Zen scriptures, suggesting a nearly unlimited power and freedom of enlightened masters. These accounts are of course in startling contrast to the institutional and socio-political realities and restrictions (including the financial dependency on secular powers and laity, in addition to the fact that ordinations had to be authorized by secular officials) the clergy usually had to submit to.

> "Rather, Sòng Chán monasteries were strictly governed, large institutions where students lived highly regulated lives, engaging in ritualized lectures and encounters with the master according to an established schedule." (Schlütter 2008:16)[155]

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[154] *Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks*, compiled by Dàoxuán 道玄 (596–667) in 654, including the hagiographies of 485 monks (T.50, no.2060).

[155] As Robert Sharf points out: "Táng Chán monastic life was preoccupied with sitting meditation, chanting scriptures, and worshipping patriarchs. Rather, passages disparaging seated meditation, scriptural recitation or indeed *niànfó* are better viewed in the context of Mahāyāna soteriology: They were injunctions against attachments that would have been particularly intransient within a monastic setting. The rhetorical as opposed to the literal rejection of all forms of practice became a hallmark of

This kind of rhetoric often consists of emphasizing the superior wisdom of a Chán master as compared to secular authorities, typically expressed by the refusal to follow orders (e.g., of an imperial edict), or the mocking of persons of high status, or other eminent Buddhist monks, preferably lecture master. These stories have the function of stressing the special status of the Chán master even vis-à-vis the highest authorities. They are also great topics for adding suspense and drama to the hagiographies of famous masters. Already in the 8th century LDFBJ, the Fourth Patriarch Dàoxìn's 道信 (580–651) dialogical exchange with an envoy sent by the emperor actually occupies more than half of the biographic entry. After several futile attempts by the unlucky envoy to convince Dàoxìn to move to the capital the exchange ends in the following way:

> 勅又遣使封刀來取信禪師頭。勅云：“莫損和上！”使至和上處云：“封勅取和上頭；禪師去不不？”和上云：“我終不去！”使云：“奉勅云：‘若禪師不來，斬頭將來。’”信大師引頭云：“斫取！”使反刀乙頭。信大師唱言：“何為不斫，更待何時？”使云：“奉勅不許損和上。”信大師大笑曰：“教汝知有人處。”

> The emperor again sent off the messenger, [this time] wearing a sword with which to get Chán Master Xìn's head. He ordered him, "Do not harm the Venerable!" The messenger arrived at the Venerable's place and said, "The emperor orders me to get the Venerable's head. Will the Chán Master go or not?" The Venerable replied, "I absolutely will not go." The messenger said, "The emperor orders that if the Chán Master will not come, I am to cut off his head and bring it." Great Master Xìn extended his head and said, "Chop it and take it." The messenger turned the blade and bent [Dàoxìn's] neck. Great Master Xìn sang out, "Why don't you chop, how much longer must I wait?" The messenger replied, "The emperor ordered me not to harm the Venerable." Chán Master Xìn gave a great laugh and said, "I've taught you to recognize someone who stays put." (LDFBJ, ed. Adamek 2007:31 (punctuation modified); tr. *ibid*.:318)

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orthodoxy in Chán" (Sharf 2002:303). And, as Griffith Foulk remarks: "As I have shown elsewhere, neither the Chán slogans pertaining to 'separate transmission' and 'non-reliance on scriptures,' nor the iconoclastic rhetoric attributed to Chán patriarchs, can be taken as descriptive of any actual state of affairs among the historical promoters of Chán ideology. Generally speaking, the monks who spread and benefited from the Chán discourse throughout the Táng and Sòng resided in mainstream Buddhist monasteries and engaged in a full range of traditional Buddhist religious practices" (Foulk 2007:454); for a description of monastic Chán practice and ritual during the Sòng, see Foulk 1993.

Rhetoric of Persuasion, Defeat and Submission

As Jens Braarvig in his contribution *Rhetoric of Emptiness* points out, rhetoric aims at persuading the listener or reader to adopt a particular view, or—specifically in the Buddhist context—to bring about the realization of a particular truth. Ideally, this realization aims at achieving liberation from ignorance, the cycle of life and death, or any other goal in the context of the Buddhist *mārga*. However, especially in Mahāyāna Buddhism there is an inherent ambivalence towards the use of words in the pursuit of the truth. They are unavoidable in spreading the message of Buddhism, on the other hand they are by definition limited in their capacity to express the truth, since the ultimate truth is beyond any linguistic expression. As such they belong to the realm of expedient means, often used not to establish a proposition but rather to refute any particular view and demonstrate the insubstantiality of all material or mental phenomena.

By comparing Buddhist and Greek rhetorical practices, Braarvig demonstrates that this ambiguity exists for both traditions. In the Greek context, rhetoric was criticized of being a practice similar to magic since it intentionally projects certain opinions and views into the mind of the listener, at its worst it is used as a skillful tool by tyrants in the controlling of their subjects. However, whereas the Greek discussed rhetoric mostly in a political and juridical context, the Buddhists would refer to it concerning the realization of an ultimate truth or a truth enabling personal liberation. Eloquence has to serve a higher purpose of furthering progression towards the ultimate goal of Buddhahood. Otherwise, rhetoric will be empty words and the source of false views and discursive thinking. As such, rhetoric skills in the form of memory (*dhāraṇī*) and eloquence (*pratibhāna*) have to be part of the repertoire of skillful means, which the Bodhisattva ideally possesses. Braarvig also investigates the relationship of the frequently blurred borders between rhetoric and logic. He argues that a system of logic applied in the Mahāyāna context aims at refuting any view *without establishing another view*, and can therefore easily slide into the realm of rhetoric. Another important element in the rhetorical structure of certain Mahāyāna texts is the inclusion of lay persons who surpass even the direct students of Buddha in their realization of wisdom. Their superior insight is often described through their great abilities in using rhetorical devices, by ridiculing the religious specialist, the

> *śrāvaka.* As Braarvig shows, as a crucial device *the opponent is defined before he is able to define himself.*[156]
>
> Another important aspect highlighted by Braarvig are specific features of many Mahāyāna scriptures, which place them in the vicinity of genres associated with fiction and fantasy, boundaries of time and place are constantly transcended and the mind of the reader is bombarded with the imagery of phenomena in infinite worlds at infinite times. However, this grandeur of style is often interrupted by repetitive and tedious enumerations of concepts. By analyzing aspects of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and *Bodhisattva-caryānirdeśa* Braarvig illustrates another feature which is also of central importance for Chán genres, i.e., the dialectical and logical form of dialogues. Already in Mahāyāna scriptures, these dialogues often feature clearly 'extra-doctrinal' aspects, such as the humiliation of the opponent and the assignment of inferior views and modes of understanding to him.

This ability to defeat the opponent by displaying greater wits and superior eloquence is of course also important in the context of the interaction with the broader public and worldly supporters of the Buddhist clergy. The public humiliation of the opponent in front of large audiences (often including the ruler) is a popular topic in the religious literature of both India and China. It is the ultimate test of the spiritual insight and powers of a famous religious figure, and—maybe most importantly—his worthiness of receiving financial and institutional support by the secular powers.

For an example, see the rhetorically sophisticated passage on Chán master Huìzhōng and his interaction with the Chán guest from the South (probably hinting at his rival Shénhuì).[157] Huìzhōng does not persuade exclusively with arguments (although he uses semi-logical chains of persuasion, too), but by convincing the interlocutor that his spiritual attainment was inferior. Typically, the interlocutor will finally ritually signal his submission and defeat. Here, we clearly witness a shift from using convincing arguments or chains of (pseudo-) logical sequences of doctrinal statements towards the authority of the master generated by his alleged enlightenment. The Chán master may say A, B, or C, it does not matter, he always will be right based on his superior status derived from his 'insight' and

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[156] A device that in later vernacular texts would be reinforced and developed by the frequent use of appositional constructions, defining the opponent already in the very address (for an example, see above).

[157] For a thorough rhetorical analysis of this encounter, see Anderl 2004a.

position in the tradition (at least until he encounters an opponent who even has deeper understanding: this kind of interaction—based on the display of ritual superiority and submission—is especially prominent in the rhetorically superb LJL), and would remain one of the main features of Chán literature to this day.

The Secular Powers and Zen Rhetoric

The interaction between Chán/Zen/Sŏn and the secular powers has been diverse and very complex throughout history, and a thorough analysis of how these interactions are reflected in Zen literary products is far beyond the scope of this book. However, certain tendencies and types of interaction with powerful lay supporters will be briefly dealt with here.[158]

Already in the rhetorical structure of early Chán scriptures the mentioning of secular powers such as emperors, high-rank officials, military governors, etc. were of great importance. On the one hand, this is evidence that Chán monks were concerned and interacting with important lay supporters, on the other hand, the integration of powerful lay people in literary products was also a rhetorical device in order to enhance the significance of the text and the masters mentioned in it, as well as indicating that the importance of Chán extended far beyond the walls of the monasteries.[159]

There are significant differences concerning the integration of lay supporters, according to the respective period and type of literary product. For example, in the LDFBJ (which is otherwise known for its anti-traditionalist rhetoric) the names and titles of military and civil officials figure so densely in the text that it breaks up the otherwise quite coherent rhetoric characterized by the many entertaining dialogues.[160]

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[158] On this issue, see also Anderl 2011a.

[159] As is well known, already from the earliest period on Chán monks actively sought the vicinity of powerful supporters, e.g., the Northern School monk Shénxiù had close relations to Empress Wǔ Zétiān, and Shénhuì used his popularity to collect money for the imperial army by selling monks' certificates; on the 'rhetoric of Chán fund-raising,' see McRae 2003:107 ("His religious vocation was not in the private sanctuary of the meditation hall but on the very public venue of the ordination platform, where he made exciting and highly theatrical public presentations that inspired his listeners to begin the path of Buddhist spiritual cultivation").

[160] For an example, see above.

The 'protection of the state' (*hùguó* 護國; J. *gokoku*; K. *hoguk*) was an important concept in the evolution of the Chán/Sŏn/Zen schools, originally based on a number of *sūtras* and Chinese apocryphal texts which had been composed for the purpose of dealing with the relation between Buddhism and the state.

> "The importance of Buddhism for affairs of state in Japan was reaffirmed in the Nara (710–794) and Heian periods (794–1185), when three Buddhist scriptures provided the cornerstones of state Buddhist ideology in Japan: the *Myōhō renge kyō* (*Sūtra of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, better known simply as the *Hokke kyō*, the *Lotus Sūtra*), the *Konkōmyō kyō* (*Sūtra of the Golden Light*), and the *Ninnō gokoku hannya kyō* (the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra Explaining how Benevolent Kings Protect Their Countries*, or simply, the *Ninnō kyō*). These three scriptures became collectively known in Japan as the 'three *sūtra* for the protection of the country' (*chingo kokka no sambukyō*)." (Welter 2006: 68)[161]

Eisai 榮西 (1141–1215) played an important role in establishing Zen as an independent institution.[162] One of his major concerns was the relation between Zen and the Japanese state, as, for example, dealt with in his work *Kōzen gokokuron* 興禪護國論 (*The Promotion of Zen for the Protection of the Country*). He based this relation on the above set of texts, most importantly the *Ninnō kyō* 仁王經. In the

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[161] The *Myōhō renge kyō* (Ch. *Miàofǎ liánhuá jīng* 妙法蓮華經; Skr. *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra*), T.9, no.262, probably the most popular *sūtra* in East Asia; the *Konkōmyō kyō* (Ch. *Jīnguāngmíng jīng* 金光明經, Skr. *Suvarṇa-prabhāsottama-sūtra*) is extant in several translations (most importantly translations done between the 5th and early 8th centuries, T.16, Nos. 663, 664, and 665). The efficacy of these *sūtras* for the protection of the state is generated through the worship and recitation of the text. Most important for the ideological foundation for the idea of 'state protection' in the Buddhist context is the *Ninnō gokoku hannya kyō* 仁王護國般若波經 (short: *Ninnō kyō*). In Japan, these three scriptures are known as *chingo kokka no sambukyō* 鎮護国家三文: "The security of every king and the happiness of all the people are said to depend completely on this. For this reason, the Buddha continues, the *Ninnō kyō* has been entrusted to the kings of various countries and *not to the Buddhist clergy or faithful*" (Welter 2006:71).

Zen nationalistic rhetoric before and during the Second World War is an important topic that unfortunately could be not covered within the scope of this volume; on this topic, see, for example, Sharf 1993; for a concise description, see Welter 2008:15–24; for the ideological foundation which Zen and Buddhism provided for militarism, see Brian 1998.

[162] Welter 2006:66.

view of Eisai, Zen should play a prominent role in the protection of the state, and according to the *Ninnō kyō* "the preservation of Buddhism is inextricably bound to the preservation of their own country."[163] It is also interesting to note that according to this ideology the ruler has the main responsibility for protecting Buddhism, as opposed to the *saṅgha*.[164] As Welter points out, in contrast to China, medieval Buddhism in Japan was not regarded as 'foreign' and did not constantly justify its position among other religions and ideologies:

> "As a result, ideological debates in Japan tended to be sectarian, that is, between different factions that shared a common vision, rather than cutting across fundamental ideological boundaries. […] many Buddhist sectarian debates were politically inspired" (Welter 2006:73)[165]

As in the case of Chán and Zen, the reaction of Korean Sŏn to unfavorable sociopolitical circumstances, and the interaction of Sŏn and Confucianism led to specific rhetorical responses. In this volume, three contributions are devoted to this aspect of Sŏn rhetoric:

> In his article *Hyujŏng's Sŏn'ga Kwigam and its Historical Setting and Soteriological Strategies*, Jongmyung Kim deals with Hyujŏng's *Compendium* dating from the 16th century, focusing on soteriological and rhetorical issues as response to historical and intellectual developments during his time, characterized by a dominating position of Confucianism. One of the important aspects of Hyujŏng's approach concerns the attempt to harmonize Sŏn and canonical Buddhism, as well as making Sŏn compatible with issues important for Confucian audiences. The structure and organization of Hyujŏng's work provides important information on his main interests: although it is divided into three sections ('ontology,' 'phenomenology,' and 'soteriology'), the last part is the most elaborate and clearly his main concern. In this part he focuses on persons on 'medium and lower spiritual capacity' and recommends practices usually not directly associated with Chán/Zen/Sŏn, namely the recitation of Buddha's name and the use of *dhāraṇī*. In addition, there is a strong

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[163] *Ibid*.:69.
[164] *Ibid*.:71.
[165] It is also interesting to note that despite sectarian differences Eisai aimed at integrating several Buddhist approaches in his system (Tendai, *prajñā* teachings, meditation practices, concern for morality) and combing them and "*Ninnō kyō* ideology into a singly, seamless whole" (Welter 2006:74). In this rhetorical approach, Zen is pictured as the official religion of the state.

concern with ethical issues, clearly a response to a discourse dominated by Confucian scholars. Through this device of dividing the text into several sections dealing with practitioners of different capacities and practices suited for them, Hyujŏng manages to be faithful to tradional Zen tenets such as sudden awakening, as well as providing a useful response to the contemporary religious and sociopolitical framework, i.e., pleading for a harmony between the teachings as well as a 'moderate' approach to Buddhism suited for people of lower capacities.

In his contribution *From Apologetics to Subversion*, Jörg Plassen deals with Buddhist literary production when Sŏn was increasingly suppressed by Neo-Confucian state ideology. Although Buddhism generally was marginalized between the 15th and the late 19th centuries, as compared to Neo-Confucian ideology, Plassen provides a more nuanced description of the relationship and interactions between Buddhist monks and the state authorities and the literati. Despite widespread anti-Buddhist sentiments many important printing projects of Buddhist literature were conducted during that period. As in the case of Sòng China, influential Chán/Sŏn Buddhist monks were often recruited among the literati, resulting in a natural relationship between classical and Buddhist literary production. There is also a shift in the linguistic and stylistic features of Sŏn works, a move towards literati-style writings and the spreading influence of the Chinese movement of *wénzì Chán* 文字禪 (Literary Chán or 'Letters' Chán), the Sòng colloquial style becoming frozen as a 'sacred' language of the *Recorded Sayings*. Plassen specifically analyzes the hermeneutical and 'subversive' rhetorical devices through which a synthesis between Sŏn and Confucianism was achieved. In his *Chodong owi yohae*, the Sŏn monk Sŏlcham ultimately claims the identity between the two teachings. In his approach, Sŏlcham uses one of the most important concepts of the Cáodòng tradition of Chán, the Five Positions (*wǔwèi* 五位), weaving Buddhist and Confucian terminology together. In addition, these combinations are illustrated in the form of diagrams. Through these subtle rhetorical devices Sŏlcham evokes in the reader the notion of the identity between the Two Teachings.

The adaptation of Buddhism and Sŏn to changing sociopolitical environments can be also demonstrated in a more recent context, as shown by Vladimir Tikhonov's case study of Han Yongun 韓龍雲:

In his contribution *Manhae Han Yongun's Attempt at Producing an All-inclusive Modern Buddhist Compendium: Pulgyo Taejŏn*, Vladimir Tikhonov deals with Han Yongun, an innovative Buddhist thinker of the early 20th century who tried to reform Buddhism and produce a modernist Buddhist discourse. He conducted his project during a time when the suppression of Buddhism by the Neo-Confucian state ideology had come to an end (although state control tightened again considerably from ca. 1910 onwards), and in competition with his Christian rivals. Han's ambition was directed towards producing a compendium of scriptural sources that would fit into the reemergence and modernization of Buddhism. Although his *Great Buddhist Compendium* consists of traditional sources it is rearranged and restructured in accordance with Han's intentions of picturing Buddhism as a universal religion, compatible with Confucian values as well as fitting into modern times. Linguistically, he slightly changed the original "Text-Bausteine" by inserting Korean vernacular grammatical particles. He also used words relating to state and society that were newly coined in the course of Japan's modernization and imported to Korea. As another rhetorical device, religious terms are related to and re-interpreted in terms of socio-political concepts and 'patriotic' ideas and the responsibilities of the individual *vis-à-vis* the state. In addition, he uses this structural arrangement for addressing traditional Confucian domains such as the relationship between different strata of society as well as the relationship between the sexes (listing 14 ways of how a wife should serve her husband, as well as the ideal of the 'slave-like wife'). Through the technique of restructuring and 'cross-interpretation' (transferring an interpretation from one domain to another) Han tries to address several key issues and at the same time attempts to adjust them for several strata of audiences, in addition to countering Confucian and Christian rivals.

Sectarian Disputes: Confrontational Rhetoric and the Rhetoric of Accommodation

The ranking of teachings has a long tradition in Chinese Buddhism and was an important hermeneutical tool for linking specific doctrines and practices to stages on the path (*mārga*) or adapting them to the capacities of the listeners.[166] These sequential listings were often done

[166] In this context, the paradigm of *shànggēn* 上根 'superior roots (capacity)' and *xiàgēn* 下根 'inferior roots (capacity)' is frequently used. Interestingly, this paradigma reappears in D.T. Suzuki's works as part of a nationalist rhetoric, and later on in post-war times also in the characterization of the (dull!) capacity of Western Zen

in the form of hierarchical taxonomies and were essential in handling the diverse and often even contradictory teachings encountered in the numerous translations of Buddhist *sūtras* and treatises.[167]

> "For example, Buddhist schools often sought to associate particular stages along the *mārga*, usually lower ones, with various of their sectarian rivals, while holding the higher stages to correspond to their own doctrinal positions. [...] The purpose of such rankings was not purely interpretive; if often had an implicit polemic thrust."[168]

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students (see Sharf 1993:28).

[167] Famous representatives of this approach were Huìyuǎn 慧遠 (334–416), Zhìyǐ 智顗 (538–597) and Guīfēng Zōngmì 圭峰宗密 (780–841). Another famous 'reconciler' was Yǒngmíng Yánshòu 永明延壽 (904–975), the author of the encyclopedic *Zōngjìng lù* 宗鏡錄, who attempted a fusion between Chán and Pure Land thought. As Robert Sharf points out, faith in Amitābha was universal in Chinese Buddhism and references to *niànfó* 念佛 (J. *nenbutsu*) practices can already be found in the earliest Chán scriptures preserved among the Dūnhuáng findings (Sharf 2002:301). For citations concerning the practice of *niànfó* in early Chán texts, see *ibid*.:303f. Schlütter points out at the beginning of the Sòng the relationship between the Chán factions was rather harmonious, following the model of coexistence based on a the idea of kinship, i.e., all Chán factions ultimately belong to the same 'family' which splits up in several branches (e.g., the idea of the 'Five Houses,' *wǔ jiā* 五家 of Chán); this harmony was eventually broken when competition for lay support erupted between the Línjì and the newly re-established Cáodòng faction; on these issues, see Schlütter 1999. This conflict is also a good example of polemics triggered by sociopolitical changes, i.e., after a period of strong imperial support at the beginning of the Sòng, sponsorship shifted to a great degree to local officials and members of the literati class, entailing competition for limited material support and positions in the abbacies of public monasteries (*shífāng* 十方); see *ibid*.:135–137; on a thorough discussion of public monasteries, see also Schlütter 2008:36–49. Schlütter emphasizes the crucial role of the establishment of public monasteries (as opposed to hereditary monasteries) for the success of the Chán School: "Most significantly, had the state not favored the institution of public monasteries, the Chán school would never have acquired its dominant position in monastic Buddhism" (*ibid*.:53).

Concerning the topic of internal sectarian struggles, a thorough analysis of the use of the term *wàidào* 外道 '[FOLLOWER OF AN] 'OUTSIDE' WAY > heretic' would be of great interest. To use this term in order to label rivals is one of the recurring topics in Chán polemics. Often the Chán rivals are associated with 'real' heretics, i.e., followers of 'inferior' forms of Buddhism such as the Hīnayānists, lecture masters, or even followers of non-Buddhist schools.

Polemics at rivals could include a variety of elements, pinpointing the opponent to specific 'inferior' practices and doctrines, personal attacks, and even direct insults.

[168] Buswell/Gimello 1992:20; more generally, Sharf (1991:88) remarks about Mahāyāna rhetoric: "[…] powerful methods of exalting one's own position, not by denouncing rival positions as false, but by insisting they are correct but provisional

Also in Chán Buddhism, this approach became an important hermeneutical tool, often having an important rhetorical and polemic dimension. Attacks on rivals usually prospered during periods when there were shifts in the sociopolitical and institutional settings, during struggles for material support or for the favours of the respective elites, and during times of pending crisis or persecution. Disputes often developed along well-known complementary and contrastive paradigms, typically the 'sudden-gradual' axis, teachings based on words, or the rejection of any Buddhist scriptures. Examples are the attacks by Shénhuì on the members of the 'Northern School' (initiated in the 730s), disputes concerning the right lineage or other sectarian issues, such as the competition between the Línjì and Cáodòng factions during the Sòng Dynasty. Morten Schlütter has shown that these rivalries were conducted on the level of disputes concerning different approaches to meditation (*mòzhào chán* 默照禪 'Silent Illumination Chán' and *kànhuà chán* 看話禪 'Introspection Chán,' respectively); however, on a deeper level these attacks were also motivated by the competition for support from the lay patronage.

Besides these 'factors' in the form of competition or sectarian disputes, and confrontational rhetoric, there is also an 'internal' dimension in terms of the formulation of the self-identity of Chán factions (i.e., by defining the 'other' one is defining oneself). One frequent claim vis-à-vis other Buddhist factions is the one that Buddhism[169] culminates in Chán and rhetorical devices are used to defend this position:

> "Chán hermeneutics developed in direct response to pressures from polemics in the scholastic schools, and by examining the interaction between these rivals, we may adduce much about the ways in which the Chán school selectively employed sacred texts in order, first, to uphold its own sectarian position and, second, to counter aspersions cast on it by its rivals."[170]

Often, different hermeneutical and rhetorical devices are used for different stages of development of the student; as such rhetorical devices are distinctively used as expedient means. Buswell exemplifies this based on the concept of the 'Three Mysterious Gates' (K. *samhyŏn-mun* 三玄門, Ch. *sānxuán mén*) teachings used by

and limited."

[169] In the Chinese context usually the Tiāntái and Huáyán traditions.

[170] Buswell 1988:231.

Chinese Chán masters, and later more systematically described by Chinul (1158–1210).[171]

> In his contribution *Pojo Chinul* 普照知訥 *and Kanhwa Sŏn* 看話禪, Robert E. Buswell Jr. examines the doctrinal and rhetorical context of the introduction of *kanhwa* practice to Korea. The interpretation of the sudden/gradual paradigm (K. *tono chŏmsu*) in relation to enlightenment and spiritual cultivation was of crucial significance in this process, thus interpreting it differently as compared to the Chinese Línjì 臨濟 (K. Imje) tradition. Buswell labels this approach 'moderate subitism' as compared to the 'radical subitism' propagated in the Chinese context, and analyzes how Chinul achieves his goal by balancing the moderate and inclusive language of Guīfēng Zōngmì with the radical iconoclastic rhetoric of the *Recorded Sayings of Línjì.* Chinul also presupposes a thorough knowledge of the canonical Buddhist scriptures and develops his system based on Zōngmì's. Central in his system is the term 'understanding-awakening' (K. *haeo*), an initial enlightenment experience which has to be cultivated subsequently, as contrasted to the more radical approach of sudden awakening/sudden cultivation. Rhetorically, the paradigms of sudden/gradual and sets of complementary and contrastive concepts are used to formulate and argue for Chinul's own position. In the Chinese context *kànhuà* was also referred to as a 'short-cut' approach to enlightenment and Chinul was not exposed to this subitist technique before late in his life. Buswell analyzes how this concept was eventually integrated into and synthesized with Chinul's soteriological system. Using the method of establishing a taxonomical system grading the

[171] *Ibid*.:246; and: "As Chinul explains, Chán practice is not simply concerned with the removal of the discriminative processes of thought; it also involves the positive reinforcement of wholesome qualities of mind, which can then be applied in the conditioned realm for the benefit of all sentient beings. Hence, Chán meditation purports to overcome limited perspectives concerning the absolute realm of the *dharmadhātu* and, at the same time, to produce both the capacity to transfer the merit deriving from one's understanding to other beings as well as the ability to use the power inherent in that merit as an expedient means of guiding others" (ibid.:240). Buswell also observes the interesting interplay between *kataphasis* and *apophasis* in the discussion of this doctrine: "Here we see once again that Chán discourse is not intended to be merely an imitation of the Mahāyāna inception or final teachings, but instead mirrors the progression of Chinese hermeneutical structures from naïve *kataphasis*, to radical *apophasis*, to perfected *kataphasis*" (*ibid*.:246); on this issue, see also Buswell's contribution to this volume.

capacity of practitioners, he differentiates two approaches to *hwadu*: Investigation of its meaning and investigation of the word (the culmination of this practice), in addition to applying a threefold hermeneutical system of the 'three mysterious gates,' a system progressing from a conceptual understanding of scriptures, to *hwadu* practice, and finally to an understanding free of all conceptualizations. This device allows Chinul to fully integrate the 'radical' subitism as represented by the *kanhwa* approach with his system of moderate subitism. This approach of a rhetoric of reconciliation and integration was short-lived, however, and Chinul's successors nearly exclusively favoured the radical *kanhwa* technique and an iconoclastic approach to language.

Bibliography

Conventions

In order to maintain consistency in the presentation of the materials, terms and proper names in citations from secondary literature were transferred to *pīnyīn* 拼音 transcription, whenever possible. Occasionally, Chinese characters (and sometimes also other information) are provided in square brackets within citations.

Abbreviations Used in the Introduction

BLZ	*Bǎolín zhuàn* 寶林傳
Ch.	Chinese
DDB	*Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*
CBETA	Chinese Electronic Tripitaka
J.	Japanese
JDCDL	*Jǐngdé chuandēng lù* 景德傳燈錄
K.	Korean
LDFBJ	*Lìdài fǎbǎo jì* 歷代法寶記
LJL	*Línjì lù* 臨濟錄
Skr.	Sanskrit
T.	Taishō shinshū daizōkyō 大正新修大藏經
TLS	*Thesaurus Linguae Sericae* Database
X	Taiwanese re-edition of ZZ.
ZTJ	*Zǔtáng jí* 祖堂集
ZZ.	Dai Nihon Zokuzōkyō 大日本續藏經

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[There is an expanded Chinese translation of this important article, published as appendix in *Chánjí súyǔ yánjiū* 禪籍俗語研究 2 (1995): 131–153 (describing important texts such as the *Platform sūtra* and many other early Chán texts); the second part of the Chinese version appeared in *ibid*. 3 (1996): 186–211 (describing other Chán works from the Táng Dynasty); an addendum on Dūnhuáng Chán texts appeared in ibid. 3 (1996): 213–222; the section on Sòng Chán texts appeared in *ibid*. 5 (1998): 161–188]

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RHETORIC OF EMPTINESS

JENS BRAARVIG

Mahāyāna Buddhism is adverse to rhetoric in principle, but indeed employs it to promote its 'doctrine of emptiness.' In criticizing opposing traditions, Mahāyāna adherents also used logical arguments to promote their cause, but still this literature proposes that 'real truth' is beyond logic. Thus, what poses as Mahāyāna logic, like that of the Madhyamaka, seems often to be used for rhetorical purposes rather than for expressing pure and formal logic. This becomes particularly obvious when we encounter 'logic' which summarizes, systemizes, and comments upon sūtra literature. With this perspective in mind, I will in the following paper discuss examples of Mahāyāna 'rhetoric of emptiness' and its strategies, and compare it initially with the aims of classical Greek rhetoric.

One may well ask whether the category of rhetoric is an appropriate concept for interpreting Buddhist traditions. The aim of rhetoric is *persuasion*, and to place an intended *enthymeme* into the mind of those who are subjected to the art of rhetoric. Thus, the aim of rhetoric is to persuade the listeners to adopt a particular view as prompted by such linguistic exercises, above all in situations in which one wishes to persuade those in power to make a decision in one's own favour—and, in particular, in legal cases: This was the main forum of the classical rhetorical specialists; outstanding examples among them are Demosthenes and Cicero. However, the program of Buddhism rather aims at establishing the realization of a particular *truth*, or tries to bring about a realization of a truth conducive to personal liberation, liberation from the cycle of rebirth, or even more generally liberation from any viewpoint, concept or prejudgment; in the Mahāyāna traditions this would be expressed with the following terms: *vikalpa*, *dṛṣṭi*, *vijñapti*, *upalambha* or *prapañca*. So, one could argue that these traditions are absolutely opposed to rhetoric, since their objective is to liberate their followers from particular views, ideologies and judgments, and make them realize their intrinsic emptiness, rather than implanting such views as *enthymemata* into the minds of the Buddhist disciples exposed to Buddhist preaching.

Thus, we find—though not frequently—expressions in Buddhist writings that rhetoric and eloquence are very superficial disciplines, and, as long as they are not conducive to producing truth, may be regarded as an inferior activity aimed at winning personal gain. This position is very similar to the one ascribed to Socrates in the Platonic dialogue of *Gorgias*: Gorgias, as we know, was the archetypal *rhetor* in classical Athens, he was even compared to a magician in his ability to change the mental perceptions of his listeners—rhetoric being thus similar to magic. And Socrates, as portrayed by Plato in *Gorgias*, is not impressed with the grand *rhetor*; he says that this kind of practice, of teacher and practitioner alike, is not an art, nor a *techne*, not even a craft. Rhetoric is rather similar to what tyrants are doing, forcing people to adopt certain ways of behavior, or, it is a subcategory of flattering, which indeed is not an art, nor a craft, it is nothing else than manupulating somebody into supporting you for superficial reasons, similar to the beauty industry and sophistry. One may be experienced in this activity, but it is still not an art, it is just an ability gained through practice, to serve one's own personal shortsighted advantage—in that respect it is comparable to cookery, says Socrates; by cooking you may cause people to like you, but this is not an art nor a *techne*. However, if rhetoric would disclose a just cause, it could serve an honourable purpose; but as a practice for winning in disputes, it is no better than false flattery, according to our truth-seeker Socrates.[1]

Thus, in that respect Socrates would be close to the position of Buddhist teachings, even though the Greek emphasis was on justice and truth, rather that the personal realization of an 'inner' truth, the absolute or 'higher truth,' *paramārtha*. That being said, there is agreement that eloquence may be important as long as it serves a higher end beyond personal gains. Buddhism aims at supporting all living beings in their development towards Bodhisattva- and Buddhahood, and if it is does not serve this end, it is only empty talk—mirrored in the often employed Mahāyāna concept of *prapañca*, usually translated as 'discursive thinking,' but also referring to

[1] On the tyrants, see *Gorg.* 466a ff., on flattering 462b ff., and on the relations between what are really arts and their misrepresentations, see 463d ff., in particular 465c: "Rather like this: What is ornamenting the body to the art of bodily exercise, that is sophism to the art of law-giving; what is cookery to the medical art, that is rhetoric to true justice." (μᾶλλον ὅτι ὃ κομμωτικὴ πρὸς γυμναστικήν, τοῦτο σοφιστικὴ πρὸς νομοθετικήν, καὶ ὅτι ὃ ὀψοποιικὴ πρὸς πρὸς ἰατρικήν, τοῦτο ῥητορικὴ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην.) On Gorgias as a magician, see Braarvig 1999.

'complex but meaningless thinking,' as well as 'rhetorical ornamentation,' besides having the connotation of 'existential multiplicity,' and of the outspoken or mental *multiloquia* which confuses us and hinders us in seeing what is ultimately true.

Thus, we also find in the *Kāśyaparivarta* a negative view on eloquence, *pratibhāna*—among four kinds of bad friends we find 'the man experienced in the ways of the world (or, with other words, a follower of the 'materialist position of the *lokāyata*') who serves men through his eloquence in all kinds of mantric sayings, sayings, from which result various kinds of material gain, but not the attainment of the *dharma*.'[2] But the fact that Buddhist traditions were skeptical concerning the abuse of eloquence for worldly purposes does not necessarily mean that Buddhism—or in this case Mahāyāna Buddhism in its classical form and the traditions developed from it—does not admire and support rhetoric, spoken, written, or practiced by the *dhārmakathikas* or *dharmabhāṇakas*, 'preachers of religion,' as they are portrayed in the Mahāyāna literature. In the introductions to the Mahāyāna sūtras, the bodhisattvas seldom fail to be described as possessing both *dhāraṇī* and *pratibhāna*, *viz*., memory and eloquence, the two main parts of classical rhetoric, as described by the Latin *rhetor* of all ages, Cicero: without remembering the speech and being able to perform it in an elegant or, adapted to the occasion, appropriate language garb, the *rhetor* is not fulfilling his task.[3] Be it in court, or in our case in the religious congregation, forming one's views in the appropriate linguistic form is an imperative even for the adherent of the emptiness non-view of Mahāyāna tradition. As such, the admiration for the well-formulated expression does not seem to

[2] Kpv §13: *lokāyatiko vicitramantrapratibhānaḥ yaṃ ca pudgalaṃ sevamāna tato lokāmiṣasaṃgraho bhavati na dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*. *Cf.* also above, and the reference in previous note on rhetoric and magic—mantras also being something connected to the concept of 'magic.' Further criticism of the rhetoric of emptiness is found in Sdhan 114: 'They talk about the emptiness of moments of existence; they are happy with their polemics and have a hateful mind through their strife; without a promise they have a mind full of aversion, so where are their Buddha-qualities, where is their Awakening?' We notice that even from a Mahāyāna position—Sdhan being a typical Mahāyāna sūtra—the rhetoric of emptiness does not fulfill the aims of this religion.

[3] It is, however, difficult to find a precise equivalent of the concept 'rhetoric' in Sanskrit literature, even though its two main parts often are referred to in Buddhist literature. On the pair of *dhāraṇī* and *pratibhāna*, see Braarvig 1985, and particularly on *dhāraṇī* and the complex semantic field of this concept, see Davidson 2008. In the Vkn, e.g., the word *pratibhāna*, 'eloquence,' occurs 22 times, so it is indeed a cherished ability.

disappear in Buddhist traditions, even though it is not supposed to be an aim in itself, nor is it supposed to be linguistic snobbery or serve personal ends, but rather to serve a higher purpose. Thus *artha*, the 'substance' of an expression, is the most important—not the *śabda*, the 'sound' or 'word,' or the *vyañjana*, the 'syllables'[4]—but still, the well-formulated (*subhāṣita)* expression always remains an ideal in Buddhism, both in literature and in oral traditions. The chapter on *dharmadeśanā*, 'Teaching the Dharma,' in the *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra* can be read as a discourse on religious rhetoric, treating the elegance of the bodhisattvas' speech: 'Sweet, without infatuation, indefatigable is the teaching of the superior beings, clearly manifest, variegated, well composed, persuasive, not concerned with material things, and universal.'[5]

But the Mahāyāna message of emptiness was perceived as empty rhetoric, definitely by the opponents of Buddhism from the non-Buddhist Indian traditions of philosophy, but seemingly also by the traditionalist Buddhist opponents of the Mahāyāna, in Mahāyāna literature depreciatingly styled as the *hīnayāna* or the *śrāvakayāna* (often targets for the rhetoric of emptiness practiced by the adherents of the Mahāyāna). Such a negative attitude towards rhetorical practice is exemplified in a dialogue of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra*, where the elegantly eloquent bodhisattva Akṣayamati is asked by Śāriputra, the wisest of the Buddha's disciples, where he comes from. Not wishing to be understood in such smallish terms as coming from a particular place, the bodhisattva hero answers in accordance with the rules of Mahāyāna rhetoric. We find here, personified in the figure of Śāriputra, the discontent with the high-flying arguments and sophisms of the Mahāyāna adherents. Even when a simple answer is expected to

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[4] Thus 'reliance on meaning, not reliance on the letter' is emphasized (*artha-pratisaraṇatā na vyañjanapratisaraṇatā*, Akṣ II, p. 440 ff. which expands on the subject on how to build one's knowledge). This is so, even though the *artha* according to the Mahāyāna is basically nothing, basically empty.

[5] Msa XII, 6: *madhurā madavyapetā na ca khinnā deśanāgrasatvānāṃ* | *sphuṭacitrayuktagamikā nirāmiṣā sarvagā caiva* || Then Chapter XII goes on to praise at great length the speech of the buddhas, stressing that intention and meaning always must pertain to the *dharmadeśanā*. There is, however, no discussion on how to trick your opponents in discussions and dialogues, which was, definitely, practiced also in the Buddhist tradition—thus, the rhetoric described is always connected to a moral attitude. On might adduce the concept of *upāya*, though, in this respect, the 'expedient means' practiced by the Buddha for converting all living beings consists of teaching them in whichever language they might understand, or through any action,—*upāya*, in this sense may, be said to be a kind of 'trick.'

a simple question—'Where do you come from?'—the opportunity is seized to deconstruct and relativize the movement of coming and going, and implying the meaninglessness of asking such a silly question. It is, however, remarkable that the situation is described in a Mahāyāna sūtra—in this case the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*—as a kind of self-criticism, and maybe not without humour, or at least being expressive of the relativistic attitude of the literary movement of the Mahāyāna. The text runs as follows:[6]

> Then, by the power of the Buddha, the venerable Śāradvatīputra got up from his seat, and having put his cloak over one shoulder he placed his right knee on the ground, and bowed in the direction of the Lord with the palms of his hands joined, saying:
>
> > – Lord, where does this bodhisattva Akṣayamati come from? What is the name of the Tathāgata there, and what is the name of that world-sphere? And how far away from here is that world-sphere?
> >
> > The Lord said:
> >
> > – Śāradvatīputra, you should ask this bodhisattva Akṣayamati, and he will instruct you.

[6] Akṣ p. 31 ff.; Sanskrit reconstruction: *kuto, bhagavann, ayam akṣayamatir bodhisattva āgataḥ? tasya tathāgatasya nāma, tasya ca lokadhātor nāmeti kiṃ? kiyaddūra itaḥ sa lokadhātuḥ? bhagavān āha: pṛccha tvaṃ, śāradvatīputra, tadartham imam akṣayamatiṃ bodhisattvaṃ, sa eva tvāṃ deśayiṣyati. atha khalv āyuṣmāñ śāradvatīputro 'kṣayamatiṃ bodhisattvam idam avocat: kutas tvaṃ, kulaputrāgataḥ? tasya tathāgatasya nāma tasya ca lokadhātor nāmti kiṃ? kiyaddūra itaḥ sa lokadhātuḥ? akṣayamatir āha: nanu tāvat sthavirasya śāradvatīputrasyāpi gatyāgatisaṃjñā bhavanti? āha: ahaṃ, kulaputra, saṃjñāḥ parijānāmi. āha: saṃjñāparijñātavī, bhadanta śāradvatīputra, na dvayamatiṃ praviśet, tat kasya hetor evaṃ te bhavet kas tvaṃ kuta āgata iti? āgatir iti, bhadanta śāradvatīputra, saṃkarṣaṇapadam etat, gatir iti, bhadanta śāradvatīputra, niṣkarṣaṇapadam etat. yatra na saṃkarṣaṇapadaṃ na niṣkarṣaṇapadaṃ, tatra nāgatir na gatir, anāgatir agatiś cāryāṇāṃ gatiḥ. āgatir iti, bhadanta śāradvatīputra, karmasvabhāvalakṣaṇam etat, gatir iti, bhadanta śāradvatīputra, karmasvabhāvakṣayalakṣaṇam etat. yatra na karmasvabhāvalakṣaṇaṃ na karmasvabhāvakṣayalakṣaṇam, tatra nāgatir na gatir, anāgatir agatiś cāryāṇāṃ gatiḥ. āgatir iti, bhadanta śāradvatīputra, praṇidhānalakṣaṇam etat, gatir iti, bhadanta śāradvatīputra, praṇidhānakṣaya-lakṣaṇam etat. yatra na praṇidhānalakṣaṇaṃ na praṇidhānakṣayalakṣaṇam, tatra nāgatir na gatir, anāgatir agatiś cāryāṇāṃ gatiḥ.* [...] *āgatir iti, bhadanta śāradvatīputra, vyavahāraśabdākṣarasaṃketā ete, gatir iti, bhadanta śāradvatīputra, vyavahāraśabdākṣarasaṃketaparijñaiṣā. yatra na vyavahāraśabdākṣarasaṃketā na vyavahāraśabdākṣarasaṃketaparijñā tatra nāgatir na gatir, anāgatir agatiś cāryāṇāṃ gatiḥ. athāyuṣmañ śāradvatīputro 'kṣayamatiṃ bodhisattvam idam avocat: naivaṃrūpāya, kulaputra, pratibhānāya te yāvad eva tādṛśānām aśrutapūrvāṇāṃ sthānānāṃ śravaṇāya pṛcchāmi.*

> Then, the venerable Śāradvatīputra spoke these words to the bodhisattva Akṣayamati: Son of good family, where do you come from? What is the name of the Tathāgata there, and what is the name of that world-sphere? And how far away from here is that world-sphere?
> Akṣayamati said:
> – Do concepts of coming and going occur even to the elder Śāradvatīputra?
> Śāradvatīputra said:
> – Son of good family, I know concepts thoroughly.
> Akṣayamati said:
> – One who knows concepts thoroughly, Śāradvatīputra, does not indulge in duality of thought, so why do you think the following: Who are you, where do you come from?
> 'Coming,' reverend Śāradvatīputra, is a word for uniting, while 'going,' reverend Śāradvatīputra, is a word for separation. Where there is no word for uniting and no word for separation, there is no coming nor going: Neither coming nor going is the way of the saints.
> 'Coming,' reverend Śāradvatīputra, is the essential character of action-nature, while 'going,' reverend Śāradvatīputra, is the essential character of the end of action-nature. Where there is no essential character of action-nature, and no essential character of the end of action-nature, there is neither coming nor going: Neither coming nor going is the way of the saints.
> 'Coming,' reverend Śāradvatīputra, is the essential character of wishing, whereas 'going,' reverend Śāradvatīputra, is the essential character of the end of wishing. Where there is no essential character of wishing, and no essential character of the end of wishing, there is neither coming nor going: Neither coming nor going is the way of the saints. [...]
> 'Coming,' reverend Śāradvatīputra, is an expression, a word, a syllable, a conventional sign, whereas 'going,' reverend Śāradvatīputra, is the thorough knowledge of an expression, a word, a syllable, a conventional sign. Where there is no expression, no word, no syllable, no conventional sign, and no thorough knowledge of an expression, a word, a syllable, a conventional sign, there is neither coming nor going: Neither coming nor going is the way of the saints.
> Then the venerable Śāradvatīputra spoke these words to the Bodhisattva Akṣayamati: Son of good family, I did not ask you for the sake of your eloquence, but to hear of such places I never heard of before.

However, in the end, the Lord answers the unhappy Śāriputra, victim of Mahāyāna rhetoric, and informs him that the bodhisattva Akṣayamati comes from a distant *buddhakṣetra*, and thus puts an end to the sophistic game.

The quotation above has been employed as an authoritative *locus* to give canonical substance to the emptiness argument in the *Mūla-madhyamakakārikās* by Nāgārjuna (probably around 100 AD), often having been considered as the beginning of Buddhist logic. The second chapter of that work, the 'Gatāgataparīkṣā,' (i.e., 'Analysis of Going and Coming') is often used as a model of argumentation throughout the work, and is often referred back to, based upon the sūtra *locus* as appearing in the *Akṣayamatinirdeśa*. The concluding verse of the Gatāgataparīkṣā, to which the citation from Akṣ is appended in the *Prasannapadā*, is strengthening the emptiness argument by employing the argument of the 'purity of the three fields' (*trimaṇḍalapariśuddhi*), This refers to the threefold emptiness of every action, *viz*., the emptiness and illusory construction and apprehension of: (1) the action itself, (2) the subject performing the action, and (3) the object, or aim of the action: 'And therefore the going, the goer and what is to be gone is not found.'[7] So, one may ask whether the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās* is a treatise on logic, or rather a treatise on Mahāyāna rhetoric, since, in fact, it is very much concerned with the denial of logic. Generally, early Mahāyāna Buddhism was rather anti-logical in the sense that it did not support that the ultimate truth, *paramārtha*, could be reached by intellectual means. Rather, understanding of truth would be reached by the negation of, or by transcending, conceptual thinking—or, phrasing it in the language of Mahāyāna rhetoric of emptiness: ultimate understanding consists of seeing that there are really no lasting truths—they are all conventions, *vyavahāra*, constructions, logical or not, *kalpanā*, *vikalpa*, or discursive thinking ending up in rhetorical figures (*prapañca*).[8] Ultimate understanding is the understanding that there is no understanding. However, one may assert that also the denial of logic is a kind of logic and, indeed, early Mahāyāna adherents engaged in discussions with adherents of other doctrinal views, Buddhist or non-Buddhist, equipped with the deconstructive dialectics of what they

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[7] *tasmād gatiś ca gantā ca gantavyaṃ na vidyate*, Mk II,25cd, Pras: 107–108; for the concept *trimaṇḍalapariśuddhi* see Bcn: 121, and Akṣ: ci & cxi. According to the traditional Indian semantic rule that "Every word meaning 'go' means also 'understand'" (*sarve gatyarthā jñānārthāḥ*). The 'analysis of going' also has the connotation of 'analysis of understanding;' *cf.* also the frequent word *gatiṃgata*, meaning most of all 'knowledgeable,' 'experienced' or 'having gone the way to get the experience.' See, e.g., *passim* in Vkn, s.v. *gatiṃgata* in BP.

[8] *Cf.* Akṣ: c–cxii.

styled the 'Middle Way,' i.e., the non-view of not taking a position in favour of neither existence nor non-existence, neither nihilism nor eternalism, denying any of the 'extreme' positions. Thus, the message of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās* is that the truth of the Buddha is beyond any category or any kind of ontological alternative, beyond the four possibilities of being, non-being, both being and non-being, neither being nor non-being, the *catuṣkoṭi*. This four-fold scheme is employed as a structuring principle throughout the Mk and other Madhyamaka works. But a system of logic which has the aim of countering any view without establishing another formally correct truth on certain premises—as should be the aim of logic, and even *nyāya*—might easily be employed in a *rhetorical* way. This 'logic' would be employed to place Mahāyāna *enthymemata* into the minds of the listeners, rather than establishing formal *syllogisms* through strictly logical procedures with appropriate consistency. Thus, we could interpret the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās* as a manual of rhetoric rather than as one of formal logic: the principle of emptiness, nothingness and illusoriness shows itself again and again as both a premise and a conclusion in this work, although this militates against the professed 'principle' of no position, since the principle of emptiness is a circular argument in being both a premise and a conclusion. It is, however, emphasized that turning emptiness itself into a view is the worst of all positions—evidently, the writers of the Mahāyāna sūtra literature were conscious of the problem.[9] However, that does not make the arguments of emptiness *logically* stronger, and they rather seem to be confined to rhetorical schemes. But definitely, there is a close relation between rhetoric and logic, between producing the *entymema* and *syllogism*, not only in the Buddhist tradition.[10]

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[9] See an early sūtra instance of this in Kpv §34, BP 14667; quoted also in Rgvbh 28,7–12: 'O Kaśyapa, really even such a conception which maintains substantial Ego as much as Mt. Sumeru is better than the conception of Non-substantiality on the part of those who are proud of it.' *Cf.* also Note 2.

[10] On this relation, see also Aristoteles, *Rhetoric*: 'Rhetoric is the counterpart of Dialectic.' (1354a Ἡ ῥητορική ἐστιν ἀντίστροφος τῇ διαλεκτικῇ·) 'The orator's demonstration is an enthymeme, and this is, in general, the most effective of the modes of persuasion. The enthymeme is a sort of syllogism, and the consideration of *syllogisms* of all kinds, without distinction, is the business of dialectic, either of dialectic as a whole or of one of its branches. It follows plainly, therefore, that he who is best able to see how and from what elements a *syllogism* is produced, will also be best skilled in the enthymeme, when he has further learnt what its subject-matter is and in what respects it differs from the *syllogism* of strict logic.' (1355a: ἔστι δ' ἀπόδειξις ῥητορικὴ ἐνθύμημα, καὶ ἔστι τοῦτο ὡς εἰπεῖν ἁπλῶς κυριώτατον τῶν

This anti-logical attitude, despite employing the language and argumentative forms of logic, is also mirrored in another work attributed to Nāgarjuna, the *Vigravyāvartanī*, which argues that everything is empty, as it is without essence and originating dependently. The structure of the work follows the rules of *nyāya*, though it may be doubted whether the main argument in fact does so. The work should maybe be viewed as a collection of sophisms employed for the sake of giving the argument of emptiness a rhetorical rather than a logical force. The work starts out[11] with the position of the opponent, which must be considered a valid argument:
(a) if Nāgārjuna's words are empty and without neither self-being nor substance (*asvabhāva*), the teaching of Nāgārjuna must be false, since words without substance cannot convey any meaning; and
(b) if Nāgārjuna's words have substance (*sasvabhāva*) and thus convey meaning, the teaching of Nāgārjuna must be false, since his

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πίστεων, τὸ δ' ἐνθύμημα συλλογισμός τις, περὶ δὲ συλλογισμοῦ ὁμοίως ἅπαντος τῆς διαλεκτικῆς ἐστιν ἰδεῖν, ἢ αὐτῆς ὅλης ἢ μέρους τινός, δῆλον ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα τοῦτο δυνάμενος θεωρεῖν, ἐκ τίνων καὶ πῶς γίνεται συλλογισμός, οὗτος καὶ ἐνθυμηματικὸς ἂν εἴη μάλιστα, προσλαβὼν περὶ ποῖά τέ ἐστι τὸ ἐνθύμημα καὶ τίνας ἔχει διαφορὰς πρὸς τοὺς λογικοὺς συλλογισμούς·) And: "Furthermore, it is plain that it is the function of one and the same art to discern the real and the apparent means of persuasion, just as it is the function of dialectic to discern the real and the apparent *syllogism*. What makes a man a 'sophist' is not his faculty, but his moral purpose." (1355b: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς τό τε πιθανὸν καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον ἰδεῖν πιθανόν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς συλλογισμόν τε καὶ φαινόμενον συλλογισμόν· ἡ γὰρ σοφιστικὴ οὐκ ἐν τῇ δυνάμει ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ προαιρέσει·) And, further: "With regard to the persuasion achieved by proof or apparent proof: Just as in dialectic there is induction on the one hand and *syllogism* or apparent *syllogism* on the other, as it is in rhetoric. The example is an induction, the *enthymeme* is a *syllogism*, and the apparent *enthymeme* is an apparent *syllogism*. I call the enthymeme a rhetorical *syllogism*, and the example a rhetorical induction." (1356a τῶν δὲ διὰ τοῦ δεικνύναι ἢ φαίνεσθαι δεικνύναι, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς τὸ μὲν ἐπαγωγή ἐστιν, τὸ δὲ συλλογισμός, τὸ δὲ φαινόμενος συλλογισμός, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὁμοίως· ἔστιν γὰρ τὸ μὲν παράδειγμα ἐπαγωγή, τὸ δ' ἐνθύμημα συλλογισμός, τὸ δὲ φαινόμενον ἐνθύμημα φαινόμενος συλλογισμός. καλῶ δ' ἐνθύμημα μὲν ῥητορικὸν συλλογισμόν, παράδειγμα δὲ ἐπαγωγὴν ῥητορικήν·) "When we base the proof of a proposition on a number of similar cases, this is induction in dialectic, and example in rhetoric; when it is shown that, certain propositions being true, a further and quite distinct proposition must also be true in consequence, whether invariably or usually, this is called *syllogism* in dialectic, *enthymeme* in rhetoric." (1356b ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ πολλῶν καὶ ὁμοίων δείκνυσθαι ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐπαγωγή ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα δὲ παράδειγμα, τὸ δὲ τινῶν ὄντων ἕτερόν τι διὰ ταῦτα συμβαίνειν παρὰ ταῦτα τῷ ταῦτα εἶναι ἢ καθόλου ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἐκεῖ μὲν συλλογισμὸς ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐνθύμημα καλεῖται·) Et *passim*.

[11] Vgv verses I, ff.

position that everything is empty is contradicted by his words not being empty.[12]

It presupposes that empty statements cannot be considered true statements, and if they are not empty, the position of emptiness is not tenable. The (non-)position of the Mādhyamika is saved by a simile: It is like a magically-created man using magically-created words to describe an empty and illusory reality. Now again, the Mādhyamika is building his argument upon the premise of emptiness, which remains a premise and it should be impossible for the Madhyamaka to build upon such a principle when the main argument is that there is basically no generating principle for anything, being thus guilty of a major break of logical consistency. However, the Mādhyamika hides behind the simile of the magical man (*māyāpuruṣa*)—in the five-fold scheme of *nyāya* syllogisms, the simile also has an argumentative force, which is here exploited by the Mādhyamika.[13] Even though the usual method of the Madhyamaka is the *prasaṅga*, the *reductio ad absurdum* of the opponents' views, still most of the arguments in Madhyamaka writings employ the principle of *śūnyatā* as a presupposition.

But, as mentioned above, the focus and aim of Mahāyāna is not to establish logical truths, it is rather to liberate all living beings from suffering. Suffering, according to their views, is caused by mental activity, discursive thinking and thought-constructions, logical or non-logical, or just by the mental activities through which all beings construct their existence as subjective and objective entities, becoming captured by their own constructions. The view that the truth of Mahāyāna Buddhism cannot be reached by logical means—despite the later logical tradition of Buddhism starting with Dharmakīrti—was propagated by the early *Yogācāra* adherents, as emphasized by the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*: "Thus, this *dharma* (of the Buddha), being so extensive and deep, is not within the range of the logicians."[14] As such, one may grant the Madhyamaka and the other Mahāyāna enterprises a more positive interpretation as a kind of intellectual therapy to get rid of any mental constructions, with the aim of releasing the true potential of human existence which is beyond intellectual staleness, and to make the fellow beings grasp the truth by

[12] *Cf.* Bcn, introduction:118.
[13] See the still very valuable and pragmatic treatment of Potter 1977:179ff.
[14] Msa p.3: *agorcarān nāyam evam udāro gambhīraś ca dharmas tarkikāṇāṃ gocaraḥ.*

transcending conventional thinking and see life truly as it is, as 'suchness' or *tathatā*. And, as such, the Mahāyāna is not that far from the Socratic project as described above, in which rhetoric is used with the aim of disclosing the truth of our existence by liberating us from superficial and habitual thinking, which in Buddhism is seen as liberation in an even greater perspective: the ability to truly transcend self-centered existence.

However, we have to turn to the Mahāyāna sūtras themselves in order to see that the rhetoric mirrored in the śāstras of the Mahāyāna has its origin in these sūtras. In these texts, the use of dialogues and rhetoric is more fully developed, describing more 'real' situations. In the background stories of the sūtras, we find the wise bodhisattva—in the form of a rich banker and a dandy, like Vimalakīrti, or an old woman. We also find the grand bodhisattva as a small child, or as prostitute, who shows herself to be far more advanced in the wisdom of emptiness than the conservative, conventional and intellectually limited *śrāvaka*, often personified by the wisest of the Buddha's monks, Śāriputra.[15] Defining your opponent before he defines himself is of course an important rhetorical device, defining him in the way that suits your own arguments. Thus, the role ascribed to the monk in this Mahāyāna genre was always that of loosely presenting the realist views of the Abhidharma-schools, but not at all by doing these schools justice in ascribing to the unfortunate *śrāvakas* views suitable as counter-arguments to the emptiness arguments. So it is mostly the *srāvakas* who are the hate-objects of this literature, and to a lesser degree representatives of the various other contending schools outside the Buddhist tradition. Such religious and philosophical debates definitely were great entertainment throughout Indian history,[16] particularly at the court: The debates of course often aimed at winning economical favours—thus enhancing the rhetorical means rather than employing strict logic, trying to emerge victorious from the debate engaged in. The importance of persuasion and rhetoric—may it be

[15] For a long time it has been discussed whether such sūtras as the *Vimalakīrti*—with their anti-monastic and lay-oriented message—are representative of Mahāyāna literature as a whole. We will not engage in this discussion for the moment, but merely note that some of the sūtras of this 'class,' and in particular the Vkn, have enjoyed great popularity over long periods of Buddhist history, and that this class of sūtras represent at least an important aspect also of early Mahāyāna. *Cf.* Bcn, introduction:124–125, on sūtras with children as the main protagonists and their relation to the Vkn.

[16] As depicted, e.g., in the *Mahānāradakassapajātaka*, Ja no. 544, Vol. vi.

political, legal, or religious, as in our case—for winning the favour of the elite and the people is universal. And it seems there was also no lack of competition between the Indian-style itinerant sophists and *rhetors* as they were striving for fame, respect and riches: The admiration of the audience means everything, and no methods, even those outside the discipline of rhetoric proper, seem to be excluded in defaming the rival *rhetor*. One of the Avadānas tells the following story:[17]

> Now, at that time, there was a certain monk in a certain monastery, a preacher of the law. He preached the law to the Brahmans and householders who came to him from time to time. Through this he gained great profit and honour.
>
> At a later time, a monk named Ajita ('The Invincible'), a preacher of the law possessing an eloquence well composed but still free-running, versed in diverse and charming stories, while journeying over the countryside, came to that monastery. He, too, preached the law to the four-fold assemblies, he expounded the holy life that was excellent in the beginning, excellent in the middle, excellent at the end, of good purport, well expressed, complete, perfect, clean and pure, and he won the faith of the entire multitude of people dwelling in that village. Thus,

[17] Suv §§116–17: *tena khalu samayenānyatamasmiṃś ca vihāre 'nyatamo bhikṣuḥ dhārmakathikaḥ sa kālena kālam āgatāgatānāṃ brāhmaṇagṛhapatīnāṃ dharmaṃ deśayati | tasya mahān lābhasatkāra utpadyate |*

117. *yāvad apareṇa samayenājito nāma bhikṣuḥ dhārmakathiko yuktamuktapratibhānaś citrakatho madhurakatho | janapadacārikāñ caran taṃ vihāram āgataḥ sa catasṛṇāṃ parṣadāṃ dharma deśayaty ādau kalyāṇaṃ madhye kalyāṇaṃ paryavaśāne kalyāṇaṃ suvyañjanaṃ kevalaṃ paripūrṇaṃ pariśuddhaṃ paryavadātaṃ brahmacaryaṃ samprakāśayati | tena sarva evāsau karvaṭanivāsījanakāyo 'bhiprasāditaḥ | sa lābhī cīvarapiṇḍapātaśayanāsana-glānapratyayabhaiṣajyapariṣkārāṇāṃ | tasya naivāsikasya dhārmakathikasya bhikṣor lābhasatkārasamucchinnas tasya_etad abhavad ajitena me bhikṣuṇā lābhasatkāra samucchedaḥ kṛtaḥ | tad yāvad eṣa ihāvatiṣṭhate tāvat kuto me lābhasatkāro bhaviṣyati | upāyam asya gamanāya cintayitavyam iti | punaś cintayati | asatkārabhīravaś caiva bahuśrutāḥ | asatkāro 'sya prayoktavya iti viditvānyatamāṃ brāhmaṇakumārikām āha | bhaginy ahan te vāsoyugam anupradāsyāmy etam ajitaṃ bhikṣuṃ dūṣaya mayā sārddham abrahmacārīti | sā kathayaty ārya yady aham evaṃ vakṣyāmi tat ko māṃ pariṇeṣyati | nanu yāvajjīvam mātāpitṛpoṣyā bhaviṣyāmīti | sa kathayaty ahaṃ tathā kariṣyāmi yathā na mahājanaviditaṃ bhaviṣyati | yadā tvaṃ svairālāpena kathayiṣyasīti | api tu yadāyaṃ tṛbhiś caturbhiḥ parair bhikṣubhiḥ sārddhaṃ niṣaṇṇa ihāvatiṣṭhate | tayā pratijñātam evaṃ kariṣyāmīti |*

The translation is that of Tissa Rajapatirana with some changes. On the conflict between the monks living from their speeches and public appearances and those only occupied with meditation and solitary life, see Sdhan:130–131.

he became the recipient of equipment consisting of robes, bowl, couch, and medicines to cure the sick.

The profit and respect of that resident monk, the preacher of the law, was lost, and thus it occurred to him: "The loss of my profit and respect has been brought about by the monk Ajita. So, how could there be profit and respect for me as long as he remains here? I must think of a plan that will cause his departure."

Again, he reflected: "The learned are indeed fearful of the loss of respect. I should employ a strategy that will bring about a lack of respect towards him."

Having conceived thus, he told a certain Brahmin girl: "Sister, I will give you a pair of garments. Slander this monk Ajita, saying 'He practised unchastity together with me.'"

She replied: "Noble one, if I were to speak thus, who would then marry me? I will surely have to be looked after by my mother and father for as long as I live."

He said: "I will act in such a way that it will not become known to many people. On the other hand, you may talk freely when I am seated here together with three or four other monks."

She agreed to act accordingly.

The Mahāyāna sūtras depict fairly formalized types and *dramatis personae*, but the background of the events depicted in these texts definitely mirror 'real' situations, notwithstanding the rather elusive style of writing—a *genre* one most appropriately could associate with the modern terms of fiction or fantasy: whereas the traditional sūtras were usually rooted in a more realistic and sober setting, the Mahāyāna sūtras endlessly indulged in the imagery of infinite worlds, infinite times—usually numbered by the sand-grains of the Ganges in some power—and the grand buddhas and bodhisattvas from the endless universes and *buddhakṣetras*, able to travel endless distances in a moment. So the imagery and rhetorical figures of the texts indeed supported the message of Mahāyāna: on the one side illusion and emptiness, on the other hand accounts of endless commitment, spatially and temporally, for the sake of happiness and freedom of all living beings, as crystallized in the concept of *akṣayatā*.[18] Thus, there definitely is a certain *grandeur* of style, notwithstanding the sometimes tediously long enumerations of *abhidharma* concepts and the statement that all of them are empty. The style of Mahāyāna sūtras did also not exclude the use of apparent syllogisms in their writings—just to give the appearance of using the respected discipline of logic to

[18] See Akṣ, introduction.

impress the readers or listeners. Thus, we find the presentation of long causal chains, or rather something that has the *appearance* of causal chains. Even in passages that do not seem to consist of any evident or significant causal connections, these are often repeated—one must admit—*ad nauseam*. Below is another quote from the *Akṣayamati-nirdeśa*, employing this rhetorical *strategem*:

> That intention, then, is not artificial since it is not made up, not made up it is without hypocrisy, without hypocrisy since right understanding, right understanding since without pretence, without pretence since pure, pure since straight, straight since not crooked, not crooked since clear, clear since not uneven, not uneven since firm, firm since not broken, not broken because stable, stable since unwavering, unwavering since not dependent, attached since totally different, totally different since irreproachable, irreproachable since doing good actions, etc., etc.[19]

I will, for the present context, give two further examples of Mahāyāna sūtra rhetoric, one from the well-known *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, and one from a much lesser-known sūtra, the *Bodhisattva-caryānirdeśa*—however, belonging to the same class—to illustrate how dialogues as depicted in Mahāyāna sūtras may have a dialectic or logical form, but still are strongly characterized by the rhetoric of emptiness as described above. It includes all the ingredients of humbling the opponent, attributing views to him that he may not necessarily share (and impressing them on him with a certain elegance of argument and language, so much appreciated by Buddhism and Indian tradition in general), the advantage of surprise (elegant rhetoric from speakers not expected to master such arts), etc.[20] The Bcn is the first example. It is worth noting that the title is 'Practice of the Bodhisattva,' implying that the practice of such rhetoric is in the center of Mahāyāna practice:

> [Verses on the meaning (*artha*) of making an offering:]
> Thereupon, the boy Ratnadatta spoke the following verses:

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[19] *sa khalu punar āśayo 'kṛtrimo 'kṛtakatvāt, akṛtako niḥśāṭhyatvāt, niḥśāṭhyaḥ suviditatvāt, suvidito nirmāyatvāt, nirmāyaḥ śuddhatvāt, śuddha ṛjukatvāt, ṛjuko 'kuṭilatvāt, akuṭilaḥ spaṣṭatvāt, spaṣṭo 'viṣamatvāt, aviṣamaḥ sāratvāt, sāro 'bhedyatvāt, abhedyo dṛḍhatvāt, dṛḍho 'calitatvāt, acalito 'niśritatvāt, aniśrito 'tanmayatvāt, atanmayo viśiṣṭatvāt, viśiṣṭo 'ninditatvāt, aninditaḥ sukṛtakarma-kāritayā ...*

[20] The material presented here is admittedly somewhat limited; but given the great uniformity of the literature in question, with numerous borrowings and common traits both concerning style, concepts and structure, the material should be representative.

When I offer this lotus to the Lord I do not wish anything in particular. Rather, in taking away all meaning (*sarvārtho-pacchedanāya*), I seek the ultimate awakening (*varabodhi*) (1).

In accordance with the fact that in the unborn (*anutpanna*) awakening there is neither attainment nor loss, neither accepting nor giving away, I am presenting this lotus (2).

As for the meaning (*artha*) constructed (*kalpita*) by ignorant people (*bāla*), this construct (*kalpita*) is at last not the meaning. Rather, I give this offering to the supreme person (*varapudgala*) to take away all constructions (*sarvakalpacchedanāya*) (3).

Thus this flower offering will give me no maturing fruit (*vipākaphala*). Rather, I give this offering to take away all substances (*sarvavastucchedanāya*) (4).

In my Buddha-land (*buddhakṣetra*) only the victorious supreme way (*jinavarayāna*) will be followed, the words śrāvaka and pratyeka-buddha are not even mentioned (5).

[On the emptiness of any spiritual attainment:]
Then the venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana spoke the following verse to the boy Ratnadatta:

Even if you have given an offering to this teacher with faith (*śraddhā*), how will you ever become a Buddha with such a perverted attitude (*viparītamati*) (1)?

Then the boy Ratnadatta spoke the following verses to the venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana:

All these things are unborn (*anutpanna*), the composite things (*saṃskṛta*) are empty (*tuccha*) and worthless (*rikta*). Thus, among such things (*dharma*), where is there something which really originates (*vastuta utpadyate*) (1)?

You are clad in the orange monk's robes (*kaṣāyacīvara*), and hold on to the role of a holy man (*arhattvaṃ gṛhṇāsi*), but is not the consciousness of this [role] (*tadvijñāna*), as well as its object (*gocara*) [viz. the role itself], just empty (*śūnya*) (2)?

The ten millions buddhas are not pleased (*āragita*) by one based on conceptions (*upalambha*), but if one peacefully (*śānta*) regards them, there is not one of the ten millions who are not pleased (*ārāgita*) (3).

So how can Maudgalyāyana be the victim of such conceptions? You should rather purify your thoughts (*citta*) [from preconceptions], whomever the person is making an offering to (4)!

[Dialogue between Ratnadatta and Mahāmaudgalyāyana on the ontological status of *bodhi* and *tathāgata*:]

Then the venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana himself addressed the boy Ratnadatta: But, my boy, has not the Tathāgata realized the

incomparable and perfectly complete awakening, does he not teach religion (*kathaṃ dāraka tathāgato nānuttarāyāṃ samyak-sambodhāv abhisaṃ-buddho na dharmaṃ deśayati sma*)?

Ratnadatta answered: the wise should not make awakening the object of discursive thoughts (*na paṇḍitena bodhiḥ prapañcayitavyā*), or construct the Tathāgata by his conceited thoughts (*na ca tathāgato manyitavyaḥ*). He should not make construction such as 'moments of existence do not arise' (*na dharmaṃ notpadyanta iti kalpayitavyam*); he should not make construction such as 'all moments of existence are composite' (*na sarvadharmāḥ saṃskṛtā iti kalpayitavyam*); he should not make construction such as 'all moments of existence are non-composite' (*na sarvadharmā asaṃskṛtā iti kalpayitavyam*); he should not make construction such as 'being born and unbornness (*utpādānutpāda*),' 'existent and non-existent (*bhāvābhāva*),' 'grasping and giving up (*heyopadeya*),' 'connection and disconnection (*saṃyogaviyoga*),' 'going and coming (*gatyāgati*),' 'remaining and changing existence (*sthiticyuti*),' 'states of desire, dislike or bewilderment (*rāgadharma-dveṣadharmamoha-dharma*);' he should not make constructions like 'truth or untruth' (*na dharmādharma iti kalpayitavyam*).

'Because of ignorance (*avidyā*) there is birth (*upapatti*) in the states of ordinary men, disciples, isolated buddhas (*pṛthagjanadharma śrāvakadharma pratyekabuddha-dharmabuddhadharma*), in impure and pure states (*saṃkliṣṭadharmavyavadātadharma*), in states of forms (*rūpin*), without form (*ārūpya*), with or without conceptual thinking (*saṃjñyasaṃjñin*), with or without essential character (*lakṣaṇā-lakṣaṇa*), of pure conduct (*pariśuddhacaryā*), where things are seen as universally equal or non-equal (*samatāsamatā*), in body (*kāya*), mind (*citta*), where all things are fundamentally understood or not fundamentally understood (*sarvadharma_yoniśo'yoniśaḥ*);' such constructions he should not make (*iti na kalpayitavyam*).

So what do you mean, Maudgalyāyana, has the Tathāgata realized the incomparable and perfectly complete awakening (*tat kiṃ manyase maudgalyāyana tathāgato nānuttarāyāṃ samyaksambodhāv abhisaṃ-buddhaḥ*)?

Maudgalyāyana answered: Well then, [according to what you have said] he cannot have (*uvāca no hīdam*) [realized it].

Ratnadatta said: But can it be accepted that the Tathāgata is not included in things as they are, that awakening is not included in things as they are, that an ordinary being is not included in things as they are (*uvāca kiṃ tu na tathāgatas tathatāntargato na bodhis tathatāntargatā na pṛthagjanas tathatāntargata iṣyante*)?

Maudgalyāyana answered: No, it can also not be [accepted that he is not included in things as they are] (*maudgalyāyana uvāca no hīdam*).

Ratnadatta said: Maybe you foster discursive thinking about what is beyond discursive thought (*ratnadatto dāraka uvāca tvaṃ maudgalyāyana niṣprapañcaṃ prapañcayasi*)?

Maudgalyāyana answered: As for myself, I teach by means of conventions [understood by] the world (*maudgalyāyana uvaca ahaṃ tu lokasaṃvṛtyā deśayāmi*).

The boy said: Maudgalyāyana, the world has the form of anything but untruth, deception and illusion (*mṛṣāmoṣamāyākāra*), and it deceives only the foolish (*bāla*)!

Maudgalyāyana said: If the world consists only of states of untruth and deception, then also this teaching of yours must be untruth and deception. So why do you then teach it (*maudgalyāyana uvāca sacel loko mṛṣāmoṣadharmā ayaṃ ca nirdeśo 'pi mṛṣāmoṣadharmaṃ tvaṃ kasmād deśayasi*)?

Ratnadatta said: Since all moments of existence cannot definitely be pointed out, they cannot be demonstrated, or have a conclusion reached on them (*uvāca sarve dharmā maudgalyāyanānidarśanā na te pratipādyāḥ prāpyāś ca*).

Thus, they can also not be realized, abandoned, fully known or cultivated in meditation (*na sākṣātkartavyā na prahātavyā na parijñeyā na bhāvayitavāḥ*).

Maudgalyāyana said: But for what reason do you make an offering to the Tathāgata (*maudagalyāyana uvāca atha tvaṃ yadarthaṃ tathāgataṃ pūjayasi*)?

The boy said: Maudgalyāyana, are you the Tathāgata? Are you the giver of the offering? Or are you one fostering all kinds of conceptions on giving (*dāraka uvāca tvaṃ maudgalyāyana tathāgato vā dātā vā dānam vopalabhase*)? To this the venerable Maudgalyāyana had nothing to say (*athāyuṣmān maudgalyāyanas tūṣṇīṃbabhūva*).

The boy Ratnadatta said: Thinking in this way, Maudgalyāyana, I have completely given up becoming a Tathāgata—those fostering the attitude found in the way of disciples have in fact not attained much (*ratnadatto dāraka uvāca mayā maudgalyāyana tataś cintayitvā tathāgato bhavituṃ parivarjitam. ye śrāvakayāne cittāny utpādayanti lābhā te durlabdhā iti*).

[Verses by Ratnadatta on true and conventional learning, and the empty identity of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*:]

Maudgalyāyana said: As for your age, you are very young, but you are like an ocean based on your insight (*prajñā*)! How long have you been trained (*śikṣita*) in these teachings (*dharma*) (1)?

Ratnadatta said: All my learning (*śikṣā*) has disappeared, because what is learning really is not learning: that in which there is no learning is the learning of the wise (1).

The topics (*artha*) about which you have asked me are all within the common concepts of any being (*sattvasaṃjñā*). In this [teaching, however,] no origination (*utpāda*) is found among any moments of existence anywhere (2).

The foolish (*bāla*) construct (*kalpayanti*) awakening (*bodhi*) and existence (*saṃsāra*), but how can you, the reverend monk (*bhadanta*), admit the teachings of the foolish (*bāladharma*) (3)?

The wise do not construct (*na kalpayanti kuśalāḥ*) questions such as 'how long?' or 'how short?,' since moments of existence have no age: this is the way one should understand them (4).

'Foolish (*bāla*),' 'teachings of the foolish (*bāladharma*),' 'teachings of the Buddha (*buddhadharma*)' or 'The Victorious (*jina*),' the wise (*dhīmat*) do not make such distinctions. You should rather see such things as part of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) (5).

'The great sage (*maharṣi*) attained awakening (*bodhi*),' this is an illogical construction (*ayuktakalpanā*): Since there is no origination (*utpāda*) among the moments of existence, how can there be an extinction (*nirvāṇa*) to be obtained (6).

The moments of existence are endless (*ananta*), the Lord has said, and a liberated (*vimukta*) being is inexistent (*abhāva*). So do understand that there is no difference between existence and extinction (7)!

Among all these forms there is no increase or decrease, the wise are not deluded (*na muhyante*) by the moments of existence without distinctions (*aprabhinna*) (8).

The foolish believe they have attained and found, the foolish believe they have attained extinction (*nirvāṇa*): they are rather passionately attached to existence (*saṃsārasaṃrakta*); conceited thinking (*manyanā*) is the snare of the Evil One (*mārabandhana*) [which binds them] (9).

One thinking 'I have attained' has not attained anything; he has rather succumbed to the ignorance (*avidyā*) which will cause him to migrate to new rebirths (*punarbhava*) (10).

After one is placed on the seat of awakening (*bodhimaṇḍa*) there are no viewpoints (*dṛṣṭi*) and nothing more to get rid of. And this awakening (*bodhi*) of the Buddhas is only a conventional expression (*vyavahāra*) without meaning (*anartha*) (11).

It is impossible to express awakening (*bodhi*) and extinction (*saṃsāra*) with conventional expressions (*vyavahāra*): Those viewing things in this way discern (*vijānanti*) the true state of things (*dharmatā*) (12).[21]

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[21] See Bcn §9–12 also for the Tibetan text, see the BP version of the Bcn for the Chinese text.

The ontological status of the Tathāgata after death, which is also the topic of the Bcn paragraph in question, is an old theme in Buddhism. It is among the topics on which the Buddha remains silent when asked, as this knowledge is not conducive to liberation, as is the knowledge of suffering, etc. The passage 'whether the Tathāgata is existent after death is left unexplained by me, whether the Tathāgata is not existent after death is left unexplained by me, whether the Tathāgata is both existent and not existent after death is left unexplained by me, whether the Tathāgata is neither existent nor not existent after death is left unexplained by me' occurs at several places in the Theravāda canon. This passage is also among the first instances of *catuṣkoṭi*, the four ontological possibilities as viewed by Buddhism, which become such an important background for the structure of the later Madhyamaka negative philosophy and rhetoric. Thus, the Tathāgata is also treated in Paragraph xxii of the *Madhyamakakārikās*, but here the concern is rather to refute any ontological attributions to the Tathāgata—even emptiness. The concern is not only to refute such ontological attributions to the Tathāgata after his death, as in the Theravāda canonical passage quoted. The speculations on the after-death status is described as a consequence of assuming that the Tathāgata exists before his demise—thus, Nāgārjuna's polemical position towards earlier tradition is evident, even though his treatment of the Tathāgata question is clearly based upon the views preserved in the Theravāda quotations (treating the topics of *śāśvata* and *ananta* in the perspective of the four ontological possibilities). In Bcn, the question is not only about the status of the Tathāgata after death, but about his status in general: It is emphasized that the Tathāgata is beyond any discursive thinking (*prapañca*), any conceptions (*upalambha*) and thought-constructions (*kalpanā, vikalpa, manyanā*). The discussion in Bcn is also built up in accordance with positions that have a bearing on the above-mentioned ontological possibilities. Thus, the *catuṣkoṭi* seems to have been used as a rhetorical instrument, to refute all possible positions towards which one's opponent has been successively led by the argumentation. In Paragraph 11 of Bcn, Maudgalyāyana accepts the position that the Tathāgata does not exist, after his rhetorical question as to whether the Tathāgata was awakened and taught religion had been refuted by Ratnadatta, who asserts that the wise should not make thought-constructions in the answer to the question. In the third part of the discussion Maudgalyāyana has to admit that the Tathāgata is still part of *tathatā*, 'suchness,' or more

freely translated 'things as they really are.' To answer Ratnadatta's next provocative question ('Maybe you foster discursive thinking about what is beyond discursive thought, *niṣprapañcaṃ prapañcayasi*?'), Maudgalyāyana adopts the position that he teaches by means of the conventions of the world (*lokasaṃvṛti*). But Ratnadatta contends that the conventions are nothing but deception, to which Maudgalyāyana uses the argument that Ratnadatta's teaching must likewise be deceptive, the argument of which has been analyzed above. Then, at last, on being rhetorically asked what his relation to the boy's gift to the Lord was, he ensues Maudgalyāyana's *aporia*, or *tuṣṇīṃbhava*: he has nothing to say—the effect of which is one desired in this kind of dialogue (with the aim of curing the opponent from his untenable viewpoints—if not viewpoints in general—which oppose his understanding of things as they really are, their *tathatā* and *śūnyatā*).[22] We clearly have an example of logic (mis-)used for rhetorical purposes—denying the validity of logical syllogisms, but at the same time using them to vanquish an opponent. Thus, Maudgalyāyana is ridiculed in the *Bodhisattvacaryānirdeśa*, as in general in the Mahāyāna transformation of Buddhism, and the text portrays him as a representative of a stale monastic tradition not in touch with 'real life,' —to use a modern expression, and only being interested in a peaceful life as *śamābhirata*, addicted to peace, and even being accused of exploiting the generosity and *naivité* of the lay community. Later in the text, Śāriputra—traditionally the wisest of the Buddha's disciples, excelling in *prajñā*, and also a favorite *Prügelknabe* for the Mahāyāna anti-authoritarian rhetoric—is instructed by the prodigy child that awakening, *bodhi*, is not something that can be attained, when being so careless as to ask why the boy has not attained awakening. The speech by the boy is a comment to the Lord's description of his earlier lives, when he was far more advanced as a bodhisattva than the Lord himself. Thus, the text abounds with relativistic rhetoric and arguments of emptiness, and ends up with an argument how futile it is to be a monk.[23]

And Śāriputra does not fare any better in the way he is portrayed in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, in the famous dialogue where he is humbled to the point of being shaped into the form of a woman—indeed an early

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[22] Further analysis in the introduction to Bcn, and references to the works quoted *ibid*., pp. 118–121.
[23] Bcn §13ff.

instance of relativization of gender and ridicule of (false?) authority.[24] The occasion is that a goddess, living in the house of Vimalakīrti, is so impressed by the dialogue between Mañjuśrī and Vimalakīrti, that she sprinkles flowers on the scene. The *śrāvakas* are not supposed to take delight in the beauty of flowers, and state that they are impropriate for such an occasion, with the result that the flowers stick to the bodies of the disciples and cannot be shaken off, whereupon the Goddess instructs them that the flowers do not produce mental constructions: "Such flowers have neither constructed thought, nor discrimination, but the elder Śāriputra produces both constructed thought and discrimination."[25] The dialogue then goes on, employing a rhetorical style similar to the Bcn, deconstructing any role and spiritual attainment, ending with the following *aporia*:

> Then, the venerable Śāriputra said to the goddess:
>
> "Goddess, how long have you been in this house?"
>
> The goddess replied: "I have been here as long as the elder has dwelled in liberation."
>
> Śāriputra said: "Then, have you been in this house for quite some time?"
>
> The goddess said: "Has the elder dwelled in liberation for quite some time?"
>
> At that, the elder Śāriputra fell silent.
>
> Śāriputra: "Since liberation is inexpressible, goddess, I do not know what to say."
>
> Goddess: "All the syllables pronounced by the elder have the nature of liberation. Why? Liberation is neither internal, nor external, nor can it be apprehended apart from them. Likewise, syllables are neither internal, nor external, nor can they be apprehended anywhere else. Therefore, reverend Śāriputra, do not point to liberation by abandoning speech! Why? The holy liberation is the equality of all things!"[26]

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[24] Vkn Chapter 7, 'The Goddess.'

[25] *tathā hy etāni puṣpāṇi na kalpayanti na vikalpayanti, sthaviraḥ punaḥ śāriputraḥ kalpayati vikalpayati ca*, Vkn 42a3–4. Notice the imagery of flowers, as in the Bcn: the Mahāyāna tradition was eager to employ esthetical expressions in their spread of their religious message. These also include cookery and meals of perfect taste and endless quantities, as an imagery symbolizing the generous *dharma* (see Bcn §20, and Akṣ introduction pp. lxxviii–lxxxi)—contrary to Plato's Socrates as quoted above!

[26] *atha khalv āyuṣmāñ śāriputras tāṃ devatām etad avocat: kiyacciraniviṣṭā punas tvaṃ devate iha gṛhe | āha: yāvacciraniviṣṭā sthavirasyāryā vimuktiḥ | āha: na cirasthitā tvaṃ devate iha gṛhe | āha: kiyacciraniviṣṭā punaḥ sthavirasyāryā vimuktiḥ | tataḥ sthaviras tūṣṇīm abhūt | āha: apravyāhārā hi devate vimuktiḥ | tan na jāne kiṃ vyāharāmīti | āha: yad yad eva sthaviro 'kṣaram udāharati, sarvāṇy etāny akṣarāṇi*

The *crescendo* of making fun of the opponent is then reached by the dialogue between the supernatural goddess and the traditionalist monk, truly demonstrating the rhetoric of emptiness and illusion as the central rhetorical device of Mahāyāna:

> Śāriputra: "Goddess, what prevents you from transforming yourself out of your female state?"
>
> Goddess: "Although I have sought my 'female state' for these twelve years, I have not found it yet. Reverend Śāriputra, if a magician were to incarnate a woman by magic, would you ask her, 'What prevents you from transforming yourself out of your female state?'"
>
> Śāriputra: "No! Such a woman would not really exist, so what would there be to transform?"
>
> Goddess: "Just in this way, reverend Śāriputra, all things do not really exist. Now, would you think, 'What prevents one whose nature is that of a magical incarnation from transforming herself out of her female state?'"
>
> Thereupon, the goddess employed her magical power to cause the elder Śāriputra to appear in her [female] form, and to cause herself to appear in his [male] form. Then, the goddess, transformed into Śāriputra, said to Śāriputra, transformed into a goddess: "Reverend Śāriputra, what prevents you from transforming yourself out of your female state?" And Śāriputra, transformed into the goddess, replied: "I no longer appear in the form of a male! My body has changed into the body of a woman! I do not know what to transform!"
>
> The goddess continued: "If the elder could again change out of the female state, then all women could also change out of their female states. All women appear in the form of women in just the same way as the elder appears in the form of a woman. Whereas they are not women in reality, they appear in the form of women. With this in mind, the Buddha said: 'In all things, there is neither male nor female.'"
>
> Then, the goddess released her magical power and each of them returned to their respective ordinary form. She then said to him: "Reverend Śāriputra, what have you done with your female form?"
>
> Śāriputra: "I neither produced it, nor did I change it."
>
> Goddess: "Just so, all things are neither produced, nor changed, and that they are neither made nor changed is the teaching of the Buddha."
>
> Śāriputra: "Goddess, where will you be born when you transmigrate after death?"

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vimuktilakṣaṇāni | tat kasmād dhetoḥ | yā hi sā vimuktiḥ, sā nādhyātmaṃ na bahir nobhayam antareṇopalabhyate | evam akṣarāṇy api | tasmāt tarhi bhadanta śāriputro mā akṣarāpanayena vimuktiṃ nirdiśa | tat kasmād dhetoḥ | sarvadharmasamatā hi vimuktiḥ | Vkn 42b1–6, translation by R. Thurmann, as in BP.

Goddess: "I will be born [at the place] where all magical incarnations of the Tathāgata are born."

Śāriputra: "But the emanated incarnations of the Tathāgata do not transmigrate, nor are they born."

Goddess: "All things and living beings are the same way: they do not transmigrate, nor are they born!"

Śāriputra: "Goddess, how soon will you attain the perfect enlightenment of Buddhahood?"

Goddess: "At the same time when you, elder, has become endowed once more with the qualities of an ordinary individual; then I will attain the perfect enlightenment of Buddhahood."

Śāriputra: "Goddess, it is impossible that I should become endowed once more with the qualities of an ordinary individual?"

Goddess: "Just so, reverend Śāriputra, is it impossible that I should attain the perfect enlightenment of Buddhahood! Why? Because perfect enlightenment is based upon the impossible. Because it is impossible, nobody attains the perfect enlightenment of Buddhahood."[27]

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[27] *āha: kiṃ tvaṃ devate strībhāvaṃ na nivartayasi | āha: paripūrṇāni me dvādaśavarṣāṇy upādāya strībhāvaṃ paryeṣamāṇāyā na cainaṃ labhe | api ca bhadanta śāriputra yā māyākāreṇa strīnirmitā yas tām evaṃ vadet: kiṃ tvaṃ strībhāvaṃ na nivartayasīti, āha: na tasyāḥ kācit bhūtā pariniṣpattiḥ | āha: evam eva bhadanta śāriputra apariniṣpanneṣu sarvadharmeṣu māyānirmitasvabhāveṣu kutas tavaivaṃ bhavati: kiṃ tvaṃ strībhāvaṃ na nivartayasīti | atha sā devatā tādṛśam adhiṣṭhānam adhitiṣṭhati sma | yathā sthaviraḥ śāriputro yādṛśī sā devatā tādṛśaḥ saṃdṛśyate, sā devatā yādṛśaḥ sthaviras tādṛśī saṃdṛśyate | atha sā devatā śāriputrarūpā śāriputraṃ devatārūpadhāriṇam apṛcchat: kiṃ bhadanta śāriputra strībhāvaṃ na nivartayasi | śāriputro devatārūpy āha: na jāne kiṃ vinivartayāmīti | puruṣarūpam antarhitaṃ strīrūpaṃ me nirvṛttam | āha: yadi sthaviraḥ śakṣyati strībhāvaṃ vinivartayitum, tataḥ sarvāḥ striyo 'pi strībhāvaṃ vinivartayiṣyanti | yathā sthaviro na strī strīva saṃdṛśyate, evaṃ sarvastrīṇām api strīrūpaṃ na ca striyaḥ strīrūpāś ca saṃdṛśyante | idaṃ saṃdhāya bhagavān āha: sarvadharmā na strī na puruṣa iti | atha sā devatā tad adhiṣṭhānam avāsṛjat | athāyuṣmāñ śāriputraḥ punar eva svarūpasamanvāgato babhūva | atha sā devatāyuṣmantaṃ śāriputram evam āha: kva nu te bhadanta śāriputra strīrūpaṃ kṛtaṃ gatam | āha: na tat kṛtaṃ na vikṛtam | āha: evam eva sarvadharmā na kṛtā na vikṛtāḥ | yatra ca na kṛtir na vikṛtis tad buddhavacanam | āha: itas tvaṃ devate cyutā kutropapatsyase | āha: yatraiva tathāgatanirmita upapatsyate, tatraivāham upapatsye | āha: tathāgatanirmitasya na cyutir nopapattiḥ | āha: evam eva sarvadharmāṇāṃ na cyutir nopapattiḥ | āha: kiyaccireṇa punar devate bodhim abhisaṃbhotsyase | āha: yadā sthaviraḥ pṛthagjanadharmasamanvāgato bhaviṣyati, tadāhaṃ bodhim abhisaṃbhotsye | āha: asthānam etad devate yad ahaṃ pṛthagjanadharma-samanvāgataḥ syām | āha: evam eva bhadanta śāriputra asthānam etad yad ahaṃ bodhim abhisaṃbhotsye | tat kasmād dhetoḥ | asthānasthitaiva hi bodhiḥ | tasmād asthānaṃ na kaścid abhisaṃbhotsyate* | Vkn 42b1–45a6, translation by R. Thurmann, as in BP. We notice the imagery of magical creations as in the Vgv.

Illustrating the title 'Rhetoric of Emptiness,' we should not fail to quote the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa once more on exactly this concept: The Dandy of Vaiśālī would entertain his guest Mañjuśrī with the sophistry of emptiness on the occasion of his visit, making his house without servants into a simile of firstly a *buddhakṣetra*, but then stating that it is quite empty, as is also the *buddhakṣetra*. In this way the house is also a rhetorically employed metaphor for the (non!)-doctrine of emptiness, but Vimalakīrti still goes on to shock with the statement that the house still is not empty of the demonic Māras, who are his servants in keeping him bound to life and death—which indeed is the vow of a bodhisattva: to endlessly seek birth in order to liberate all living beings. The emptiness is also found in the ignorance of those non-Buddhists, the views of whom—by being just empty—are identical with the liberation of the Buddha, arguments forwarded in the manner of provoking the adherents of the more traditional creeds. The speech is thus ridiculing the adherents of these creeds as opponents of the Mahāyāna lay-oriented and anti-clerical project:

> Mañjuśrī: Householder, why is your house empty? Why do you not have any servants?
> Vimalakīrti: Mañjuśrī, all buddha-fields are also empty.
> Mañjuśrī: Of what are they empty?
> Vimalakīrti: They are empty of emptiness.
> Mañjuśrī: What is the emptiness of emptiness?
> Vimalakīrti: The emptiness of emptiness is beyond thought-constructions.
> Mañjuśrī: Can emptiness be conceptually constructed?
> Vimalakīrti: Even that which constructs is in itself empty, and emptiness does not construct emptiness.
> Mañjuśrī: Householder, where should emptiness be sought?
> Vimalakīrti: Mañjuśrī, emptiness should be sought among the sixty-two misunderstandings.
> Mañjuśrī: Where should the sixty-two misunderstandings be sought?
> Vimalakīrti: They should be sought in the liberation of the Tathāgatas.
> Mañjuśrī: Where should the liberation of the Tathāgatas be sought?
> Vimalakīrti: It should be sought in the mental activity of all beings. Mañjuśrī, you ask me why I am without servants, but all Māras and opponents are my servants. Why? The Māras advocate this life of birth and death, and the bodhisattva does not avoid life. The heterodox opponents advocate their misunderstandings, and the bodhisattva is not troubled by misunderstandings. Therefore, all Māras and opponents are my servants.[28]

[28] *mañjuśrīr āha: śūnyaṃ te gṛhapate gṛham | na ca te kaścid upasthāyakaḥ | āha:*

I have tried to show—with examples from three Mahāyāna *sūtras* constituting the background and canonical authority of the *śāstra* literature—that what poses as *logic* with the aim of establishing the emptiness of all things, may as well be understood as *rhetoric* of emptiness. Although logic and rhetoric are structurally similar, the first one should be characterized by rigorous consistency, whereas this is not a requirement for the practice of rhetoric—its aim is to persuade and convert, which is also the aim of Mahāyāna rhetoric, rather than establishing formal logical truth.

I have also tried to show that the authors of the Mahāyāna sūtras employed various rhetoric *strategems* to promote the critical and anti-authoritarian agendas of the Mahāyāna movement, not shrinking back from ridiculing their opponents, humbling them in public in the name of logic, and other performances of displaying a supposedly superior wisdom. Thus, rhetoric was important for the Mahāyāna propagators in trying to win over the general public, appealing to their religious sentiments, contending that faith, belief, and convictions intrinsically belong to the believers themselves and are not dependent on doctrines promulgated by a corrupt clerical class. This is what the Mahāyāna *rhetor* sometimes would characterize as the *hīnayāna*—with their stale and uninspiring religious doctrines, and religious and intellectual systems that have lost their connection with real life (as the bodhisattva *dharmabhāṇaka* asserts). Even the name of the movement itself, *mahāyāna*, 'The Grand Way,' with the *grandeur* of the bodhisattva, transcending anything humanly possible and intending to save all living beings, as opposed to the *hīnayāna*, the 'smallish, insignificant, mean way,' practiced by those 'seeking only after their own salvation,' is of course in itself also a grossly rhetorical device.

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sarvabuddhakṣetrāṇy api mañjuśriḥ śūnyāni | āha: kena śūnyāni | āha: śūnyatayā śūnyāni | āha: śūnyatāyāḥ kā śūnyatā | āha: aparikalpanāś ca śūnyatāyāḥ śūnyatāḥ | āha: śakyā punaḥ śūnyatā parikalpayitum | āha: yenāpi parikalpyeta tad api śūñam | na ca śūnyatā śūnyatāṃ parikalpayati | āha: śūnyatā gṛhapate kuto mārgitavyā | āha: śūnyatā mañjuśrīḥ dvāṣaṣṭibhyo dṛṣṭigatebhyo mārgitavyā | āha: dvāṣaṣṭiḥ punar dṛṣṭigatāni kuto mārgitavyāni | āha: tathāgatavimuktito mārgitavyāni | āha: tathāgatavimuktiḥ punaḥ kuto mārgitavyā | āha: sarvasatvacittacaritebhyo mārgitavyā | yat punar mañjuśrīḥ evaṃ vadasi kas ta upasthāyaka iti | sarvamārāḥ sarvaparapravādinaś ca mamopasthāyakāḥ | tat kasmād dhetoḥ | mārā hi saṃsārasya varṇavādinaḥ | saṃsāraś ca bodhisatvasyopasthāyakaḥ | parapravādino dṛṣṭigatānāṃ varṇavādinaḥ | bodhisatvaś ca sarvadṛṣṭigatebhyo na calati | tasmāt sarvamārāḥ sarvaparapravādinaś ca mamopasthāyakāḥ | Vkn 28b1–7, Thurmann's translation with some changes by myself.

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‘THUS HAVE I HEARD’ AND OTHER CLAIMS TO AUTHENTICITY:

DEVELOPMENT OF RHETORICAL DEVICES IN THE SARVĀSTIVĀDA *ṢAṬPĀDĀBHIDHARMA* TEXTS

BART DESSEIN

The Abhidharma texts as they have been transmitted to the present either from the outset were, or later have become part of a Buddhist ‘scriptural’ tradition that is rooted in the Indian context of oral literature. When dealing with the problem of rhetorical devices employed in these Abhidharma texts, we have to address both those peculiarities that derive from this overall oral/aural tradition, as well as those rhetorical aspects that are (or have become) typical for the written format of these texts. Apart from these intra-textual rhetorical devices, we also have to take into account inter-textual rhetorical devices. By the latter, I mean those rhetorical elements that derive from the literary context in which the Buddhist texts were recited and produced, and that are peculiar for an oral/aural tradition.

The Oral Origin of Abhidharma Texts

The Buddhist ‘scriptural’ tradition is rooted in an overall oral/aural Indian literary tradition. With respect to the audience for which religious texts were performed, and the purpose of such a performance, Georg von Simson differentiated two phases leading to the peculiar Buddhist religious texts as third phase of this development.[1] The first phase is the period of the Vedic texts. These texts primarily aimed at delivering a message to the realm of the gods, and did not serve as a means of communication between people of equal religious belief, nor did they try to convince someone of the truth expounded in these texts. This explains why Vedic texts do not present themselves as products of rational activity, but rather as texts for a passive spectator. These Vedic texts were followed by the Brāhmaṇa prose texts and the Upaniṣads. The Brāhmaṇa prose texts explain the offers performed. They, thus, are of an explanatory character. In this sense, they parallel

[1] Von Simson 1965:139–141; see also Oldenberg 1917:39.

the Upaniṣads that only diverge from the Brāhmaṇa prose texts in their object of description: The Upaniṣads are directed more towards the speculative than the Brāhmaṇa prose texts are. Both types of texts further have in common with the Vedic texts that they do not serve to convince someone of the truth expounded in them. Herein lays the fundamental difference of these texts with the Buddhist texts.

Table 1: Buddhist Texts as a Genre in the Indian Oral Tradition

		PURPOSE	AUDIENCE
REVEALED TRUTH	Vedic texts	[- communication between people] [- convincing the audience of the truth] [- explanatory]	realm of the gods passive spectators
REVEALED TRUTH	Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣads	[- communication between people] [- convincing the audience of the truth] [+ explanatory]	people of equal religious belief
REVEALING TRUTH	Buddhist texts	[+ communication between people] [+ convincing the audience of the truth] [+ explanatory]	people of different religious belief

The Buddhist faith originated as an innovative movement in the Indian religious world.[2] For Buddhist texts, therefore, convincing the audience of the truth the Buddha has realized is of primary importance.

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[2] For more on this, see Lamotte 1958:58–59; see also, for example, the *Dharma-cakrapravartanasūtra*, the 'Discourse Setting in Motion the Wheel of the Law,' in which the Buddha revealed the four noble truths to those who were to be his first disciples.

This fundamental shift from a type of texts that can be defined as 'revealed truth' to texts that can be defined as 'revealing truth'[3] has its consequences for the textual construct and format of the Buddhist texts. This development encroaches on both what we labeled the 'inter-textual' and the 'intra-textual' rhetorical devices (we can schematize the above as illustrated in *Table 1*).

As this was the case in the Vedic, Brāhmaṇic and Upaniṣadic traditions, also the Buddhist texts were, once they were closed, for a longer period transmitted orally.[4] The accounts of the first Buddhist council that, according to tradition, was held in Rājagṛha immediately after the demise of the Buddha,[5] point to an oral transmission of the Sūtra and Vinaya texts. The texts are said to have been recited, not read.[6] This also accounts for the term '*saṃgīti*,' chanting together, to refer to the councils, and for the frequent occurrence of the formula 'Thus have I heard' (*evaṃ me sutaṃ*) in Buddhist texts.

Although we do have references that also the Abhidharma was part of an oral transmission,[7] the texts as we possess them now show to be the product of an increasingly written tradition. One striking example of the oral origins of Abhidharma literature can be read in the *Milindapañha*. In this text, Nāgasena is reported to, having been disappointed with the content of the Vedas, have learned the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* as a novice, and, as a monk, have learned the complete *Tipiṭaka* by heart in three months time.[8] It has, in this respect, been suggested that it are the mnemotechnical skills of the Brahmans who joined the Buddhist order that made such memorization of the Buddhist texts possible.[9]

The question when precisely the orally-transmitted Buddhist texts were committed to writing is connected to the use of script in India. It is likely that the Kharoṣṭhī script was used already in the 4th century

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[3] Terms borrowed from McDermott 1984:24.

[4] See Cousins 1982:1 and von Hinüber 1989:22.

[5] On this, see T. 1, no. 7:203c19–204a14 and T. 22, no. 1428: 966a19 ff. T. 1, no. 5:175a25–c21, T. 6:190c28–191a27, and T. 1, no. 12:1058a19–b24 situate this council in Kuśinagara. T. 49, no. 2026:1a6 situates it in Sāṃkāśya. For accounts of this council, see de La Vallée Poussin 1908:2–6 and Przyluski 1926:133–235.

[6] Vin II 284–293, esp. 290, 6–8. See also von Hinüber 1989:26.

[7] DN, 33 Saṅgitisutta 3 (Estlin Carpenter 1960:207 ff.) = T. 1, no. 1:49b27 ff. See also Hoernle [1916]1970:16–24 and Waldschmidt [1955]1967:258–278.

[8] Trenckner 1962:10, 5–10 and 12, 20–32; Horner 1963, Vol. 1:6, 14–18. See also von Hinüber 1989:68.

[9] See von Hinüber 1989:68.

BC, be it only for secular purposes.[10] For religious matters, the use of script is not attested before the 3rd century BC.[11] According to tradition, the writing down of the Theravāda canon happened during the reign of Abhaya Vaṭṭagāmiṇi, that is, the 1st century BC.[12] It is not impossible, though, that the commencement of committing Buddhist texts to writing has to be dated slightly before that time.[13] The motive behind this major evolution might have been the rise of the Mahāyāna. Early Buddhism is characterized by the fact that the members of the early *saṃgha* claimed that they had maintained in their memories the words as they had been spoken by the Buddha himself and had, generation after generation, been publicly repeated. The early Mahāyānists faced the difficulty of establishing their legitimacy as a reform movement in this context of a well-established and self-conscious oral tradition. Therefore, the early Mahāyānists turned to the use of script to spread their views, and, as a result, the Mahāyāna was from the outset a written tradition.[14] It is then suggested that, in these new circumstances, the Theravādins felt the need to give authenticity and prestige also to their tradition *vis-à-vis* the written texts of the Mahāyāna.[15] During a council under Aśoka, a complete *Tipiṭaka* of the Sthaviravādins was apparently compiled.[16]

As mentioned above, at the outset, the orality of the Buddhist tradition—texts being recited orally from the mind on recitation sessions and public hearings, thus making deviation from collective memory impossible—asserted that the words of the Buddha were transmitted correctly.[17] Once texts are committed to writing, deviations are made much easier. Thus, it is no surprise that the use of writing coincides with the rise of different sects, and that it is at about the time that writing was also used for religious purposes that the Abhidharma as a genre of written Buddhist literature began to develop.[18] As time went on and disagreement on doctrinal points

[10] Salomon 1995:278. For the exclusive use of script for secular purposes, see Takakusu 1956:49; Falk 1993:290; Norman 1993:279.
[11] Von Hinüber 1989:54; see also Allon 1997:1.
[12] Dīp XX, 19–21 (Law 1957–1958:249). See also Norman 1995:309; Allon 1997:2.
[13] Norman 1992:248; Norman 1993:280 more precisely suggests the 2nd century BC.
[14] See McMahan 1998:251.
[15] See Norman 1993:280; Gombrich 1990a:29 points to it that the earliest surviving Mahāyāna texts go back to the 2nd or 1st centuries BC; see also Falk 1993:287.
[16] Dīp VII, 44–59 (Law 1957–1958:184–185); Mhv V, 275–282 (Geiger 1964:49–50).
[17] See McMahan 1998:251.
[18] McMahan 1998:262.

increased, leading to sectarian fragmentation, Abhidharma texts became compositions or compilations that increasingly were meant to define the position of one group against the position of another group.[19]

For the rise of the Sarvāstivādins as such a distinct group, dates of the 2nd and 1st century BC have been suggested.[20] The Sarvāstivāda canon certainly post-dates Aśoka.[21] Tradition has it that the Sarvāstivādins committed their canon to writing in the reign of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka, more precisely during a council that was convened by this king in accord with Pārśva, his advisor. Kaniṣka is reported to have ordered that the texts of the *śāstras* be engraved in copper plates.[22] In Tarānātha's *History of Buddhism*, we further read that at the council that was convened under the reign of Kaniṣka, the *sūtras* and the *abhidharma* that before had not been committed to writing were written down, and that those who had already been written down were purified.[23] Bu-ston informs us that the reason for this was that ordinary people who were not in possession of a good memory recited scriptures incorrectly, making omissions and interpolations.[24] From this we can learn that once oral texts were committed to writing, this medium of transmission existed alongside with the oral medium of transmission. This means that one text was not only transmitted in both ways, but also that, when some texts were committed to writing, other texts kept on being transmitted orally and new texts were created in an oral way.[25] It should hereby be kept in mind that, as the Vinaya lists of items of property that monks may

[19] See Cox 1995:23.
[20] Second century BC: Hirakawa 1974, Vol. 1:143; 1st century BC: Shizutani 1978: 48ff.
[21] Buswell/Jaini 1996:79.
[22] For an account of this council, see T. 51, no. 2087:886b22–887a17. See also T. 50, no. 2053:231b23; see also Lamotte 1958:648. For references on the compilation of Abhidharma together with Vinaya and Sūtra, see T. 22, no. 1428:968b15–26.
[23] Schiefner 1868:61; see also Falk 1993:285.
[24] Obermiller 1931–1932, Vol. 2:101; see also Falk 1993:287. Warder [1970]1980: 345–346 claims that the purpose of the council under Kaniṣka was to stabilize the doctrine, particularly with reference to the recent *abhidharma* controversies. On this council, the Sautrāntika revisions in the Abhidharma are claimed to have been rejected. They, hereupon, formed a new school. Also the **Abhidharmamahā-vibhāṣāśāstra* is supposed to have been compiled at the occasion of this council.
[25] See Allon 1997:2–3 for remarks concerning the probability of a deliberate mimic of the style of texts belonging to an earlier, oral phase of the tradition.

possess never include books,[26] once having been written down, these texts were apparently meant to be read aloud in instruction sessions and public recitations, not for private reading by monks.[27]

Rhetorical Devices in the Sarvāstivāda Ṣaṭpādābhidharma Texts

The Sarvāstivāda Ṣaṭpādābhidharma Texts

The term '*Ṣaṭpādābhidharma*,' 'Abhidharma with six feet,' refers to a group of seven texts that tradition recognizes as the canonical Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma works. Of these seven works, the *Saṃgīti-paryāya*, the *Dharmaskandha*, the *Dhātukāya*, the *Prakaraṇapāda*, the *Vijñānakāya*, and the *Prajñaptiśāstra* are the feet that sustain the **Aṣṭagrantha*/*Jñānaprasthāna* as the body. This construct is mentioned for the first time in a note to the Chinese translation of the **Aṣṭagrantha*, written in 379 AD, stating that the **Aṣṭagrantha* is the body and that this body has six feet.[28] The origin of this construct is unclear. It is in this respect noteworthy that the later *Vibhāṣā* compendia do not mention the *Dhātukāya*.[29] This suggests that the construct of six feet and one body postdates the compilation of these *vibhāṣā* compendia, and corroborates the dating of the first mentioning of the construct, referred to above.[30] Yaśomitra, in his commentary to Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, explains that the *Jñānaprasthāna* is the body, and that this body has six feet,[31] and he enumerates the seven works at several instances. The order in which the works are listed differs, thus revealing the arbitrariness of these enumerations.[32] Explaining the 'Abhidharma with six feet' in his commentary to the *Abhidharmakośa*, Pǔguāng 普光 states that the

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[26] On this, see Collins 1992:128.
[27] McMahan 1998:253.
[28] T. 26, no. 1543:887a21–22. Demiéville 1961:472, Note 2, suggests the date 390 AD. For the relation between the **Aṣṭagrantha* and the *Jñānaprasthāna*, see Willemen/Dessein/Cox 1998:221–223.
[29] See Watanabe 1954:85 ff. and Cox 1995:31–32.
[30] On the dating of the *Vibhāṣā* compendia, see Willemen/Dessein/Cox 1998: 231–232.
[31] *Sphuṭārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā*: 9, 12–13.
[32] *Sphuṭārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā*: 11, 24–29 and 25 ff., and *Sphuṭārthābhi-dharmakośavyākhyā*: 9, 12–14 and 12,4 ff. resp. The arbitrariness of this construct is also evident from the fact that the Sanskrit and Tibetan tradition differs from the Chinese tradition. See Lamotte 1958:202 ff.

Saṃgītiparyāya, the *Dharmaskandha* and the *Prajñaptiśāstra* were written during the lifetime of the Buddha, that the *Vijñānakāya* was written in the 100 years following the death of the Buddha, that the *Prakaraṇapāda* and the *Dhātukāya* were written at the beginning of the 300 years following *Nirvāṇa*, and that the *Jñānaprasthāna* was written at the end of the 300 years following *Nirvāṇa*.[33] Erich Frauwallner has shown that this chronological order is roughly correct.[34] Given the above-suggested dating for the formation of the Sarvāstivādins as a separate school of the 2nd or 1st centuries BC, these seven texts thus are very likely to have originated in a pre-Sarvāstivāda milieu and may have become shared among the different sub-groups that gradually evolved within a larger Sarvāstivāda monastic community.[35] It should in this respect also be remarked that much of the doctrine of this *Ṣaṭpādābhidharma* is parallel to the Pali Abhidhamma.[36]

The abovementioned relative dating of the *Ṣaṭpādābhidharma* texts and the assumptions made concerning the beginning of the use of script for religious purposes, imply that the *Saṃgītiparyāya*, the *Dharmaskandha*, the *Prajñaptiśāstra*, and the *Vijñānakāya* originated in an oral tradition, while the *Dhātukāya*, the *Prakaraṇapāda*, and **Aṣṭagrantha*/*Jñānaprasthāna* may belong to the early written tradition in India (see Table 2).

Determining a relative chronology for the Abhidharma texts has traditionally been focused on the internal structure and content of these texts. Hereby, it is understood that these texts show a growing complexity in structure and doctrinal debate.[37]

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[33] T. 41, no. 1821:8b24–c13. The **Abhidharmāṣṭaskandha* or *Jñānaprasthāna* has been dated in the middle of the 1st century BC; see Shizutani 1978:112 ff.

[34] Frauwallner 1964:71.

[35] See on this Willemen/Dessein/Cox 1998:147. Given the fact that the doctrine of the existence of factors in the three time periods, the doctrine that gave its name to the *Sarvāstivāda*, is not mentioned in the *Jñānaprasthāna*, this work must predate the formation of *Sarvāstivāda* as a distinct school. As the *Vibhāṣā* compendia do contain this doctrine, the formation of the *Sarvāstivāda* as a distinct school should begin with the compilation of these compendia.

[36] See Frauwallner 1964:98.

[37] See Cox 1995:10, 29.

Table 2: Relative Chronology of the Ṣaṭpādābhidharma Texts

Oral tradition	Lifetime of the Buddha	*Saṃgītiparyāya* (no. 1536) *Dharmaskandha* (no. 1537) *Prajñaptiśāstra* (no. 1538)
Oral tradition	100 years after the Buddha	*Vijñānakāya* (no. 1539)
Written tradition	Beginning of 300 years after the Buddha	*Dhātukāya* (no. 1540) *Prakaraṇapāda* (no. 1541/1542)
Written tradition	End of 300 years after the Buddha	**Aṣṭagrantha/Jñānaprasthāna* (no. 1543/1544)

Based on these criteria, the *Saṃgītiparyāya* and the *Dharmaskandha* definitely are the oldest of the *Ṣaṭpādābhidharma* works. These texts are organized according to a structure that is directly derived from the Sūtra literature, and they expose the doctrine that is presented in the *sūtra*s: The *Saṃgītiparyāya* is structured according to a progressive numerical ordering of topics of the Buddha's teaching, in the same way as found in the *Saṃgītisūtra*; the *Dharmaskandha* contains excerpts from various *sūtra*s that are topically arranged and commented. The structure of the other five texts is more complex, and they show differences of factional alignments. Neither stylistically, nor in their exposition are they linked to a specific *sūtra* or selection of *sūtra*s. These five texts thus have to be younger than the previous two (see Table 3).[38]

In what follows, I will turn the attention to the development of the structural devices used in these seven texts, and I will evaluate these as to their functioning and value as rhetorical instruments.

[38] See Cox 1995:30–32. Other classifications include also the *Prajñaptiśāstra* in the first period. This is based on the fact that, although this text does not comment on a particular *sūtra*, it uses *sūtra* passages as primary method of exposition, and its additional exegesis is very simple and straightforward. See Willemen/Dessein/Cox 1998:172–173. A third group of texts would then be the *Vibhāṣā* compendia. These elaborate works are polemical treatises in which different opinions are listed and debated. A fourth group of texts would then be the pedagogical digests of the *Hṛdaya* type. These texts are instructional reference manuals for their respective schools.

Table 3: Relation of the Ṣaṭpādābhidharma Texts to Sūtra Literature

Saṃgītiparyāya (T. 26, no. 1536)	Based on one single *sūtra*
Dharmaskandha (T. 26, no. 1537)	Excerpts from various *sūtra*s
Prajñaptiśāstra (T. 26, no. 1538) *Vijñānakāya* (T. 26, no. 1539) *Dhātukāya* (T. 26, no. 1540) *Prakaraṇapāda* (T. 26, no. 1541, 1542) * *Aṣṭagrantha/Jñānaprasthāna* (T. 26, no. 1543, 1544)	No specific *sūtra* or selection of *sūtra*s

Inter-textual Rhetorical Elements

As suggested above, by 'inter-textual' rhetorical elements, I mean those elements that, with the aim of revealing the truth, serve as the context within which an Abhidharma text is recited, or that is evoked when reading a text, and that serve to claim authenticity for the words recited.

The *Saṃgītiparyāya* is the oldest *Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma* text we possess. It is based on a single *sūtra*, i.e., the *Saṃgītisūtra*. The *Saṃgītiparyāya* is an attempt to summarize the essential concepts of the Buddhist doctrine.[39] To see how the *Saṃgītiparyāya* derives authority from the frame story of the *Saṃgītisūtra*, it is revealing to quote larger passages of both the *Saṃgītisūtra* and of the introductory frame story to the *Saṃgītiparyāya*. The Chinese version of the *Saṃgītisūtra* (T. 1, no. 12), undertaken by Dānapāla (?),[40] runs as follows (emphasis in the translation mine):[41]

> 如是我聞。一時世尊。遊行至彼末利城中。與苾芻眾。而共集會。時彼城中。有一淨信優婆塞。亦名末利。於其城內。新造一舍。[…] 是舍先未曾有。沙門婆羅門等。安止其中。時末利優婆塞。聞佛世尊與苾芻眾遊行至此。心生歡喜。即詣佛所。到已頭面禮世尊足。禮已合掌。退住一面。白佛言。世尊。我是優婆塞。名曰末利。我於世尊。心生淨信。我此城中。新造一舍。清

[39] See Lindtner 1996:202.

[40] Dānapāla, a native of Oḍḍiyāna, arrived in Kaifeng in 980 and worked there between 982 and 1017; see Demiéville et al. 1978:274.

[41] T. 1, no. 12:226c7–227c1. Another version of the *Saṃgītisūtra* is found in T. 1, no. 1:49b27–52c11. Pali parallel: DN 33, *Sangitisutta*, Estlin Carpenter 1960:207 ff.; Rhys Davids 1921:198 ff. For a comparison of the different versions, see Waldschmidt [1955] 1967:258–260.

淨寬廣。是舍先未曾有。沙門婆羅門等。安止其中。我今請佛及苾芻眾於我舍住。願佛世尊。悲慰我故。受我所請。爾時世尊。默然而受。[…] 到已重復禮世尊足。前白佛言。[…]願佛世尊及苾芻眾往彼舍住。今正是時。爾時世尊與大苾芻眾等。恭敬圍繞。往彼末利優婆塞所造新舍。到彼舍已。佛先洗足。乃入其舍。入已周匝。普遍觀察。佛即於舍中間。安詳而坐。諸苾芻眾。亦各洗足。次第而入。禮佛足已。於佛後面。次第而坐。末利優婆塞後入其舍。禮世尊足。合掌恭敬。普遍頂禮諸苾芻乃於佛前。一面而坐。爾時世尊。種種慰諭彼末利優婆塞已。即為如應宣說法要。示教利喜。時末利優婆塞。聞法歡喜。心生淨信。如是世尊為彼優婆塞。如應說法。示教利喜。而過多夜。佛即告言。末利。過是夜已。當自知時。[…] 即告尊者舍利子言。我此聲聞苾芻。已離睡眠。皆是離塵清淨大眾。若諸苾芻樂說法者。即當隨應而自宣說。隨所利益。不應止息。時尊者舍利子。受教而住。爾時世尊。即以僧伽梨衣等為四製。處師子床右脅著地吉祥安隱。累足而臥。佛臥未久。爾時異處。有外道尼乾陀惹提子等。於聲聞苾芻。而生輕謗。欲作破壞。欲興鬥諍。出非法語。種種毀呲。作如是言。我所知法。彼聲聞人。不能了知。彼所有法。我如實知。邪行是汝。正行是我。有利益是我。無利益是汝。汝所說法。前言縱是。後言即非。後言或是。前言還非。而不能作大師子吼說法利益時尼乾陀惹提子等。欲興廣大鬥諍因緣。發如是等毀呲語時。各各相視。面目慘惡。復作是言。諸聲聞苾芻色相威儀。而不寂靜。不能離貪。未得解脫。不能見法不能善知彼出離道。不能證彼所向聖果。彼所習法。非正等正覺所說。發如是等毀呲語言興鬥諍事。爾時尊者舍利子。知是事已。即自思念。如來大師。宴臥未久。不應以是因緣而白世尊。作是念已。告諸苾芻言。汝等當知。異處有諸外道尼乾陀惹提子等。於聲聞苾芻。而生輕謗。[…] 汝今當知。我等諸聲聞大眾。皆是離塵清淨心者。現證諸法。善能了知諸出離道。各各已得所證聖果。我等聲聞。所修習法。一一皆是如來大師應供正等正覺。親所宣說一一真實。而無虛妄。諸苾芻。當知佛所宣說。謂契經祇夜記別伽陀本事本生緣起方廣希法。如是等法。佛悲愍心。廣為眾生。如理宣說而令眾生。如說修習。行諸梵行。利益安樂天人世間。復次諸苾芻。當知一法。[…] 復次二法是佛所說。[…]

Thus have I heard. At one time, the World-honored One, on his wanderings, reached the city of Mālā. There, he gathered with the group of *bhikṣu*s. At that moment, there was an *upāsaka* in the city who had pure faith and who was also called Mālā. In this city, he had newly built a monks' hall for assembly (*prāsāda*) […]. [However,] in this hall there

were no *śramaṇa*s or *brāhmaṇa*s yet, and he sat there waiting. Then, *upāsaka* Mālā heard that the World-honored Buddha and the *bhikṣu*s had, on their wanderings, reached this [city]. His heart was filled with joy, and he went to where the Buddha was. Upon arrival, he prostrated himself before the Buddha, brought his hands together [in reverence], and stood aside. He said to the Buddha: 'World-honored One, I am an *upāsaka*, called Mālā. My heart is full of pure faith in the World-honored One. In this city, I have newly built a hall that is clean and spacious. In this hall, there are no *śramaṇa*s and *brāhmaṇa*s yet, and I am waiting there. *I now invite the Buddha and the bhikṣus to stay in my hall. I hope that the World-honored Buddha, out of pity for me, accepts my request.*' At that moment, the World-honored One silently accepted.[42] […] Upon [the Buddha's] arrival, he again prostrated himself for the World-honored One, stepped forward and said to the Buddha: '[…] *I wish that the World-honored Buddha and the community of bhikṣus go to this hall to stay there*. Now is the time.' At that moment, the World-honored Buddha and the group of *bhikṣu*s respectfully turned around, and went to where the *upāsaka* Mālā had newly built the hall. Upon arrival, the Buddha first washed his feet and then went into the hall. Having entered, he looked around and inspected everything. He then serenely sat down in the middle of the hall. Also all *bhikṣu*s washed their feet and went inside. Having prostrated themselves for the Buddha, they one after the other sat down behind him. *Upāsaka* Mālā then also entered the hall, prostrated himself for the World-honored One, and put his hands together in reverence. He bowed with his head to all *bhikṣu*s and then sat down at the side of the Buddha. At that moment, the World-honored One, having in all ways comforted this *upāsaka* Mālā, proclaimed the benefit and happiness of the *essentials of the doctrine* as this should be done. Hearing the doctrine, *upāsaka* Mālā was happy, and in his heart pure faith arose. When, in this way, the World-honored One had explained the benefit and happiness of the doctrine as it should be done to *upāsaka* Mālā, many nights had passed. The Buddha thereupon told Mālā: '*When this night will have passed, you should know [the doctrine] yourself.*' [… When Mālā had left the meeting,] the World-honored One told the venerable Śāriputra: 'These *śrāvaka bhikṣu*s of me have left because of fatigue. They are all [belonging to] the community of the pure ones who have left their homes. When the *bhikṣu*s find joy in expounding the doctrine, *then it is suited that you proclaim it yourself as should be.* As there is benefit, you should not stop to rest.' At that moment, *the honorable*

[42] Keeping silent in reaction to an invitation is one of many forms of silence of the Buddha: Silence as agreement. On this, see Oetke 1994:87. For other interpretations of silence, see below in this article.

Śāriputra accepted this instruction and stayed. At that moment, the World-honored One folded his upper cloth four times. He placed himself on the lion's throne (*siṃhāsana*), resting with his right side on the ground in happy tranquility, and resting his tired feet. Before the Buddha had rested for a long period, in another place, there were the *heretic Nirgranṭha Jñātiputra* and others. They had uttered light slander concerning the *śrāvaka bhikṣu*s, and wanted to destroy them and to fight with them. They proclaimed untrue words and all kinds of slander, saying the following: 'The doctrine I know cannot be understood by these *śrāvaka*s. I truly know the doctrine they possess. The wrong behavior is theirs; the right behavior is ours. Those who have benefit are us; those who have no benefit are them. Admitted that the first words of the doctrine they proclaim are true, the later words are wrong. Sometimes, the later words are true, but then the first words are wrong. They cannot make the lion's roar to proclaim the benefit of the doctrine.' Because, at that moment, Nirgranṭha Jñātiputra and others wanted to stir a great fight, they uttered such and other slanderous words. Then, they looked at one another, and in their eyes there was cruelty, and again they said: 'All *śrāvaka bhikṣu*s have an expression of majesty and they are not in quietude. They cannot be free from craving and they have not yet attained liberation. They cannot see the doctrine and cannot know this path to salvation well. They cannot experience the fruits of nobility this [path] is aimed at. The doctrine they practice is not proclaimed by the *Samyaksaṃbuddha*.' By uttering such slanderous words, they [tried to] stir a fight. At that moment, when the honorable Śāriputra knew of this matter, he thought by himself: 'The Tathāgata, the Great Master, has not gone to rest for a long time. There is no need to inform the World-honored One of this reason.' Having deliberated thus, he said to all *bhikṣu*s: 'You should know that in another place, there are the heretic Nirgranṭha Jñātiputra and others. They are uttering light slander regarding the *śrāvaka bhikṣu*s. […] Now, *bhikṣu*s, you should know that the great community of *śrāvaka*s such as me are all with a mind that is free from stain and is pure. We realize all *dharma*s. We can understand all paths leading to salvation well. Each of us has already attained the noble fruits that are to be experienced. The *dharma*s that we *śrāvaka*s practice have one by one been conferred by the *Samyaksaṃbuddha*, the Tathāgata, the Great Master. It is what he himself has one by one truly expounded, and there is no falseness in it. *Bhikṣu*s, know that what the Buddha has expounded are *sūtra*, *geya*, *vyākaraṇa*, *gāthā*, *itivṛttaka*, *jātaka*, *udāna*, *vaipulya*, and *adbhuta-dharma*. These factors have been proclaimed by the Buddha with a comforting mind to all living beings as it should be done, in order to let living beings practice as [he] proclaimed, and [in order to] let them be

> with a proper conduct (*brahmacarya*) so as to benefit and bring joy to the world of gods, and humans.'
>
> 'Again, *bhikṣu*s, you should know that *the [groups of] one factor that the Buddha has expounded are [...] and further, the [groups of] two factors [...]*.'

From the above section of the *Saṃgītisūtra*, we retain the following elements:

(1) the *upāsaka* Mālā invites the Buddha to the hall he built and receives instruction from the Buddha in the essentials of the doctrine;
(2) the Buddha is confident that his disciples can fully understand the doctrine;
(3) the Buddha instructs Śāriputra to teach the doctrine, and Śāriputra accepts this instruction;
(4) Śāriputra takes up his task of instructing when the Buddhist doctrine is threatened by the heretic Nirgranṭha Jñātiputra, the Jain;[43]
(5) the doctrine the Buddha taught is defined by Śāriputra as the nine constituent parts (*navāṅga*), i.e., the format in which the teachings of the Buddha were comprised and conveyed;[44] and
(6) the doctrine is explained in categories of numerical elements, arranged in ascending number of the elements contained in a specific category.

The *Saṃgītiparyāya* claims its authority as 'revealing truth' by referring to the introductory frame story of the *Saṃgītisūtra*. It should be remarked here that, in the Chinese tradition, the *Saṃgītiparyāya* is attributed to Śāriputra, i.e., the monk who, in the *Saṃgītisūtra*, was invited by the Buddha to proclaim the doctrine himself.[45] In what follows, I give the essential passages of the introductory frame story

[43] On this point, see also Gombrich 1990a:26.
[44] On this, see Lamotte 1958:157–159 and Nakamura 1980:28.
[45] See also T. 51, no. 1821:8b26, T. 55, no. 2154:557a10–11 and 620b8–9. The Sanskrit and Tibetan traditions attribute this text to Mahākauṣṭhila; see *Sphuṭārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā*, 11.29. The text is extant in its Chinese translation by Xuánzàng only, done between 660 and 663. See T. 55, no. 2154: 557a10–11 and 620b8–9.

of the *Saṃgītiparyāya* (T. 1536), translated by Xuánzàng 玄奘 between 660 and 663 AD (emphasis in the translation is mine):[46]

> 世尊一時。遊力士生處。至波波邑。[…] 彼邑中諸力士眾。 […] 共造臺 […]。時力士眾聞佛世尊。將苾芻僧住近林內。互相慶慰咸共議言。我等所修勝妙臺觀。應先請佛及苾芻僧。[…] 出波波村往如來所。[…] 唯願世尊哀愍我等。將諸弟子於中止住。令我長夜利益安樂。爾時如來哀愍彼故。將諸弟子往住其中。復以妙音。為諸力士宣揚種種施果差別。問答往還過初夜分。諸力士輩并其眷屬。聞法歡喜禮佛而去。爾時世尊告舍利子。吾今背痛暫當寢息。汝可代吾為苾芻眾宣說法要勿空度也。時舍利子默然受教。佛便四疊嗢怛羅僧。敷為臥具大衣為枕。端身累足右脅而臥。[…] 爾時舍利子。告苾芻眾言。此波波村離繫親子。處無慚眾自號為師。其人命終未逾旬月。諸弟子輩兩兩結朋。諍訟紛紜互相凌蔑。各言法律我解非餘。[…] 我等今應聞佛住世。和合結集法毘奈耶。勿使如來般涅槃後。世尊弟子有所乖諍。[…] 具壽當知佛於一法。自善通達現等覺已。為諸弟子宣說開示。我等今應和合結集。佛滅度後勿有乖諍。當令隨順梵行法律。久住利樂無量有情。哀愍世間諸天人眾。令獲殊勝義利安樂。一法云何。嗢柁南曰。

> At one time, the World-honored One was wandering in Kuśinagara, and came to the city of Pāpā [...] In that city, the community of the Licchavis had erected a decorated platform. [...] At that moment, the community of the Licchavis heard that the World-honored Buddha was leading the community of *bhikṣu*s and was staying near to the wood. They consoled each other, and together they deliberated: ‘We should first ask the Buddha and the community of *bhikṣu*s [to stay] in the exquisite platform that we have erected.’ [...] The [Licchavis] left the city of Pāpā and went to where the Tathāgata was. [...] ‘We only wish that the World-honored One pities us and leads his disciples to stay there, so that we can have benefit and joy for a long time.’ Because the Tathāgata felt pity for them, he led his disciples to go and stay there. Again he *with soft voice* expounded the difference between the different kinds of fruits of nobility to the Licchavis. *Questions and answers went over and over* until the first part of the night. Having heard the doctrine, all Licchavis and their relatives were joyful, they paid respect to the Buddha and left. *At that moment, the World-honored One told Śāriputra*: ‘My back is hurting and I should rest for a while. *You can expound the essentials of the doctrine to the community of bhikṣu*s *in*

[46] T. 26, no. 1536:367a8–c3.

> *my place.*' At that moment, *Śāriputra accepted this task silently.* Buddha thereupon folded his upper cloth four times and made it to his bedding, and made his upper garment to a pillow. He placed his body and his tired feet on it, and lay down on his right side [...] At that moment, Śāriputra told the community of *bhikṣu*s: 'In this city of Pāpā, *Nirgranṭha and his disciples* were abiding in a community that knows no shame, and they were calling themselves to be masters. Not long after this man died, his disciples joined two-by-two, and they are arguing and are mutually confused, they are offensive, and each of them is saying they explain the [true] doctrine and *vinaya* and no-one else is. [...] *Of what their teacher has taught them, each follows what suits him.* [...] *We now have to listen to the Buddha who, abiding in the world, harmoniously unites the doctrine and the vinaya, and we should not let it happen that, when the Tathāgata is in parinirvāṇa, the disciples of the World-honored One [start to] struggle.* [...] You should know your whole life that the Buddha has himself understood and realized the one *dharma*, and that he expounded and explained it to the disciples. We should now unite. After the Buddha has gone, we should not engage in quarrel. We should keep the good conduct of the doctrine and the *vinaya*. It should bring benefit and joy to the innumerable amount of living beings for a long time, and the pitiful world of all gods and humans should preserve this supreme benefit and joy. What is the one factor? The *uddāna* says: […]

Comparing this passage with the frame story that introduced the *Saṃgītisūtra*, we see that the same six elements are present: (1) the Licchavis invite the Buddha to the platform they built and receive instruction from the Buddha in the essentials of the doctrine; (2–3) the Buddha is confident that his disciples can fully understand the doctrine, which explains why he instructs Śāriputra to teach the doctrine and Śāriputra accepts this instruction; (4) Śāriputra takes up his task of instructing when the Buddhist doctrine is threatened by the heretic Nirgranṭha Jñātiputra; (5) when starting to explain the doctrine, Śāriputra uses an *uddāna*; and (6) the doctrine is explained in categories of numerical elements. In addition to that, we learn: (1) that the instruction of the doctrine proceeds in a questions-and-answers format, and (2) that Śāriputra urges the disciples not to start discussing about the doctrine among each other. It is repeatedly claimed that the unity of doctrine and *vinaya* should be preserved. As tradition has it that the *Saṃgītiparyāya* was composed during the life-time of the Buddha, and it therefore is unlikely that, at this very early date, different Buddhist schools had developed, the warning that the disciples should not start to discuss the doctrine among themselves

may indeed be given in by the positioning of the Buddhist order against the school of Nirgraṇṭha Jñātiputra. It is in this respect not without importance that the text is ascribed to Śāriputra, the disciple who also in the *Saṃgītisūtra* was bestowed with the task to explain the doctrine when the Buddha was asleep. Moreover, it is stated that the Tathāgata expounded the difference between the different kinds of fruits of nobility to the Licchavis with soft voice. The sound of recitation appears to be another rhetorical device. In the Pali Vinaya, e.g., we read that one of the qualities required of a monk allowed to teach nuns was that he should have a pleasant voice.[47] We now turn our attention to the concluding section of the *Saṃgītiparyāya*, i.e., the conclusion to the introductory frame story (emphasis in translation mine):[48]

> 爾時舍利子告苾芻眾言。具壽當知。佛於一法乃至十法現等覺已。為諸弟子宣說開示。[…] 佛滅度後勿有乖違。[…] 爾時世尊。知舍利子為苾芻眾說法已訖。從臥而起身心調暢。整理衣服結加趺坐。讚舍利子善哉善哉。汝今善能於此臺觀與苾芻眾和合。結集如來所說增一法門。汝可從今為諸大眾數復宣說如是法門。此法能令諸天人等長夜證會義利安樂世尊復告苾芻眾言。汝等皆應受持讚誦。舍利子說集異法門。如是法門。能引大善大義大法清白梵行。復證通慧菩提涅槃。淨信出家諸善男子。受持讚誦如是法門。不久定當辦所辦事。時薄伽梵說是語已。諸苾芻眾歡喜踊躍頂禮佛足信受奉行。

> At that moment, Śāriputra said to the community of *bhikṣu*s: 'You should know your whole life that *when the Buddha had realized the groups of one factor to ten himself, he expounded them to his disciples.* [...] After the Buddha has died, we should not engage in opposition. [...] *At that moment, the World-honored One knew that Śāriputra had already completed his explanation of the doctrine for the community of bhikṣu*s. He rose from his bed and his mind was pleased. He adjusted his clothes, and sat cross-legged. *He praised Śāriputra [saying]: 'Well done! Well done! You have now been able to unite with the community of bhikṣu*s *on the platform. You are able to unite what the Tathāgata has said in categories of increasing numbers of factors. From now on, you can repeatedly expound such categories of factors for the great community*. This doctrine can make all gods and humans experience benefit and joy for a long time.' The World-honored One again told the *bhikṣu*s: 'You all have to accept this praise. Śāriputra has explained the

[47] Oldenberg 1964:51. See also Collins 1992:125–126.
[48] T. 26, no. 1536:453a28–b18.

> *Saṃgītiparyāya*. These categories of factors can lead to great good, great benefit, great doctrine and clean conduct. They also can realize and penetrate wisdom, *bodhi* and *nirvāṇa*. All disciples who have with pure faith left their homes have to accept this praise of these categories of factors. Before long, *they will definitely explain what has been explained*.' At that moment, the Bhagavat having said this, all *bhikṣu*s were joyful, and praised and prostrated themselves for the Buddha.

Three more elements can be concluded from this section: (1) the Buddha sanctions the teaching done by Śāriputra, (2) he sanctions the format in which the doctrine is expounded, i.e., the grouping of factors in numerical groups given in ascending numerical order from one to ten (= *mātṛkā*),[49] and (3) he is convinced of the fact that the disciples will themselves also be able to proclaim the doctrine. That the Buddha sanctions the teaching of Śāriputra and the method employed, helps to explain the high position tradition has accredited to Śāriputra. As the *Saṃgītiparyāya* is one of the oldest Abhidharma texts at large and of the Sarvāstivāda school in particular, it can rightfully be claimed that Śāriputra was a 'Wegbereiter des Abhidharma.'[50] That the Buddha is convinced of the fact that the disciples will themselves be able to proclaim the doctrine is important for those Abhidharma texts that are no longer attributed to one of his direct disciples.

A second Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma text that, at least in the Sanskrit and the Tibetan traditions, is attributed to Śāriputra, is the *Dharmaskandha*.[51] The Chinese tradition attributes the text to Mahā-maudgalyāyana, another of the Buddha's direct disciples.[52] The Chinese translation of the text was done by Xuánzàng, and is dated 659 AD.[53] The text starts with a eulogy to the Buddha, his doctrine and his community by the author of the text (Śāriputra/

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[49] See Gethin 1992:162; see also Buswell/Jaini 1996:80.

[50] Stache-Rosen 1968:8.

[51] It is unclear whether the *Saṃgītiparyāya* or the *Dharmaskandha* is the older of the two works. See Cox 1995:47, Note 62 and Willemen/Dessein/Cox 1998:172, 176, 181.

[52] For the Sanskrit and the Tibetan tradition, see *Sphuṭārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā*: 11.27–28; for the Chinese tradition, see T. 51, no. 1821:8b27–28, T. 55, no. 2154: 557a8–9 and 620b6–7.

[53] T. 55, no. 2154:557a8–9 and 620b6–7. The order of sections in the Chinese text differs from the one in the Sanskrit fragments found in Gilgit; see Willemen Dessein/ Cox 1998:181–182. The structure of this text was also adopted as the fundament for the seventh chapter of the *Prakaraṇapāda*; see Yamada 1959:95 and Frauwallner 1964:96.

Mahāmaudgalyāyana).[54] In this eulogy, the Abhidharma is compared to a great ocean, a great mountain, a great plot of land, and the great voidness that contains the treasure of the unlimited amount of noble factors that shall be exposed.[55] This exposition starts with an *uddāna*, after which a short frame story is given: When abiding in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada in Śrāvastī, the World-honored One addressed the *bhikṣu*s.[56] This setting is repeated in the beginning of each new section of the text. We, thus, have some of the same elements to claim authenticity for the text we also read in the *Saṃgītiparyāya*: The Abhidharma is related to early scripture and is put in the mouth of one of the Buddha's direct disciples who recounts the teaching of the Master. As these texts were recited in a relatively closed group of adherents, we may assume that the Abhidharma texts that were recited within a particular group were all known to the disciples of this particular group, and, as a whole, constituted the inter-textual rhetorical environment in which a particular text was recited. In other words, when reciting or listening to the recitation of one given text, the mindset of the audience was also conscious of frame stories of other texts recited within their group. Hearing a shorter version of a known frame story, therefore, may automatically have made disciples unintentionally situate and interpret this shorter version in the framework of a larger similar frame story. Scattered throughout the *Dharmaskandha*, further, the reader is reminded of the fact that this text is reiterating the words of the Buddha.[57]

That the Sarvāstivādins became increasingly sectarian self-conscious is evident from the post-face to the text written by Jìngmài 靖邁, when he claims that *Fǎyùnzúlùn zhě. Gài àpídámó zhī quán yú*

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[54] T. 26, no. 1537:453b28.
[55] T. 26, no. 1537:453c1–2.
[56] T. 26, no. 1537:453c3–7.
[57] In this respect, we should also refer to Cousins 1982:8: 'A striking feature of the Dhammasangani (Dhs), as also of some other abhidhamma and exegetical works, is the frequent use of standard mnemonic registers of apparent synonyms to define particular mental or material phenomena. The Dhammasangani is both the first and probably also the oldest work in the Abhidhamma-piṭaka. So the use of these mnemonic registers may well originate here. The Dhs, itself in the main an oral work, was composed for hearers who would have had a mass of sutta material committed to memory. For such listeners each term in a particular register would recall a number of set contexts and the significance of the dhamma concerned would be in part determined by those contexts. In this way the Dhammasangani could organize the sutta traditions and place them in the wider and more embracing framework of abhidhamma.' See also Buswell/Jaini 1996:76.

[…] *dùi shíqí yǐ quányìyě.* / 法蘊足論者。蓋阿毘達磨之權輿。[…] 對十七以權異也。/ 'the *Dharmaskandha* is the beginning of Abhidharma. It is the vast source of the Sarvāstivāda [...] It shows where it differs from the seventeen [other schools (?)].'[58] Jìngmài further presents the Abhidharma as based on the Sūtra and Vinaya literature when stating: *tí chēng àpídámó zhě. Xíng ér zàng yǐ jiǎn shū yě.* / 題稱阿毘達磨者。形二藏以簡殊也。/ 'Abhidharma is a special selection from the two baskets as they have been formed.'[59]

Also, the *Prajñaptipāda* shows close association with the *sūtra*s. However, this text, attributed to Mahāmaudgalyāyana in Sanskrit and in Tibetan, and to Mahākātyāyana in Chinese,[60] is not introduced by a frame story. The first words read: *lùn zhōng wèn yuē* / 論中問曰 / 'In the discussions, there is the following question.'[61] All new sections are introduced in the same way. We can here refer to the fact, remarked above, that the frame story that introduced the *Saṃgītiparyāya* mentioned that the teaching of the Buddha proceeded by means of questions and answers. As the *Prajñaptipāda* is not introduced by a frame story while being attributed to a direct disciple of the Buddha, it can be seen as a bridge toward a second phase of development in inter-textual rhetorical devices.

The tradition and validity of the Buddha's direct disciples expounding the doctrine being settled, the *Vijñānakāya* is no longer attributed to a direct disciple but to Devaśarman who, according to the Chinese tradition originating with Xuánzàng, lived within 100 years after the passing of the Buddha.[62] The *Vijñānakāya* is only extant in a Chinese translation by Xuánzàng, done in 649 AD (T. 26, no. 1539).[63] Similar to the *Dharmaskandha*, the *Vijñānakāya* starts with a eulogy to Buddha, and claims that the Abhidharma was expounded by the

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[58] T. 26, no. 1537:513c15–16, 514a4.

[59] T. 26, no. 1537:514a3–4.

[60] For the Sanskrit and the Tibetan tradition, see *Sphuṭārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā*: 11.28; for the Chinese tradition, see T. 51, no. 1821:8b28–29. The text was translated into Chinese by Dharmapāla (?) and Wéijìng in the early 11th century. On the authenticity of the text, see Willemen/Dessein/Cox 1998:189–194.

[61] T.26, no.1538:514a21.

[62] T.51, no.1821:8c1–3.

[63] For the Sanskrit and the Tibetan tradition, see *Sphuṭārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā*: 11.27; for the Chinese tradition, see T. 51, no. 1821: 8c1–3; T.2154: 557a12–13 and 620b13–16.

Buddha.[64] To enforce this claim, Devaśarman lays the text in the mouth of Maudgalyāyana, a direct disciple of the Buddha. He, thus, claims authenticity from tradition. We can hence claim that with the *Vijñānakāya* starts a second phase in the development of inter-textual rhetorical devices in Abhidharma texts. The first section of the *Vijñānakāya*, further, is not introduced by a frame story, but by an *uddāna*. In the text itself, we find regular references to the *sūtra*s. Many of these references are followed by a reference to Maudgalyāyana.[65]

Also the *Dhātukāya* (T. 26, no. 1540), a text that is only extant in a Chinese translation by Xuánzàng, dated 663 AD,[66] begins with an introductory verse (*uddāna*), followed by a numerical list of elements (*mātṛkā*) that are then addressed.[67] The text is attributed to Vasumitra.[68] According to Pǔguāng, Vasumitra lived at the beginning of the fourth century after the Buddha's passing. Also the *Prakaraṇapāda*, a text that is available in two Chinese translations, the first translated by Guṇabhadra and Bodhiyaśas (T. 26, no. 1541) from 435–443 AD,[69] and the second translated by Xuánzàng (T. 26, no. 1542) from 660 AD,[70] is attributed by all traditions to Vasumitra.[71] According to Xuánzàng, he composed the *Prakaraṇapāda* in Puṣkarāvatī.[72] This text immediately starts with addressing a numerical list of elements.[73] The first reference to the Buddha in the version by Guṇabhadra and Bodhiyaśas is found at the beginning of the second scroll.[74] This version concludes with a eulogy to the Buddha in verse.[75] Such a eulogy is missing in the Chinese version by

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[64] T. 26, no. 1539:531a8–10.
[65] E.g. T. 26, no. 1539:532a4, 533a4.
[66] T. 50, no. 2154:557a16–17 and 620b26 ff.
[67] T. 26, no. 1540:614b10–11, and 12.
[68] For the Sanskrit and the Tibetan tradition, see *Sphuṭārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā*: 11.28–29; for the Chinese tradition, see T. 51, no. 1821: 8c3–6; no. 2154:557a16–17 and 620b26 ff.
[69] T. 50, no. 2154:620b21–23.
[70] T. 50, no. 2154:557a14–15 and 620b17–20.
[71] For the Sanskrit and the Tibetan tradition, see *Sphuṭārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā*: 11.26–27; for the Chinese tradition, see T. 51, no. 1821:8c3–4; no. 2154:557a14–15, 620b17–23.
[72] T. 51, no. 2087:881a13–16.
[73] T. 26, no. 1541:627a10; T. 26, no. 5421:692b23.
[74] T. 26, no. 1541:631c8–9.
[75] T. 26, no. 1541:692a24–b13.

Xuánzàng. As the *Dhātukāya* and the *Prakaraṇapāda* are not, be it only indirectly—as is the case in the *Vijñānakāya*—, attributed to a direct disciple of the Buddha, neither are introduced by a frame story, we can discern a further, third phase in the evolution in the application of inter-textual rhetorical devices.

The format of the **Aṣṭagrantha* (T.1543) and the *Jñānaprasthāna* (T.1544), texts attributed to Kātyāyanīputra,[76] resembles the format of the *Dhātukāya* and the *Prakaraṇapāda*. The **Aṣṭagrantha* was translated by Saṃghadeva, Zhú Fóniàn 竺佛念 and Dharmapriya in 383 AD,[77] and the *Jñānaprasthāna* by Xuánzàng from 657–664 AD.[78] Both texts start off from a question. Scattered throughout the texts, there are references to the Buddha and the Sūtra literature. Ultimately, according to the **Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā,* the *Jñānaprasthāna* is the work of the Buddha himself, who engaged in dialogue with, according to various opinions, Śāriputra, 500 *arhat*s, god, or a monk fabricated by the Buddha to serve as interlocutor. The text was then compiled and transmitted by Kātyāyanīputra, who received and organized the Buddha's teaching.[79]

We can conclude that, as far as inter-textual rhetorical devices are concerned, three phases of development can be differentiated. The oldest phase is constituted by the *Saṃgītiparyāya*, the *Dharmaskandha*, and the *Prajñaptipāda*. These texts derive inter-textual authenticity from their reference to frame stories that are derived from or refer to frame stories of *sūtra*s. These early texts are attributed to direct disciples of the Buddha, i.e., those disciples that the Buddha instructed to continue to teach the doctrine in the frame stories of the *sūtra*s. For the *Prajñaptipāda*, this attribution to a direct disciple of the Buddha is restricted to the Sanskrit and Tibetan tradition only.[80] A second phase is formed by the *Vijñānakāya*. This text is not introduced by a frame story, and is only indirectly attributed to a disciple of the Buddha, i.e., Devaśarman is placing his words in the mouth of Maudgalyāyana. The last phase is constituted by the *Dhātukāya*, the *Prakaraṇapāda*, and the *Jñānaprasthāna*. These texts neither have a frame story that links them to the Sūtra literature, nor are they

[76] For the Sanskrit and the Tibetan tradition, see *Sphuṭārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā*: 11.26; for the Chinese tradition, see T. 41, no. 1821:8c6–9.
[77] T. 55, no. 2154:620a23–24.
[78] T. 55, no. 2154:557a6–7 and 620a25–b5.
[79] T. 55, no. 1545:1a8ff.
[80] On the arbitrariness of the attributions, see above.

attributed to direct disciples of the Buddha. All seven texts make use of *uddāna*s (see Table 4).

Table 4: Inter-textual Rhetorical Devices in the Ṣaṭpādābhidharma Texts

TEXT	ATTRIBUTED TO	FRAME STORY	*UDDĀNA*
Group 1			
Saṃgītiparyāya	Śāriputra	+	+
Dharmaskandha	Śāriputra (Skt./Tib.) Maudgalyāyana (Ch.)	+	+
Prajñaptipāda	Mahāmaudgalyāyana (Skt./Tib.) Mahākātyāyana (Ch.)	-	+
Group 2			
Vijñānakāya	Devaśarman through Maudgalyāyana	-	+
Group 3			
Dhātukāya	Vasumitra	-	+
Prakaraṇapāda	Vasumitra	-	+
* *Aṣṭagrantha* / *Jñānaprasthāna*	Kātyāyanīputra	-	+

Intra-textual Rhetorical Devices

THE ORIGIN OF ABHIDHARMA TEXTS

As was already mentioned in the previous section, one of the devices used in compiling Abhidharma texts is the use of *mātṛkā*s, numerical lists of elements.[81] This use of *mātṛkā*s is so prominent that it has been hypothesized that Abhidharma texts developed from such lists, as they are presented in the Sūtra and Vinaya literature.[82] This supposition is sustained by the canonical literature itself. Indeed, the *Sarvāstivādavinaya* identifies the Abhidharma with teachings that are presented in list form.[83] In the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, we read that Kāśyapa, at the occasion of the first council held in Rājagṛha, compiled *mātṛkā*s in order not to lose the meaning of the Sūtra and of

[81] See Cousins 1982:1 and Gethin 1992:149.
[82] See Bronkhorst 1985.
[83] T. 23, no. 1435:449a19ff.

the Vinaya.[84] The first *mātṛkā* Kāśyapa formulated at this occasion is the famous series of 37 aids to enlightenment (*bodhipakṣa*).[85] This *mātṛkā* is mentioned in a number of *sūtra*s and *vinaya* texts. Sometimes, it is stated that practising the items of this list is the way to make an end to defilement (*āsrava*), i.e., the way to attain liberation.[86] The list therefore is also presented as the teaching of the Buddha in a nutshell.[87]

The account in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* that Kāśyapa formulated *mātṛkā*s at the council of Rājahṛha means that the *mātṛkā*s and, by extension, Abhidharma texts, originated as part of an oral tradition. An oral origin of Abhidharma texts is further evidenced in the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya*, where, when addressing himself to Ānanda, the Buddha mentions the recitation of the Sūtra, the Vinaya and the *Mātṛkā*,[88] as well as in the canonical references to the *vinayadhara*, *dhammadhara* and *mātikādhara*.[89] The *Aśokāvadāna* mentions a *Mātṛkāpiṭaka*, compiled by Mahākāśyapa.[90] Other sources attribute the compilation of an *Abhidharmapiṭaka* to Ānanda, the monk who is also thought to have recited the Sūtra at the first council.[91] Still other

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[84] T. 23, no. 1451:408b3–4. Cox 1995:4 draws our attention to the fact that Saṃgha-bhadra, a 5th century author, offers a possible interpretation of the element 'dharma' in 'abhidharma' as either 'the nature of individual factors' or as 'the sūtras' that present the Buddha's teaching or dharma. See T. 29, no. 1562:330b23 ff.

[85] T. 14, no. 1451:408b7–8. The list of 37 aids to enlightenment are four applications of mindfulness (*smṛtyupasthāna*), four forms of right abandoning (*samyakpradhāna*), four footings of supernatural power (*ṛddhipāda*), five faculties (*indriya*), five powers (*bala*), seven members of enlightenment (*bodhyaṅga*), and the eightfold noble path (*āryamārga*). In the *Sāmagāmasutta*, the Buddha summarizes his teaching in this list of 37 elements. See MN 104 *Sāmagāmasutta* (Chalmers 1960:245), T. 1, no. 26: 753c6 ff.

[86] SN III (Feer 1960:153–4), Woodward/Davids 1881:131; AN IV (Hardy 1958: 125–7), Hare/Davids 1955:82; T. 2, no. 99:67a28–c1.

[87] Sūtra quotations in T. 26, no. 1539:544a12–16, 544c4–7 and 545a25–28.

[88] T. 22, no. 1425:334c20–22. In other instances, the *Mahāsāṃghikavinaya* refers to the Abhidharma: T. 22, no. 1425:295a26, 340c1, 442a28, 442b4, 475c13, 492c18, 501c24–25 and 533c2.

[89] See Gombrich 1990a:25.

[90] T. 50, no. 2042:113c3–4; T. 50, no. 2043:152a15. Also, here, the first *mātṛkā* mentioned (113c4–5) is the one of the 37 aids to enlightenment. See Cox 1995:7; see also Bronkhorst 1985:305 and Stache-Rosen 1968:8.

[91] *Sumaṅgala* 1 (Davids / Carpenter 1968, Vol. 1:17); *Aṭṭhasālinī* (Bapat / Vadekar 1942:3); *Samantapāsādikā* (Takakusu / Nagai 1975:18); T. 1, no. 1:1a9–10; T. 49, no. 2030:14b8; T. 22. no. 1428:968b25–26; T. 24, no. 1463:818a28–29. See also Bareau 1955:21 ff. and Lamotte 1958:198.

sources give evidence for a continued oral transmission of the Abhidharma texts. In this respect, Saṃghadeva is said to have translated the *Jñānaprasthāna* from memory in 383 AD. However, he is said to have forgotten a *varga*. When, in 390 AD, another monk passed by who knew this *varga*, Saṃghadeva is reported to have translated it while that monk recited the text. Dharmayaśas, who arrived in China between 397 and 401, started writing down the Sanskrit text of the *Śāriputrābhidharma* together with the monk Dharmagupta in Cháng'ān in 407 AD.[92] Also the *Saddhammasaṅgaha*, a text from the 14th century, contains the story of Sāriputta (Śāriputra) who learns the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* by heart and recites it at the entrance to a cave.[93]

Lance Cousins pointed out that it is in the *Saṃgītisuttanta* of the Dīghanikāya that the earliest canonical evidence for the use of *mātṛkā*s came down to us.[94] The name of the text suggests that it was recited at a Buddhist council (*saṃgīti*). We may reiterate here that this text is attributed to Sāriputta, one of the Buddha's direct disciples. This text consists of mnemonic lists of categories of elements, given in ascending numerical order from one to ten. The *mātṛkā*s as they are used in the *Saṃgītiparyāya* and, most likely, are of the type referred to in the Vinaya literature mentioned above, are simple mnemo-technical lists. In this sense, *mātṛkā*s should not be seen as synonymous with 'Abhidharma,' in the sense of texts that outline the philosophical position of a Buddhist school as such, or in contradistinction to another school of Buddhism.[95] Gradually, however, these lists became a creative instrument in the compilation of texts that had to reveal the Buddhist doctrine in its technicality. As Rupert Gethin states: 'A matika is something creative—something out of which something further evolves. It is, as it were, pregnant with the Dhamma and able to generate it in all its fullness.'[96] Therefore, we may suppose that also the concept of a *mātṛkādhara* gradually evolved from someone who

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[92] See Demiéville 1951:239–296 and Falk 1993:322–323; also de Jong 1979:4 refers to the mentioning of reciting of the *Dasottarasutra*, i.e., a very early type of *mātṛkā* texts, several of the categories of which also occur in the *Saṃgītiparyāya*, on the first council. See T. 22, no. 1421:191a15 ff. and T. 22, no. 1428:968b15 ff. On the connection between the *Saṃgītisūtra* and the *Daśottarasūtra*, see Stache-Rosen 1968:10.

[93] *Saddhammasaṅgaha* (Law 1980:121); see also Collins 1992:126.

[94] Cousins 1982:3–4.

[95] See Gethin 1992:158.

[96] Gethin 1992:161.

knows such lists to someone who knew how to use these lists as an instrument to expound the doctrine.[97] *Mātṛkās*, thus, developed as rhetorical instruments in crafting texts that serve to outline the Buddha's teaching. It is in the ever more intricate composition and combination of different *mātṛkā*s, as well as in the exegetical discussion of the elements contained in these lists (*abhidharmakathā*), that lays the peculiarity of mature Abhidharma texts.[98] The complex structure of such mature Abhidharma texts makes it very unlikely that they ever were the product of an oral tradition.[99] This is in accordance with the development of the inter-textual rhetorical devices outlined above. I will address this issue in more detail further on.

Furthermore, the questions-and-answers format that is frequently used in Abhidharma texts to explain the different elements contained in a numerical list facilitates memorization of a text.[100] That Abhidharma texts developed from the questions-and-answers format of the monastic discussions is a view that is especially found among Japanese scholars.[101] As this is true for the use of *mātṛkā*s, also the questions-and-answers format is a device that is reminiscent of the oral/aural tradition in which the compilation of Abhidharma texts is imbedded: Indeed, most of the Nikāyas and Āgamas are scriptures in dialogue form, in which it is recorded that not only the Buddha, but also his chief disciples had discussions with monks and non-Buddhists.[102] These discussions serve to convince the audience of the truth revealed by the Buddha.

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[97] *Ibid*.

[98] See Gethin 1992:157, 161–162 and Cox 1995:9. Watanabe 1983:67: 'Briefly speaking, Abhidhamma philosophy may be said to have been established firmly by both the synthetic study of dhammas and the analytical study of dhammas. It goes without saying that the origin of such studies can be found in the Nikāyas and Āgamas, where there are attempts (1) to define dhammas, (2) to seize the relation of a dhamma to other dhammas, (3) to analyze dhammas, (4) to classify dhammas into different types, and (5) to arrange dhammas in numerical order.'

[99] McMahan 1998:262: 'It seems clear that extensive analysis of the sutras themselves arose in conjunction with the development of writing. [...] Abhidharma thought, with its extensive lists, categories, correlations, headings, and subheadings, bears the mark of literate composition in that it culls teachings from a number of different sources and attempts to systematize, synthesize, and categorize them.'

[100] For this function of numerical lists, see Norman 1995:309, von Simson 1965:142, and Stache-Rosen 1968:8.

[101] Sakurabe 1969:23 ff., Kimura 1937:5 ff. and Cox 1995:8.

[102] See Watanabe 1983:76.

Indeed, the procedure applied in the Abhidharma texts to discuss the elements contained in a numerical list is adopted from the techniques of answering questions applied in the Nikāyas and Āgamas. In his study of the Nikāyas and Āgamas, Fumimaro Watanabe distinguished four types of answers to questions: (1) answers that are a categorical reply (*ekāṃśavyākaraṇa*), i.e., direct answers in the affirmative or in the negative, or otherwise, (2) answers that give a discriminating reply or reply in an analytical manner (*vibhajya-vyākaraṇa*), (3) answers that consist of a counter-question, either as reply, or in order to inform the questioner of the meaning of the primary question (*paripṛcchāvyākaraṇa*), and (4) answers that waive the question or that answer the question by keeping silent (*sthāpanīyavyākaraṇa*).[103]

Given the nature of Abhidharma texts, it is no surprise to see that the second type of answering questions, i.e., answering by analysis, is predominant. Through answering by analysis in, primarily, series of two or three alternative options, the different elements that are listed in a *mātṛkā* are further discussed. Also the third type of answers to questions, asking a counter-question, appears frequently in the discussion of the elements in a series. We can illustrate this with the first group of one factor of the *Saṃgītiparyāya*: The fact that all beings depend on nutriment (*āhāra*):[104]

> 如世尊說。苾芻當知食有四種。[…]
> 問如是四食當言有為當言無為。
> 答應言有為。
> 問如是四食當言常當言無常。
> 答[…]
> 問如是四食當言善。當言不善當言無記。
> 答段食應言無記。餘三食應言或善或不善或無記。[…]

> As the World-honored One said: 'The *bhikṣu*s should know that there are four kinds of nutriment. [...]'
>
> Question: 'Should these four forms of nutriment be considered as conditioned or as unconditioned?'
>
> Answer: 'They are conditioned.'
>
> Question: 'Should these four forms of nutriment be considered as permanent or as impermanent?'

[103] Watanabe 1983:72–73, 82. The four types of question are themselves discussed as a series of four elements in T. 26, no. 1536:401b27–402a11.
[104] T. 26, no. 1536:367c4–369b9.

> Answer: [...]
> Question: 'Are these four forms of nutriment good, bad or neutral?'
> Answer: 'Food in lumps is neutral, the other three forms of nutriment are either good, or bad or neutral [...]'

Also the dyads and triads that are used to address the different elements in a list can, in themselves, be seen as numerical lists. The format of discussing the elements in a list in an analytical way resembles and thus enforces the mechanical law of causation, the basic doctrinal issue of Buddhist philosophy: One element automatically develops into a series of other elements. We can, thus, claim that the technical arrangement of material in the Abhidharma texts, is a deliberate construct that strengthens the basic doctrinal issues of the Buddhist truth. Georg von Simson points to it that the grouping of the elements of the *mātṛkā*s is such that the mentioning of the first element of the series automatically brings the further elements of the series to mind. This, he claims, is an important psychological devise of the texts: The audience feels a harmony between what he hears and his thinking.[105] As this construct is indebted to the teaching of the Buddha, it, moreover, becomes a rhetorical device in the claim to authenticity. This also explains why the specification of an element of a numerical list under discussion often takes the form of a tetralemma (*catuskoṭi*). In such a tetralemma, two sets of categories, A and B, are interrelated according to a specific formula: occasions in which A applies, but not B; occasions in which B applies, but not A; occasions in which both A and B apply; and occasions in which neither A, nor B applies, i.e., occasions other than those listed in the previous three groups.[106]

Contrary to the second and third types of answering questions, the first type of answers is only seldom used. This is related to the fact that the Buddha 'points out that ultimate truth cannot be directly expressed in affirmative words alone, and that at the stage of trying to explain what the ultimate truth is, there is no method of doing so other than using a negative phrase such as "this is not A," "not B," "not C," ... "not X." This negative phrase is denied by the use of the double negative, and is negated again by the practical use of the triple

[105] Von Simson 1965:143. This harmony, at least in the Indian originals, is strengthened by use of alliterations, assonances, etc. See von Simson 1965:144. We may also recall to mind here that Bronkhorst 1985:1 described 'dharma' as 'psychic characteristics.'
[106] See Willemen/Dessein/Cox 1998:178–179.

negative.'[107] Also this accentuation of the negation is in line with the content of the Buddhist truth.

The reason why the Buddha, on some occasions, preferred not to answer a question cannot be answered univocally,[108] however, is of great importance.[109] Apart from silence as agreement, referred to above, it is seen that it is especially on matters concerning metaphysical questions that the Buddha preferred to answer by keeping silent.[110] Many theories on the reason of this silence have been suggested, one of which is that the Buddha's keeping silent may have been a deliberate answer: When keeping silent, the Buddha was of the opinion that keeping silent was the only correct answer.[111] If this is so, silence as a rhetorical device would, as the extended use of *mātṛkā*s does, be in accordance with the content of the doctrine: The doctrine of emptiness.[112]

The Development of Intra-textual Rhetorical Devices in Abhidharma Texts

As already repeatedly mentioned, the *Saṃgītiparyāya*, as the *Saṃgītisūtra* on which it is a commentary, is organized according to lists of elements given in ascending order from lists containing only one element, to lists containing ten elements. In this way, a total amount of 205 categories of factors are listed.[113] The *Dharmaskandha* may be regarded as a further development compared to the *Saṃgītiparyāya* in that sense that, although the 21 chapters of the work each concern a separate category of factors, these factors are no

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[107] Watanabe 1983:210.

[108] See Oetke 1994: especially 91–97.

[109] Oetke 1994:85, according to Beckh 1958:10: 'Man kennt Buddha nicht, solange man ihn nur nach dem beurteilt, was er geredet hat. Sondern zu der Macht der Rede gesellt sich bei ihm eine andere, die jene beinahe noch überragt, die Macht des Schweigens, und die Bedeutung dieses Schweigens richtig zu erfassen, ist für das ganze Verständnis des Buddhismus von größter Wichtigkeit.'

[110] For other types of questions that the Buddha answered by keeping silent, see Oetke 1994:89–91. On the question whether or not the Buddha presented a metaphysical system, see Bronkhorst 2000:27–32.

[111] See Oetke 1994:95. This type of answer would include such other motives of answering by silence as preventing that an answer would lead astray from the path, or would confuse the adept; see *ibid*.:96.

[112] This, to my opinion, does not contradict the fact that the accentuation of emptiness was a gradual process within Buddhist philosophy.

[113] See Willemen/Dessein/Cox 1998:178–179.

longer ordered according to numerical order, but according to content. We need to mention here that Jìngmài, who during the Táng period wrote a post-face for the Chinese translation of the *Dharmaskandha*, states that the central teaching of the work is the 37 aids to enlightenment.[114] In trying to reformulate the Buddhist doctrine in logical units, the *Dharmaskandha* constitutes a major step in the evolution of Abhidharma literature. In a typical commentarial form, the text provides explanatory glosses on sections of *sūtra* passages, explanations that often result in an analysis that extends far beyond the *sūtra* passage itself. Certain sections present a particularly complex commentary, with additional *sūtra* passages offered on the topic illustrated in the initial *sūtra* passage. The text then often presents extended treatment of the subsidiary passages and discussion of the alternative interpretations that the various *sūtra* passages on the topic suggest.[115] The methods of exegesis employed, however, are similar to those used in the *Saṃgītiparyāya*.[116] Also the material of the *Prajñaptiśāstra*, as this is the case for the *Dharmaskandha*, is arranged according to content.[117] In the first part of the text, different topics are presented and are briefly explained. Especially in the second part, this text shows close association with the *sūtra*s, as *sūtra* passages are cited to explain a topic or to establish its canonicity. The text does not display the complexity in the use of *mātṛkā*s that is typical for later Abhidharma texts.[118] This means that we can regard the *Dharmaskandha* and the *Prajñaptiśāstra* as constituting a second phase in the development of Abhidharma texts, and as precursors of the more mature Abhidharma texts of the third phase of development.

Texts of the third phase are characterized by a more mature format. The superimposed lists of elements are larger than the simple dyads and triads: They are full-fledged *mātṛkā*s that were dealt with also in another context, the elements of which are now discussed with respect to the elements of the list under discussion. The first text that belongs

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[114] T. 26, no. 1537:514a5–7.
[115] See Willemen/Dessein/Cox 1998:186–187.
[116] See *ibid.*:182–187.
[117] Although the extant version of the *Prajñaptiśāstra* deals with issues concerning the world and its structure, different types of beings, and the mechanism or forces by which this world and these beings are constituted, especially the quotations from this text in the *Vibhāṣā* compendia suggest that the work in its original and complete version addressed such different topics as defilements, knowledge and trance states. See Willemen/Dessein/Cox 1998:194.
[118] See *ibid.*:194–196.

to this phase is the *Vijñānakāya*. Stylistically, this text can be divided in two major parts. In the first two chapters, a dialogic, polemical style is applied, whereby the central question of the chapter is discussed in a questions-and-answers format. Each section starts with recording the position of Maudgalyāyana,[119] followed by a question in which the opponent is asked either to agree or disagree with a particular statement. *Sūtra* passages are hereby used as authoritative argument. The discussion is aimed at revealing the contradiction between the position of the opponent and the position of that *sūtra* passage.[120] The last four chapters adopt the technique of discussing elements in numerical lists. Compared to the earlier works, however, we see that the scope and the degree of employing this method far exceed the scope and degree of this technique in earlier works. The first section of the third chapter may serve to illustrate this technique:[121]

> 有六識身。謂眼識耳鼻舌身意識。如是六識身。或過去或未來或現在。過去眼識頗有過去為因。非未來為因非現在為因耶。頗有未來為因。非過去為因非現在為因耶。頗有現在為因。非過去為因非未來為因耶。頗有過去現在為因。非未來為因耶。頗有未來現在為因。非過去為因耶。頗有過去未來為因非現在為因耶。頗有過去未來現在為因耶。如過去眼識。未來現在眼識亦爾，如眼識耳鼻舌身意識亦爾。過去眼識。一切皆用過去為因。所餘諸句皆不可得。未來眼識或用過去未來為因。非現在為因。[…]

> There is a group of six forms of consciousness: visual consciousness (*cakṣurvijñāna*), and auditive (*śrotravijñāna*), olfactory (*ghrāṇa-vijñāna*), gustatory (*jihvāvijñāna*), tactile (*kāyavijñāna*), and mental consciousness (*manovijñāna*). These six forms of consciousness or either past, or future, or present.
>
> Does visual consciousness of the past have the past as cause and does it not have the future as cause, nor the present as cause? Does it have the future as cause, and not the past, nor the present as cause? Does it have the present as cause, and not the past, nor the future as cause? Does it have the past and the present as cause, and not the future as cause? Does it have the future and the present as cause, and not the past as cause? Does it have the past and the future as cause, and not the present as cause? Does it have the past, the future and the present as cause? As it is for visual consciousness of the past, the same applies to visual consciousness of the future and of the past. As it is for visual

[119] On the importance of Maudgalyāyana, see above.
[120] For more details see Willemen/Dessein/Cox 1998:204.
[121] T. 26, no. 1539:547c15 ff.

> consciousness, the same applies to auditive, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, and mental consciousness. Visual consciousness of the past is exclusively with the past as cause. All other statements do not apply. Visual consciousness of the future either is with the past or with the future as cause, not with the present. [...]

Related to this issue, we need to mention that the *Vijñānakāya* is the first of the *Ṣaṭpādābhidharma* texts that addresses the issue that shaped the Sarvāstivāda as a distinct school: The issue of the existence of the factors in the three periods of time (*trikāla*).[122] This supports the assumption that the creation of mature Abhidharma texts coincides with the rise of distinct Buddhist schools. In this respect, two more elements deserve our attention: (1) the issue of the three time periods is presented as the view of Maudgalyāyāna, one of the direct disciples of the Buddha, and (2) the difference in method of analysis between the first two chapters on the one hand, and the four last chapters on the other hand suggests that the *Vijñānakāya* is a composite text, compiled rather than composed by Devaśarman.[123] This implies that the *Vijñānakāya* belongs to a written tradition and that the precise compilation served a precise doctrinal purpose.

In structure, the *Dhātukāya* can be divided into two main parts. The first part, fundamental groups (**Mūlavastuvarga*),[124] starts with listing 14 categories of a total of 91 mental factors, three categories of ten factors each, five categories of five factors each, and six categories of six factors each.[125] Each of these categories is then separately addressed by defining the members of each set. In the second part of the work, analysis (**Vibhajyavarga*),[126] the elements of each list are discussed in a mature Abhidharmic format. In its thoroughness and systematic application of this method, the *Dhātukāya* resembles the methods of reasoned argumentation that are included in the subject treatment we read in the *Vijñānakāya*.[127]

A comparison of the two extant Chinese translations of the *Prakaraṇapāda*, i.e., the version by Guṇabhadra and Bodhiyaśas from

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[122] T. 26, no. 1539:531a27 ff.
[123] On this, see Watanabe 1931:5.
[124] T. 26, no. 1540:614b10–616a28.
[125] *Ibid.*:614b22–24.
[126] *Ibid.*:616a29–625c2.
[127] The relative chronology of the *Dhātukāya* and the *Vijñānakāya* is uncertain. The material presented in the *Dhātukāya*, further, constitutes the major part of the fourth chapter of the *Prakaraṇapāda*. See Willemen/Dessein/Cox 1998:206.

435–443 AD and the version by Xuánzàng from 660 AD, shows that these texts were deliberately crafted to outline the Buddhist doctrine in its entire technicality. This, for example, is seen in the fact that the 5th century text lists 14 categories of mental factors,[128] however, in Xuánzàng's version, a 15th category is added. This added category is the list of virtuous factors of great extension (*kuśalamahābhūmikadharma*) as antipode to the defiled factors of great extension (*kleśamahābhūmikadharma*) that were listed in the 5th century text.[129] This text immediately starts with addressing a numerical list of elements that is worked through in the format described above as peculiar for mature Abhidharma texts. It has been suggested that the *Prakaraṇapāda*, in several respects, constitutes a necessary preliminary exercise or even companion text for the *Jñānaprasthāna*. The work, as illustrated, compiles and organizes earlier material and in this way is a bridge to the all-inclusive compendia of Sarvāstivāda philosophy, such as the *Vibhāṣā* treatises and the *Abhidharmakośabhāsya*.[130] We can schematize this development as follows:

Table 5: Textual Format of and Application of Rhetorical Devices in the Ṣaṭpādābhidharma Texts

Saṃgītiparyāya	composed	use of *mātṛkā*s and questions-and-answers as mnemotechnical aid
Dharmaskandha *Prajñaptipāda*	composed composed	restructuring of *mātṛkā*s for doctrinal purposes use of questions-and-answers as mnemotechnical aid
Vijñānakāya *Dhātukāya* *Prakaraṇapāda* **Aṣṭagrantha/ Jñānaprasthāna*	compiled compiled compiled compiled	restructuring of *mātṛkā*s for doctrinal purposes use of questions-and-answers for doctrinal (polemical) purposes

[128] T. 1541:634a11–14. The complete list of 14 are: (1) ten factors of great extension (*mahābhūmikadharma*), (2) ten defiled factors of great extension (*kleśamahābhūmikadharma*), (3) ten factors of great extension of limited defilement (*parīttakleśamahābhūmikadharma*), (4) five defilements (*kleśa*), (5) five forms of contact (*saṃsparśa*), (6) five views (*dṛṣṭi*), (7) five faculties (*indriya*), (8) five factors (*dharma*), (9) six forms of consciousness (*vijñāna*), (10) six forms of contact (*sparśa*), (11) six forms of feeling (*vedanā*), (12) six forms of recollection (*saṃjñā*), (13) six forms of volition (*saṃcetanā*), and (14) six forms of craving (*tṛṣṇā*).

[129] T. 1542:698b28–c2. See also Dessein (1996) for other examples.

[130] See Yamada 1959:93–95, and Willemen/Dessein/Cox 1998:212.

Abhidharma texts, thus, developed into technical devices that serve to reveal the Buddhist truth. The format of these texts and sterile mechanical dynamism are illustrative of the Buddhist doctrine. Related to this, David McMahan claimed that the static nature of the book, and its passive unresponsiveness, may also give it a sense of implicit and unchallengeable authority on an intuitive level.[131]

Another device that enforces the content of the Buddhist doctrine is the repetitions in the texts. Repetition is also used with the frequent reiterations of parts of the frame story. In this device, an inter-textual rhetorical device is adapted to serve also as an intra-textual device, strengthening one of the basic elements of the Buddhist doctrine. We find this in all seven of the *Ṣaṭpādābhidharma* works. In the *Saṃgīti-paryāya*, each new numbered group is introduced by a short reference to the frame story and an introductory verse (*uddāna*). Also each section of the *Prajñaptiśāstra* begins with an introductory index verse (*uddāna*), detailing the specific topics to be discussed, and often the single points of the index verse are simply presented and briefly discussed in order. The *Vijñānakāya* also begins each major section with an introductory verse (*uddāna*). In the first chapter, there are four such index verses, in the second chapter, three, and in the fourth and following chapters, only one index verse at the beginning of each chapter. Also, the two main parts of the *Dhātukāya* start with an index verse. This introductory index verse provides the scheme according to which the mental elements are discussed. Also, the *Jñānaprasthāna* uses introductory index verses. Such repetitions in the Abhidharma texts refer to the cycle of rebirths: Each element of a given series of elements (*mātṛkā*) is addressed according to a similar pattern. Every sentence is deconstructed to its constituting elements. Everything is constructed according to a regular pattern. Texts became mechanic, as the law of karma functions mechanically. Buddhist texts are, in their style, free from inconsistency, free from unruliness.[132]

When the Abhidharma texts were committed to writing, also other compositional instruments than *mātṛkā*s were employed to craft these

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[131] McMahan 1998:263.
[132] See von Simson 1965:148–149; see also von Simson 1977:480 and Oldenberg 1917:50–51. Gethin 1992:157: "These composite lists are no doubt intended to function as succinct compendia of the Dhamma, but at the same time they also appear to be regarded as representing a kind of distilled essence of the Dhamma; the act of reducing suttas to lists was seen, I think, as laying the Dhamma bare and revealing its inner workings."

texts.[133] Of the different compositional elements Valentina Stache-Rosen differentiated for the *Saṃgītiparyāya*,[134] many are reminiscent of the Upaniṣads. These elements are also present in the other *Ṣaṭpādābhidharma* works. However, while in the Upaniṣads, rhetorical instruments such as repetition, parallel structures, stock phrases and the like merely serve to keep the attention of the audience, in Buddhist texts, apart from instruments to keep the audience's attention to the speaking as such, they became indispensable instruments that underline and enforce the message revealed.[135] We can thus differentiate two types of intra-textual rhetorical devices: (1) superficial instruments that are shared by texts of other religious and philosophical currents, and (2) instruments that enforce the deeper doctrinal message.

Conclusion

The early canon provides ample evidence for the fact that the Buddhist 'scriptural' tradition at large, including the tradition of Abhidharma texts as a separate genre of Buddhist literature, is rooted in an overall oral/aural Indian literary tradition. Buddhist texts, however, served another purpose than the other texts of the Indian tradition: While Vedic texts, the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads are products of 'revealed truth' and are directed towards the realm of the gods or towards an audience of people of equal belief, Buddhist texts present themselves as 'revealing the truth' proclaimed by the Buddha, and have to convince the audience of the truth revealed by these texts. This fundamental difference between the Buddhist texts and the other texts of the Indian tradition becomes evident in the rhetorical devices used in these texts. As the Buddhist texts, further, originated in an oral tradition, we basically can differentiate the inter-textual rhetorical devices, i.e., those rhetorical devices that are related to the pragmatic context in which the Buddhist texts were recited, from the intra-textual rhetorical devices, i.e., the devices relating to the textual format of the texts, and related to the Buddhist truth they need to unveil.

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[133] See Gombrich 1990b:7.
[134] Stache-Rosen 1968:11–13.
[135] See also McDermott 1984:24.

A study of the inter- and intra-textual rhetorical devices in the canonical works of Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma—the so-called seven *Ṣaṭpādābhidharma* texts—, shows a gradual development of these rhetorical devices. This development is related to the transition from an oral transmission of texts to a written transmission, and a growing sectarian self-consciousness among the adherents of a particular Buddhist community. This development, further, shows a gradually more loose relation to a particular *sūtra* or set of *sūtra*s. The latter is also evident in the fact that later Abhidharma texts no longer are attributed to a direct disciple of the Buddha, in the decreasing importance of a frame story that links the Abhidharma text to *sūtra* literature, and in the choice of *sūtra* passages selected and the purpose of their application in the discussion. The rhetorical instruments adapted from the *sūtra* literature—the use of *mātṛkā*s and the questions-and-answers format of addressing the elements listed in a *mātṛkā*—hereby evolve from simple mnemotechnical instruments—their overall function in an oral literature—to technical devices that enforce the basic tenets of the Buddhist doctrine, *viz*., the mechanical law of causality, and the concept of emptiness, as well as to instruments in a polemical debate with adherents of another school of Buddhist thought. Also those rhetorical devices that the Buddhist texts share with the other texts of the Indian tradition obtain a new function: From devices that merely serve to keep the attention of the audience, they, in Buddhist texts, apart from being instruments that serve to keep the audience's attention, become indispensable instruments to enforce the doctrinal content of the Buddha's truth.

Analysis of the seven *Ṣaṭpādābhidharma* texts reveals that, in the development summarized above, the *Saṃgītiparyāya* without difference forms the oldest phase, while the *Dhātukāya*, the *Prakaraṇapāda*, and the **Aṣṭagrantha*/*Jñānaprasthāna* form the last phase of development. The *Dharmaskandha* and the *Prajñaptiśāstra* either form a separate group (i.e., in their use of *mātṛkā*s and the questions-and-answers format), or form one group with the *Saṃgītiparyāya* (i.e., in their being attributed to a direct disciple of the Buddha), or can further be allocated to different groups (i.e., in their use of *sūtra* passages). The *Vijñānakāya* is traditionally dated in a period of oral transmission of texts, however, overall shows characteristics that are peculiar for texts that belong to a written tradition. As far as its attributed authorship is concerned, the text shows to form a bridge between the earlier and the later groups of

texts. Analysis of rhetorical devices, thus, shows it to be a possible instrument in the dating of Abhidharma texts.

Table 6: Summary Comparative Table of the Ṣaṭpādābhidharma Texts

	Saṃgīti-paryāya	*Dharma-skandha*	*Prajñap-tipāda*	*Vijñāna-kāya*	*Dhātukāya*	*Prakara-ṇapāda*	**Aṣṭa-grantha / Jñāna-prasthāna*
RELATIVE DATE	lifetime of Buddha	lifetime of Buddha	lifetime of Buddha	100 years after Buddha	beginning of 300 years after Buddha	beginning of 300 years after Buddha	end of 300 years after Buddha
ORAL/ WRITTEN TRAD.	oral	oral	oral	oral	written	written	written
ATTR. TO	Śāriputra	Śāriputra / Maudgal-yāyana	Mahāmaud-galyāyana / Mahā-kātyāyana	Devaśarman through Maudgal-yāyana	Vasumitra	Vasumitra	Kātyāyanī-putra
COMPILED COMPOSED	composed	composed	composed	compiled	compiled	compiled	compiled
RELATION TO *SŪTRA* LIT.	based on one single *sūtra*	excerpts from various *sūtra*s	no specific *sūtra* or selection of *sūtra*s	no specific *sūtra* or selection of *sūtra*s	no specific *sūtra* or selection of *sūtra*s	no specific *sūtra* or selection of *sūtra*s	no specific *sūtra* or selection of *sūtra*s
FRAME STORY	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
USE OF *UDDĀNA*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
USE OF *MĀTṚKĀ*S AND-QUESTION-AND ANSWERS	use of *mātṛkās* and questions-and-answers as mnemo-technical aid	restructuring of *mātṛkās* for doctrinal purposes; use of questions-and-answers as mnemo-technical aid	restructuring of *mātṛkās* for doctrinal purposes; use of questions-and-answers for doctrinal / polemical purposes	restructuring of *mātṛkās* for doctrinal purposes; use of questions-and-answers for doctrinal / polemical purposes	restructuring of *mātṛkās* for doctrinal purposes; use of questions-and-answers for doctrinal / polemical purposes	restructuring of *mātṛkās* for doctrinal purposes; use of questions-and-answers for doctrinal / polemical purposes	restructuring of *mātṛkās* for doctrinal purposes; use of questions-and-answers for doctrinal / polemical purposes

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Āpídámó jièshēn zúlùn 阿毘達磨界身足論 ([*Abhidharma*]*dhātukāya*[*pādaśāstra*]); by Vasumitra; tr. by Xuánzàng 玄奘. In: T.1540.

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READING THE *ONE HUNDRED PARABLES SŪTRA:* THE DIALOGUE PREFACE AND THE *GĀTHĀ* POSTFACE

CHRISTOPH HARBSMEIER

> If all the world is a stage, then the ancient Indian Buddhists would say that what is being played out in this *theatrum mundi* is one great tragedy. To the compilers of the *One Hundred Parables Sūtra*, as well as the *Sūtra of the Talented and the Stupid*, what is played out is very much a tragicomedy: As with Shakespeare, the tragic and the comical are often inextricably intertwined. To them, this world is not a fool's paradise. But it certainly is a *Ship of Fools*. Chán texts, as well as Chán practice, are thoroughly Indian-inspired. They combine flamboyantly vulgar Chinese colloquialisms with lexical, as well as syntactic, loans from non-Chinese languages, not necessarily Sanskrit and Pali. It is in China, Korea and Japan that the Buddha tends to smile, not in India.

The text known as the *One Hundred Parables Sūtra*,[1] the Chinese version of which dates to 16 October 492, an example of the *Pìyù jīng* 譬喻經 (*avadāna sūtras*),[2] is an important precursor to this Chán literary tradition. It is a text which uses humorous tales as a vehicle to *nirvāṇa*. The *One Hundred Parables Sūtra* is a jestbook and, like the *Xiányù jīng* 賢愚經 (*Sūtra of the Talented and the Stupid*, XYJ), it is all about *entering nirvāṇa with a smile***,** like the smiling Chinese Buddha who is so exasperatingly absent in Indian iconography. These parables are very much like those medieval *exempla* or *bispel* used to support Christian messages.[3]

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[1] A complete and profusely annotated, as well as rhetorically analyzed, bilingual edition by the present writer of the *One Hundred Parables Sūtra* will be found in *Thesaurus Linguae Sericae* (TLS) under the text label BAIYU (see http://tls.uni-hd.de/).

[2] Five further examples of *avadāna sūtras,* presenting 12, 32, 61, 39 and 44 parables respectively, will be found in T. 4, nos. 204–208:499–542.

[3] For the *exemplum*, see Bremont / LeGoff / Schmitt 1982 and particularly the eminently useful Tubach 1969. Moser-Rath 1984 remains the unsurpassed masterpiece on traditional European joculography. For a partial bilingual edition of the *Sūtra of the Talented and the Stupid* and a complete translation of the earliest extant Chinese jestbook, see the complete translation of *Xiàolín* 笑林 (*The Forest of*

I have found that the *One Hundred Parables Sūtra* (BYJ) richly rewards close reading not only from a buddhological point of view, and not only from the point of view of comparative narratology, but also in the context of Chinese literary and linguistic history.

About the provenance of the text generally known today as the BYJ we do know a surprising amount.[4] The author of the original was an Indian monk named Saṅgasena 僧伽斯那, about whom little is known, and the translator/compiler of the work as we have it today was a monk from childhood, whose family is said to be from central India (Zhōng Tiānzhú 中天竺), Guṇavṛddhi 求那毗, who chose for himself the Chinese name Déjìn 德進 (according to the GSZ, it was Ānjìn 安進) when he settled under the Southern Qí 南齊 (480–502). Guṇavṛddhi came to Jiànyè 建鄴 (present-day Nánjīng) in 479, and is said to have finished the compilation of the book on 16 October 492, translating it into a language which was then known as *Qí yǔ* 齊語, 'the language of (the Southern, or Xiāo 蕭) Qí (Dynasty).'[5] Guṇavṛddhi's biography in the GSZ tells us that he was an expert in *dàoshù* 道術 'the arts of the Way.' He is said to have died in Jiànyè in 502 (according to L. N. Menshikov possibly in 503). As we shall see, the introductory dialogue between the Buddha and the brahmans show fairly clear evidence that Guṇavṛddhi was familiar both with the book *Lǎozǐ* 老子, and with the *Zhuāngzǐ* 莊子. I would venture to suggest that this introduction may be the work of Guṇavṛddhi rather than his master Saṅgasena. However, I hasten to add that I have no proof.

Laughter) in my *Thesaurus Linguae Sericae*. Detailed comparison between Chinese and ancient Greek joculography (the famous *Philogelōs* 'Laughter-Lover') contemporary with the *One Hundred Parables Sūtra* is made possible by my lengthy unpublished manuscript *The Varieties of Chinese Laughing Experience: Towards a Conceptual History of Linguistic and Literary Impudence, Insolence, and Frivolity* (1993) which includes an extensive bibliography on Chinese joculography through the ages. The motif-registers in the *One Hundred Parables Sūtra* can be explored in relation to non-religious Chinese popular narratives in Nai-tung Ting 1976, and in much greater detail in Dīng Nǎitōng 丁乃通 1986. However, one needs to keep in mind the Buddhist impact on that 'non-religious' folklore.

[4] See *Chū sānzàng jìjí* 出三藏記集 by Sēng Yòu 僧祐 (445–518) and *Gāosēng zhuàn* 高僧傳 (GSZ) by Huìjiǎo 慧皎 (467–554), and for details, see Gurevich/ Menshikov 1986:7–49.

[5] For over 40 ways of referring to the Chinese language, see my 2008 lecture *On the Very Notion of the Chinese Language.*

Here, in any case, is a complete translation of Guṇavṛddhi's entry in the GSZ*,* where his is, in fact, the last full entry:

T. 50, no. 2059:345a24

求那毘地，此言安進。	Guṇavṛddhi, called Ānjìn[6] in this country,
本中天竺人。	was a man of Central Indian origins.[7]
弱年從道。	From childhood he followed the path (of Buddhism).[8]
師事天竺大乘法師僧伽斯。	As his teacher, he served[9] the Mahāyāna Indian Buddhist master Saṅgasena.
聰慧強記	He was intelligent, had a formidable memory
懃於諷誦。	and was devoted to recitation (of Buddhist texts).[10]
諳究大小乘將二十萬言。	He had perused up towards 200,000 characters of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna scriptures,
兼學外典	at the same time he studied scriptures from other traditions,
明解陰陽。	and he had a clear understanding of Yīn and Yáng.[11]
占時驗事	When he predicted times and events
徵兆非一。	he proved many times right.[12]
齊建元初	At the beginning of the Jiànyuán period of the (Southern) Qí (dynasty)
來至京師	he arrived in the capital [Jiànyè]
止毘耶離寺。	and he put up at the Pìyélí Monastery.
執錫從徒威儀端肅。	Holding the ritual bell hanging from a staff in his hand, accompanied by his disciples,

[6] Elsewhere he is said to be called Déjìn 德進. See *Dà-Táng nèidiǎn lù* 大唐內典錄 (T. 55, no. 2157:834b8 and *Lìdài sānbǎo jì* 歷代三寶紀 T. 49, no. 2034:96a8: 天竺三藏法師求那毘地。齊言德進).

[7] Two readings are possible: either his family was 'originally' from Central India, or he himself was 'originally' born in India but moved to China.

[8] In pre-Buddhist Chinese, *cóng dào* 從道 would mean 'follow the Way,' not, as here 'become a monk; take the vows.'

[9] There are, in fact, a few pre-Buddhist examples of *shīshì* 師事 used for the usual pre-Buddhist verbal *shī* 師 'treat as one's teacher.'

[10] Since there has been this emphasis on memory one suspects that the recitation was by heart.

[11] Probably *fāngshù* 方術 or *dàoshù* 道術.

[12] Lit. 'not once'—the rhetorical figure is LITOTES.

	authoritative and deeply serious, he wandered about.
王公貴勝迭相供請。	Kings, dukes, and the nobility all venerated him and begged for instruction from him.
初僧伽斯於天竺國抄修多羅藏中要切譬喻。	Earlier, in Central India,[13] Sangasena had copied and edited from the Sūtrapitṭaka the most important parables,
撰為一部。	and had compiled them into one work.
凡有百事。	All in all there were one hundred stories,
教授新學。	for the teaching of the newly converted.
毘地悉皆通兼明義旨。	Guṇavṛddhi knew all these and understood the meaning of all of them,
以永明十年秋譯為齊文。	so in the 10th year of the Yǒngmíng era (492 AD), in the Autumn, he translated these into the Qí language.[14]
凡有十卷。	In all there were ten scrolls,
謂百喻經。	and they were called the *One Hundred Parables Sūtra*.
復出十二因緣及須達長者經各一卷。	He also brought out the *Sūtra of the Twelve Predestined Coincidences* and *Sūtra of the Abbot Xūdá*,[15] each in one scroll.
自大明已後譯經殆絕。	After the Dàmíng era (457–464), the translating of scriptures was abruptly cut short.[16]
及其宣流	When he devoted himself to preaching
世咸稱美。	everyone in his generation was full of praise for him.
毘地為人弘厚。	Guṇavṛddhi was a man of high caliber,
故萬里歸集。	so from miles around people flocked to him.
南海商人咸宗事之。	The merchants of the Nánhǎi region all offered their support.
供獻皆受。	All the gifts he accepted
悉為營法。	and used all of them for the promotion of the true dharma.
於建鄴淮側造正觀寺居之。	On the banks of the River Qín Huái in Jiànyè

[13] The point is crucial: These parables were collected in India by that Indian monk, and certainly not in China. Note that the parables were collected. The introductory dialogue is not mentioned.

[14] Note that there were only few translators at this time!

[15] This text is preserved in the T. canon.

[16] After that period, there was little translating and Guṇavṛddhi marked a new departure.

	he built the Zhèngguān monastery and settled down there.
重閣層門殿堂整飾。	He also refurbished the Halls in the Zhèngguānsì with multi-storey buildings, and several levels of gates.
以中興二年冬終於所住。	In the second year of the Zhōngxīng era (A.D. 502), in the Winter, he died where he had made his home.

The Title

In fact, the *One Hundred Parables Sūtra* is referred to by at least the following distinct Chinese titles:

Bǎiyù jīng 百喻經 '*One Hundred Parables Sūtra*'
Pìyù jīng 譬喻經 '*The Parables Sūtra*' (the introduction is mentioned as *Pìyù jīng xù* 譬喻經序)
Bǎijù pìyù jīng 百句譬喻經 '*The Parables Sūtra in One Hundred Sections*'
Bǎijù pìyù jíjīng 百句譬喻集經 '*The Collected Sūtra of Parables in One Hundred Sections*'
Chī huámán 癡華鬘 '*The Garland of Follies*'

The colophon line quoted in ZZ. (CBETA R129_p0918a11) seems to suggest that the earliest title is the last one in the series, *Chī huámán* 癡華鬘 '*The Garland of Follies*.' I agree with Menshikov that this is likely to have been the original title of Saṅgasena's work.

It appears from this last line, which we shall analyze below, that Saṅgasena did not imagine that he was writing an (apocryphal) *sūtra*. He *may* conceivably have deliberately written in the style of a *sūtra*, if, that is, *if* he did compose the introductory part of the composition as a whole, and *if* having decided to write in the style of a *sūtra* he then changed his mind in the last line of his final *gāthā* and did not call his book a *sūtra* after all.

However, the Taoist references in that introductory dialogue would seem to me to strongly suggest that its author was familiar with early Chinese Taoist literature, something we know about Guṇavṛddhi, but which is unlikely to have been the case for Saṅgasena who wrote in an Indian language and may not have known Chinese at all.

Menshikov suggests a most instructive comparison between the following:

1. Parable 2 and the alternative version of the same story translated literally by Kumārajiva in T. 4:532–533
2. Parable 54 and the alternative version translated in T. 4:528
3. Parable 57 and the version of the same story translated in T. 4:525

Assuming for a moment, with Menshikov, that what Guṇavṛddhi was working on was something like those versions preserved for us in these alternative *avadāna* collections, it would appear that Guṇavṛddhi introduced several fundamental changes to the Indian tales in order to adapt them to the Chinese context:

1. Guṇavṛddhi shortens the texts by leaving out descriptive narrative detail that contributes nothing to the essential story line (in Parable 4); he produced a lean Chinese narrative product.
2. Guṇavṛddhi often added concrete details that increase comprehension of the dynamics of the story line.
3. Guṇavṛddhi reduces highly abstract complexities didactically in the final buddhological comments to sentential simplicity, and (in Parable 57) slightly expands and in any case concretizes a brief abstract didactic final comment, reducing its message to the common sense notion that everything has its proper time and season.

In what follows, I present some reading notes on this introductory dialogue of the BYJ and on the final *jì* 偈 '*gāthā*' of that influential text which is, in fact, mentioned or quoted 100 times in the CBETA version of the *Tripiṭaka*. My notes are intended to place the BYJ in the context of the history of Chinese literature and of the Chinese language. For the place of the BYJ in the context of Indian narrative literature, see Hertel 1912 (*Ein altindisches Narrenbuch*), as well as his annotation of *The Thirty-Two Bharaṭaka Stories* (Hertel 1921).

Our understanding of Chinese Buddhist literature will never be much more advanced than our detailed grasp of the semantic and rhetorical nuances of our primary Chinese Buddhist sources. The present tentative paper tries to work towards a deepening of our philological understanding of these primary sources in an effort to determine the nature of the discourse in the *One Hundred Parables Sūtra*. It is meant as a starting-point for discussion. It invites critical examination and learned criticism everywhere.

Linguistic and Rhetorical Annotations

Part 1[17]

TEXT

聞[1]如是[2]：
一[3]時[4]佛住[5]王舍[6]城[7]。
在鵲封竹園與[8]諸[9]大比丘
菩薩摩訶薩及[10]諸[11]八部三萬六千[12]人[13]俱[14]。
是[15]時會[16]中有異學[17]梵[18]志五百人[19]俱。

TRANSLATION

[I] have heard/learnt the following:
Once upon a time, the Buddha lived in the city of the dwelling of the King,
In the Bamboo Part of Quèfēng, he met with all the great monks,
bodhisattvas-mahāsattvas and 36,000 of the eight categories of the spirits.
At that time within the saṅgha there were gathered 500 heterodox brahmans.

ANNOTATIONS

[1]

A. The passive is significant in Sanskrit *mayā śrutam*. How do you say 'It was heard by me' in classical Chinese? The constraints on passivization in both pre-Buddhist and Buddhist Chinese need careful exploration. There is a distinctly increased liberty to form passives, but that increase does not reach verbs like *wén* 聞.

B. The meaning is *not*: 'I've heard it said (by no matter whom) that,' but 'I have heard (from an authoritative source) that.'

C. This is Ānanda speaking, literally, according to the traditionalist conventionalist way of presenting things (or is it only perceived as an empty *façon de parler?*). In any case, the BYJ poses explicitly as a *sūtra* 經, and not as a *śāstra* 論, a Chinese word which also translates the technical terms *abidharma* and *upadeśa*. The point that our book poses as a *sūtra* I emphasize because it will become exquisitely problematic when one gets to the highly interesting pentasyllabic *jì* 偈 *gāthā*-postface of the book, as we shall see.

Ānanda is traditionally supposed to have heard these *sūtra*s: He

[17] Parts one to ten are the preface to the BYJ, the remaining parts are the postface.

was *not* an arhat, became one upon the Buddha's death, we are told. And because he was not an arhat, he had not the qualifications to paraphrase what he heard as he wrote it down: He had to be painfully literal, according to ancient Indian hermeneutic traditions. He wrote down *exactly* what he heard, *evam eva* 'exactly as is,' to quote the Indians in their own language. What he wrote down was the *Master's Voice*, or the *ipsissima vox*. He did not write down 'something like what he heard.' Such, in any case is the conventional pose. And the interesting question is how seriously we should take this pose in the case of an almost demonstrative *yíjīng* 疑經 'doubtful *sūtra*' like the present one: Whoever composed this introduction, I cannot help thinking, must have known that its anachronistic and almost surreal allusions to Zhuāngzǐ and to Lǎozǐ would not escape the readership. It is not only unlikely but manifestly implausible to an intended Chinese audience that Ānanda heard such allusions to Taoist classics from the Buddha.

[2]

A. *Rú* 如 not 'like,' but 'as follows,' as in modern *rú xià* 如下 which does not mean 'along the following lines.'

B. *Shì* 是 'the following' is not anaphoric 'the aforesaid' but cataphoric 'as follows.' *Rú shì* 如是 does not work like pre-Buddhist *rú shì* 如是 'like this.'

[3] *Yī* 一 does not mean 'one (as opposed to two or three),' but rather 'a certain': The history of the indefinite article influenced by Buddhist Chinese needs to be written.

[4] *Shí* 時 'period; season' does not normally mean 'at some point of time' in pre-Buddhist texts. Compare the ubiquitous opening phrase of a new paragraph in Buddhist Chinese texts 時... 'at this point of time ….' This usage is absent in pre-Buddhist literature.

[5] *Zhù* 住 does not mean to 'have one's abode in, dwell in' in pre-Buddhist texts, but is attested in this meaning in *Shìshuō xīnyǔ*. Karlgren glosses the word once in the *Shūjīng* as 'emplacement.' Why did Buddhist texts introduce this as a high-frequency word? Probably, it is a matter of picking up current colloquialisms.

[6] *Shè* 舍 '(often humble) dwelling' is very curious in a proper name for a royal abode. Compare *hánshè* 寒舍 'my humble home' in modern literary Chinese, which is in fact already attested in Féng Mènglóng's 馮孟龍 *Xǐngshì héngyán—Chén duō shòu shēngsǐ*

fūqī 醒世恒言・陳多壽生死夫妻 of the late Míng dynasty, if not before.

[7] *Chéng* 城 'walled city' is not normally a noun that is modified in pre-Buddhist Chinese, i.e., it is not normally NPOST-N.[18] Thus, Wángshèchéng 王舍城 (translation of 'Rājagṛa') is a post-Buddhist construction, probably inspired by translation needs.

[8] *Yǔ* 與 'together with' is a scope-bearing word, and its scope goes right until *liù-qiān rén* 六千人 '6,000 people.' Technically, 與 is VTON.ADV, i.e., a transitive verb with its object, that phrase preceding and modifying a main verbal expression. And, it turns out that this N can be highly complex, especially in Buddhist Chinese, and much less so in pre-Buddhist Chinese. Again, this change is surely induced by current needs of providing fairly literary translations of Buddhist texts.

[9] *Zhū* 諸 raises many problems in addition to the question of scope which goes until 摩訶薩. An important semantic question is to what extent 諸 'all the (various)' which in pre-Buddhist Chinese always must refer to delimited set, is also definite in this way in Buddhist Chinese contexts like these. There certainly are many other Buddhist Chinese contexts where it is not. An entirely unrelated syntactic point is that apparently the scope of 與 cannot go across the conjunction, as evidenced by the addition of another 諸 in the present context.

[10] *Jí* 及 and *yǔ* 與 are *not* interchangeable or synonymous. For example, the classical Chinese for 'with X and Y' can only be translated as 與X及Y, never as 及X與Y. They are not just dialect variants. We do, of course, often have 及 as VT+N.ADV in pre-Buddhist Chinese. However, in pre-Buddhist Chinese there is no 及…俱. Apart from everything else, the construction is rhythmically outlandish with its abnormally long subject and the minimally short predicate: This is a matter of rhetoric and style.

[11] *Zhū* 諸 'all the' should probably be indefinite 'a host of (supernatural and dragon-like creatures of the eight categories).'

[12] What exactly is counted as being 36,000? The supernatural and dragon-like creatures? Or the great monks, bodhisattvas, mahā-satvas?

[18] For a definition of these syntactic constructions, see TLS.

[13] *Rén* 人 is not here a noun meaning 'humans,' but a post-posed classifier as in 堯有子十人 'Yáo had ten sons' and not 'Yáo had sons. They were ten persons.'

[14] *Jù* 俱 'get together; be together' is a disproportionately short predicate after such a long subject. Rhythmic imbalance of this sort is exceedingly rare in pre-Buddhist Chinese, if indeed it occurs at all.

[15] *Shì* 是 provides definite ANAPHORA for an indefinite antecedent. Such definite ANAPHORA of an indefinite antecedent is already current in pre-Buddhist Chinese.

[16] *Huì zhōng* 會中, ubiquitous in Buddhist prose, is very rare in pre-Buddhist Chinese, if it occurs at all: A *huì* 會 is a meeting for the purpose of negotiation in pre-Buddhist Chinese, and never a gathering for the propagation of religious or philosophical truth.

[17] *Yìxué* 異學 'heterodox,' just like *wàidào* 外道 'heterodox,' is defiantly non-Chinese, perhaps even un-Chinese, and outlandish in its diction. Moreover, since the *fànzhì* 梵志 'brahmans' are always heterodox in Buddhist texts, the addition of 異學 is a case of redundant or tautological non-restrictive modification, as in *yúmín* 愚民 'the ignorant common people' in pre-Buddhist Chinese, which does *not* normally mean 'of the people those who are ignorant.'

[18] According to the *Guǎngyùn* 廣韻 dictionary, *fàn* 梵 'brahman' has two readings, one of which has a final -m according to most Middle Chinese reconstructions.

[19] *Wǔ-bǎi rén* 五百人 is again not a parenthetic insertion; *fànzhì wǔ-bǎi rén* 梵志五百人 '500 brahmans' is a plain classifier construction structurally similar to *mǎ sān pǐ* 馬三匹 'of horses three items > three horses.' Note that the construction 三匹馬 'three horses' is not acceptable classical Chinese.

The book begins with a defiantly arhythmic and outlandish 'Sanskritic' introduction which asserts the non-Chinese superior authority of the text.

Part 2

TEXT

從座[1]而起
白[2]佛言[3]：
「吾[4]聞：
佛道洪深[6]，
無能及者[7]。
故來歸問[8]；
唯願[9]說之。」
佛言[10]：「甚善[11]。」

TRANSLATION

They got up from their seats
and politely addressed the Buddha as follows:
'We have heard that the way of the Buddha is vast and profound
and such that nobody can reach it.
That is why we come here to ask about it.
We just hope that you will expound this way.'
The Buddha said: 'Very good!'

ANNOTATIONS

[1] Note the redundancy of *ér* 而, alternatively the addition of another semantically superfluous word in XYJ: 念是事已 從坐處起 往至佛所 and in *Fǎhuá jīng* 法華經: 即從座起. Contrast the defiantly unrhythmicized ZTJ 1.8.12: 阿闍世王為結集主時，諸比丘則從座起 as opposed to ZTJ 2.2.4: 師付法已，即從座起 and 3.16.11 從座而起，禮拜問曰 (Incidentally, pre-Buddhist received texts usually write the word *zuò* 座 as *zuò* 坐. The notion of a seat became current in Buddhist Chinese, as in the binomes like *shīzi-zuò* 獅子座 / 師子坐 'Lion Seat.')

[2] *Bái* 白 as a term of polite address is regular Buddhist Chinese. Probably a demonstrative colloquialism in origin; surely the translators knew better.

[3] *Yán* 言 'declare' as the second in a series of verbs of saying becomes standard Buddhist Chinese, and is not the standard in pre-Buddhist usage, where *yuē* 曰 clearly predominates.

[4] 36,000 persons are said to speak *unisono*: An indifference to realism which is typical of Buddhist narrative but rare in pre-Buddhist narrative texts.

[5] *Wú* 吾 [4] *wén* 聞, rhythmically supernumerary, introduces a quadrisyllabic sequence of two lines. Note the unsassertive, never contrastive 吾 which significantly differs from the assertive and often contrastive 我.

[6] *Hóng-shēn* 洪深 'vast and profound' is not pre-Buddhist usage. Maybe it should be regarded as loan-formation? It should be appreciated as something of an outlandish neologism, perhaps, as is, of course the phrase *néng jí zhe* 能及者 immediately below.

[7] Note the sustained asymmetry of CAESURA:

佛道/洪深，
無//能及/者。
故//來/歸問；
唯願/說之。

[8] *Lái guī wèn* 來歸問 'came to turn-to-and-ask' already seems to treat *guī wèn* 歸問 as one complex transitive verb with a contextually determinate omitted object, i.e., the Way of the Buddha, (technically, it is VP(ON), but the word is also used as VPTON, and even VPT+PREP+N).

[9] *Wéi yuàn* 唯願 'it is our great hope that the contextually determinate but omitted subject would' and *not* 'we only wish' is current elegant pre-Buddhist Chinese. Technically, this is VPTT(ON.)+V and not VPTT(ON[PIVOT].)+V.

[10] Such use of *yán* 言 for *yuē* 曰 does occasionally occur in pre-Buddhist Chinese, but in Buddhist Chinese it becomes standard. One notes that 言 here does not introduce a substantial statement put forward, thus the word does not here mean anything like 'propose, maintain.'

[11] The passage ends with a combination of ALLITERATION: Initial consonants of the two words are the same in Middle Chinese, and both words end in nasal finals. Pulleyblank's Middle Chinese reconstruction for this would be *dʑim *dʑiEn.

The passage also ends with the rhetorical device called STACCATO, a major caesura in the form of a sentence break within a four-character phrase.

Part 3

TEXT

問曰[1]：“天下[2]為[3]有，為[4]無。[5]”
答曰[6]：“亦有，亦無。[7]”
梵志[8]曰：“如今[9]有者[10]　云何[11]言[12]無。
如今無者　云何言有。”[13]

TRANSLATION

They asked: ‘Does the world count as existing or as non-existing?’
The Buddha replied as follows: ‘It both exists and does not exist.’
The brahmans said: ‘Supposing now that it exists, then how can one say that it does not exist?
And supposing that it does not exist, how can one say that it does exist?’

ANNOTATIONS

[1] In the narrative part the text turns to standard classical Chinese 問曰 in which 問 is the rather complex VT(+N.)+VT[0]+S, i.e., a transitive verb with an omitted contextually determinate object, that whole phrase followed by a transitive verb with a lexically determinate omitted subject and a sentential object.

[2]

A. The principle that all lines have the length of multiples of four is maintained, here with STACCATO together with the rhetorical device of SYNCOPE, i.e., the main syntactic caesura in a line occurring not at the border of four-character phrases, but elsewhere. This is conveniently brought out in displaying the text in quadrisyllabic groups:

問曰[1]：“天下[2]
為有，為無。”

B. *Tiānxià* 天下 ‘all under heaven, the *oikoumenē*,’ is here used to mean something like ‘this world of visible things,’ ‘this world of ours,’ ‘the visible world,’ ‘the universe as we know it,’ as opposed to ‘the Beyond,’ ‘the transcendental other world.’ Classical Chinese *wànwù* 萬物 could not express this. *Yǔzhòu* 宇宙 would refer to the framework rather than its content, and it might well be taken to refer to the whole universe including the transcendental ‘Beyond.’

A clear terminological distinction ‘*Diesseits/Jenseits*’ is not available in pre-Buddhist classical Chinese.

[3] *Wéi* 為 does not mean ‘to be’ but ‘must be held to be; count as’ and is used in a highly specialized ‘philosophical’ sense that is current in pre-Buddhist Chinese.

[4] *Wéi yǒu wéi wú* 為有，為無 is a STACCATO phrase which involves ANAPHORA of 為 (i.e., two successive clauses begin with the same character), as well as EPHIPHORA-ANTHITHESIS (of *yǒu* 有/*wú* 無; i.e., two successive clauses end in antithetic words or antonyms or ‘ANTITHETIC EPIPHORA’).

[5] Unmarked alternative questions are standard in pre-Buddhist Chinese. Marking the alternative with *yì* 抑 ‘in questions: or’ would be inelegant almost to the point of ungrammaticality. The marker is omitted although it probably was present in whatever the language was that this was translated from.

[6] *Dá yuē* 答曰 represents a kind of grammatical or structural REPETITIO: *dá* 答, parallel to *wèn* 問 above, is used as a VT(+N.)+VT[0]+S. Note that it is not part of a subtle HYPOZEUGMA (omission of a word which is specified later in context), because in fact the *fànzhì* 梵志 mentioned below are not already the only speakers addressed here, if I understand the context properly (see note [8] below).

[7] In this STACCATO figure of speech, we have again ANAPHORA (of *yì* 亦) within a quadrisyllabic phrase together with EPHIPHORA-ANTITHESIS (of 有 / 無 as above).

[8] *Fànzhì* 梵志 ‘the (heterodox 異學) brahmans’ are identified as the subject of the assertive hostile logic-chopping. They were only part of the questioning crowd before, and in view of the Buddha’s answer they now take their own independent initiative.

[9] The brahmans use technical logical terminology which specifies purely hypothetical logical PROTASIS (*rú jīn* 如今) as later in the *Línjì lù* 臨濟錄 (LJL) 13.5: 祇如今有一箇佛魔。同體不分。如水乳合。‘Suppose there were a substance made of buddhas and devils blended without distinction into a singly body, like water and milk mixed together.’ In pre-Buddhist Chinese *jīn* 今 alone functions as an abstract marker of the PROTASIS in purely hypothetical sentences: 今有人於此 ‘Suppose we have a man here

[...].' The Buddhists deliberately use a colloquial variant in this technical function.

[10] *Zhe* 者 (technically NPRO.POST-S1:ADS2, i.e., a pronoun following after and being modified by one sentence and that phrase in turn preceding and modifying another sentence) is a general marker of the PROTASIS in conditionals is a highly literate and sophisticated pre-Buddhist usage. The translators must have been fairly literate to be able to use this kind of construction.

[11] *Yúnhé* 云何 '(you) say how' as a rhetorical question particle is an archaism (it is found in the ancient *Book of Odes*) which gained extraordinary currency in Buddhist translations. One may speculate, probably idly, whether 云何 is not one of those cases of archaisms that disappear from ordinary discourse and become colloquialisms. The use of 云何 in so many Buddhist texts might possibly represent a deliberate use of the rhetorical device of COLLOQUIALISM. The matter deserves detailed investigation.

[12] *Yán* 言 is specifically not 'to talk, to engage in dialogue,' although it may sometimes be loosely used that way. Its characteristic meaning tends to be 'to speak up, to maintain, to propose' in pre-Buddhist Chinese.

[13] The patterns of—often antithetic—PARALLELISM need no detailed comment:

A. 為有 / 為無

B. 亦有 / 亦無

C. 如今有者　云何言無 / 如今無者　云何言有

The repeated bisyllabic ANAPHORA of 如今 and the trisyllabic ANAPHORA in 云何 almost parodies pre-Buddhist propensities towards parallelism while at the same time imposing a rigid regime of logical comparability.

Part 4

TEXT

答曰："生者[1]言：'有。'
死者言：'無。'[2]
故說[3]：'或有，或[4]無。'"

TRANSLATION

The Buddha replied as follows: ‘When something lives one says: “It exists.”
and when something is dead one says: “It does not exist.”
That is why one says: “It may exist or it may not exist.”’

ANNOTATIONS

[1] The use of the particle *zhe* 者 here is part of highly abstract discourse: ‘As for what is alive, (one maintains that it “exists”; as for what is dead one maintains that it “does not exist.”’).

[2] This parallelism with a combination of antithetic ANAPHORA (生 / 死) and antithetic EPHIPHORA (有 / 無) belongs to the pithy high rhetoric of the Lǎozǐ 老子.

[3] There are cases where *shuō* 說 is colloquial and means ‘say’ in BYJ. But the use here is the classical Chinese: ‘Therefore one explains: [...].’ The status of verbs of saying outside the quadrisyllabic pattern, is frequent, but as we have seen, not universal. It remains worth explaining why *shuō yuē* 說曰 has always been excluded.

[4] The STACCATO with ANAPHORA (或) with the resumptive antithetic EPHIPHORA (有 / 無) repeated from lines two and three is again standard pre-Buddhist high style.

Part 5

TEXT

問曰：“人從何[1]生。”
答曰：“人從穀而[2]生。”
問曰：“五穀[3]從何而生。”
答曰：“五穀從四大[4]火風而生。”

TRANSLATION

The [brahmans] asked: ‘What does man originate from?’
The Buddha replied: ‘Man originates from grain.’
They asked: ‘What do the five kinds of grain originate from?’
The Buddha replied: ‘The five kinds of grain arise from the Four Elements, for Fire and Air.’

ANNOTATIONS

[1] *Cóng hé* 從何 is a colloquialism attested in *Lùnhéng* 論衡 which became current in Buddhist Chinese. Pre-Buddhist idiom is as in *Zhuāngzǐ* 22: 何從何道則得道？ In the present context, this colloquialism enables obvious parallelism of construction between *cóng hé* 從何 and *cóng gǔ* 從穀.

[2] *Ér* 而 is inserted in order to create the extraordinarily neat pattern according to the length CRESCENDO, according to the famous '*Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder*.' 五穀從何而生 below shows that there is nothing to prevent *ér* 而 directly after the pronoun *hé* 何 in the language of the BYJ.

[3] The addition of the superfluous *wǔ* 五 serves two purposes: it links up with classical pre-Buddhist idiom, and at the same time it confirms the pattern of the length CRESCENDO.

[4] *Sì dà* 四大 refers to the elements *dì* 地 'earth,' *shuǐ* 水 'water,' *huǒ* 火 'fire' and *fēng* 風 'wind'; 火 alone, or 火風 would have sufficed. The text defies the obligatory pentadic system of the *wǔ xíng* 五行 'Five Agents' of late pre-Buddhist cosmology. Retaining the reference to 'the Four Great Ones' asserts the outlandishness of the text, and at the same time it serves to maintain the sustained length CRESCENDO. This text is an example of deliberate artistic prose, or to use Eduard Norden's felicitous terminology, it is *Kunstprosa.*[19]

Part 5

TEXT

問曰："四大火風　從何而生。"
答曰："四大火風　從空而生。"[1]
問曰："空從何生。"
答曰："從無所有[2]生。"
問曰："無所有　從何而生。"[3]
答曰："從自然[4]生。"

[19] A basic handbook on the history of classical Chinese prose style, like Eduard von Norden's *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance. I.* (von Norden 1958), still remains to be written. I know of no such thing, even in Chinese.

TRANSLATION

The brahmans asked: ‘What do the elements, Fire and Air originate from?’

The Buddha replied: ‘The elements Fire and Air arise from Emptiness.’

The brahmans asked: ‘What does Emptiness originate from?’

The Buddha replied: ‘It arises from where there is nothing.’

The brahmans asked: ‘Where does “where there is nothing” originate from?’

The Buddha replied: ‘It originates from what is naturally so.’

ANNOTATIONS

[1] After the length crescendo, the dialogue reverts to strict quadrisyllabic parallelism.

[2] 無所有 is not current pre-Buddhist Chinese and exceedingly common, probably as a colloquialism, in Buddhist Chinese.

[3] After the quadrisyllabic parallelism, the penultimate sequence, irregular as so often in classical Chinese artistic prose, reverts to the length CRESCENDO mode.

[4] *Lǎozǐ* 25 has a standard pre-Buddhist CRESCENDO with REPETITIO, ending in *zìrán* 自然:

人法地，
地法天，
天法道，
道法自然。

The Buddha ends this sequence in the dialogue with what to a Chinese reader must look like a clear ALLUSION to an ancient Chinese text, in a standard quadrisyllabic mode.

Part 6

TEXT

問曰：“自然從何而生。”
答曰：“從泥洹而生。”[1]
問曰。“泥洹從何而生。”[2]
佛[3]言[4]：“汝[5]今問事何以[6]爾[7]深[8]。泥洹者是[9]不生不死[10]法。”

TRANSLATION

The brahmans asked: 'Where does what is naturally so originate from?'

The Buddha answered: 'It originates from nirvāṇa.'

The brahmans asked: 'What does nirvāṇa originate from?'

The Buddha spoke: 'As you now ask about matters, why do you go so deep into it? Nirvāṇa is a dharma that is beyond life and death.'

ANNOTATIONS

[1] But the Buddha goes beyond the Taoist Ultimate, relating it to something transcendental: *níhuán* 泥洹 'Nirvana.' What is beyond Taoist comprehension is the realm of Buddhist conceptual transcendentalism. One notes that *níhuán* 泥洹, as opposed to the completely abstract theorizing *fǎ* 法 'dharma' which is introduced further down, is abstract and esoteric, but does invite emotional attachment: It is an ultimate spiritual aim.

[2] The brahmans are not satisfied with this ultimate origin and continue to dispute and problematize.

[3] Technically, what we have here is an extensive series of MESOZEUGMA, i.e., the omission of a subject which has been made explicit in the beginning and is made explicit again at the end.

[4] *Yán* 言 'declare' is not necessarily an interchangeable variation of *yuē* 曰 'say,' as we noted before. A contrast between the two common verbs of saying may be intended here.

[5] The Buddha permits himself a very familiar and colloquial form of address to the hostile brahmans. However, *rǔ* 汝 is, of course, current colloquial pre-Buddhist Chinese.

[6] Rhetorical question in *héyǐ* 何以 'why (on earth)' does not appear interchangeable here with the otherwise ubiquitous *yúnhé* 云何 'how (on earth)' in Buddhist Chinese texts which we have seen above.

[7] *Ěr* 爾 'like this' is colloquial for *rúcǐ* 如此, and absent in what I know of pre-Buddhist literature.

[8] The figurative use of *shēn* 深 is current in pre-Buddhist Chinese, but the Buddha's focus on the intellectual style of one's dialogue partner is unusual.

[9] Pre-Buddhist antecedents of the current Buddhist Chinese copula *shì* 是 do exist. But the Buddha's colloquialism when expounding

the deepest truth in this context is striking: The translator deliberately avoids the standard pattern SUBJECT 者 PREDICATE 也.

[10] *Bù shēng bù sǐ* 不生不死 'neither prone to be born, nor to die; subject to neither birth, nor death; beyond the realm of life and death' as a modifier of a nominal expression (technically, as VPADN) is not attested in what I know of pre-Buddhist Chinese.

[11] *Fǎ* 法 'dharma' is abstract esoteric Buddhist terminology which the Buddha ends with.

Part 7

TEXT

問曰："佛[1]泥洹[2]未[3]？"
答曰："我未泥洹。"
"若[4]未泥洹[5] 云何[6]得知 泥洹常樂。[7]"

TRANSLATION

The brahmans asked: 'Have you, the Buddha, reached nirvāṇa or not yet?'
The Buddha replied: 'I have not yet reached nirvāṇa.'
'But if you have not yet reached nirvāṇa, how can you know that nirvāṇa is eternal bliss?'

ANNOTATIONS

[1] The question is AD HOMINEM. *Fó* 佛 may be taken as a so-called 'pseudo second person pronoun' (technically, N-PRO) serving as the subject: 'you, the Buddha.' Alternatively, this sentence can be taken to have an understood subject 'you,' and 佛 must then be taken adverbially 'as the Buddha' (technically: NADV, i.e., a noun preceding and modifying a verbal expression, or a 'denominal adverb').

[2] The verbal use of *níhuán* 泥洹 'nirvāṇa' is important because it is one of those cases where the subtle principles of pre-Buddhist Chinese grammar are applied even to phonetic loans from the Sanskrit.

[3] *Wèi* 未 is not like sentence-final *bù* 不 or *fǒu* 否 '*n'est ce pas*,' and means something like 'or not yet,' 'or not quite.' I would like to see pre-Buddhist Chinese examples of this but have not yet found one. XYJ 40 has 頗有人來 求索汝未 which shows that the

nuance of *wèi* 未 meaning 'not yet' can be weakened. Victor Mair 1993 translates: 'Have there been quite a few people come to seek you?' The polite subtle suggestion does seem to be, however, that if they have not, then they will in the future. Technically, one might well have to classify *wèi* 未 as a post-sentential question- particle along the lines of modern Chinese *shì bù shì* 是不是. Technically, *wèi* 未 would then be a PPOSTADS, i.e., a particle following after a sentence and modifying that sentence.[20]

[4] *Ruò* 若 'if' can certainly also be taken to mean 'you' in this context, but for some reason one hesitates to think that the word-play in the form of suspended ambiguity is involved here. Technically, this might even be a case of ADIANOETA, i.e., a sentence which has one obvious surface meaning but an alternative underlying different meaning.

[5] To the reader steeped in pre-Buddhist Chinese, this introduces a passage that echoes the famous story about Zhuāngzǐ and Huì Shī crossing the bridge, where Huì Shī plays the role of the logic-chopping brahmans: 'Not being a fish, how do you know the pleasures of the fish?' The Buddha is cast here in Zhuāngzǐ's *rôle* of the romantic empathies. *Yúnhé* 云何 introduces what is intended as a rhetorical question: 'How on earth ...?,' which may be paraphrased as 'it is impossible that ....'

[6] The main caesura in this line being after *yúnhé* 云何, we have a clear case of ENJAMBEMENT, the quadrisyllabic group ending between a verb and its sentential object. We do find even cases where the group ends between a verb and its ordinary nominal object.

Part 8

TEXT

佛言[1]："我今問汝[2]：
'天下[3]眾生[4]　為[5]苦為樂[6]？"
答曰："眾生甚[7]苦。"

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[20] One could perhaps regard *wèi* 未 as a 'tensed' (or here rather aspect) sentence final corresponding to the positive *yǐ* 矣 'have not yet until now…'; *bù* and *fǒu* do not have this tense aspect, it seems. This connotation of aspect was probably weakened in the course of time and *wèi* 未 became quite synonymous to sentence finals *bù*, etc.

TRANSLATION

The Buddha said: ‘Now I will ask you:
“The various creatures of this world, do they live in bitterness or in delight?”’
The brahmans replied as follows: ‘The various creatures suffer intense bitterness.’

ANNOTATIONS

[1] The Buddha declares: ‘I’m now going to put a question to you.’
[2] The Buddha persists in the familiar address *rǔ* 汝 he has used before.
[3] *Tiānxià* 天下 is redundant; *zhòngshēng* 眾生 alone would refer to all *tiānxià zhòngshēng* 天下眾生 in this context. We have demonstrative REDUNDANTIA-QUADRISYLLABISM which is ubiquitous throughout all Buddhist literature. The phenomenon is fairly common in pre-Buddhist Chinese, but not so typically blatant or demonstrative.
[4] *Zhòngshēng* 眾生 ‘living creatures; sentient beings,’ like the pre-Buddhist *zhūhóu* 諸侯, is not in fact always plural: ZZ. 39:334b4 故有情即是眾生也 ‘Thus what has feelings is a sentient being’; ZZ. 42:41a04 則菩薩即是眾生也 ‘A bodhisattva is a sentient being.’
[5] Repeated *wéi* 為 ‘does the subject count as X or does it count as Y’ as a formative of alternative questions of judgment has been used before in this brief introduction: We have a case of structural or idiomatic REPETITIO. (Technically, the syntactic function is vt+N1.+vt+N2, i.e., a transitive verb with its non-pronominalizable predicate nominal object, followed by the same transitive verb followed by a different non-pronominalizable predicate nominal.)
[6] The antonym pair *kǔ* 苦 ‘be characterized by bitterness’ versus *lè* 樂 ‘be characterized by joyfulness’ has high currency in Buddhist Chinese, but it is already found in *Lùnhéng*.[21]
[7] The degree of bitterness is, of course, irrelevant and is mentioned only for rhythmic euphony. Moreover, in pre-Buddhist Chinese, *shèn kǔ* 甚苦 always refers to a current highly precarious state, whereas here, the reference is not at all to any current situation which is precarious.

[21] See Yang Baozhong 2002 as an important source for this kind of information.

Part 9

TEXT

佛言[1]：“云何[2]名[3]苦。”
答曰：“我[4]見　眾生死時　苦痛難忍。[5] 故知死苦。”
佛言：“汝今不[6]死。亦[7]知死苦。
我見　十方[8]諸佛　不生不死[9]，
故知 泥洹常[10]樂。”

TRANSLATION

The Buddha said: ‘Why do you call this bitterness?’
The brahmans answered as follows: ‘We see that when the various creatures die they suffer bitter pain and find it hard to bear, thus we know that dying is bitter.’
The Buddha said: ‘You are not dead at this point, but still you know that dying is bitter.
I have seen that the various Buddhas of the ten regions are neither born, nor die,
therefore I know that nirvāṇa is eternal bliss.’

ANNOTATIONS

[1] The Buddha intervenes with an assertive question in the style of the logic choppers, which one might exaggeratingly translate thus: ‘How on earth can you apply the predicate *bitterness*?’

[2] *Yúnhé* 云何 introduces a provocative or rhetorical question here, and is probably significantly distinct from *héyǐ zhī zhī* 何以知之? ‘How do you know this?’

[3] *Míng* 名 ‘apply the name’ is technical logical usage.

[4] *Wǒ* 我 was predominantly plural in the Oracle Bones before it came to refer to the singular speaker himself. Here, the word must be taken in the plural, strictly speaking. However, the wording allows one to forget this pedantic detail.

[5] Cornered, and fully aware that needless to say, not having died they know nothing of what it is like to die, just as the Buddha, not having entered Nirvana cannot apparently speak of the delights of that state, the brahmans become guilty of a mild form of ARHYTHMIA, in that they produce a ten-character line, in self-defense.

[6] The avoidance of the expected repetitive and perhaps insulting *wèi sǐ* 未死 'You are not yet dead; you have never yet died' is not fortuitous—it is part of the Buddha's URBANITAS, Zhuāngzǐ style.

[7] *Yì* 亦 is not, or at least not only 'also, like me.' As so often in pre-Buddhist Chinese, the word means 'nonetheless, all the same likewise.'

[8] Pre-Buddhist China tends to speak of *sì-fāng* 四方 'the four directions,' the *Yìzhōushū* 逸周書 occasionally of *bā-fāng* 八方, and the *liù-hé* 六合, but the Buddha, here, opens new transcendental vistas by the outlandish Buddhist technical term *shí-fāng* 十方 'the ten directions' which refers to east, west, south, north, *dōngnán* 東南 'south-east,' *xīnán* 西南 'south-west,' *dōngběi* 東北 'north-east' and *xīběi* 西北 'north-west,' *shàng* 上 'upper world' and *xià* 下 'lower world.'

[9] The Buddha mimics the rhythm of his brahman opponents by way of playful and triumphant URBANITAS. (As mentioned above, *bù shēng bù sǐ* 不生不死 'be beyond the cycle of (re)birth and death,' seems unattested in pre-Buddhist Chinese literature. It is referred to again, here, as a Buddhist keyword by way of REPETITIO. It will be very interesting to see an example in the excavated literature.)

[10] A reader imbued with the pre-Buddhist Chinese tradition will smell in this *cháng* 常 an allusion to the prominent use of this term in the *Lǎozǐ,* as in 道可道非常道.

Part 10

TEXT

五百梵志[1] 心開[2]意[3]解[4]，求[5]受五戒[6]。
悟須陀洹果[7]，復坐如故[8]。
佛言[9]："汝等[10]善[11]聽[12]。
今為汝 廣說[13]眾[14]喻[15]。"

TRANSLATION

The 500 brahmans were delighted and relieved, and they sought to receive the Five Prohibitions.
They grasped the fruits of the *srota-āpanna* (first step towards enlightenment), and they sat down again, as before.
The Buddha said: 'You people listen carefully to me.
Now I will at length expound for you the various parables.'

ANNOTATIONS

[1] This does not mean '500 brahmans,' but 'the 500 (above-mentioned) brahmans,' i.e., the reference is definite.

[2] The figurative use of *kāi* 開 is unattested in pre-Buddhist Chinese. In T. *xīn kāi* 心開 is ubiquitous. Even *Dàozàng* 道藏 426, line 1638 has *shǐ rén xīn kāi shén jiě* 使人心開神解.

[3] *Xīnyì* 心意 is a current compound which recurs, for example, in BYJ 38 and 45, but is also well attested in pre-Buddhist literature, such as *Chǔcí* 楚辭.

[4] *Kāijiě* 開解 is a current compound attested, for example, in XYJ 27.5: 心情開解. The rhetorical device here, common in pre-Buddhist Chinese already, is that of interlocking split compounds: 心意開解 is artistically or artificially split into 心開意解. This rhetorical device is a natural part of the FORMULAIC ENCOMIUM at the end of a tale about the Buddha.

[5] *Qiú* 求 is not the standard 'seek' but 'beg to,' as often in Buddhist Chinese.

[6] *Shòu wǔjiè* 受五戒 does not mean 'receive the Five Prohibitions,' but 'to accept the Five Prohibitions' is formulaic and comes almost 1,000 times in T. Why and how *jiè* 戒 came to mean 'prohibition,' and apparently never 'to prohibit' in Buddhist Chinese is a story well worth telling in detail. It requires thorough research into the earliest translations of Buddhist texts.

[7] At this point the text reverts to the esoteric technicalities of the opening, the *srota-āpanna* fruits, i.e., first step to enlightenment.

[8] The formulaic *cóng zuò ér qǐ* 從座而起 of the opening is echoed by the equally formulaic *fù zuò rú gù* 復坐如故.

[9] The Buddha is not just saying something: *yán* 言 indicates that he is making an announcement, he declares something.

[10] The proliferation of pre-Buddhist plurals like *rǔ-děng* 汝等 in Buddhist Chinese is partly motivated by a desire to represent plural suffixes in the languages translated from, but in the present preface, *rǔ* 汝 has been used regularly to refer to a multiplicity of addressees, as it is again in the next line. The explicit plural here serves only RHYTHMIC EUPHONY.

[11] *Shàn* 善 is a regular marker of the imperative mode in Buddhist Chinese, as in XYJ: 善來，比丘! 'Come, come, monks!' and often elsewhere.

[12] *Shàn tīng* 善聽 'listen!' is formulaic in Buddhist Chinese (832 examples in T.). In pre-Buddhist Chinese, of course, 善聽 is current as well, but it means 'be good at listening to others.'

[13] The Buddha announces that he will *shuō* 說 'expound' the parables, and he uses *shuō* 說 as in *shuōfǎ* 說法 'preach the dharma.'

[14] *Zhòng* 眾 is probably not 'all the many,' as it would be in pre-Buddhist Chinese, but 'a whole set of, many, a whole lot of,' as it often is in Buddhist Chinese, and as we find already in *Zhànguó cè* 戰國策: 故眾庶成強 'many ordinary people make up strength' and as predicative in the memorable Fǎyí 法儀 chapter of Mòzǐ 墨子: 天下之為學者眾而仁者寡 'The learned men in this world are many, the good persons are few.'

[15] The nominal use of *yù* 喻 or *pìyù* 譬喻 to refer to a literary genre is unattested in pre-Buddhist Chinese as far as I know and should probably count as a loan translation. Consider in this connection the attack on Buddhist predilections for parables in the *Lǐhuò lùn* 理惑論 (T. 52, no. 2102:4b14):

夫事莫過於誠，	As for action, nothing is superior to earnestness;
說莫過於實。	as for discourse, nothing is superior to truthfulness.
老子除華飾之辭，	Lǎozǐ eschewed embellished diction, (he didn't!)
崇質朴之語。	and he held basic substantial talk in high esteem.
佛經說不指其事，	The Buddhist discourse do not point out facts,
徒廣取譬喻。	they only make a broad choice of comparisons/ parables.
譬喻非道之要，	But comparisons/parables are not the main point of the Way:
合異為同，	they combine different things so as to identify them,
非事之妙。	and they are not crucial in things.
雖辭多語博，	Even if formulations are many and the talk is wide-ranging,
猶玉屑一車，	like one carriage load of broken-jade-writing,
不以為寶矣。	we still do not regard it as precious.
牟子曰：	Móuzǐ said:
事嘗共見者，	When a matter has been witnessed together
可說以實。	it can be discussed according to the facts.

一人見一人不見者，	But if one person has seen a thing and the other person has not
難與誠言也。	then it is difficult to speak with him truthfully.

[16] The ARHYTHMIA in the last line comprising seven characters may be surprising at first sight. It dissolves the formulaic high tone of the peroration and leads over to the light-hearted jokes that are the subject of this BYJ. These parables themselves, as we shall see, are very largely dominated by the quadrisylabic rhythm which is typically broken at predictable points.

Part 11 (Postface)

TEXT

此論[1]我[2]所造[3]
和合[4]喜笑[5]語[6]，
多[7]損正實[8]說[9]；
觀[10]義應不應[11]，
如似[12]苦毒藥[13]，
和合[14]於石蜜[15]。
藥為[16]破壞[17]病，
此論[18]亦如是[19]。
正法[20]中戲笑[21]，
譬如[22]彼狂藥[23]。
佛正法[24]寂定[25]，
明照[26]於世間[27]。

TRANSLATION

This *sūtra* has been produced by me.
It mixes in jokes
and in many places it contravenes the correct preaching of Buddhism.
If you meditate on the meaning corresponding or corresponding to the truth
you find the case is like that of a bitter powerful medicine
which is mixed in among sugar cane honey.
The medicine is for putting a violent end to disease.
This *sūtra* is also like that.
Within the true teaching of the dharma there is joking
and it is like alcoholic drinks.

The true dharma is full of Buddhist tranquility,
and it shines bright over the human world.

ANNOTATIONS

[1] *Cǐ lùn* 此論 'this *śāstra*' would seem to refer to the present '*sūtra*.'

[2] The 'authorial' self-reference with the assertive *wǒ* 我 invites the question who is referring to himself here. The Buddha does refer to himself by this assertive pronoun when he says: *Wǒ wèi níhuán* 我未泥洹. Must we take the Buddha referring to his own act of *zào* 造 'creation' of his own *sūtra* as a *śāstra*? The matter is confusing.

[3] Editors *zào* 造 'create' or *zuò* 作 'make, produce' *śāstras*, editors merely *jí* 集 'collect > compile' *sūtras*, also *avadāna sūtras*, as pointed out in Menshikov 1986:9.

[4] *Héhé* 和合 is ditransitive, and the understood second object is the *lùn* 論 '*śāstra*.'

[5] *Xǐxiào* 喜笑 'laugh joyfully' may seem pleonastic, until one reflects that 笑 in pre-Buddhist Chinese is predominantly derisive and contemptuous rather than dominated by pleasure. Technically, the term is here VPADN, i.e., a complex verbal expression which precedes and modifies a nominal expression.

[6] *Xǐxiào-yǔ* 喜笑語 looks like a very early technical term for the simple literary genre of a 'joke.'

[7] *Duō* 多 'in many places' does not strike one as current pre-Buddhist Chinese.

[8] *Zhèngshí* 正實 renders a notion of truth which goes beyond that of mere correctness.

[9] *Shuō* 說 in contexts like these comes close to a meaning 'dogma' which is alien to pre-Buddhist Chinese.

[10] The imperative use of *guān* 觀 to mean 'observe!' is not current in pre-Buddist Chinese. It is indeed an important task to see how the range of verbs that can be used in the imperative mode in Chinese changes through contact with other languages. No Delphic *gnōthi sauton*! 'Know thyself' in pre-Buddhist Chinese!

[11] Deontic *yīng* 應 'should' becomes very current in Buddhist Chinese only, but does have antecedents in the *Book of Odes*. The *Hànyǔ dàzìdiǎn* anachronistically presents *Ěryǎ* 爾雅 as reading *yīng* 應 as *dāng* 當 'should.' The present unusual use of 應

'approve, accept' has an antecedent in *Zhuāngzǐ*, Yùyán 寓言: '與己同則應，不與己同則反。', commented upon by Chéng Xuányīng 成玄英: '與己同見則應而為是。'

[12] *Rúsì* 如似 is first attested in Buddhist Chinese and recurs in ZTJ.

[13] *Kǔ dúyào* 苦毒藥 is another case of EURHYTHMIC PLEONASM, i.e., superfluous verbiage which serves the purpose of rhythmic euphony.

[14] Note that this REPETITIO is not merely rhetorical, but is strictly part of the argument. This shows how rhetorical forms must not be viewed in isolation from argument structure.

[15] This may be the earliest mention of sugar coating in medicine.

[16] *Wèi* 為 'serve the purpose of V-ing' is syntactically interesting in that the syntactic category of its object is indeterminate between verbality and nominality. Thus technically, this 為 IS VTOV/N.

[17] Resultative compounds like *pòhuài* 破壞 'smash so as to cause to be ruined' are much more common in pre-Buddhist Chinese than current grammars suggest. However, the 'bleached' idiomatic use of *huài* 壞, only to reinforce a figuratively used *pò* 破, is unheard of in pre-Buddhist Chinese. It recurs, though in a related Buddhist text, the XYJ 27.5.

[18] *Cǐ lùn* 此論 is again an argumentative REPETITIO, which does confirm that what is being discussed is emphatically *not* a *jīng* 經 '*sūtra*'.

[19] *Rúshì* 如是 is used, here, in the current pre-Buddhist manner; contrast the opening line of this text.

[20] *Zhèngfǎ* 正法 is esoteric technical Buddhist terminology, where *zhèngshí shuō* 正實說 was an attempt to render things in comprehensible Chinese.

[21] *Zhèngfǎ-zhōng xìxiào* 正法中戲笑 deliberately brings out the incongruousness of the combination, as in the case of the medical pill.

[22] *Pìrú* 譬如 is idiomatic even in pre-Buddhist Chinese (including the *Analects*), but the combination became overwhelmingly common in Buddhist Chinese.

[23] *Bǐ* 彼 is pejorative in its deictic force ('that appalling alcohol!'), and not, here, a case of EURHYTHMIC PLEONASM.

[24] The conventional reference of the periphrastic *kuángyào* 狂藥 to

alcohol is clear enough, but the periphrasis is clearly pejorative, an effect reinforced by the preceding *bǐ* 彼. It is important to ask the question whether 狂藥 is a Buddhist way of talking disparagingly of alcohol. I think it is not, compare the Péi Kǎi 裴楷傳 biography in the Jìnshū 晉書: '足下飲人狂藥，責人正禮，不亦乖乎？' But one might, evidently, argue that the dynastic history is written under Buddhist lexical influence.

[25] *Jìdìng* 寂定 'ultimate peace' is a Buddhist keyword, and our Postface comes back to this crucial notion again. Indeed, it is the word on which the ZTJ postface ends: The word is unattested in pre-Buddhist literature.

[26] *Míngzhào* 明照 may be overtranslated as 'throw the light of spiritual enlightenment on,' but this figurative usage has sound resonances in pre-Buddhist Chinese.

[27] *Shìjiān* 世間 translates best into Jean-Jacques Rousseau's French '*le monde*': This mundane world. The radially-transcendental opposition is new in Buddhist Chinese, but the notion is one of those idioms which are already very common in *Lùnhéng* 論衡 and would appear to be a Chinese colloquialism that became a core concept in Buddhist Chinese. Contrast the current pre-Buddhist *rénjiān* 人間.

Part 12

TEXT

如服吐下[1]藥
以酥潤[2]體中[3]。
我[4]今以此義[5]，
顯發於[6]寂定[7]。
如阿伽陀藥：
樹葉而[8]裹之。
取藥塗毒[9]竟[10]，
樹葉還棄之。[11]
戲笑[12]如葉裹[13]，
實義[14]在其中。
智者[15]取正義[16]，
戲笑便應[17]棄。[18]
尊者僧伽斯那造作"癡花鬘"竟。

TRANSLATION

This is like taking a medicine designed to make one vomit
in order to cleanse the inside of one's body.
And when I now, using this meaning,
broadcast forth the message of keeping one's Buddhist tranquility.
It is like the *āqiétuó* (Skr. *agada*) medicine:
one wraps it up in leaves.
Once you have taken the medicine and you have applied the strong substance,
then as for the leaves, one goes on to throw them away.
The humour is like the leaf-wrapping,
and the true significance is inside it.
The wise will pick the correct meaning
and the humour then corresponds to the leaves.

ANNOTATIONS

[1] *Tǔxià* 吐下 is another one of those common resultative verbal compounds. The special feature here is that that this resultative compound is adnominal. Technically, we have VPADN**.**

[2] *Sūrùn* 酥潤 'cleanse' looks like a surprisingly poetic word in this mundane context, at first sight. But one must remember that what is at issue here is a cleansing of the spiritual inner self: It is because of this ultimate inner reference that the poetic diction is felt to be appropriate.

[3] *Tǐ-zhōng* 體中 is not just a case of EURHYTHMIC PLEONASM: The notion of the 'inner' is important in the context.

[4] The persistent authorial self-reference in this *gāthā* shows an author who feels that his is a new or original kind of composition which needs insistent justification.

[5] *Yì* 義 'main meaning; message' is a specifically Buddhist technical usage. The word cannot be used in this way in pre-Buddhist Chinese, but in Buddhist Chinese this has become perfectly current.

[6] *Yú* 於 is a case of semantically extremely bleached EURHYTHMIC PLEONASM. The text would be clearer without it, but it would not follow the obligatory rhythmic pattern of this pentasyllabic *gāthā.*

[7] The text reverts to its buddhological buzzword, *jìdìng* 寂定 'Buddhist settled tranquility' the elucidation of which is the purpose of this literary exercise.

[8] This postnominal *ér* 而 marks off an instrumental adverb: 'by the use of tree-leaves one wraps them up.'

[9] At last we find a trace of a traditional classical Chinese PARALLELISM with ISOCOLON (same length of the parallel phrases): *qǔ yào* 取藥 'take the medicine' is supported by the structurally superficially similar *tú dú* 塗毒 'smear on the drug.' I say 'superficially' because *tú* 塗 'smear on' is in fact semantically complex in that it contains an ellipsis of a contextually determinate object, i.e., the surface that something is smeared on. Technically, 塗 is VTTON1(.+PREP+N2), i.e., a ditransitive verb with its explicit direct object, and with an omitted prepositional object which is retrievable from the pragmatic context.

[10] *Jìng* 竟 'to finish,' 'S1 having finished, S2 happened,' 'after S1, S2' is here used in a grammatical way that is unattested in pre-Buddhist Chinese. Technically, it is VPOSTADS1.ADS2, i.e., a verb following after and modifying a sentence S1, this whole construction preceding and modifying another sentence S2.

[11] In this line, again, the author indulges in standard pre-Buddhist Chinese classical artistic prose style:

...樹葉而裹之。
...樹葉還棄之。

[12] *Xìxiào* 戲笑 is nominalized here, and such nominalization of this current binome is not common in pre-Buddhist literature, although it does in fact occur in the Bān Zhāo's 班昭 *Nǚjiè* 女戒 where it is advised: 無好戲笑 'One should not develop a liking for joking and laughing.'

[13]

A. *Yè* 葉 is adnominal, technically: NMADN, i.e., a mass noun preceding and modifying a main nominal expression. I am not aware of an example of this in pre-Buddhist Chinese, but this absence would not seem to be significant: We might just as well have had such an example.

B. Again, this line cultivates a classical parallelism between *xìxiào* 戲笑 and *yèlǐ* 葉裹.

[14] The compiler is aware that his jests were not worthy of Buddhist truth, but they were needed as sweetener for the outlandish dogmatic pill of the Buddhist truth, the *shíyì* 實義 of which he has

spoken before, and for which esoteric Buddhist term there is no pre-Buddhist example.

[15] In true classical rhetorical style, the author opts for VARIATIO between the synonymous *shíyì* 實義 and *zhèngyì* 正義, both of which terms refer to the true Buddhist message.

[16] The *zhìzhe* 智者 is not 'the man of true wisdom,' but in fact 'the man of good sense, the sensible reader.'

[17] *Yīng* 應 is 'should, must'. Here comes the rub: It stands to argue that there came to be those who insisted that getting the true essence of the Buddhist message was not so much in rejecting the 'inappropriate' and non-Buddhist tale, but in *getting the joke.* One thing is to recognize that life is a joke. Another thing—true enlightenment, as it happens—is to actually *get* that joke.

[18] One might be tempted to diagnose a rhyme in the last two lines here, between *yì* 義 and *qì* 棄, but the facts do not oblige: The words are pronounced something like /ŋiᴇ/ and /khi/ in Middle Chinese, if we are to believe Pān Wùyún 潘悟雲, and their rhyme groups are universally recognized as being not the same: 支 versus 脂.

[19] What *jìng* 竟 'ends' here, compiled by the venerable Saṅgasena is, after all, openly declared to be *The Garland of Folly*, and *not* some *Sūtra of One Hundred Parables.* In the first place, there are only 98 tales. In the second place the translator-compiler of the Chinese text acknowledges that what he translated did not originally present itself as a *sūtra.* There is, of course, the genre of the *jīng-lùn* 經論, the '*śāstra* on a *sūtra*,' like Aśvagoṣa's (Mǎmíng 馬鳴) famous *Dàshèng zhuāngyán jīng-lùn* 大乘莊嚴經論, as Sūn Chàngwǔ 孫昌武 from Nánkāi University in Tiānjīn kindly points out to me. And the wide open question remains whether indeed we need to read our book as a *śāstra* on a *sūtra*. More specifically, whether we need to construe the Buddha, in the introductory dialogue to the book, really learning from Lǎozǐ after all, as the Chinese tradition has long claimed he did. There still remains very much to learn about *The Garland of Folly.*

Conclusion

What is clear already at this point is that *The Hundred Parables Sūtra*, which is supposed to have been translated from the Sanskrit, does not, in fact, contain 100 parables, is not, in fact, a *sūtra* in the first place, and was by all appearances not, in fact, directly translated from the Sanskrit, but adapted to the Chinese audience.

Significantly, *The Hundred Parables Sūtra* opens with a joke which comes dangerously close to poking fun at replacing real life with Buddhist monasticism, while the Buddhist truth ought to be no more than 'the salt of life.' More seriously still, the book plays around with the formulaic conventions of *sūtra*s in a text which openly declares itself not be a *sūtra* at all. It is thus neither a fake *sūtra*, nor a so-called 'doubtful *sūtra*.' It is a delightful new thing: A 'playful *sūtra*.' No wonder that this playful effect of the whole thing needed to be mitigated by narrowly sectarian moralizing commentaries which turned out so uncongenial that Eduard Chavannes, for his part, like many later translators, thought he served the book best by omitting these fundamentally apologetic 'morals of the tales.'

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Appendix 1: Comparison between BYJ 57 and *Zá pìyù jīng* 雜譬喻經, T.4, no.207: 525b29-c9

蹋長者口喻
昔有大富長者。
左右之人欲取其意
皆盡恭敬。
長者唾時
左右侍人以腳蹋卻。
有一愚者
不及得蹋
而作是言。
"若唾地者
諸人蹋卻。
欲唾之時
我當先蹋。"

Parable 57 of *Báiyù jīng*
Formerly there was a very rich and distinguished person.
The people around him were keen to gain his attentions,
and all of them showed him great respect.
When that distinguished man was spitting away,
the people in attendance trod it away with their feet.
But then there was one fool who had not been in good time to tread on the spittle and he made this speech (addressed to himself):
"If he spits on the floor all these people tread it away.
(Already) when he is about to spit I shall (before he has actually spat), anticipate this and tread on it (already then)."

雜譬喻經 14
外國小人
事貴人
欲得其意。
見貴人唾地
競來
以足蹹去之。
有一人
不大健勦。
雖欲蹹之
初不能得。
後見貴人欲唾。
始聚口時
便以足蹹其口。

Zá pìyù jīng fascicle 14
In a foreign land, men of no significance
were in the service of a nobleman
and wanted to please their master.
When they saw the nobleman spat on the floor
they all sallied forth
competing to wipe the spittle away with their feet.
There was one man
who was not greatly gifted for this task:
although he wanted to step on the spittle
from the start he never got to do it.
Later, when he saw the nobleman was about to spit,
when the nobleman was gathering his lips to spit,
he then kicked him in the mouth with his foot.

Comment:

The three parables translated in the appendices are preserved in The Hundred Parables Sūtra as well as in more direct translations probably from Sanskrit. In these three cases, the reader may thus investigate for himself, how the composition of The Hundred Parables Sūtra differs from these more direct translations.

於是長者正欲咳唾。	Then, the senior person was just about to cough and spit.
時此愚人即便舉腳	At that time this fool then raised his foot
蹋長者口。	and stepped on the senior person’s mouth.
破脣折齒。	He ruined the lips and broke his teeth.
長者語愚人言：	The senior person told the fool:
“汝何以故蹋我脣口。”	“Why are you kicking me in my mouth?”
愚人答言：	The fool replied:
“若長者唾	“If your spittle emerges from the mouth
出口落地	and falls on the ground
左右諂者	then all these flatterers in your entourage
已得蹋去。	have already got to step on it so as to remove it.
我雖欲蹋	Even if I want to tread on it,
每常不及。	every time I fail.
以是之故	For this reason,
唾欲出口	when the spittle comes out of your mouth
舉腳先蹋。	I raise my foot and tread on it before it is too late,
望得汝意。”	and I hope in this way to gain your favour.”
凡物須時。	Every thing needs its proper time.
時未及到	When the proper moment has not yet arrived
強設功力	and one insists to make one’s effort,
返得苦惱。	then, on the contrary, one will harvest troubles.
以是之故	For this reason
世人當知	people in this world must understand
時與非時。	opportuness of moments.
貴人問言：	The nobleman asked him:
“汝欲反耶。	“Are you trying to offend me?
何故蹹吾口？”	Why are you kicking me in my teeth?”
小人答言：	The petty servant said:
“我是好意	“I had the best intentions,
不欲反也！”	and I was not intending to offend you!”
貴人問言：	The nobleman asked:
“汝若不反	“If you weren’t going to offend me,
何以至是？”	why did you ever come here, may I ask?”
小人答言：	The petty servant said:
“貴人唾時	“Whenever your noble highness was about to spit
我常欲蹹唾。	I always wished to wipe away the spittle.
唾纔出口	As soon as the spittle left your mouth,
眾人恒奪。	all these people invariably took it away.
我前初不能得。	So to begin with I was unable to get my way.
是故就口中蹋之也。”	So that is why I kicked you right in the mouth.”
此喻論議時	This illustrates that when one discusses things
要須義出口	when the meaning has left the mouth,
然後難也。	only then is there difficulty.
若義在口	As long as the meaning remains in the mouth
理未宣明	the principle is not yet expounded clearly,
便興難者。	then to raise objections,
喻若就口中蹋之也。	that is compared to kicking him in the mouth.

Appendix 2: Comparison between BYJ, T.4:551a and *Záyù jīng* 雜喻經, T.54, no. 2123:143c7

譬如有蛇	For example there was a snake,	昔有一蛇	In ancient times there was a snake
尾語頭言	and its tail told its head:	頭尾自相與諍。	of which the head and the tail were quarreling.
我應在前	"I ought to be up front!"	頭語尾曰：	The head told the tail:
頭語尾言	The head told the tail:	"我應為大！"	"I should by rights be the leader!"
我恆在前	"I'm always up front,	尾語頭曰：	The tail told the head:
何以卒爾	why this sudden suggestion?"	"我亦應大！"	"I should also be the leader!"
頭果在前	The head turned out to be in front,	頭曰：	The head said:
其尾纏樹	and the tail tied itself up round a tree	"我有耳能聽，	"I have ears that can listen,
不能得去	so the head could not get away.	有目能視，	and I have eyes that can look,
放尾在前	The head allowed the tail to be up front	有口能食。	and I have a mouth that can eat.
即墮火坑	and (they both) fell into a fiery pit,	是故可為大。	Therefore I should count as the leader.
燒爛而死	burnt themselves up and died.	汝無此術，	You do not have these skills
		不應為大。	and should not count as the leader.
		行時最在前，	When we are on the march I take the lead
		是故可為大。	therefore I should be the leader.
		汝無此術，	You do not have these arts,
		不應為大。"	and you should not count as a leader."
		尾曰：	The tail said:
		"我令汝去，	"It is I who order you to go,
		故得去耳。	that is why you get to go, that is all.
		若我以身遶木三匝？"	And what if I wind myself round a tree three times?"

三日而不已。	For three days the tail did not let go.
頭遂不得去	The head was thus not able to leave
求食飢餓垂死。	in order to seek for food, and they were on the verge of dying of hunger and thirst.
頭語尾曰：	The head told the tail:
“汝可放之	“Let me off!
聽汝為大！”	I shall obey you as the leader!”
尾聞其言	When the tail heard these words
即時放之。	it immediately let him off, and the head went on to tell the
復語尾曰：	tail:
“汝既為大，	“Since you are the leader
聽汝在前行。”	I shall obey you, you take the lead.”
尾在前行，	The tail took the lead,
未經數步，	and after a few steps,
墮火坑而死。	the snake fell into a fiery pit and died.
此喻	This illustrates the following:
僧中或有聰明大德	Among the monks there was an intelligent man of great
上座能斷法律。	virtue, who took the high seat and defined the law.
下有小者不肯順從。	Under him there are petty men who will not follow him.
上座力不能制。	The one in the high seat lacks the power to control these
便語之言欲爾隨意。	and he told them to follow their intentions as they wished.
事不成濟俱墮非法。	His task is not performed, and they all fall into lawlessness.
喻若彼蛇墜火坑也。	Compare this to that snake that fell into the fiery pit!

師徒弟子	The disciples of Buddhist masters
亦復如是。	are also like this.
言師耆老	They claim their masters are old
每恆在前。	and that they keep staying at the head.
我諸年少	We young people
應為導首。	ought to become the leaders.
如是年少	Young men like this
不閑戒律，	do not understand the Buddhist prohibitions
多有所犯。	and they will often break some of these.
因即相牽	And thus they pull each other
入地獄。	so as to enter into hell.

Appendix 3: Comparison between BYJ 2 and *Zhòng jīng zhuàn zá pì yù* 眾經撰雜譬喻, T.4, no.208:532c15

BYJ 2	Translation	T.4, no.208	Translation
昔有愚人， 將會賓客； 欲集牛乳， 以擬供設； 而作是念： 「我今若預 於日日中 □（=擠）取牛乳， 牛乳漸多。 卒無安處， 或復酢敗。 不如即就牛腹盛之， 待臨會時 當頓□（=擠）取。」	Once upon a time there was a fool who was about to assemble a group of guests; in preparation for this he wanted to collect buffalo milk, and thus he was planning to provide this for his guests. On the occasion he had the following thought: "If I now in preparation for this day every mid-day I milk the buffalo the buffalo milk will become more and more. Then suddenly at some point there will be no place to put the milk, or again the milk will go sour. It will be best to just leave it filling up the buffalo's belly; I shall wait until the time for our reunion comes and will then take out the milk at one go."	（六）昔有一婆羅門。 居家貧窮 正有一牸牛。 [(殼-一)/牛]乳 日得一斗， 以自供活。 聞說十五日飯諸眾僧沙門 得大福德。 便止 不復[(殼-一)/ 停至一月 并取。 望得三斛 持用供養諸沙門。	Once upon a time there was a brahman. He lived at home in poverty and just had one cow. Milking the cow he daily got one dipper of milk, and in that way he supplied his needs. He heard it said that if he held a feat for all the monks he would gain great good fortune. so he stopped his practice and no more milked his cow. and after he had stopped for one month he would then take all of the milk at one go. He hoped he would get 300 'bushels' of milk with which to serve all the monks.
作是念已， 便捉牸牛母子， 各繫異處。 卻後一月， 爾乃設會， 迎置賓客。 方牽牛來， 欲□（=擠）取乳。 而此牛乳 即乾無有。 時為眾賓或瞋或笑。	When he had made these thoughts he then got hold of buffalos, mother and daughter, and tied them up, each in a different place. And then, one month later, only at that time did he set up his party and he received and placed his guests. Only then did he pull along the buffalo and he wanted to milk her. But the milk of this buffalo had already dried up and there was none left. At this time he was either stared at angrily or laughed at by the guests.	至滿月 便大請諸沙門至舍 皆坐。 時婆羅門即入 [(殼-一)/牛]牛乳 正得一斗。 雖久不[(殼-一)/牛] 乳而不多。 諸人呵罵言： 「汝癡人。 云何日日不[(殼-一)/牛] 乃至一月也， 而望得多？」	When the month had gone by he then asked all the monks to his home for a feast and they all came and sat down. At that time, when the brahmans had all arrived he milked his cow and got no more than just one dipper full of milk. Although he had not milked them for long, the milk was not a great deal. All the people swore at him and said: "You are a fool! why did you fail to milk the cow day after day for as long as a whole month, and hope to get more milk?"

愚人亦爾：
欲修布施，
方言：
「待我大有之時，
然後頓施。」
未及聚頃，
或為縣官
水火盜賊之所侵奪，
或卒命終，
不及時施。
彼亦如是。

The fools are also like this:
they wish to cultivate the making of donations,
and then they say:
“Let’s wait until I have a lot of the stuff,
and only then will I make the donations at one go.”
Before they have accumulated the stuff
it may be either taken away by district officials,
or by floods or fires, or by thieves or robbers,
or indeed they may suddenly meet death,
and do not at the proper time make their donations.
That person (in the above story) is the same as
these.

今世人亦如是：
有財物時。
不能隨多少布施。
停積久後
須多
乃作。
無常水火
及以身命
須臾難保。
若當不遇一朝蕩盡
虛無所獲。
財物危身
猶如毒蛇
無得貪著。

People today are also like this:
While they have goods they are
unable to dispense them according to what they have.
Having stopped and after having amassed things
they need to have much,
and only then take action to dispense what they have.

But in this world of impermanence, floods and fire,
even one’s very life
is hard to preserve for as much as a moment.
If one does not dispense things in one morning,
then there will be emptiness and there will be nothing
to get.
Property is dangerous to the person
just like a poisonous snake.
One should never crave or get attached to property.

COMING TO TERMS WITH TERMS

THE RHETORICAL FUNCTION OF TECHNICAL TERMS IN CHÁN BUDDHIST TEXTS

CHRISTOPH ANDERL

Terms and the redefinition and re-interpretation of traditional Buddhist concepts played a crucial role in establishing a Chán-specific identity and doctrinal framework, in addition to marking a distinction to other schools' teachings, practices, and doctrines.[1] The specific use of terms is closely connected to other important developments in Chán, for example, the appearance of specific literary genres and rhetorical devices. This paper intends to analyze some aspects of the use of terms and the redefinition of concepts during different stages of the development of Chán, specifically by comparing the early period (*ca*. 650–800), the late Táng and Five Dynasties periods, and the period of the early Sòng when Chán classics such as the *Línjì lù* were edited. Important sources for this study are the writings of the early Chán School preserved in the various collections of the Dūnhuáng manuscripts.[2]

Terms in Dūnhuáng Texts

Many of the early Chán texts are originally only preserved in manuscript form since they did not become part of the 'orthodox' Chán canon and were subsequently not transmitted after the so-called

[1] I use the word 'school' here not as referring to an institutional entity, but rather referring to groups who shared a common doctrinal or ideological framework within communities of Buddhists. The term 'schools' referring to monastic institutions cannot be properly applied before Sòng times.

[2] These handwritten manuscripts were discovered in *ca*. 1900 and closely studied from the 1960s onwards, specifically by Japanese scholars, such as Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山, Ui Hakujū 宇井伯壽, etc., and in the 1980s and 1990s also by American scholars. The study of these manuscripts led to a complete re-evaluation of the early period of Chán which was previously only known through the retrospective and sectarian historiography of the Chán schools of the Sòng period. There are basically two types of texts among the Chán Dūnhuáng findings: (a) texts written in the form of treatises, and (b) historiographic texts of various early Chán factions. In the limited framework of this study, mainly early Chán texts in treatise form will be considered.

'Southern' branch of Chán gained dominance from the mid-8th century onwards. Since they were not edited and revised as most texts of the 'classical' Chán were, they give us a unique opportunity to study the multifaceted thoughts of early Chán monks. The interpretation of terms and concepts played an important role already in these early texts.

Before dealing more specifically with some of these texts it is important to shortly discuss the issue of Buddhist terms in Táng Buddhism. During my research visit at Kyoto University in spring 2008, I had the opportunity to browse through the facsimiles of the various Dūnhuáng collections. It was striking how many manuscripts and manuscript fragments actually deal with the meaning of Buddhist terms and concepts, in addition to the many manuscripts containing parts of dictionaries and word lists on the meanings and pronunciation of Chinese characters and words.

During the Táng Dynasty an enormous number of Buddhist terms were circulating in countless sūtra texts, in addition to translated commentaries and commentaries/treatises produced by Chinese Buddhists. The 6th and 7th centuries—when Buddhism was already well-established in both the north and south of China—witnessed the emergence of a variety of Buddhist schools of thought, often differing not in terms of actual Buddhist practices and rituals, but rather concerning the interpretation of (often contradictory) concepts and doctrines found in the numerous translations of Indian sūtras and śāstras.[3] The creative attempts to overcome contradictions and create

[3] In order to succeed with the project of synthesizing the incoherent or even contradictory concepts, thoughts, and sets of doctrines appearing in the Buddhist key scriptures, certain devices were crucial: The application of 'two truths' models (i.e., contradictory concepts could be assigned to certain slots pertaining to different spheres of function, for example, the 'mundane' *vs*. the 'absolute' level). The important concept of *upāya* (Ch. *fāngbiàn* 方便), 'expedient means,' could be applied in a similar way: Certain concepts, doctrines, practices could be assigned a valid function restricted to specific circumstances and instances—stripping them of a general validity. Another important device is the organization of concepts and terms in hierarchical taxonomies (a good example is the organization of consciousnesses [*shí* 識] and mental functions in the 6th and 7th centuries, some models reaching up to nine consciousnesses). These devices are, of course, often combined in order to achieve consistent doctrinal models (e.g., in the nine consciousnesses-model, the first eight are assigned a provisional status, whereas only the ninth pure consciousness is considered as 'real'). Last, but not least, the Madhymika theories on insubstantiality can be used to invalidate the meaning of any concept/doctrinal statement. Already in traditional Mahāyāna this led to endless chains of synonyms (often consisting of

a synthesis of different sets of doctrines and thoughts led to the appearance of a large corpus of treatises and apocryphal scriptures which became the foundation for the formation of the Buddhist schools of thought typical for the Suí and Táng dynasties. The attempt to solve contradictions and create coherent doctrinal systems undoubtedly involved a massive scholarly effort by the Buddhist monks concerned with these projects, and the appearance of Chán can be regarded as evolving from these doctrinal discussions, at the same time being a reaction to this predominantly scholarly approach to Buddhism.[4]

Below is the text of three pages from a Dūnhuáng booklet explaining some basic Buddhist terms in the form of questions and answers:[5]

> [...] 又問："眾生幾物成身？" 答："九物成身。" "何名九物？" 答："四大五蘊是名九物。" 問："四大有幾種？" 答："有二種，一者，內;二者，外。" "何名外四大？" 答："地、水、火、風是名外四大。" "何名內四大？" 答："內有骨肉堅硬 […]"
>
> […] Furthermore, [someone] asked: 'As for sentient beings, how many substances [lit. things] make up their bodies?' Answer: 'Nine Substances make up the body.' 'How are these substances called?' Answer: 'The Four Elements and Five Skandhas, those are called the Nine Substances.' Question: 'How many kinds of Four Elements are

originally antonymous or not directly related concepts). All these elements are also important devices in early (and of course also later) Chán texts. Early Tiāntái Buddhism also specialized on these issues and it is obvious that the emerging Chán movement received much inspiration by this approach. Likewise, transmission texts (which in the course of time became the very key-genre of Chán literature) were of concern for early Tiāntái.

[4] The fabrication of apocryphal scriptures played a key role in the 'sinization' of Buddhism in China, both on the level of doctrinal and 'popular' Buddhism. Apocryphal scriptures were the ideal medium for reformulating key concepts in the Chinese context, while at the same time firmly rooting them in the authority of Indian scriptures. Probably the most important apocryphal scripture (not only for Chán!) in this respect was the *Dàshèng qǐxìn lùn* 大乘起信論 (*Treatise on Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna*, T.32, nos. 1666 and 1667).

[5] Booklets explaining basic Buddhist concepts are numerous among the Dūnhuáng manuscripts. This booklet is preserved at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, St. Petersburg, and has the number Дx2823 (for a facsimile reproduction see the exhibition catalogue *Shiruku rōdo monji o tadotte* シルクロード文字を辿って [On the Trail of Texts Along the Silk Road]. Kyoto, Kyoto National Museum / The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg 2009:76-77 (booklet page numbers 18, 19, 20).

> there?' Answer: 'There are two kinds: first, there are the internal; second, there are the external.' 'How are the External Four Elements called?' Answer: 'Earth, Water, Fire, Wind, those are called the External Four Elements.' 'What are the Internal Four Elements called?' Answer: 'Internally there are bones, flesh, solids […].'

Very complex patterns of explanation of terms can be found on some Dūnhuáng manuscripts. An example is ms. Дx130 (Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, St. Petersburg), in a text called *Wǔyùn lùn* 五蘊論 (*Treatise on the Five Skandhas*), with the following patterns of explanation:

> [*Question pattern*] 云何[為] X 'what does [the term] X mean?'
> [*Answer pattern*] 謂…為性[6] '[X] is referred to … as its nature (essence)'
>
> *Example*:
> [*Question*] 云何作意？
> What means 'to apply one's mind' (作意)?
> [*Answer*] 謂能令心發悟為性。'It is referred to [as such because] it *causes the mind to set out for enlightenment* as its essence (i.e., as its essential meaning).'
>
> [*Question pattern*] 問以何義故（說名為 X [耶]) "For what reason does one refer to/expound [the term] X?"
> [*Answer pattern*] 答（以）…意故說名為 X "Because of … one refers to expounds [the term] X."
>
> *Example*:
> [*Question*] '問：以何義故說名為'界'？' "For what reason does one expound the name (term) 'realm' (*jiè* 界)?"
> [*Answer*] '答：以能住持無作用性自相意故說名為'界'。' "Because of its meaning *ability to maintain non-activity and its intrinsic feature of applying nature* the name (term) is expounded as 'realm.'"[7]

Concerning the development of terms, the following aspects can be observed: Simultaneously with the increasing popularity of Buddha-nature theories (which by no means were dominating theories in Indian Buddhism), as well as Huāyán and Tiāntái theories concerning the interpenetration of phenomena and the identity of principle and phenomena, sets of synonyms and quasi-synonyms increased and

[6] 'X' referring to the term to be explained.
[7] The translation is tentative.

'identical meanings' of (originally different) terms became popular. Together with the excessive interpretation and re-interpretation of terms, this led to a certain *inflation* of meanings connected to these terms (within a certain rhetorical context a term sometimes could nearly mean anything, if this was intended), as well as imprecise and more or less deliberate interpretations. This indicates an extremely creative period concerning the commenting and interpretation of Buddhist doctrines—as well as new developments of doctrinal and sectarian systems (first one 'inflates' the meaning of an existing term and then one 'superimposes' a new meaning on that term), but at the same time this must have also caused considerable confusion and uncertainty concerning the meaning of Buddhist concepts.

The following questions can be posed: Considering the amount of translations which were produced until and during Táng times, accompanied with the introduction of numerous terms and concepts—who, indeed, could keep track of all these terms, who was considered the authority concerning their interpretation, what repertoire of terms did an average scholar-monk possess, and what kind of resources and reference tools did monks and nuns have for their disposition?[8] We know that coming to terms with terms has always been an important issue in the development of Chinese Buddhism, if we think of such practices as the matching of Buddhist terms with Daoist concepts which can be observed in early translations, the organization of scriptures in a hierarchical system in order to deal with the phenomenon that concepts/terms are interpreted very differently in different scriptures, and the heated debates concerning central concepts (such as the nature of the mind) raging in the 6th and early 7th centuries. Three important aspects can be observed in this respect:

[8] The many word lists and dictionary fragments among the Dūnhuáng manuscripts indicate that there were probably a variety of reference tools accessible to monks and nuns (most likely kept in monastery libraries).

- the *pronunciation* of terms/words (phonological aspect),[9]
- the *meaning* of terms (semantic aspect), and
- the identification of the *Chinese graphs* which were used to write the terms.

We have much evidence that all these issues were of great concern to the Táng Chinese clergy. Browsing through the Dūnhuáng manuscripts we find numerous fragments of lexicographical materials, such as the *Yīqiè jīng yīnyì* 一切經音義 and other texts and lists concerned with the meaning and reading of Buddhist terms and concepts found in Buddhist texts. Lexica, such as the *Lóngkān shǒujìng* 龍龕手鏡 (10th century), were composed for the purpose of deciphering the hand-written copies of Buddhists *sūtras* and treatises. Not only is the reading of handwritten treatises a great challenge for scholars today, but obviously already for the respective contemporary readers!

The exposure to this vast number of terms and concepts was probably one of the factors that led to the formation of the type of texts typical for the early Chán school(s), with an emphasis on a rather small number of terms, their interpretation, as well as the creation of new terms which could be directly related to this faction of Chinese Buddhism. These texts appeared not coincidentally when the Chán movement entered the buzzing life of the capitals of Cháng'ān and Luòyáng, among the world's largest cities of that time, with a vivid intellectual and cultural life: "Just as Chinese nature poetry originally developed among city dwellers, so was the almost barnyard primitivism and anti-intellectualism of 'classical' Táng-dynasty Chán created in a highly sophisticated, literate milieu of the Five Dynasties and Sòng dynasty periods."[10] The early Chán School had to deal with this new 'public,' consisting of members of the Imperial household, the aristocracy, the literati, and countless fellow monks of different Buddhist schools, Daoist magicians and masters, as well as a more

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9 This is actually a very important aspect and several dictionaries and word lists give priority to the sound over the explanation of the meanings of Chinese characters. One of the reasons for this is the great popularity of *dhāraṇī* texts during the Táng (and to a lesser degree also in the Sòng period). These texts contain sections which have no obvious meaning at all, but emphasize the sound of the Chinese characters (on this issue see also the *Introduction* to his volume). In order to preserve the soteriological effectiveness of the sounds, it was considered extremely important to read the characters in the correct way.

10 See McRae 2003:37.

general public to be converted to the movement's religious ideas. The early texts of the Chán School directly give witness to this development that, in the long run, proved to be highly successful.

An Analysis and Re-interpretation of Terms in the Early Chán

We can discern several important features in the treatment of terms in early Chán texts. These early texts are usually firmly grounded in the prevailing doctrinal framework of that time (i.e., often dealing with the themes of Buddha-nature (*tathāghatagarbha*), the nature of mind, Mind-only (*wéixīn* 唯心) theories, *prajñāpāramitā* thought, etc.); however, the approach and treatment of these topics show specific features. In this section some of these features will be discussed.

Levels of Truth

Applying the Two Truths[11] model, terms are frequently discussed on two levels, a 'conventional' and a deeper or 'absolute' level. In the *Commentary to the Fǎjù jīng* (*Fó shuō fǎjù jīng* 佛說法句經)[12] there is a division between the 'regular interpretation' of terms and the interpretation based on 'contemplative analysis,' indicated by the terms *nèi* 內 'inside (internally)' and *wài* 外 'outside (externally).' For example, *hùfǎ shànshén* 護法善神, traditionally referring to benevolent deities protecting the Buddhist teachings, are explained in the following way (Pelliot Chinois 2192, folio 9, lines 8–10):

> 護法善神／外曰：此似人天非人天形微（？）難見護持善行人也。內曰：護法者證理之心也。神者不測之用也。一微妄動及心[心]源守護法身不令妄塵所除故得立其名。

[11] Two Truths theories became very popular in texts by Zhìyǐ 智顗 (538–597); he is the *de facto* founder of the Tiāntái School, attempting to create a consistent system of Buddhist teachings; the Two Truths approach played an important role in this project.

[12] This is an apocryphal *sūtra*; the commentary to it was found by Tanaka Ryōshō 田中良昭 on Pelliot Chinois 2192 (here, I am not concerned with the more conventional commentary on Pelliot Chinois 2325); for a more detailed description of this commentary, see McRae 1986:202f, including a very good discussion of the technique of 'contemplative analysis;' in addition, McRae cites several examples from this text (*ibid*.:198–207).

> *'Benevolent Deities Protecting the Dharma'*:
> The *exterior* explanation is (i.e., superficially, they are explained in the following way): They resemble the features of human *devas* or non-human *devas* [?], are difficult to see, and they protect people practicing good deeds.
>
> The *interior* explanation is (i.e., on a deeper level they are explained in the following way): 'To protect the Dharma' refers to the *mind* enlightened to the Principle. 'Deity' (*deva*) refers to the unfathomable function [of the mind]. As soon as there is the tiniest activity of deluded thoughts arising, the mind-source protects the *dharma-kāya* and prevents it from being polluted; for this reason the name (term) [護法善神] was established.

Note that the phrase 護法善神 is broken up into two parts, the verbal phrase *hùfǎ* 護法 'protect the dharma' is equated with the abstract noun *xīn* 心 'mind,' generally the central term in Chán Buddhist treatises; the nominal head of the original phrase, *shén* 神 'deity' (referring to an external protector of the dharma), on the other hand, is equated with an *activity*, i.e., the protective function of one's innate Buddha-nature/Buddha-mind. Thus, not only the reinterpretation of the phrase is of interest, but also the technique how this is syntactically/rhetorically achieved: In this case by an inversion of the grammatical structure, the modifying verbal phrase 護法 is transformed into a noun (*agens* 'subject'), whereas the nominal head phrase 善神 is transformed into a verbal action (predicate).

Another strategy in the text is to divide up the meaning of a term into different aspects (which are often numerically organized), into a 'conventional' aspect and a 'deeper aspect' (*yī zhe* 一者 … *èr zhe* 二者 …); as in the example above, this is an application of the Two Truths theory (mundane *vs*. absolute); the levels of interpretation conform to the 'levels of truth.' In the following example, a frequently-used disyllabic term (*chūjiā* 出家 'to leave one's family [to become a monk/nun]') is analyzed in the following way. This word, originally consisting of a transitive verb with a noun as object, is usually used as a fixed phrase/term in Buddhist texts. Note that in order to reanalyze it, not only two levels of meanings are suggested, but the verb is also separated from its object which, in turn, is modified by complex verbal phrases. The 'splitting' of set terms into

their components is a typical technique in the re-analysis of words in this type of texts (Pelliot Chinois 2192, folio 10, lines 9–14):[13]

> 夫出家者，有二種：一者，心出家; 二者，相出家。
>
> 其相出家者，出所生父母血屬之家。奉持戒律、剃髮、染衣、四諦、威儀。有修（？），有得執着，有漏業，名為相僧也。
>
> 其心出家者，出五隱、六賊、十八界之家。其形或道、或俗。行即無修（？），無德，無利，無益; 境智俱亡，亡之又亡; 出於分別事理俱淨是名體僧是無為出家也。
>
> As for *leaving home* there are two kinds: first, *mentally leaving home*; second, *leaving home by appearance*.
>
> As for *leaving home by appearance* (*xiàng* 相), one leaves the home of one's father and mother who gave birth to one, the home of one's blood relatives. One maintains the precepts (prohibitions), shaves off one's hair, dyes one's clothes[14] [black], [upholds] the Four Noble Truths and the dignified deportment [proper for a monk]. There is still cultivation, there is gain and attachment, and there are defiled actions; this is referred to as *monk by appearance* (*xiàngsēng* 相僧).
>
> As for mentally (*xīn* 心) leaving home, one leaves the home of the Five Skandhas, Six Thieves, and Eighteen Realms.[15] As for its form, it may be a monk (*dào* 道) or a layman (*sú* 俗). As for practice, there is no cultivation,[16] no virtue, no profit, no benefit. Both objects [of perception] and wisdom disappear—utterly disappear (disappear once and for all). Transcending the distinction between principle and phenomena, everything is in a state of purity. This is referred to as *monk by essence* (*tǐsēng* 體僧) and is the *leaving home in an unconditioned way* (*wúwéi chūjiā* 無為出家).[17]

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[13] References to folio and lines are according to the facsimile-photographs published by the *International Dunhuang Project*; the punctuation is my own.

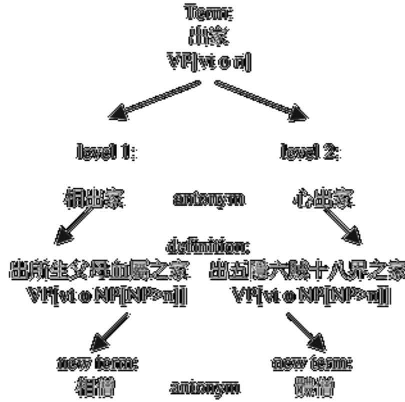
[14] *Rǎnyī* 染衣 is also used as translation for Skr. *kāṣāyā*, 'monk's robes.'

[15] The 'Six Thieves' refer to the six sense organs, the whole phrase refers to the interaction between sense organs, sense functions, and sense realms (3x6=18).

[16] I read as *xiū* 修 'cultivate' (compare the popular variant for *xiū* listed in the *Fójiào nánzì zìdiǎn* 佛教難字字典); McRae reads *bèi* 備 'preparation.'

[17] For an alternative translation of the third paragraph, see McRae 1986:203.

In the process of dividing up the meaning of the term on two levels (and breaking up its internal morphological structure), new expressions/terms are created:[18]



Typically for early Chán texts, the 'deeper' truth level is usually related to the functioning of the mind (*xīn* 心; this remained the cardinal and most frequently used term throughout the history of Chán, including compound words containing *xīn*). These interpretations focusing on mental activities are obviously a result of the extensive discussions on the nature of mind which were ardently pursued during the 6th and 7th centuries, and the success of the Buddha-nature theories in which Buddha-nature is equated to the Pure Mind (as well as the mixing of Buddha-nature theories with Yogācāra thought, with the emphasis on objects as representations of the Mind). As such, the mind is frequently described as a quasi-substantial entity not subject to birth and death.[19]

[18] 'o' indicates object relationship, '>' indicates the direction of modification.

[19] The most influential text in this respect was the apocryphal *Awakening of Faith*. Note that mostly *kataphatic* references (i.e., with the help of 'positive' terminology) to the (Buddha-)Mind in pre-Chán doctrinal texts (dealing with the nature of mind) and early Chán texts were sometimes replaced by *apophatic* ones in later Chán text, for example, *yīxīn* 一心 'One Mind' or *zhēnxīn* 真心 'True Mind' (*kataphatic*), as opposed to *wúxīn* 'No-Mind' (*apophatic*), probably in order to escape the accusation of being 'essentialist' and not conforming to the doctrine of insubstantiality.

Contemplative Analysis

The technique of the so-called ‘contemplative analysis’ of terms (the examples in the paragraph above can also be grouped under this technique) was an important feature of Chán literary creativity from its very beginning. Many of the Dūnhuáng texts attributed to members of the early Chán School contain examples of this type of interpretation of terms. ‘Contemplative analysis’ is occasionally used in secondary literature as a translation of the Tiāntái term *guānxīn shì* 觀心釋.[20] This technique was originally used by Zhìyǐ 智顗 in his commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra*. McRae uses ‘contemplative analysis’ in order to refer to this phenomenon.[21] Bernard Faure refers to this rhetorical technique as ‘symbolic exegesis’[22] and ‘contemplative or allegorical hermeneutics.’[23]

The phrase is used especially often (18 times) in Zhìyǐ’s *Miàofǎ liánhuá jīng wénjù* 妙法蓮華經文句 (T. 35, no. 1718). Similar to the technique used in the *Commentary to the Fǎjù jīng*, words and phrases from the *Lotus Sūtra* are analyzed on a ‘deeper’ level; this kind of explanation is introduced by the phrase *guānxīn shì zhe* 觀心釋者 (‘as for an explanation based on the contemplation of Mind;’ this seems to be sometimes contrasted with the phrase *shìguān zhe* 事釋者, referring to a more conventional or mundane explanation). In the style of contemplative analysis, ‘Bodhi Tree’ (*pútí shù* 菩提樹), for example, is explained in the following way:

> 觀心釋者。樹即十二因緣之大樹也。深觀緣起自成菩提。欲以無漏法林樹蔭益眾生。故言觀樹。

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[20] On *guānxīn shì*, see *Nakamura*:197a and *Foguang*:6951. The term appears, for example, in Zhìyǐ’s *Commentary to the Lotus Sūtra*, the *Miàofǎ liánhuá jīng xuányì* 妙法蓮華經玄義, T.33, no.1716:692c25.

[21] See McRae 1986:201–202.

[22] See Faure 1997:41; for a discussion on the influence of Tiāntái teachings on early Chán, see *ibid*.:49–53.

[23] Another topic in these texts is the reinterpretation of the ‘Ten Evil Deeds’ (*shíè* 十惡), positively interpreted as activities in the context of Bodhisattva practice (*ibid*.:101–102). Other examples can be found in the *Lìdài fǎbǎo jì* 歷代法寶記 (T.52, no.2075), the *Platform Sūtra*, Sēngchóu's 僧稠 treatises on Pelliot Chinois 3559, and even the *Línjì lù* from the Sòng Dynasty. As such, there is a continuity in the Chán interpretation of the Ten Evil Deeds from the earliest period of Chán until its ‘classical’ and post-classical period.

> As for the explanation by contemplating the Mind: 'Tree' refers to the great tree of the 12-fold chain of causation; if one deeply contemplates the dependant arising one naturally achieves *bodhi*. One wishes to give shade to and benefit the sentient beings with the tree (forest) of pure (unconditional) dharmas, therefore I talk about contemplating the [word] 'tree.'

As one can deduct, the technique of 'contemplative analysis' used in early Chán scripture is by no means a new invention, however, its frequency, and especially the way how explanations are occasionally stretched to a nearly absurd limit, make it a unique feature of this kind of texts and easily recognizable as early Chán scriptures.

New Terms and the Reduction to Key Terms

Through the abovementioned techniques new terms, new combinations of established terms, and new interpretations were created. These terms were treated in different literary forms of commentaries and treatises, for example, the *Fǎjù jīng shū* is a *phrase-by-phrase commentary* with focus on the reinterpretation of terms on a deeper level, whereas the Dūnhuáng text *Xiū xīnyaò lùn* 修心要論 (*Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind*) is a treatise in the form of questions and answers. In the treatise, *a few selected terms* are focused upon.[24]

In this kind of treatise, there is also great focus on meditative techniques and a number of key expressions. Whereas the description of meditative techniques is often rather conservative, the interpretation of the terms related to these practices contain many innovations. The *Xiū xīnyaò lùn*, for instance, simultaneously addresses the questioner (*appearing in* the text), as well as the potential reader (*reading* the text), thus directing the text to a two-fold audience. Traditional practices as, for example, *zhǐ guān* 止觀 'cessation and contemplation,' *wǔtíng xīnguān* 五停心觀 'five kinds of contemplation,' and *sìniànchù* 四念處 'four bases of mindfulness' are combined in the context of Mahāyāna thought (a project which was already begun in the 5th and 6th centuries).[25]

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[24] For a thorough study and edition of this text, see McRae 1986.

[25] A very important monk in this respect was Sēngchóu 僧稠 (480–560); there are several treatises among the early Dūnhuáng Chán ascribed to this monk (for a detailed study of this monk and the manuscripts, see Anderl 1995).

The appearance of this particular form of treatises is probably related to new challenges the early Chán factions were confronted with. The reinterpretation of terms had also a great impact on ethical questions (vinaya), and—along the line of interpreting technical terms described above—also an 'inner' aspect of the monastic and ethical rules was established which was assumed to go beyond the traditional maintaining of monastic (or lay-Buddhist) precepts. New terms related to this development were, for example, *xīnjiè* 心戒 ('Mind-precepts'), *yīxīn-jiè* 一心戒 ('One-Mind precepts'), and *wúxiàng-jìe* 無相戒 ('Formless precepts').[26] This can perhaps be regarded as reaction to the Vinaya School, and the performance of traditional Buddhist practices (such as the enacting of monastic rules, acts of merit, *sūtra* recitation, etc.) are devaluated in favour of meditation practices and actual insight in the nature of the mind.[27] By devaluating more traditional explanations of terms and practices and by reinterpreting terms usually associated with other Buddhist factions, the Chán School could superimpose a seemingly more innovative and 'deeper' meaning on Buddhist concepts. These interpretations also aimed at making their writings more attractive to the educated readership.

In many of the early treatises, the focus is actually on a rather *small number of terms*, some newly developed and others being reinterpreted. Important terms in this respect are, for example, *kàn xīn* 看心 'to view the Mind,'[28] *guān xīn* 觀心 'to contemplate the Mind,' *shǒu xīn* 守心 'to guard the Mind,' *shǒu yì* 守意 'to guard the Mind,' *shǒu yī* 守一 'to guard the One,' *bù qǐ* 不起 'not to give rise [to deluded thoughts],' etc.

These developments seem to be related to the historical, doctrinal, political, and sectarian background. Frequently, developments concerning literary devices took place during times when the relationship of Chán monks with the socio-political environment was undergoing a process of change. Terms are central in the ideological

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[26] See, for example, *Platform Sūtra*, Dunbo 77, folio 100, ed. Deng/Rong 1998:239.

[27] This might also have an economical aspect: Precept-ceremonies and issuing certificates to novices and lay-Buddhists were an important source of income for priests and monastic institutions and popular 'preceptors' (*héshàng* 和尚) could attract large crowds in this respect. A famous example is Shénhuì who gained favour at the imperial court by raising funds for the Táng army through selling monk certificates and administering precepts.

[28] *Xīn* refers here to the 'True Mind,' 'Buddha-Mind.'

battle between Buddhist and non-Buddhist groups, between different Buddhist sects, as well as between different Chán-factions. At the end of the 7th and early 8th centuries, for example, we can imagine a colourful scenario of multiple Buddhist factions competing for the favour of the Buddhist-friendly (but also Daoist-friendly!) imperial court, aristocracy, and literati. The relatively new Chán movement had to compete with the sophisticated scholarly and meditation systems of the Huāyán, Tiāntái, Vinaya Schools, as well as tantric/esoteric Buddhism which became extremely popular at the Táng court during the 8th century.[29]

Simplification of Doctrines

Although sometimes offering new interpretations, early Chán treatises often consist of sets of doctrinal statements that are not systematically related to each together; in addition, there is not necessarily a coherent rhetorical structure.[30] However, this situation changed when early factional disputes found their expression in many Chán texts of the 8th century, especially in the writings originating in the Shénhuì—an extremely gifted rhetorician—faction of Chán. These texts, including the *Platform Sūtra*, have been amply discussed in the voluminous secondary literature on this topic and it was frequently pointed out that the rhetoric of these texts created a dichotomy within the Chán movement, dividing it into a 'Northern' and 'Southern' branch. From the rhetorical point of view the attacked 'Northern School' is labeled as an inferior version of Chán, frequently misinterpreting and simplifying its doctrinal system. For this purpose a set of antonymic terms/labels are created, e.g., 'sudden' *vs*. 'gradual' enlightenment, 'Southern' *vs*. 'Northern' School, 'direct insight' *vs*. an intellectual approaches to Buddhism, and so on. The evolution of the *Platform Sūtra* clearly shows how rhetorical means were used to achieve supremacy among the different factions of the Chán movement. Shénhuì labels his opponents with (derogatory) terms and often creates dichotomies by the use of antonyms. Key doctrines are often

[29] For a very interesting case-study of ideological conflicts reflected in the interpretation of terms, see Faure's (1986) study of the concept of *One Practice Samādhi* (*yīxíng sānmèi* 一行三昧).

[30] See, for example, the treatises preserved on Pelliot Chinois 3559, especially those attributed to Sēngchóu but composed in the context of the early Chán School.

formulated in rhythmical slogan-like phrases which are concise and can be easily remembered. Good examples can be found on ms. *Dunbo* 77, which includes several treatises related to the Shénhuì circle, including an early version of the *Platform Sūtra* (actually the most complete among all the Dūnhuáng versions of this text).

In the example below, the 'Northern School'—a label invented by Shénhuì for the circle around Shénxiù and his disciples—is attributed a set of inferior practices:

> *Pútídámó nánzōng dìng shìfēi lùn* 菩提達摩南宗定是非論:[31]
>
> 凝定，住心看淨，起心外照，攝心內證
>
> […] being frozen in concentration (*samādhi*), one stops the mind and gazes at purity; activating the mind one illuminates the outside; collecting the mind one realizes on the inside […]

In another passage the two Chán masters and their respective teachings are concisely labeled *'nán Xiù Néng běi'* 南秀能北 'in the South [Shén]xiù, in the North [Huì]néng' (*ibid*., folio 17, ed. Deng/ Rong:46), ironically assigning the wrong directions to the two masters.[32] The text also contains passages attacking early Chán lineages establishing Shénxiù as the 'Sixth Patriarch' and his disciple Pǔjí 普寂 as the 'Seventh Patriarch.' In the *Platform Sūtra* version of the same manuscript, the teaching of the Sixth Patriarch Huìnéng (after having attacked the 'inferior' teaching of a gradual approach to Chán practice) is characterized with a few catchy phrases. The central part of the phrase is formulated strictly parallel. Note that these phrases are packed into direct speech, addressing the audience/reader; in addition, the doctrinal message is personalized by relating it to the speaker, emphatically using a two-layered pronoun (*wǒ-zì fǎmén* 我自法門 'this very teaching of mine'):[33]

> 善知識，我自法門，從上已來，頓漸皆立無念為宗，無相為體，無住為本。

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[31] Ms. Dunbo 77, *folio* 14 (ed. in Deng/Rong:41); in order to make a lasting impression on the reader, this phrase is repeated several times in the text.

[32] It should of course read 南能北秀 'Néng in the South and Xiù in the North,' a phrase frequently repeated in successive Chán texts.

[33] *Nánzōng dùnwù-jiào zuìshàng dàshèng tánjīng* 南宗頓悟教最上大乘壇經 [*Platform Sūtra of the Supreme Great Vehicle of the Sudden Teaching of the Southern School*]; ms. Dunbo 77, *folio* 108 (ed. in Deng/Rong:259).

> Good friends, this very teaching of mine, since times past, sudden and gradual [aspects] both established, *No-thought* is its central *doctrine*, *No-mark* is its *substance*, and *Non-abiding* is its *origin*.

Although the teachings of Shénxiù and his disciples were very complex and—judging from the extant Dūnhuáng texts attributed to them—by no means restricted to the above characterization, Shénhuì's rhetoric was very successful and the labels above were repeated again and again throughout the development of the Chán School—indeed, after early Chán texts ceased to be transmitted, it was more or less the only information left of the teachings of the early Chán innovator Shénxiù and his disciples.[34]

The Integration of Buddhist Terms in Non-Buddhist Genres

There are several early Chán treatises in the form of Daoist/medical treatises. In these kinds of texts, medical substances are often replaced by abstract Buddhist terms. During the early Táng, Daoist clerics enjoyed high prestige at the Táng court, competing with Buddhist monks for imperial support; these texts were probably written to show the superiority of Buddhist teachings as compared to Daoist medical and magical practices.[35] Below is an example from Pelliot Chinois 3559 (*folios* 27 and 28), *Sēngchóu chánshī yàofāng liáo yǒulóu* 稠禪

[34] The background for these attacks are struggles concerning lineage claims among early Chán factions. After early adherents of this movement moved to the capital from a secluded monastic community in today's Héběi Province (usually referred to as the Dōngshān 東山 'East Mountain' community), the monk Shénxiù and his disciples received great honours from the rulers, aristocracy and literati. In early transmission texts, Fǎrú 法如 is described as the 'Sixth Patriarch' (according to his epitaph, ed. in Yanagida 1967:487–496), or, alternatively, Shénxiù (according to his epitaph, ed. in *ibid*.:497–516). Shénhuì successfully challenged these claims from *ca*. 730 onwards and was very efficient in establishing Huìnéng as the Sixth Patriarch. As Albert Welter in his recent work on the development of the Chán School remarks: "However, Shénhuì's oratory and political skills must have been considerable, and his crusade was, in the end, highly successful. His attacks on gradualism and dualism and his emphasis on sudden enlightenment made later generations of Chán practitioners very sensitive to these issues'" (Welter 2008:19).

[35] Competitions between Buddhist and Daoist clergy (often concerning magic efficacy or soteriological powers) are also an important topic found on paintings in the Dūnhuáng grottos. For a recent insightful account of Buddhist-Daoist interactions during the Táng, see Mollier 2009.

師藥方療有漏;[36] note that medical substances are not only replaced by Buddhist terms and concepts, but that they are also followed by a quantifying expression, an interesting linguistic device:[37]

稠禪師藥方療有漏／	*Chán Master [Sēng] Chóu's Medical Prescription to Cure the Afflictions*
病愈出三界逍遙散／	*[Medicinal] Powder for Healing the Illness One Escapes the Triple World and Traverses Freely* [?][38]
信受一兩	*One ounce of accepting the faith*
{取渴仰樂聞佛法者}	{obtaining to long for joyfully listening to the Buddha-dharma}
精勤二兩	*Two ounces of vigorous effort*
{取晝夜專習不墮者}	{obtaining single-minded practice day and night without backsliding}
空門一兩	*One ounce of the teaching of emptiness*
{取內レ知(=知內)外見者}	{obtaining to know [all] internal and external views}[39]
習緣二兩	*Two ounces of ceasing [external] conditions* [?][40]
{取知畢竟無所得者}	{obtaining the knowledge that ultimately there is nothing to attain}
觀空一兩	*One ounce of the contemplation of emptiness*

[36] For another example, see ms. Shanghai Library 141, entitled *Xiù chánshī quàn rén yàobìng jié* 秀禪師勸人藥病偈 (*Ghātā of Chán Master* [*Shén*]*xiù Advising People on Medicine for their Ailments*); I have not found any additional reference to this text so far, but I assume that Xiù *chánshī* refers to the abovementioned Northern School Chán Master Shénxiù. For another similar text, see Pelliot Chinois 3177.

[37] Based on the edition and German translation in Anderl 1995:80–83; the translation here is tentative. '／' symbolizes space in the manuscript. Parts marked with '{…}' are written in smaller characters in the ms., being an explanation or commentary. 'レ' refers to a diacritic added occasionally on the right sight of the ms. columns, marking that the Chinese characters should be read in reverse order. Diacritic markers and corrections can be found on many Dūnhuáng manuscripts (often it is not clear whether these were made by the person copying the text, or whether these are later additions, for example, by a reader or when manuscripts became part of monastery libraries).

[38] The subtitle poses actually several problems which will not be fully dealt with here. I interpret *sàn* 散 as '(medicinal) powder' as in *sànyào* 散藥.

[39] Probably *nèi* refers to views on teachings within Buddhism, whereas *wài* refers to non-Buddhist (i.e., heretic) teachings.

[40] I read 習 as loan for 息, i.e., 'ceasing ([all] conditions).'

{取知苦空無常者}	{attaining the knowledge that suffering is insubstantial and impermanent}
無我二兩	*Two ounces of non-self* (Skr. *anatman*)
{取無自他分別者}	{attaining [the knowledge] that there is no difference between oneself and others}
逆流一兩	One ounce of *resisting the flow* [*of transmigration*]
{取不入色聲香味觸法者}	{attaining not to enter the dharmas of form, sound, smell, taste and touch}
離欲二兩	*One ounce of distancing oneself from desires*
{取無依無處有者}	{attaining not to depend on or dwell in existence}
右此八唯，	Take these eight flavours to the right (i.e., abovementioned),
惠斧剉之，	cut them up with the axe of wisdom,
於定臼中細擣（=搗），	pound them finely in the mortar of concentration (Skr. *samādhi*),
以不二羅篩，	making use of the sieve of non-duality,[41]
勿令麤（=粗）過，	do not let impurities pass through,
日服方寸匕（？）[…]	daily take the dose of a medicine spoon[42] […]

Chán Texts and Vernacular Language

The 'Personalization' of Terms

Whereas early Chán texts are to a large extent written in the style and language of traditional Buddhist treatises (a version of Literary Chinese interspersed with vernacular elements and 'Sanskritisms,' sometimes referred to as *Buddhist Hybrid Chinese*), major genre shifts appeared when the vernacular language of the late Táng was adopted for composing Chán texts.[43] The more flexible syntactic structure of

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[41] *Luóshāi* 羅篩 'sieve, strainer' and *jiù* 臼 'mortar' are two of the traditional ten utensils in an alchemical laboratory.

[42] This is written with the strange character [扌＋匕]; having found no reference, I assume it is a variant of 匕. Compare *fàngcún bǐ* 方寸匕, a measure in the shape of a spoon used for applying medicinal substances.

[43] Passages written in the vernacular are usually restricted to the dialogues, whereas the more narrative parts are written in more conservative style; as such, many of the

spoken Chinese, the large vocabulary of the colloquial language, and the many rhetorical markers typical for the vernacular language opened a wide range of new possibilities of expression. We witness a significant shift from doctrinal writings to narratives based on dialogues and interaction between masters and disciples. The large array of modal markers typical for the spoken language—including vulgarisms, colloquialisms, swear words, formulas of greeting, etc.—were ideal for describing situational encounters between masters and disciples.

In early examples of this new genre, such as the *Zǔtáng jí* 祖堂集 (ZTJ, 952 AD), we find dialogues and interactions between masters and disciples, in addition to passages with more extensive discussions of doctrines. However, as illustrated in the example below, the dialogue starts out as a debate on terms or doctrinal statements, but eventually turns into more or less personal attacks on the attitude or state of mind of the opponent. In other words, *what* is said is not really essential but rather the state of mind (i.e., enlightened *vs*. deluded) of the persons involved in the discussion. This discussion and style of discussing doctrines can frequently be found in the ZTJ. In this kind of structure, the doctrinal statement *per se* loses some of its significance and the focus shifts to the 'battle' between the master and the opponent.[44]

有一秀才問曰：	There was a scholar who asked [Master Xītáng]:
'有天堂地獄不？'	"Does heaven and hell exist?"
師云：	The master said:
'有。'	"[They] exist."
又問曰：	Furthermore, [the scholar] asked:
'有佛法僧寶不？'	"Do the [three] treasures *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Sangha* exist?"
師云：	The master said:
'有。'	"[They] do exist."
秀才云：	The scholar said:
'但問處盡言"有，"	"Every time I ask you say '[they do] exist,'

Transmission Texts and the *Records of Sayings* have a 'heterogonous' structure, both in terms of language and genre features.

[44] For a thorough discussion of these kinds of dialogues with a rhetorical analysis, see the discussion on Chán Master Huìzhōng 惠忠 and his theory of *wúqíng shuōfǎ* 無情說法 in Anderl 2004:173–209.

和尚與麼道，	if you, Preceptor, talk in this way,
莫是錯不？’	is that not a mistake?”
師云：	The master said:
‘秀才曾見什麼老宿？’	“Which virtuous monks have you ever met?”
秀才云：	The scholar answered:
‘曾見徑山和尚。’	“I have formerly met master Jìngshān.”
師云：	The master said:
‘徑山向秀才作麼生說？’	“In what way did he expound to you [the teaching]?”
云：	[The scholar] said:
‘說一切總無。’	“He proclaimed that nothing at all exists.”
師云：	The master said:
‘秀才唯獨一身，	“Are you all by yourself,
還別有眷屬不？’	or do you have any relatives (family)?”
對曰：	[The scholar] answered:
‘某甲有山妻，	“I have a mountain-wife
兼有兩顆血屬。’	and I also have two blood relatives (i.e., children).”
師云：	The master said:
‘徑山和尚還有妻不？’	“Does Master Jìngshān have a wife?”
對曰：	[The scholar] answered:
‘他徑山和尚真素道人，	“[But] he, Jìngshān[45] is a person truly seeking the Way,
純一無雜。’	and of uttermost purity (lit. pure without anything mixed in it)!”
師呵云：	The master scolded [the scholar], saying:
‘徑山和尚內外嚴護，	“Jìngshān’s internally and externally (i.e., in his mind and his behaviour) strictly guards [the precepts],
理行相稱，	principle and conduct harmonize with each other,
道“一切悉無”即得。	and when he says ‘nothing at all exists’ then that is all right!
公具足三界凡夫，	[But] you, Sir, suffice to be a commoner of the three realms [of existence],
抱妻養兒，	embrace a wife and raise children,

[45] Lit. ‘Jìngshān other than me > that Jìngshān;’ a beautiful example of ‘appositional’ *tā*, contrasting somebody apart from the speaker. On a more detailed discussion of the vernacular language in Chán texts, see the *Introduction* to this volume.

何種不作?	which seeds [for rebirth] are you not producing?
是地獄柤（渣）滓，	This is the sediment of hell!
因什摩道“一切悉無？”	Based on what do you state that ‘nothing at all exists’?
若似徑山聽公道無。’	Hopefully, Jìngshān won’t hear your words!”
秀才禮而懺謝焉。	The scholar bowed and apologized (repented his mistake).
	(ZTJ, ed. Yanagida 1974:4.073)

During this stage of development of Chán literature, there is clearly a new twist to the treatment of terms and doctrinal statements. In Chán writings, the usage of terms was reduced as compared to earlier writings. In the colloquial Chán literature beginning with the late Táng, Chán masters are often associated with a set of terms, doctrinal statements or phrases which become their ‘trademark’ and by which they can be identified by later generations of Chán followers. These doctrinal key phrases and the stories in which they are embedded (during the Sòng, many key passages of these stories were collected in *gōngàn* compilations) made a Chán master and his followers easily identifiable and they could then be subject to commentaries and sub-commentaries.

As demonstrated in the examples above, doctrinal statements and the terminology employed in them have become personalized, depending on the enlightened master who is stating them. This can be probably regarded as an indication of the thorough ‘sinization’ of (Chán) Buddhism: The focus has shifted to enlightened masters who were regarded as embodied Buddhas or Bodhisattvas (*ròushēn púsà* 肉身菩薩). As such, the authority regarding Buddhist doctrines, teachings and practices became ‘localized’ in the very bodies of these masters (and not only in their living bodies, as the extensive cult around relics and mummies indicates). In addition, this authority was connected to the past Buddhas and patriarchs by means of the *Transmission Texts*.

The Interpretation of Terms in the Línjì lù

On of the most striking features of the Sòng *Recorded Saying* text *Línjì lù* 臨濟錄 (LJL)[46] is the reinterpretation and playful exposition of traditional Buddhist terms. This feature has to be viewed in its historical context. Above, we discussed the technique of contemplative analysis in the context of the early Chán movement. In the context of the LJL, it would be misleading to talk about 'contemplative analysis,' since the interpretation of terms is not based on a systemized exegesis of traditional Buddhist literature. However, as in the case of the early Chán School, the reinterpretation of traditional terms is of great concern in the text and crucial in the exposition of the teachings. Combining it with the use of colloquialisms, the interpretation of terms in the LJL is of great importance in the rhetorical structure of the work.

There are many examples of reinterpretations in the work, for example, the interpretation of the 'Three Buddha-bodies' (*sānshēn* 三身) in combination with the 'Land of the Three Eyes' (*sānyǎn guótǔ* 三眼國土); the definition of the 'Three Worlds' (*sānjiè* 三界) in terms of generating greed, desire, and ignorance in one's mind; the creation of the term 'Ignorance-tree' (*wúmíng shù* 無明樹) as an antonym of 'Bodhi-tree' (*pútí shù* 菩提樹); the reinterpretation of the 'Five Cardinal Sins' (*wǔ wújiān* 五無間); etc.[47]

In the LJL, a variety of techniques are used in order to treat terms from new angles in order to surprise the reader and to embed them within the colloquial language in an unusual way. There are a variety of cases where abstract terms are combined with verbs referring to concrete actions. One of the central terms used in the LJL is *jìng* 境,

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[46] For a very good recent study on the text, see Welter 2008 and Ruth Fuller Sasaki's newly re-edited translation with a wealth of comments and notes (Kirchner/Sasaki 2009).

[47] 'Killing one's father' is equated with 'killing ignorance,' 'killing one's mother' is equated with 'killing desire,' 'shedding the blood of a Buddha' is equated with ceasing the production of discriminating thoughts, to 'breaking up the harmony of the assembly' is equated with the realization that suffering is insubstantial, 'burning Buddha-statues and Buddhist scriptures' is equated with the realization that all conditions, all phenomena, and the mind are without substance. As discussed above, this is indeed directly parallel to definitions in early Chán scriptures from Dūnhuáng. In these texts, the *Five Cardinal Sins* are also reinterpreted in terms of the functions of the mind.

which originally refers to 'border' and 'territory'[48] (i.e., that which is inside a border). In Chinese Buddhism, it was used for translating a variety of Sanskrit words, most importantly *vastu* ('entity, thing') and *viṣaya* ('object of perception'), i.e., that is apprehended by the sense-organs (matched with the cognitive activity by the six sense organs, these form the 'Six realms of perceptions,' the *liù jìng* 六境). In this context it is also used for translating Skr. *gocara*, *artha*.[49]

In the LJL, the term is sometimes used for 'object of perception,' however, often it is playfully embedded in a colloquial context (and, by the way, posing a formidable challenge to translators).[50]

In the following passage, we encounter the construction *shàng* (*tuō xián chén*) *jìng* 上(他閑塵)境 which appears several times in the text and indicates that one is controlled by external or 'others' (*tuō* 他) environments':

總上他閑塵境。都不辨邪正。[51] (T.47, no.1985:499a5)

Also, in the following passage, the effect of 'deviant circumstances' is vividly described: They actually *compete with each other* to arise within that person.

若人修道道不行。萬般邪境競頭生。[52] (T.47, no.1985:499c7–8)

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[48] For a more thorough study of this term in the LJL, see Anderl 2007.

[49] For a more thorough discussion of the meanings of the term in the Buddhist context, see DDB (listing ten meanings).

[50] In the few translations I was consulting, the term *jìng* is translated in a variety of ways. Burton Watson translates the term consistently with 'environment,' Ruth Fuller Sasaki translates it with 'surroundings' (e.g., Sasaki 1975:6), 'circumstances' (e.g., *ibid*.:7,8,12,15,16,17), 'state' (e.g., *ibid*.:13,15,17), 'device' (*ibid*.:23), and 'objective circumstance' (*ibid*.:27). Irmgard Schloegl is well aware of the difficulties the term poses and states in the preface to her translation: "The other term [*jìng*] presents considerable difficulties and could not be translated uniformly. One of Rinzai's phrases, the opposition of 'man' and 'environment,' does give the wide connotations of this term if it is taken in the sense of 'I' and 'other' (or what is not I, or what is outside I). Hence, it has been rendered variously as *thing*, *object*, *circumstances*, *environment*, or *situation*, as fit the given *context*" (Schloegl 1975:10; italics in the citation were added).

[51] Translated in the following way: "Otherwise they *get caught up in foolish and trifling environments* and can't even tell crooked from straight" (Watson 1993:40); "But you just go on *clambering after the realm of worthless dusts*, never distinguishing the false from the true" (Sasaki 1975:16).

[52] Translations: "If a person practices the Way, the Way will never proceed. Instead, ten thousand kinds of *mistaken environments* will *vie in* poking up their heads" (Watson 1993:44); "When a man tries to practice the Way, the Way does not function,

In the colloquial language of the LJL, terms are occasionally placed in unusual semantic and syntactic contexts; through this device, the author(s)/editor(s) add a new twist to the usage of terms (a kind of 'Verfremdungs'-effect). This manipulation of 'environment' is excellently illustrated in the following rhetorically superb passage. Línjì classifies his students according to the way they interact with their 'environment.' Again, we find the phrase 'to snatch away the environment' (*duó jìng* 奪境) but here the term is even more personalized by adding a pronoun *qí* 其, thus indicating an 'environment' of a specific person. It is also one of the many passages in which the term appears in the context of didactics, the teaching of students:

> 如諸方學人來。山僧此間作三種根器斷。如中下根器來。我便奪其境。而不除其法。或中上根器來。我便境法俱奪。如上上根器來。我便境法人俱不奪。如有出格見解人來。山僧此間便全體作用不歷根器。(T.47, no.1985:501b4–8)[53]

The passage below is crucial for understanding the use of the term in the LJL, as well as the relationship between the notion of 'environment' and 'device.' According to the LJL, the environment can be controlled and manipulated by the enlightened person and consciously used in the interaction with other people, i.e., '(CONTROLLED) ENVIRONMENT > device (in the interaction with others)':

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and ten thousand *evil circumstances vie in* raising their heads" (Sasaki 1975:20).

[53] Translations: "When students come from here and there, I classify them into three categories according to their ability. In such cases, if a student of less than middling ability comes to me, I snatch away the *environment* but leave him his existence. If a student of better than middling ability comes to me, I snatch away both *environment* and existence. If a student of truly superior ability comes to me, I do not snatch away anything, neither *environment*, nor existence, nor person. If a student appears whose understanding surpasses all these categories, then I deal with him with my whole body and take no account of his ability" (Watson 1993:58); "As for the students who come from every quarter, I myself divide them into three categories according to their inherent capacities. If one of less than average capacity comes, I snatch away his *state* but do not take away his Dharma. If one of better than average capacity comes, I snatch away both his *state* and Dharma. If one of superior capacity comes, I snatch away neither his *state*, his Dharma, nor himself. But should a man of extraordinary understanding come, I would act with my whole body and not categorize him" (Sasaki 1975:29).

被學人拈出箇機權語路。向善知識口角頭攛過。看你識不識。你若識得是境。把得便拋向坑子裡。學人便即尋常。然後便索善知識語。(T.47, no.1985:500a29–b2)[54]

By contrast, in the teacher-student relationship of the following passage, the teacher looks through the student's 'environment,' i.e., the way the student manifests himself in the course of the interaction with the master. Here, a technical and abstract term is treated like a material entity, the teacher 'grabs it' and 'throws it in a hole.'

或有學人。應一箇清淨境出善知識前。善知識辨得是境。把得拋向坑裡。(T.47, no.1985:501a11)[55]

The following is one of the most fascinating passages in terms of the syntactic environment of *jìng*, illustrating the impact of the vernacular language on the use of terms. The originally highly abstract term *jìng* is quantified with *kuàizi* 塊子 ('a chunk/piece of *jìng*'!) and at the same time serves as object for the transitive verb *nòng* 'TO PLAY WITH > to manipulate.'

如善知識把出箇境塊子向學人面前弄。 前人辨得了。不作主不受境惑。(T. 47, no. 1985:500b4–5)[56]

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[54] "The student come out with these tricky words, and thrusts them into the teacher's face, as if to say, 'See if you can understand this!' If you were the teacher and realized that this was just an '*environment*,' and you grabbed it and threw it down a hole, then the student would act normal again and after that would ask for the teacher's instruction" (Watson 1993:50–51); "[…] a student will take the measure of the teacher before him with a phrase. Some tricky words are picked out by the student and thrown at the corner of the teacher's mouth. 'Let's see if you can understand this!' he says. If you recognize it to be a *device*, you seize it and fling it into a pit. Whereupon the student quiets down, then asks the teacher to say something" (Sasaki 1975:23).

[55] "Perhaps there is a student who, responding with a clean pure *environment*, presents himself before the teacher. The teacher can tell that this is just an *environment* and grabs it and throws it down a hole" (Watson 1993:56); "Sometimes a student comes forth before a teacher in conformity with a *state of purity*. The teacher, discerning that this is an *objective circumstance*, seizes it and flings it into a pit" (Sasaki 1975:27).

[56] "Again, suppose the teacher comes out a certain *chunk of environment* and dangles it in front of the student's face. The student sees through this and at every step acts the master, refusing to be misled by the environment" (Watson 1993:51); "Or the teacher may take out a *bunch of stuff* and play with it in front of a student. The latter, having seen through this, makes himself master every time and doesn't fall for the humbug" (Sasaki 1975:24).

Concluding Remarks

The treatment of terms and doctrines has undergone significant changes during the development of Chán and many innovations concerning literary techniques and rhetoric devices are reflected in the treatment of Buddhist terms. As we have seen, literary expression was of paramount importance already in the early phase of the development of Chán (more specifically, when it entered the public light of the capital), and literary and rhetoric techniques were refined in order to attract the attention of the reader and secure the Chán factions' support from the educated elite. In addition, doctrinal and factional disputes, as well as conflicts concerning the formulation of lineages, could spark innovations concerning rhetorical and genres feature. Doctrinal differences between different Buddhist factions were often minor—even in terms of rituals, Buddhist practices, and monastic institutional settings, it was difficult to single out a specific 'Chán School' as compared to other Buddhist schools and factions, at least until the Sòng period. Thus, disputes were rather conducted on the literary and rhetorical level and 'supremacy' among Buddhist groups was often decided by the level of literary and rhetoric sophistication in the respective writings and the effect they had on the educated elite, rather than by 'superior' doctrines, rituals or practices. Elaborate literary devices were able to catch the interest of the powerful and educated—whether they were exclusively (Chán) Buddhist or not was of secondary importance.[57]

Despite the rhetoric against a scholarly approach to Buddhism, literary techniques were refined from the very beginning of Chán and alternative approaches to expressing religious messages were of great importance. In the early stage of Chán, the most common genres were treatises and early transmission texts. Although the language in the treatises is more or less conforming to the style of traditional Chinese Buddhist commentary writings, most of these text are at one glance discernable as 'Chán' texts, mostly due their structure of the texts, the

[57] Actually, examples of powerful Chán/Zen rhetoric devices can, of course, also be studied in more recent times: One good example is the success of the rhetoric accompanying the introduction of Japanese Zen Buddhism in the West from the mid-20th century onwards. This rhetoric is still efficient among many circles of Zen-Buddhist practitioners in the USA and Europe, having succeeded in deeply rooting the image of Zen as a 'superior' and 'essential' form of Buddhism, shaping the self-image of many of these Zen Buddhist groups.

selection of terminology and topics, as well as literary techniques, such as the above-described 'contemplative analysis.' In this technique, general Buddhist key terms from a variety of areas, such as philosophy, meditation, vinaya, etc., are re-defined, traditional interpretations are negated or devaluated and replaced by 'Chán'-based interpretations, often in terms of mental activities. In this early phase this has to be understood in the context of the struggle for predominance among countless Buddhist (and non-Buddhist) factions at the Táng court at the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th centuries. By offering appealing interpretations of doctrines which were ardently discussed at that time, and by 'absorbing' terms and doctrines from other schools and factions into mind-based interpretations, the Chán factions achieved great popularity and gained widespread recognition and support among the members of the imperial court, literati and aristocrats. Besides the important technique of 'contemplative' analysis, there are other important aspects concerning the use of terms: A limited amount of terms and doctrines was selected and their interpretation was refined, terms associated with other schools were reinterpreted in the context of Chán, traditional divisions of Buddhist practices (e.g., *vinaya*, concentration and meditation practices) and doctrines were 'united' within a Chán approach centering on the practice of mind. In addition, Chán thought was imbedded in other genres, for example, in the form of Daoist medical treatises.

A major shift in the treatment of terms and doctrines was triggered by competitions and lineage struggles among the Chán factions of the 8th century. Terms became imbedded in the sophisticated rhetorical structures of narratives. They were often slogan-like and included in 'stories' which aim at convincing the reader of the supremacy of the respective faction and its doctrinal framework. A small amount of key terms was used to 'label' and define one's own and the opponent's faction, creating contrasts and dichotomies, often formulated rhythmically and contrastively. This had an enormous and lasting impact on the way certain Chán schools and factions were viewed by succeeding generations. The evolution of the 'narrative' (in this context to be understood as packing doctrinal and other messages in the form of 'stories') continues with the integration of the vernacular language in Chán scriptures. Chán is by no means unique in this approach. On the popular level of Buddhist practices and rituals many innovations took place especially from the mid-Táng period onwards;

in order to make the propagation of Buddhism more effective and deeply rooted in the everyday-life of the people, for example, by means of the vernacular *Transformation Texts* (*biànwén* 變文), *Transformation Pictures* (*biànxiàng* 變相), apocryphal texts, illustrated booklets on the powers of Avalokiteśvara, texts dealing with rebirth and afterlife (for example, the *Shíwáng jīng* 十王經), and so on. Chán Buddhist literature is only one aspect of this multifaceted and powerful creativity accompanying the development of Buddhism during the Táng.

The case study on *jìng* shows the paramount importance of skillfully applying terms in the rhetorical structure of the LJL. It is especially productive in some of the passages where the enlightened person and ideal Chán teacher and his teaching devices are described. In my opinion, it is a clear response to the new situation the Chán School was confronted with at the beginning of the Sòng period. Closely connected to imperial officials and institutions, the Línjì School emerged as the most influential of the Buddhist schools of that time. The LJL—although parts of it are undoubtedly based on earlier materials—is edited/composed as a response to these new circumstances. It tries to define the status of the ideal Chán master within the own tradition, the interaction with his students and—more generally—*vis-à-vis* the socio-political 'environment' characterized by dramatic changes. On the one hand, Chán had a dominant position among the Buddhist schools of the Sòng period and, on the other hand, religious life was characterized by an increasing control, institutionalization, and bureaucratization through the centralized imperial administration.[58] As in the case of the documents of the early Chán School, the LJL is not only an 'internal' text directed exclusively towards members of the monastic community, it is also a document directed towards the elite public and officials. In the case of early Chán, many treatises aimed at demonstrating the new movement's interpretation of Buddhist concepts, as well as innovative practices of contemplation. Support by imperial institutions, as well as lay Buddhist officials, was crucial for the emergence and early development of the school. Similarly, the LJL is a document that responds to new challenges and historical developments. In both

[58] On these aspects, see the recent studies of Welter 2008 and Schlütter 2008. Abbots of monasteries, for example, very frequently appointed by magistrates or imperial officials.

cases, literary creativity and the refined use of language and rhetorical devices play an important role in these projects. Under the new circumstances of having gained relative dominance among the Buddhist schools, as well as becoming increasingly connected to and controlled by secular administrative institutions, the LJL projects the image of the ideal Chán master—allegedly independent of all external conditions and circumstances. Obviously mixed with Daoist ideals of 'non-action' (*wúwéi* 無為—the LJL frequently uses the term *wúshì* 無事), the enlightened master is depicted as looking through and gaining control over all situations that might arise in the encounter with the outside world (exemplified by his encounters with disciples, officials and other masters). In the encounter with others, he is described as having the ability of creating and manipulating the situation, heroically exploiting it for pedagogical purposes.[59]

Needless to say, the translation of such key terms in the vernacular literature of Chán Buddhism is a great challenge. Terms are not only used to refer to more or less predefined concepts within the context of Buddhist philosophy and religious practice, but—as demonstrated in the case of the term *jìng* in the LJL—are also used in a highly personal way; they are played with, redefined, placed into unusual syntactic and semantic environments, inserted in certain rhetoric settings, and so on. This gives rise to more fundamental questions: How shall one deal with this sort of terms that are consciously developed and redefined in the context of a work such as the LJL and other Chán works? And even more importantly, how were these terms actually perceived by authors and compilers of Buddhist texts in medieval China? As modern scholars of Buddhism, it is a matter of course that one attempts to trace back terms to an alleged Sanskrit or Pali equivalent in the Buddhist textual corpus. However, many terms that represented different concepts in these source-languages were eventually represented by the same Chinese character. What kind of impact did these surface-resemblances have on the interpretation of terms in the context of Chinese Buddhism, how did they mutually influence each other or cause shifts of interpretation? How distinct to each other did these terms remain, and what kind of changes did they eventually cause in the conceptual schemes of Chinese Buddhists? These questions definitely deserve more extensive studies.

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59 Needless to say, this image is projected to the 'Golden Age' of Chán Buddhism, the mid- and late Táng Dynasty.

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BEYOND PERFECTION – THE RHETORIC OF CHÁN POETRY IN WÁNG WÉI'S *WǍNG STREAM COLLECTION*

HALVOR EIFRING

In the Táng and especially Sòng dynasties, a rhetoric of Chán poetry emerges in China: 'Discourse on poetry is like discourse on Chán' 論詩如論禪.[1] However, it is not until the Míng and Qīng dynasties that the so-called 'Buddha of Poetry' (*shīfó* 詩佛), Wáng Wéi 王維 (?701–?761), is retrogressively linked to this rhetoric. In this paper, I will explore aspects of Wáng Wéi's nature poetry that may have formed the basis for such a link.[2] I will focus on the 20-poem cycle *The Wǎng Stream Collection* 輞川集, in which a famous Qīng critic finds that 'every word accords with Chán' 字字入禪.[3] In particular, I will look at structural and linguistic features that may be of greater importance in this context than previously realised.

While many of the poems in Wáng Wéi's *Wǎng Stream Collection* contain overtly Daoist elements, none of them contains explicit links to Chán 禪 or any other kind of Buddhist doctrine. If this is Chán poetry, therefore, its force and beauty lie just as much in what is left unsaid as in what is made explicit.

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[1] Yán Yǔ 嚴羽: Cāngláng shīhuà 滄浪詩話. Quoted from Guō Shàoyú 1961:11. Yán Yǔ was a Sòng critic, but his Táng predecessors include the monk Jiǎorán 皎然 (late 8th century) and especially the poet and critic Sīkōng Tú 司空圖 (837–908).

[2] Wáng Wéi's poems are quoted from Chén Tiěmín 1997, though a few misprints have been corrected on the basis of other editions. In addition to the conference participants and an anonymous reviewer, I have been helped a lot by discussions of this paper and these poems with Stephen Owen, Zhāng Bīn 張斌, Ann Kunish, participants at a talk at National Tsing Hua University in Taiwan in November 2007, and participants in a course for master students at the University of Oslo in the Spring of 2007.

[3] Wáng Shìzhēn 1961:83.

Wáng Wéi and the Rhetoric of Chán Poetry

The association between Wáng Wéi's non-doctrinal nature poetry and Chán is a late one. The first known instance is a comment by the Míng dynasty critic Lǐ Mèngyáng 李夢陽 (1473–1530):[4]

> The best of Wáng Wéi's poems are like Chán, while the lesser ones are like [the trivial products of] a monk.
>
> 王維詩高者似禪，卑者似僧。

Less than a century later, the association between Wáng Wéi and Chán has become standard, as shown by the following disapproving comment by the famous Chán master Hānshān Déqīng 憨山德清 (1546–1623):[5]

> Poets like Wáng Wéi are full of Buddhist talk, and later generations have sought to outdo each other in praising his skill in Chán. But one should know that this is not [real] Chán, only literary Chán.
>
> 若王維多佛語。 後人爭誇善禪。要之[知]豈[其]非禪耶。特文字禪耳。

During the same period, the poet and critic Hú Yīnglín 胡應麟 (1551–1602) may have become the first to link poems from the Wǎng Stream Collection to Chán:[6]

> 'Lotus flowers on branches of trees / Mountains filled with red calyces / Near the quiet and empty house by the brook / they blossom profusely and fall to the ground' is a pentasyllabic quatrain entering Chán.
>
> 「木末芙蓉花，山中發紅萼。澗戶寂無人，紛紛開且落。」五言絕之入禪者。

He explains this statement further by the effect such poems have on the reader:[7]

> When reading them, you forget both yourself and the outside world, and all thoughts come to rest. I never knew that metered poetry could convey such subtle truths.
>
> 讀之身世兩忘，萬念皆寂，不稱聲律中， 有此妙詮。

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[4] Lǐ Mèngyáng n.d.
[5] Hānshān 2005:203f.
[6] Hú Yīnglín 1979:116.
[7] *Ibid*.:119.

The famous Qīng critic Wáng Shìzhēn 王士禎 (1634–1711) goes even further in expounding the spiritual effect of this kind of poetry:[8]

> When reading Wáng Wéi and Péi Dí's 'Wǎng Stream Collection' and Zǔ Yǒng's 'Lingering Snow on the Zhōngnán Mountains,' even a dull-minded beginner may reach sudden enlightenment.
>
> 觀王裴《輞川集》及祖咏《終南殘雪》詩，雖鈍根初機，亦能頓悟。

The reference to enlightenment (*wù* 悟, or often *miàowù* 妙悟 'subtle enlightenment') as a common feature of poetry and Chán had been a stock of the trade for poetry critics since the famous Sòng critic Yán Yǔ 嚴羽 (?1195–?1245) said:[9]

> Generally, the way of Chán is only about subtle enlightenment, and the way of poetry is also about subtle enlightenment.
>
> 大抵禪道惟在妙悟，詩道亦在妙悟。

While Yán Yǔ is primarily using Chán as an *analogy* (*yù* 喻) for poetry, not an equation, later critics are far more prone to equate the two. Furthermore, Yán Yǔ is primarily referring to similarities in the *procedures* of Chán discipline and the study of poetry, and only secondarily to the enlightened state of the Chán practitioner and the poet (or even poem). Later critics tend to focus on poetry as the expression of an enlightened mind or, as in the quotes by Hú Yīnglín and Wáng Shìzhēn above, the power of poetry to enlighten the reader. Finally, Yán Yǔ is not much concerned with Wáng Wéi at all, clearly preferring other Táng poets. It was only during the Míng and the Qīng dynasties that the analogies and equations between Chán and poetry were applied to Wáng Wéi's non-doctrinal nature poetry, such as the *Wǎng Stream Collection*.

Modern Counterarguments

It should not surprise anyone, therefore, that the view of the *Wǎng Stream Collection* as Chán poetry has been strongly contested. In *The Chan Interpretations of Wang Wei's Poetry: A Critical Review*, Yang

[8] Wáng Shìzhēn 1961:69.
[9] Guō Shàoyú 1961:12.

Jingqing 2007 argues that Wáng Wéi's nature poetry should not be read as Chán poetry, because:

- there is no indication that the poet himself intended these poems to allude to Chán, and his contemporaries do not seem to have read any Chán significance into them;
- although the analogies between Chán and poetry were discussed already during the Táng dynasty and became very fashionable in the Sòng, the link between Wáng Wéi's nature poetry and Chán was not even hinted at before the Míng dynasty;
- Wáng Wéi's purported reclusive tendencies were never strong enough to make him refuse any offer of an official position;
- in Wáng Wéi's time, reclusion was not usually linked to Buddhism anyway, and he himself never explicitly associated reclusion with Chán;
- among the approximately 15 Buddhist monks mentioned in Wáng Wéi's surviving works, only two were known to be from the Chán school, and he also had close contact with Daoists;
- in Wáng Wéi's nature poetry, words like *kōng* 空 'empty; emptiness' and *jìng* 靜 'silence; quiet' are used in their general meanings with no obvious Chán or even Buddhist implications.

All this makes sense. At the same time, however, there is no doubt that Wáng Wéi was indeed a Buddhist. He became particularly devout during the last few years of his life, but even in his twenties, he had a Buddhist teacher and practised Buddhist meditation. Buddhism did play a central role in his life.

Wáng Wéi also wrote explicitly Buddhist poetry. According to Chén Tiěmín 1990, 43 of 376 surviving poems (as well as 19 out of 70 surviving prose pieces) contain overt references to Buddhism.[10] Buddhism seems to have played a significant role, therefore, not only in Wáng Wéi's life, but also in his poetry. The later reference to Wáng Wéi as 'Buddha of Poetry' (*shīfó* 詩佛) is by no means unfounded.

Yang argues, however, that: (1) there is little reason to read Buddhist meaning into poems that contain no overt reference to Buddhism, and (2) the kind of Buddhism to which Wáng Wéi subscribed cannot be identified with Chán.

By Chán, Yang refers to the Southern Chán School that grew out of Shénhuì's 神慧 attacks on the Northern School. This seems to make sense, since in the year 745 Wáng Wéi met Shénhuì and conversed

[10] See also Lomová 2006.

with him for several days. As Yang himself notes, however, it is not always clear which of the many meanings of the word *chán* 禪 is implied by those who insist on the presence of such elements in Wáng Wéi's nature poetry: '[…] the process of meditation [Wáng Wéi did refer to his own meditative practice as *chán*], the mental state of enlightenment through meditation, Chan doctrines, or the strange ways in which Chan masters behaved in order to enlighten students as to the ultimate truth' (Yang 2007:7). In fact, by Míng times, the term *chán* had become so vague and all-encompassing as to allow an even wider range of interpretations, and the assertion that Wáng Wéi's nature poetry has *chán* qualities is probably unfalsifiable unless one restricts the meaning of the term, as Yang does, and then risks testing a hypothesis that is more restricted and specific than anyone ever intended.

In fact, the early comparisons of poetry and Chán do not at all aim at showing the adherence of poets to Buddhism, and even less to any specific school of Chán. When Yán Yǔ says that 'those who study the poetry of the Hàn, Wèi, Jìn and High Táng are of the Línjì school [of Chán]' 學漢、魏、晉與盛唐詩者，臨濟下也,[11] he is not making an historical statement, since Línjì himself lived *after* all these periods. He is simply comparing what he considered the best of poetry to what he and many other Sòng literati considered to be the greatest school of Chán. The Míng and Qīng critics associating Wáng Wéi's poetry with Chán may have had similar preferences, but are again mostly concerned with the qualities of Wáng Wéi's poetry, not with historical or biographical facts. They may, however, be less prone than Yán Yǔ to use the Chán label for poets with no historical connection to Buddhism, and some of them, such as Lǐ Wéizhēn 李維楨 (1547–1626) do mix accounts of Wáng Wéi's Chán orientation with statements about the Chán qualities of his doctrinal and non-doctrinal poems. He and others, therefore, are moving in the direction of a modern rhetoric that relates the assumed Chán qualities of Wáng Wéi's nature poems to the biographical facts of his life and the historical facts concerning Chán Buddhism.

[11] Guō Shàoyú 1961:12.

Characteristics of Chán Poetry

This paper is less concerned with proving or disproving specific hypotheses concerning the Chán nature of Wáng Wéi's poetry than with exploring the qualities that have prompted Chinese poetry critics to associate the poems in question with Chán.

One such feature is their perceived non-reliance on language, as when Lǐ Wéizhēn claims that Wáng Wéi's poems on a variety of topics 'show evidence of Chán enlightenment beyond the words' 悟禪於言外,[12] when Shěn Déqián 沈德潛 (1673～1769) asks if it is not true that some of Wáng Wéi's poetic lines 'contain a flavour beyond language' 言外有餘味,[13] and when Wáng Shìzhēn says that Táng quatrains often express 'the subtleness of attaining the meaning and forgetting the words' 得意忘言之妙.[14] Poems, of course, rely on language, but in this case language is compared to a raft used to cross the river to the other shore, i.e., to enlightenment. The real meaning of poetry lies beyond the words. Wáng Shìzhēn quotes several famous Chán stories as illustrations: the Buddha holding a flower in his hand and Mahākāśyapa expressing his enlightenment with a silent smile (世尊拈花，迦葉微笑), Vimalakīrti replying with silence when asked by the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī about the ultimate truth (淨名默然), and the first Chán patriarch Bodhidharma stating that Huìkě's silence on a similar occasion indicated he had reached the 'marrow' of his teaching (達磨得髓).[15]

A related feature is the perceived lack of *traces* of Chán poetry, compared by Yán Yǔ to sounds passing through the air, the complexion of a face, the moon reflected in water, and an image reflected in a mirror 空中之音，相中之色，水中之月，鏡中之象.[16] Xú Zēng links this to an originality that springs from subtle enlightenment, and compares Wáng Wéi favourably to the more famous, but in his opinion less original, poet Dù Fǔ 杜甫:[17]

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[12] Quoted from Yang 2007:199.
[13] Dīng Fúbǎo 1963:555.
[14] Wáng Shìzhēn 1961:69.
[15] *Ibid.*:69, 83.
[16] Guō Shàoyú 1961:26.
[17] Dīng Fúbǎo 1963:427.

> While Dù Fǔ observes strictly his predecessors' legacy and bases himself on detectable standards, Wáng Wéi is only concerned with subtle enlightenment with absolutely no reachable marks.
>
> 蓋杜陵嚴於師承，尚有尺寸可尋；摩詰純乎妙悟，絕無迹象可即。

To Xú Zēng, Dù Fǔ's diligence and obedience produces a lesser kind of poetry than what he perceives as Wáng Wéi's free, unrestrained and non-attached state of mind.

Both the non-reliance on language and the lack of traces indicate that the Chán qualities of poetry, as perceived by these critics, lie in a certain freedom of the spirit, purportedly resulting from subtle enlightenment. If we look for more concrete signs of this spiritual freedom, however, we will soon find ourselves at a loss. While many of the critics quote lines of poetry that they find particularly Chán-like, they remain quite abstract in their interests and seldom explain in any detail what exactly this means. Modern scholars have been slightly more specific, and have suggested that even in his non-doctrinal poetry, Wáng Wéi is concerned with typical Chán themes like emptiness (*kōng* 空), quietude (*jìng* 靜), and 'following conditions and yielding to destiny' (*suí yuán rèn yùn* 隨緣任運).[18] However, although the character '空' does occur three times in the *Wǎng Stream Collection*, its use does not seem to be linked to Buddhist ideas, and there is even less concern with quietude and following conditions and yielding to destiny. There is more interest in solitude (*jí* 寂, *dú* 獨, etc.), which might be seen as representing Chán-like reclusion, but there is even more concern with the pleasures of friendship and company.

For concrete signs of the qualities associated with Chán within this rhetoric, we clearly have to look elsewhere. In this paper, therefore, I shall not primarily look for such signs in the content of the poems, but in their structure and language. I shall argue that most of the poems in the *Wǎng Stream Collection* employ structural and linguistic features that serve to convey an impression of a free and unrestrained frame of mind that is, at least for the moment, able to let go of the constraints of officialdom, imperial grandeur and highbrow literacy and enter into a more low-key and good-humoured mode of rustic simplicity and relaxed immediacy. The features involved include the use of direct

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[18] *Cf.* Yang 2007:130ff.

imagery, rustic language, unconventional structures, the pentasyllabic (rather than heptasyllabic) quatrain (rather than octave) form, and the use of old-style rather than new-style rules for tones and rhymes. In addition, there comes the use of Daoist allusions, playfully indicating that this spiritual freedom provides a way towards immortality. More seriously, this poetic language is used to explore multiple perspectives on reality, and a more direct perception of it, in order to liberate the mind from its habitual modes of cognition. Modern scholars, like Yang Jingqing, may be right in doubting the Chán underpinnings of these poems, but they easily accord with the quite open notion of 'subtle enlightenment' underlying the Míng and Qīng rhetoric of Chán poetry.

The Perfect Poem

Let us begin with a Wáng Wéi poem that no-one, as far as I am aware, has ever associated with Chán, 'Visiting the Qín Emperor's Tomb' (*Guò Qínhuáng mù* 過秦皇墓). This is one of his earliest surviving pieces, possibly written when the author was no more than 14 years old (or 15, according to the Chinese way of counting age, though there are also sources indicating he was 19/20). As such, it is an extremely impressive poem, showing the young Wáng Wéi as a precociously adept poetic craftsman, mastering all the complex formal and structural requirements of regulated verse (*lǜshī* 律詩). In and of itself, it does not come through as a particularly memorable poem, its formal perfection making it a little stiff and stolid, but for a teenager it is truly brilliant:

過秦皇墓	*Visiting the Qín Emperor's Tomb*
古墓成蒼嶺	The ancient tomb has become a verdant hill,
幽宮象紫台	the secluded palace is like a celestial abode.[19]
星辰七曜隔	The stars above keep apart the seven planets,[20]
河漢九泉開	the Milky Way opens onto the Netherworlds.
有海人寧渡	Though there is a sea, men can hardly cross;
無春雁不回	when there is no spring, geese will not return.
更聞松韻切	I also hear the imploring sound of the pines,
疑是大夫哀	as if the senior officials were mourning.

[19] The use of 紫台 plays on its double meaning, either 'imperial palace' or 'abode for Daoist gods.'

[20] The seven 'planets' are the sun, the moon and five planets.

If the main quality of Wáng Wéi’s nature poetry lies in its simplicity and directness, this poem offers a sharp contrast. The only direct reference to what is actually perceived lies in the word *cāng lǐng* 蒼嶺 ‘verdant hill’ in line 1 and possibly the word *sōng* 松 ‘pine(s)’ in line 7. The rest is allusions to what the young poet has read or been told about the tomb he is visiting. The very fact that this is the tomb of the First Emperor—or indeed any tomb at all—would hardly have been possible to know if it were not for tradition, and the palace imagery builds on the same traditions. The reference to stars, planets and the Milky Way hardly indicates that he visited the tomb at night, but reflects the *Hànshū* 漢書 account of artificial stars inside the First Emperor’s tomb. The idea of the *jiǔ quán* 九泉 ‘nine wells > the Netherworld’ is of course based on beliefs, not on perception. The presence inside the tomb of an ‘ocean’ (rivers of mercury) and of (artificial) geese is also based on *Hànshū* accounts. The pine trees referred to in line 7, even if they are real pine trees, are also references to the story about the First Emperor jocularly appointing a pine tree under which he sought shelter during rainfall to the position of minister of the fifth rank.

In Wáng Wéi’s time, the division of poems into one predominantly descriptive part (‘scene,’ *jǐng* 景) and one more subjectively reflective part (‘emotion,’ *qíng* 情) was already standard. So was, in practice, the division of poems into the four elements opening *qǐ* 起, continuation 承, turn-around 轉 and conclusion 合, although these terms were coined later and were more often applied to quatrains than to eight-line poems:

古墓成蒼嶺，幽宮象紫台	OPENING	SCENE
星辰七曜隔，河漢九泉開	CONTINUATION	
==========	==========	==========
有海人寧渡，無春雁不回	TURN-AROUND	
更聞松韻切，疑是大夫哀	CONCLUSION	EMOTION

As in most poetry of its type, the content-wise division of the poem into two-line units (couplets) is underlined by the perfect level-toned rhymes at the end of each paired line (and the oblique-toned non-rhyme at the end of each odd line), as well as the parallelism between the two lines of each couplet not only in the required second and third couplet, but also in the first couplet, and there are even intimations of parallelism in the last couplet:

古墓成蒼嶺，幽宮象紫台	[ATTR N]$_{N}$ [V [ATTR N]$_{N}$]$_{VP}$
星辰七曜隔，河漢九泉開	[N N]$_{N}$ [[NUM N]$_{N}$ V]$_{VP}$
====================	====================
有海人寧渡，無春雁不回	[[V N]$_{S}$ [N [ADV V]$_{VP}$]$_{S}$
更聞松韻切，疑是大夫哀	X [V [[ATTR N]$_{N}$ V]$_{S}$]$_{VP}$

The semantic (as opposed to purely syntactic) parallelism is complex. The *mù* 墓 'tomb' and *lǐng* 嶺 'ridge' of line 1 and the *gōng* 宮 'palace' and *tái* 台 'terrace' of line 2 all refer to the same hill, functioning as the tomb of an emperor and therefore as an imperial abode. The *gǔ* 古 'ancient' of line 1 and *yōu* 幽 'secluded' of line 2 both refer to a time or a space that is not directly accessible, and the *cāng* 蒼 'verdant' of line 1 and *zǐ* 紫 'purple' of line 2 both refer to colours, either the directly perceived colour of the hill or the symbolic colour of the emperor. The *xīngchén* 星辰 'stars' and *qīyào* 七曜 'planets' of line 3 refer to celestial bodies, while the literal meanings of *Hé-Hàn* 河漢 'the Yellow River and the Hàn River' and *jiǔ quán* 九泉 'the Nine Springs' of line 4 refer to sources of water, though *Hé-Hàn* 河漢 actually refers to the celestial bodies of the Milky Way, and *jiǔ quán* 九泉 to the Netherworld, underlining the fact that the celestial bodies occur on the inside of the tomb, not in the world of the living. Lines 5 and 6 both contain a subordinate clause with an existential verb and its object, followed by a matrix clause in which animate (though in the case of the geese actually artificial) beings are described as being unable to move. And, in lines 7 and 8, *sōng yùn* 松韻 'sound of the pines' and *dàfū* 大夫 'official(s)' actually refer to pine trees, and *qiè* 切 'imploring' and *āi* 哀 'sorrowful' to intense feelings.

As in most pentasyllabic regulated verse, the rhythmic units of each line are 2+2+1, regardless of whether this fits with the syntactic pattern. This division has consequences for the distribution of level and oblique tones. The rule for the monosyllabic unit at the end of each line is simple: If it rhymes, it must be level tone, if not, it must be oblique. The rule for the two disyllabic units are as follows:[21]

[21] My understanding of tonal rules for poetry owes much to Wáng Lì 王力: *Hànyǔ shīlǜxué* 漢語詩律學, expanded edition, Shanghai: Shànghǎi jiàoyù chūbǎnshè 2002.

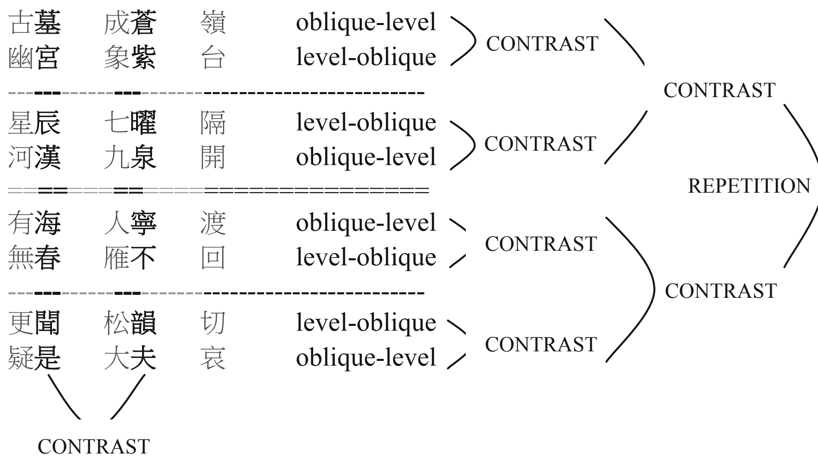
1. In each line, the last syllable of the two disyllabic units must have opposite tones, as when the oblique tone of 墓 alternates with the level tone of 蒼.

2. In each couplet, the two lines must have opposite tone patterns, as when the oblique-level pattern of 墓 – 蒼 in the first line alternates with the level-oblique pattern of 宮 – 紫 in the second line.

3. In each four-line unit, the two couplets must have contrasting tone patterns, as when the oblique-level/level-oblique pattern of 墓 – 蒼 / 宮 – 紫 in the first couplet contrasts with the level-oblique/oblique-level pattern of 辰 – 曜 / 漢 – 泉 in the second couplet.

4. In an eight-line poem, the two four-line units must have the same tone patterns, as when the oblique-level/level-oblique//level-oblique/oblique-level pattern of 墓 – 蒼 / 宮 – 紫 // 辰 – 曜 / 漢 – 泉 in the first four-line unit is repeated in 海 – 寧 / 春 – 不 // 聞 – 韻 / 是 – 夫 in the second.

The resulting tone pattern is illustrated below:



The young Wáng Wéi follows these rules strictly, as most writers of regulated verse would do in his time, and as he himself would continue to do whenever he wrote regulated verse later in life.

There are also tonal rules for the remaining syllables, but most of these are optional, and some of them are, in fact, violated by Wáng Wéi, as in the characters marked with bold:

古墓成蒼嶺，幽宮象紫台
星辰七曜隔，河漢九泉開
有海人寧渡，無春雁不回
更聞松韻切，疑是大夫哀

The three violations that affect syllable 1 in a line are in fact quite normal, and are not considered serious at all. The one violation affecting syllable 3 is less acceptable, since tone-rule violations in syllable 3 are usually either avoided or made up for by also changing the tone of syllable 3 in the following line, which is not the case here. Note, however, that the young Wáng Wéi clearly has a purpose in breaking the rules. In fact, he adheres even more strictly to the principle of tone-contrast in disyllabic rhythm units than the conventional rules do. Whenever he breaks the rules, he changes what has been a lack of tonal contrast between two disyllabic units within a single line to a perfect contrast. As a result, each line contains a perfect tonal contrast between its two disyllabic rhythm units:

古墓 成蒼	oblique-oblique	level-level
幽宮 象紫	level-level	oblique-oblique
星辰 七曜	level-level	oblique-oblique
河漢 九泉	level-oblique	oblique-level
有海 人寧	oblique-oblique	level-level
無春 雁不	level-level	oblique-oblique
更聞 松韻	oblique-level	level-oblique
疑是 大夫	level-oblique	oblique-level

It is as if the rigid and complex rules of new-style poetry were not enough for the young Wáng Wéi. Both the over-elaborate use of parallelism and the exaggerated tonal symmetry express an eagerness to display his own impressive ability to abide by rules that are even stricter. The young Wáng Wéi was still far removed from the style that would later be associated with Chán.

Beyond Perfection: Unassuming Privacy

Like 'Visiting the Qín Emperor's Tomb,' the 20 poems in the *Wǎng Stream Collection* are written to commemorate scenic spots. In most other respects, however, these poems constitute sharp contrasts to the

one we have been looking at above, and these contrasts may illustrate some of the features that have prompted later readers to regard these poems as Chán poetry.

First of all, the spots commemorated are private and unassuming, located on a property owned by Wáng Wéi himself and used as a place of retreat. As opposed to the imperial grandeur of the First Emperor's tomb, these are sites of little or no historical interest, apart from the fact that the poet Sòng Zhīwèn 宋之問 (*ca*. 650—*ca*. 712) had once lived there. There is none of the perfect geometry of a palace-like tomb with stars above and rivers and oceans below (and men and geese in between), nor is there any indication of nature directly responding to the affairs of the human world the way the pine trees are seen to do in response to the First Emperor's death.

The poems themselves are equally unassuming. While in 'Visiting the Qín Emperor's Tomb' the poet appears to speak to the world in grand terms, the *Wǎng Stream Collection* is composed in what seems to be the light and sometimes humorous mood of comradeship between the poet and his friend Péi Dí 裴迪, who also composed 20 poems commemorating the same scenic spots.

This unassuming privacy is not only conducive to a reclusive orientation, but may also be seen as an expression of the 'straightforward mind' (*zhíxīn* 直心) expounded by many Chán teachers, including the Sixth Patriarch Huìnéng 慧能, for whom Wáng Wéi is known to have written a commemorative stele. We have no indication that Wáng Wéi himself thought of the *Wǎng Stream Collection* in terms of the straightforward mind (though he obviously did think of the Wǎng Stream as a place for reclusion), but for later readers this association may have been part of what was conceived of as a Chán feature.

In the following, we shall look at various linguistic and structural features that may be seen, at least in retrospect, as expressions of this straightforward mind.

Beyond Perfection: Direct Imagery

With some notable exceptions to which I shall return below, the imagery of most of the poems in the *Wǎng Stream Collection* is exceedingly simple and direct. The most extreme case is perhaps 'The Luán Rapids,' *Luánjiā lài* 欒家瀨:

颯颯秋雨中	Whistling wind in autumn rain
淺淺石溜瀉	Gushing water running over the stones
跳波自相濺	Waves splashing against waves
白鷺驚復下	An egret is startled and settles again

At least on the surface, this poem is purely descriptive, with no allusions or metaphors, and even without the almost obligatory subjective reflection or reaction at the end. The poem seems to invite us to see things as they are when they are not distorted by the usual veil of personal and cultural associations, much in line with a Chán view.

Even when poems in this collection do contain allusions, the focus is still often on the concrete here-and-now rather than on any meaning provided by the reference source. For instance, when the first line of the poem 'Magnolia Glen' (*Xīnyí wù* 辛夷塢) mentions lotus flowers growing on the branches of trees, this refers concretely to actual magnolia flowers, which resemble lotus, but grow on trees rather than in water:

木末芙蓉花	Lotus flowers on branches of trees
山中發紅萼	Mountains filled with red calyces
澗戶寂無人	Near the quiet and empty house by the brook
紛紛開且落	they blossom profusely and fall to the ground

While the image alludes to a poem in *The Songs of Chǔ* (*Chǔcí* 楚辭) in which the shaman-poet compares the likelihood of meeting with his goddess-love to that of finding lotuses on tree branches, this is more a humorous way of describing magnolia flowers than an actual invitation to enter into the original poem's world of shamanism (though see further discussion of such allusions below). The rest of the poem makes no further reference to *The Songs of Chǔ*, and is again purely descriptive.

This direct imagery may be seen to reflect a wish to arrive at an equally direct and unornamented perception of the world, in line with Chán ideas of the straightforward mind.

Beyond Perfection: Rustic Language

In contrast to the imperial grandeur and literary images of 'Visiting the Qín Emperor's Tomb,' the *Wǎng Stream Collection* tends towards

the simplicity of rustic life, as in the last two lines of the poem 'White Stone Rapids' 白石灘:

家住水東西	Living both east and west of the stream
浣紗明月下	they wash their silk beneath the clear moon

A linguistic counterpart to this rusticity is the use of local words in many of the poem titles, which are at the same time place names. As observed by Stephen Owen,[22] this linguistic rusticity includes words like *ào* 坳 'hollow,' *pàn* 沜 'shore,' *chá* 垞 'hillock,' and *zhài* 柴 'enclosure.'

While Chán is not the only Chinese religious school tending towards the rustic, this being equally much a feature of Daoist reclusion, it was the only Buddhist school that tended to have its centres away from the big cities, and this was one of the reasons it survived the later anti-Buddhist purges to a greater extent than did other schools. In our context, rusticity is associated with reclusion and a life of relaxation, far away from the demands of officialdom, and also with straightforward reality, as opposed to the embellished surfaces of cultural expressions near the political centre.

Beyond Perfection: Breaking Expectations

We saw above how 'Visiting the Qín Emperor's Tomb' represented a standard structural division of poems into two parts, the first part being a descriptive 'scene' *jǐng* 景 and the second a more personal expression of 'emotion' *qíng* 情, and a further division into four parts, 'opening' *qǐ* 起, 'continuation' *chéng* 承, 'turn-around' *zhuǎn* 轉, and 'conclusion' *hé* 合. In the *Wǎng Stream Collection*, there are poems that adhere to this standard structural division, such as the poem 'Huàzǐ Ridge,' *Huàzǐ gāng* 華子岡:

[22] Owen 2005.

<table>
<tr><td>飛鳥去不窮
Birds flying away in endless numbers</td><td>OPENING</td><td>SCENE</td></tr>
<tr><td>連山復秋色
Hills upon hills again covered in the hues of fall</td><td>CONTINUATION</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>上下華子岡
Ascending and then descending the Huazi Ridge</td><td>TURN-AROUND</td><td>EMOTION</td></tr>
<tr><td>惆悵情何極
There is no limit to my melancholy mood</td><td>CONCLUSION</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

Much more typically, however, the poems in the *Wǎng Stream Collection* break with these structural expectations and thereby force the reader to go beyond habitual ways of reading and thinking. We have already seen one example of this in the poem 'The Luán Rapids,' discussed above. Consider again the last two lines of the poem:

跳波自相濺　　Waves splashing against waves
白鷺驚復下　　An egret is startled and settles again

On the surface at least, these lines are no less descriptive and no more personal than the descriptions of rain and gushing water in the first two lines. The only intimation of a turn-around lies in the change from the purely downward movement of water in lines 1 and 2 to waves splashing against each other (and, thus, presumably rising before they fall) in line 3, and the only intimation of 'emotion' lies in the introduction of a startled bird (also rising before it falls) in line 4. Some critics have read the startled bird as representing the poet's emotional reaction, but even if the one is seen as a resonance of the other, the focus here is clearly on the external scene rather than the poet's personal feelings. By including no clear conclusion, and no openly subjective reaction on the part of the poet, the poem effectively creates a collision with genre-induced expectations, confronting the reader with his or her habitual mode of reading, forcing him or her to see the landscape as it is instead of making personal sense of it by adding subjective meaning to the rain and the gushing water, as well as the egret of the last line.

While 'The Luán Rapids' is extreme in being descriptive and impersonal from beginning to end, more often the poems move in the opposite direction of what is usually expected, from the personal to the purely descriptive, as in 'Lake Qī,' *Qī hú* 欹湖:

吹簫凌極浦	Crossing the waters playing the flute
日暮送夫君	Seeing you off as the sun goes down
湖上一回首	Turning my head looking back on the lake
山青卷白雲	Green mountains rolled in white clouds

While the personal atmosphere of the first two lines is associated with friendship and the melancholy mood of the *xiāo* 簫 flute as friends are about to part with each other, the literal turn-around in line 3 serves as an introduction to the purely descriptive mode in line 4, in which the emotions of the first two lines seem to have become irrelevant. But precisely because line 4 is usually where the poet would be at his most personal, the perception of green mountains and white clouds is immensely intensified, as if the reader is brought to see them from inside the mind of the poet. Thereby, the personal and subjective nature of any perception, even the seemingly impersonal and objective view of mountains and clouds, is highlighted. Is this another possible reference to Chán?

A similar case is the poem 'Deer Fence,' *Lù zhài* 鹿柴:

空山不見人	I see no-one in the empty mountains
但聞人語響	but hear the voices of men who talk
返景入深林	The evening sun casts its rays into the forest
復照青苔上	and shines again on the lush green moss.

From the explicit presence of both the poet and others (who cannot be seen, but only heard) in the first two lines, the last two lines turn to a purely descriptive mode with no obviously personal elements. But once more, the expectation of a personal statement towards the end of the poem intensifies the perception of the rays of the evening sun illuminating the trees and the moss. Again, therefore, this poem points to the personal and subjective nature of perception.

Beyond Perfection: The Pentasyllabic Quatrain Form

The most immediately visible contrast between these poems and 'Visiting the Qín Emperor's Tomb' is the choice of poetic subgenre. Each of the 20 poems in the *Wǎng Stream Collection* contains only four lines (or two couplets), as opposed to the eight lines (or four couplets) of the former poem. In other words, all poems in the *Wǎng Stream Collection* are *juéjù* 絕句 'quatrains.'

Of course, there is nothing specifically Chán-like in the quatrain form, and some of the most famous Chán poems of the Táng dynasty, such as the ones by Hánshān 寒山, are full-blown eight-line poems. Still, the choice of this subgenre is hardly accidental. The brief form provides an ideal frame for the simplicity and immediacy of these poems, and, one might argue, of the Chán experience.

This brevity is further underlined by the pentasyllabic (as opposed to heptasyllabic) lines, though this is something the Wǎng Stream poems have in common with 'Visiting the Qín Emperor's Tomb.'

While the pentasyllabic quatrain is the most commonly used poetic form in the Táng, quite a few later critics relate it directly to the assumed Chán-like effect of some poetry. Wáng Shìzhēn says:[23]

> The pentasyllabic quatrains of the Táng often enter Chán.
> 唐人五言絕句，往往入禪 。

Many other critics produce comments to the same effect.

Wáng Wéi was not only a poet, but also a painter, and reportedly painted the same 20 spots on his Wǎng Stream estate. Many of the poems are strongly visual, and the quatrain form is ideal for producing immediate snapshots. In contrast to painting, poems may also include other sensory input, particularly sounds (or their absence), but—with some notable exceptions to which we shall return below—most of the poems are based on the direct perception of sights and sounds with limited room for thought and reflection, 'The Luán Rapids' being the most extreme case of such naked, unadorned perception. An eight-line or heptasyllabic poem would probably require more intellectual reflection, emotional involvement or aesthetic adornment, all of which would have got in the way of the Chán-like immediacy of these poems.

The simplicity of these poems, however, should not be exaggerated. Even within the limited space of four pentasyllabic lines, the poet sometimes manages a number of changes of perspective, as in the changing time frame of 'The Hole in the Meng Wall,' *Mèng chéng ào* 孟城坳:

> 新家孟城口 My new home lies by a gap in the wall of Mèng
> 古木餘衰柳 where of ancient trees only withering willows remain
> 來者復為誰 Who is the one who will come to this place again
> 空悲昔人有 vainly lamenting possessions of long-ago men

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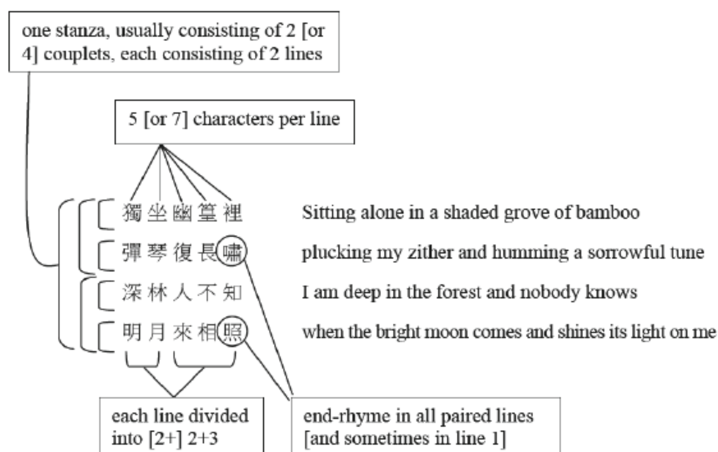
[23] *Xiāngzǔ bǐjì*《香祖筆記》

While the two first lines are concerned with the relation between the poetic here and now and a past of which little remains, the two last lines move this temporal relation one step forward, changing the here and now into a bygone past as seen by some future visitor. In fact, the last line is ambiguous and may refer either to the future visitor's lamenting of the poet or the poet's lamenting of past inhabitants (like Sòng Zhīwèn), thereby bringing together the two temporal frames of the poem in one single line. The effect is to see the self in a wider perspective and to see the present moment as part of a larger stream of passing time.

Beyond Perfection: Old-style Poetry

To the well-versed reader of Táng poetry, an equally obvious contrast between 'Visiting the Qín Emperor's Tomb' and the *Wǎng Stream Collection* is that the former is written in the so-called new style (*jìntǐ* 近體), while the poems in the latter are written in the so-called old style (*gǔtǐ* 古體). The new style is formally much stricter and is often associated with palace poetry, while the old style is deliberately antithetic to this strictness, and also to the associations to life at the palace and higher officialdom. This form therefore fits well with the rusticity and simplicity of the *Wǎng Stream Collection*.

To the modern mind, even old-style poetry is quite thoroughly regulated. Consider the rules for old-style poetry as applied to the poem 'Bamboo Lodge,' *Zhúlǐ guǎn* 竹里館:



These rules are shared by old- and new-style poetry. There are, however, a number of formal differences between the two types.

First, the tonal rules of the disyllabic rhythmic units of new-style poetry (see above) do not apply in old-style poetry. In fact, the tonal regularity of new-style poetry is consciously avoided, so that it occurs with lower-than-random frequency. Thus, the old style is usually chosen to mark opposition to the regularities of the new style. In this sense, the old style is not older than the new style, but on the contrary presupposes it. The old style is an active marker of a freer and less regulated frame of mind.

Second, while new-style rhymes are almost always in the level tone, old-style rhymes may be in either level tone or any one of the three oblique tones: rising, falling, or entering tone. In 'Bamboo Lodge,' for instance, we have falling-tone rhymes: *xiào* 嘯 and *zhào* 照. Again, the active opposition to new-style regularity is made evident by the higher-than-random frequency of oblique-tone rhymes in the *Wǎng Stream Collection*, which has 12 poems with oblique-tone rhymes and eight poems with level-tone rhymes. Oblique-tone rhymes are a very conspicuous marker of the non-regularity of old-style poetry.

Third, the rhymes themselves are less restricted in old-style than in new-style poetry. While new-style poetry usually requires every rhyme to be taken from the same rhyme group (*yùn* 韻), old-style poetry often amalgamates several rhyme groups into larger categories (*lèi* 類), making it possible, for instance, to rhyme *rén* 人 (belonging to rhyme group 11 *zhēn* 真) and *jūn* 君 (belonging to rhyme group 12 *wén* 文) in the poem 'Pepper Garden,' *Jiāo yuán* 椒園. In 'Apricot Lodge,' *Wénxìng guǎn* 文杏館, Wáng Wéi takes the relative freedom of old-style rhyming one step further by creating a homophonous rhyme, letting the phonetically identical *yǔ* 宇 and *yǔ* 雨 rhyme with each other. This is virtually unheard of in Táng poetry, and functions as a strong marker of individuality over propriety.

Fourth, while old-style poetry retain the tendency of new-style poetry to have non-rhyming final characters in the opposite tone of their rhyming counterparts, the *Wǎng Stream Collection* also has cases where one of the non-rhyming final characters is in the oblique tone and the other in the level tone, such as *lǐ* 裡 and *zhī* 知 in 'Bamboo Lodge' above.

Finally, while parallelism is not required in either old-style or new-style quatrains, it may occur in both, and Wáng Wéi is a greater lover of parallelism than one would expect of someone who wishes to express an opposition to rules and regularities. Again, however, the rules for old-style parallelism are not as strict as those for new-style parallelism. The parallel pairs may be both grammatically and semantically further removed from each other, as when the concrete *zè jīng* 仄徑 'narrow path' is paired with the more abstract *yōu yīn* 幽陰 'secluded shadow' in the first two lines of 'The Path between the Locust Trees' *Gōng huái mò* 宮槐陌, and when the noun+noun compound 宮槐 'palace locust' is paired with the adjective+noun compound *lǜ tái* 綠苔 'green moss' in the same lines. While not permissible in the new style, the parallel pairs may also be identical in the old style, as when the copula *wéi* 為 is used in both of the first two lines of 'Apricot Lodge.' Finally, old-style parallelism differs from new-style parallelism in that it usually displays no consistent tonal contrast between the lines. Again, however, Wáng Wéi's obvious love of parallelism sometimes makes him create couplets that are a little closer to new-style poetry than we would expect in this collection:

仄徑蔭宮槐 *obl obl obl lev lev* Narrow path shaded by palace locust
幽陰多綠苔 *lev lev lev obl lev* Secluded shadow full of green moss

The only exception to the strict tonal contrast between these parallel lines is in the two line-final characters, which have to be taken from the same tonal category, simply because they both rhyme.

The contrast between old-style and new-style poetry was utilised for Chán-like purposes by other poets of the Táng dynasty. In the *Platform Sūtra* (*Tán jīng* 壇經), the diligent, ambitious and well-meaning, but unenlightened monk Shénxiù 神秀 writes a *gāthā* in the form of an almost perfect new-style quatrain, while the illiterate novice Huìnéng 慧能 shows his deep and unconventional insight into Chán in a *gāthā* (in some editions two *gāthās*) composed as an old-style quatrain. Huìnéng's *gāthā* starts almost demonstratively with blatant violations of new-style tone rules already in the first line, *pútí běn wú shù* 菩提本無樹, with no tonal contrast between characters 2 and 4, nor between characters 3 and 5. Here old-style poetry is used as an emblem of a spontaneous, sudden enlightenment that goes beyond the gradual cultivation and rigorous scholarship of traditional Buddhism.

Beyond Perfection: Allusions to the Realm Beyond

If the *Wǎng Stream Collection* were only an expression of simplicity, rusticity and directness, we would have problems explaining the existence of poems like 'Golden Dust Spring' 金屑泉 and 'Pepper Garden' 椒園, which are built almost entirely around mythical and fantastic images from the early Daoist reclusive tradition and *The Songs of Chǔ*, and have very little connection to anything that is directly perceived:[24]

日飲金屑泉	If you drink every day from the Golden Dust Spring
少當千餘歲	you will live to a thousand years or more
翠鳳翔文螭	You will ride in green phoenix carts pulled by striped dragons
羽節朝玉帝	and bring your plumed wand to the Jade Emperor's court
桂尊迎帝子	With a cinnamon cup greet the Emperor's Child
杜若贈佳人	and make a *pollia* gift for the Beauty
椒漿奠瑤席	On a mat place libations of pepper-hot wine
欲下雲中君	to bring down to earth the Lord of the Clouds

The first of these poems is built around the Daoist and alchemist notion of a longevity potion, and in particular of gold as a means to immortality. The poem also refers to the striped, hornless dragons pulling an emerald phoenix chariot carrying the Daoist goddess of immortality, the Queen Mother of the West, and also to the Jade Emperor, ruler of Heaven and Earth, the feathered staff being the insignia of an official at court. Apart from the place name, the only connection to the spot commemorated is the presence of water, and possibly its yellow colour, which may have inspired the associations with gold. This poem, therefore, is just as heavily laden with allusion and just as far removed from the immediately perceptible physical world as was the case in 'Visiting the Qín Emperor's Tomb.'

The second poem is built around the mythical and semi-religious world of *The Songs of Chǔ*, the Emperor's Child and possibly also the Beauty referring to Lady Xiāng, Xiāng *fūrén* 湘夫人, with whom the shaman-poet seeks sexual, as well as religious, union. The Lord of the Clouds also appears in *The Songs of Chǔ*, as does the use of pepper wine for sacrificial purposes. Though this poem contains more direct

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[24] In addition to Chén Tiěmín's annotations, my understanding of the allusions of these poems has been much helped by Pauline Yu (Yu 1980).

references to the physical features of the spot commemorated, cinnamon, *pollia* and pepper all presumably growing in the Pepper Garden, the focus is on the mythical and fantastic rather than on anything directly perceptible.

A third poem built almost entirely around Daoist allusions is 'Lacquer Garden' (*Qī-yuán* 漆園), which takes its name from the garden over which the great Daoist Zhuāngzǐ 莊子 presided as a minor official after having refused a minister post at the royal court, in order to live a free life rather than being destroyed by the pressures near the centre of power. The first line of the poem refutes a statement to the effect that 'there was a proud official in the Lacquer Garden' (*Qī-yuán yǒu ào lì* 漆園有傲吏) in a poem by Guō Pú 郭璞 (276–324):

古人非傲吏	The ancient man was no proud official
自闕經世務	but thought himself lacking in worldly skills
偶寄一微官	By chance he had gotten a minor position
婆娑數株樹	and spent his time resting below a few trees

Possibly apart from the trees in the last line (which has been interpreted in a number of widely different ways), this poem contains no concrete reference to the actual site commemorated, though the story of Zhuāngzǐ is undoubtedly used to describe Wáng Wéi's own propensity for reclusion.

What is the relation between these three poems and the nature poems in the *Wǎng Stream Collection*? What do these three poems have to do with simplicity and direct perception? And finally, what is the connection between Chán and these poems, which are all built on Daoist notions and images?

First, note that even the nature poetry of this collection often contains imagery associated with semi-Daoist ideas or with *The Songs of Chǔ*, as we saw above in the image of lotus growing on branches of trees in 'Magnolia Glen.' Another example is the solitary man in the shaded bamboo grove in 'Bamboo Lodge,' alluding to *The Songs of Chǔ*, in which the shaman-poet waits in vain for his lover-goddess to arrive in a dense and shadowy bamboo grove. Yet another poem, 'Bamboo Ridge' (*Jīnzhú lǐng* 斤竹嶺), refers to Mount Shāng 商山, which actually lies not far from the area, but which also figures in Chinese history as the place to which four famous hermits retreated to avoid serving in the First Emperor's government. As pointed out by

Stephen Owen in his article 'Xuéhuì jīngyà,' the poem title (and place name) 'Huàzǐ Hill' 華子岡 is taken from a poem title by Xiè Língyùn 謝靈運 (385–433) and refers to the Daoist immortal Huà Zǐqī 華子期, while the poem title (and place name) 'Bamboo Ridge' 斤竹嶺 refers to the title of another of Xiè Língyùn's poems, in which the poet sets out wandering to look for an immortal. The location of these place names is actually deceptive, Owen explains, as they are taken from the Lúshān 廬山 area of which Xiè Língyùn wrote rather than the area of the Wǎng Stream.

The interplay between simple imagery and metaphysical and literary allusions is most gracefully displayed in the poem 'Apricot Lodge' 文杏館:

文杏裁為梁	Apricot cut to serve as beams
香茅結為宇	lemongrass bound to act as eaves
不知棟裡雲	Perhaps the clouds amidst the rafters
去作人間雨	will turn into rain in the world of men

On the surface, this poem is a concrete description of a simple hut made from materials available on the spot. The mist and the rain are also concrete, as is the high altitude of the spot. At the same time, the sheer simplicity of the little hut described is an obvious source of spiritual enjoyment, and this effect is intensified by the almost otherworldly position of the hut far above the realm of human beings. Furthermore, the clouds amidst the rafters clearly allude to a poem by Guō Pú, in which a Daoist recluse is said to reside in a place where 'clouds appear amidst beams and rafters' (*yún shēng liáng dòng jiān* 雲生梁棟間). Finally, the pairing of 'clouds' *yún* 雲 and 'rain' *yǔ* 雨 at the end of lines 3 and 4 is a standard allusion to the story of the sexual union between a king and a mythical goddess in *The Songs of Chǔ*. In the present context, sexuality is hardly the issue, but the myth-shrouded shamanic quest for a realm beyond is important in conveying the spiritual meaning of the poem.

In a playful way, the literary and metaphysical allusions of 'Apricot Lodge' add a layer of spiritual significance to what is otherwise an utterly simple, concrete and direct description of an equally simple spot. In a similar light-hearted vein, the three allusion-filled poems cited above, as well as the numerous allusions in the nature poems, also bring out the spiritual significance of the simplicity, rusticity and direct perception of these poems. In other words, the

immediacy of the directly descriptive language is the very basis for the spiritual frame of mind jocularly hinted at in the mythical and fantastic allusions.

Poetic Language and Poetic Structure

As we have seen, almost all Míng and Qīng rhetoric of Chán poetry is built on statements from the Sòng critic Yán Yǔ, in particular his emphasis on 'subtle enlightenment' as a basic feature of both Chán and poetry. However, Míng and Qīng critics radically reinterpreted Yán Yǔ's notions, making his analogies between Chán-induced and poetic enlightenment into an equation between the two, while basically restricting the Chán label to poets who might be plausibly conceived as Buddhists. In the ideal case, subtle enlightenment was seen as residing in the poet, in the poem, and, as an effect of the reading process, in the reader. Wáng Wéi's non-doctrinal nature poems became standard examples of Chán poetry. However, apart from general and quite abstract statements about such Chán qualities residing beyond language and leaving no traces, we find few concrete descriptions of actual Chán-like features. In this paper, I have suggested that such features are at least partly to be located within the choice of poetic language and poetic structure.

In the *Wǎng Stream Collection*, the unassuming privacy of the spots commemorated forms a conspicuous contrast to the imperial grandeur and officialdom of 'Visiting the Qín Emperor's Tomb.' Such choices of content, however, are supplemented by a number of linguistic and structural choices, briefly summed up below:

1. Choice of imagery: Simple and direct, rather than embellished and allusion-filled;
2. Choice of linguistic style: Rustic and local, rather than literary and urban;
3. Choice of structure: Breaking with, rather than adhering to standard genre expectations;
4. Choice of poetic sub-genre: Quatrain, rather than octave;
5. Choice of poetic sub-genre: Pentasyllabic, rather than hepta-syllabic;
6. Choice of poetic sub-genre: Old style, rather than new style; and
7. Choice of allusions: Daoist, rather than Confucian motifs.

These features are by no means universally applied. As we saw in the case of old style *vs*. new style, the rhetorical devices in question

are a means of marking an opposition, and the standard against which they react works as their point of departure. The language of these poems does contain rustic and local features, but its basic form is Literary Chinese, not some kind of dialectal vernacular. Similarly, the effect of ending a poem with descriptive ‘scene’ rather than subjective ‘emotion’ presupposes an expectation of the opposite, and this more traditional structure is indeed followed in some of the poems. Furthermore, the seeming opposition between the lack of allusions in No. 1 and the choice of specific types of allusion in No. 7 represents only two ways to bring about the same frame of mind.

The denial of the mode of officialdom and imperial grandeur is brought out most explicitly in the poem ‘Willow Waves,’ *Liǔ liáng* 柳浪:

分行皆綺樹	Row upon row of trees with silk-like threads
倒影入清漪	reflected upside-down in limpid ripplets
不學御溝上	refusing to do as the ones on the imperial moat
春風傷別離	where the spring breeze is hurt by all the farewells

Line 3 has also been interpreted as an imperative: ‘Don’t do as the ones on the imperial moat!’ In either case, this line and the following one represent a refusal to associate these willows with the almost unavoidably standard theme of broken willow branches as tokens of friendship at the heartrending occasions when an official is sent out of the capital to serve in a faraway place.[25]

One should think that the frequent use of Daoist motifs and the lack of Buddhist ones (if we accept that the three instances of the word *kōng* 空 ‘empty; in vain’ are devoid of Buddhist meaning) would indicate a Daoist rather than a Buddhist orientation. On the other hand, the Daoist allusions are mostly playful, while the deep interest in perception and perspectivism seems to bring the reader into a philosophical and psychological exploration that comes closer to Buddhism—and Chán for that matter—than to the popular Daoism to which many of the poems allude. Thus, no matter what the poet actually intended, the later attribution of Chán meaning to these poems is not entirely groundless. If we see it this way, we can add another rhetorical device to the seven above: The choice of avoiding

[25] An opposite and, in my opinion, less felicitous interpretation is provided by Stephan Schumacher 1982 who translates the last two lines: ‘Ähneln sie nicht den Weiden am Palastgraben, / Die im Frühlingswind den Abschiedsschmerz vertiefen?’

explicit mention of the heart of the matter, of leaving unsaid what cannot be put into words in any case. As the Qīng critic Shěn Déqián said: ‘In poetry, one values the presence of Chán principles and Chán spirit, not of Chán words’ (詩貴有禪理禪趣，不貴有禪語).[26]

[26] Dīng Fúbǎo 1963:555. A similar point was brought out by Jì Yún 紀昀 (1724–1805): ‘Poetry should investigate the atmosphere of Chán, but should not use the words of Chán’ 詩宜參禪味，不宜作禪語.

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SOME PRELIMINARY REMARKS TO A STUDY OF RHETORICAL DEVICES IN CHÁN *YŬLÙ* 禪語錄 ENCOUNTER DIALOGUES

CHRISTIAN WITTERN

In the few last decades, Chán texts in general, but texts from the *yŭlù* and *Lamp History* genres specifically, have been scrutinized for historically reliable, 'authentic' traces, as supposed to later 'fabrications' and 'forgeries.' While these certainly are interesting questions that have advanced our understanding of the development of Chán Buddhism, my reading here will take a different approach to these texts. I will try to take the received texts seriously as texts, and will try to understand what kind of image of the Chán School is created in these texts, what kinds of questions seem important and what solutions are proposed in these texts. In short, my reading will be closer to the reading of these texts as literary works than as historical narratives, with the primary goal of understanding how these texts function. I will, thus, not argue about what parts of a text are trustworthy and what parts not, but will rather just take the text at face value. Furthermore, for the sake of brevity, in quotations and discussions I will just say 'Măzŭ said' or 'Línjì shouted,' as if these were actual facts reported, rather than each time add in parentheses 'this is what the text says, but of course we cannot know for sure if this really happened as reported.'

The text under consideration here is the *Jĭngdé chuándēng lù* 景德傳燈錄 (hereafter: JDCDL) of the year 1004, a text not usually considered part of the *yŭlù* genre in a narrow sense, as *yŭlù* only started to appear later in the 11th century.[1] However, these distinctions are mostly relevant to the overall structure of a *yŭlù*, the context of its composition and the constituent parts. At a more basic level, the part of the *yŭlù* that deals with the interactions of a master with his disciples and visitors is structurally very similar to the entries for a master in the so-called *Lamp Histories*, of which the JDCDL is the paradigmatic text; this is what has been called *kien mondo* 機緣問答

[1] For a more thorough discussion of the *yŭlù* genre, its constituents and development, see Wittern 1998:51–87.

('encounter dialogue') by the most eminent Chán/Zen scholar of the 20th century, the late Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山.[2] It is precisely for this reason that this text will be used as the primary witness in this preliminary investigation of rhetoric devices in the *yǔlù*. Because of the limits applying to this little essay, I will further constrain this to look only at the encounter dialogues in the *Chuándēng lù*.

Meaning of the Coming of the Patriarch

One of the most frequent, if not *the* most frequently asked question in the Chán records is the question about the 'Meaning of the Coming of the Patriarch.' In effect, this is a rhetoric shorthand to an inquiry about the meaning and essence of the Chán teaching (to be understood also to be a question about the specific teaching), as expounded by the interlocutor who receives the question.

To give an estimate of the importance of this question in the Chán records, I will provide figures derived from queries against the CBETA database (in version 19 of February 2008).[3] These figures should, of course, be considered just as a rough estimate and not much more, but they will provide a slightly firmer ground than just a gut feeling after having read some of the texts. For the searches reported here, I selected a subset of the texts with the help of the CBETA categorized catalogue, which includes all the texts in Category 17, *Chánzōng bùlèi* 禪宗部類 and also the texts from Subcategory 14, *Chánzōng zhuàn* 禪宗傳 of Category 18 *Shǐzhuàn bùlèi* 史專部類, altogether 344 texts with almost 28 million characters;[4] the maximum distance for 'near' searches (+ sign in rows 3 and 4 of Table 1) has been set to 15 characters.

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[2] See Yanagida 1983:185–205 and especially 204 (n. 25), where the first compound for 'encounter' is defined.

[3] The CD-ROM version has been used here, which is distributed free of charge, but can also be downloaded from http://www.cbeta.org/download.

[4] The character counts are not available directly from the CD-ROM version, they have been made using the XML files available from the CBETA website using a script written for that purpose.

Table 1: Frequently asked questions in the Chán records and the JDCDL

No Query	Hits in all texts	Hits in JDCDL
1 西來意	1,388	149
2 即心即佛	820	18
3 祖意 + 教意	435	23
4 祖意 + 教意 + 同 + 別	382	20

As can be seen in Table 1, the question about the meaning of the coming of the patriarch from the West has a total of 1,388 hits in all of the texts in the Chán category, which includes of course a majority of texts written after the 11th century. But, even in the early 11th century JDCDL, there are 149 hits for this specific formulation of the question. Since there are a number of different ways to word the question, the overall count is likely to be even higher, far too much to be digested in the space available here. Another frequently seen sequence of characters, the statement *jí xīn jí fó* 即心即佛, 'this very mind is the Buddha,' which was a central element in Mǎzǔ's teaching and that of the Hóngzhōu School.[5] While this is indeed very frequent in later texts, it occurs only 18 times in exact this wording in the JDCDL.

Given this situation, it seemed to be desirable to reduce the number of examples to look at by retaining a certain variety of responses. The first attempt at this was to actually look at the answers to the questions and categorize them with the intention to select some representative examples for a discussion here. However, this turned out to be a process not entirely satisfying, so I decided to further reduce the number of examples to look at with a more specific search term. This produced the third and fourth row in Table 1 with the number of locations in the text that contain both the term *zǔ yì* 祖意 'the patriarch's meaning' and *jiào yì* 教意 'the meaning of the teachings,' two enigmatic shorthands to characterize the opposing directions of the emerging Chán School on the one side, and the mainstream of Buddhist teachings on the other. The occurrence of these terms in vicinity of each other is given in the third row of Table 1. Since these terms might occur in any context, not just in questions, I finally added

[5] Suzuki 1985:377 and 383ff gives some sources that he claims prove that this proposition was not original to Mǎzǔ, but the evidence does not seem conclusive given that most of the sources he cites are likely to be of a much later provenance.

the two characters *tóng* 同 'the same' and *bié* 別 'different' to capture those occurrences that specifically address the question of identity between these two. This brings the set of passages to discuss down to 382 in all the texts and 20 in the JDCDL, a set that seems of a manageable size and this is what will be discussed in the following, beginning with a translation of the passages in question.

Questions about the Essence of Chán and the Teachings

1. *Lǒngzhōu Guóqīngyuàn Fèng Chánshī* 隴州國清院奉禪師[6] (JDCDL, fasc. 11:287b17[7])

問：「祖意與教意，同？別？」	Somebody asked: 'Is there a difference between the intention of the patriarchs and the intention of the sūtras?'
師曰：「雨滋三草秀，	'Grasses and crops thrive through the rain,
春風不裹頭。」	During the tender winds in Spring, there is no need to wrap one's head.'
僧曰：「畢竟是一是二？」	A monk said: 'So after all, are they the same or not?'
師曰：「祥雲競起，	'Auspicious clouds are arising
巖洞不虧。」	The mountain caves stand undisturbed.'

2. *Mùzhōu Lóngxīng sì Chén zūnsù* 睦州龍興寺陳尊宿[8] (JDCDL, fasc. 12:291c10)

問：「教意祖意，是同是別？」	A monk asked: 'Is there a difference between the intention of the sūtras and the intention of the Patriarchs?'

[6] Gúoqīng Fèng (n.d.) is a disciple of Zhàozhōu Cóngshěn 趙州從諗 (778–897) who was resident in the Guóqīng Monastery in today's Shaanxi province.
[7] All references to the JDCDL will provide the number of the fascicle, page number, section and line number of this passage in Volume 51 of the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (T.). The punctuation is in all cases my own.
[8] Chén zūnsù (~780–~877?) is usually called 睦州道明 Mùzhōu Dàomíng. He is a disciple of 黃檗希運 Huángbò Xīyùn (?–850) and is best known as one of the major influences of Yúnmén Wényǎn 雲門文偃 (864–949).

師云：「青山自青山，	The master said: ‘Blue mountains are blue by themselves,
白雲自白雲。」	white clouds are white of their own.’[9]
僧云：「如何是青山？」	The monk said: ‘So what is the matter with the blue mountain?’
師云：「還我一滴雨來。」	The master answered: ‘Just return me a drop of rainwater!’

3. *Yǎngshān Xītǎ Guāngmù chánshī* 仰山西塔光穆禪師[10] (JDCDL, fasc. 12:293c13)

問：「祖意與教意，同？別？」	Somebody asked: ‘The intention of the patriarchs and the intention of the sūtras, are they the same or different?’
師曰：「同別且置，	The master answered: ‘Lets leave the question of same or different aside,
汝道瓶嘴裏什麼物出來入去？」	just say, what is it that comes out and enters the mouth of the bottle?’

4. *Jízhōu Fúshòu héshàng* 吉州福壽和尚[11] (JDCDL, fasc. 13:302a18)

僧問：「祖意教意，同？別？」	A monk asked: ‘The intention of the patriarchs and the intention of the sūtras, are they identical or are they different?’
師乃展手。	The master spread his hands.[12]

[9] This answer later became one of the main sayings associated with Mùzhōu and is frequently quoted in the Chán literature.

[10] Xītǎ Guāngmù (n.d.) was a disciple of Yǎngshān Huìjì 仰山慧寂 (807–883), one of the founders of the Wéiyǎng 溈仰 ‘house’ of Chán Buddhism.

[11] Fúshòu (n.d.) is a disciple of Zīfú Rúbǎo 資福如寶 (n.d.), who was in turn a disciple of Yǎngshān Huìjì.

[12] There are different ways to understand this gesture. In the Chán tradition of Dòngshān Liángjiè, the gesture of spreading the hands is one of welcoming the student to incite him to receive instruction; it is one of Dóngshān’s three gestures (*cf.* T. 47:524c).

5. *Lǐzhōu Jiáshān Shànhuì chánshī* 澧州夾山善會禪師[13] (JDCDL, 15:324a20)

僧問：「從上立祖意教意，	‘The intention of the patriarchs and the intention of the sūtras, have been established since times beyond,
和尚此間為什麼言無？」	why do you deny this here?’[14]
師曰：「三年不食飯，	The master said: ‘Having not eaten for three years,
目前無饑人。」	but what you see in front of you is not a starving man.’
曰：「既無饑人，	The monk said: ‘Even if it is not a starving man,
某甲為什麼不悟？」	why do I not experience any enlightenment?’
師曰：「只為悟，	The master said: ‘As for the enlightenment,
迷却闍梨。」	delusion is still your teacher.’
師說頌曰：	The master then said the following *gāthā*:
明明無悟法，	‘Very clearly, there is no enlightenment to the dharma,
悟法却迷人。	If there were enlightenment, there would be delusion.
長舒兩脚睡，	This discussion has been going on for such a long time, my feet have fallen asleep.
無偽亦無真。	So there is in fact no fake and no real.’

6. *Lǐzhōu Jiáshān Shànhuì chánshī* 澧州夾山善會禪師 (JDCDL, fasc. 15:324b01)

問：「祖意與教意，同？別？」	Somebody asked: ‘The intention of the patriarchs and the intention of the sūtras, are they identical or different?’
師曰：「風吹荷葉滿池青，	The master answered: ‘The wind blows over the lake full of lotus leaves,
十里行人較一程。」	To the traveler, ten miles is one leg.’

[13] Jiáshān Shànhuì was a disciple of Chuánzǐ Déchéng 船子德誠, the ‘boatman,’ so called because he lived in a small boat on a river, who was in turn a disciple of Yàoshān Wéiyǎn 藥山惟儼 (744–827).

[14] It is worth pointing out that this is the only example among the passages cited here where the questioner himself already implies the superiority of the Chán teaching and scolds the master for not agreeing to this.

7. *Fúzhōu Xuěfēng Yìcún chánshī* 福州雪峯義存禪師[15] (JDCDL, fasc. 16:327a19)

僧問：「祖意與教意，	A monk asked: 'The intention of the patriarchs and the intention of the sūtras,
是同？是別？」	are they the same or different?'
師曰：「雷聲震地，	The master answered: 'The sound of thunder shakes the earth,
室內不聞。」	but inside the room nothing is heard.'

8. *Tánzhōu Gŭshān Zàng chánshī* 潭州谷山藏禪師[16] (JDCDL, fasc. 16: 329c26)

僧問：「祖意教意，	A monk asked: 'The intention of the patriarchs and the intention of the sūtras,
是一、是二？」	are they one or are they two?'
師曰：「青天白日，	The master answered: 'Clear sky on a bright day,
夜半濃霜。」	thick frost at midnight.'

9. *Jízhōu Chóngēn héshàng* 吉州崇恩和尚[17] (JDCDL, fasc. 16:330a12)

僧問：「祖意教意，	A monk asked: 'The intention of the patriarchs and the intention of the sūtras,
是一、是二？」	are they one or are they two?'
師曰：「少林雖有月，	The master said: 'Although the moon can be seen in Shàolín,
葱嶺不穿雲。」	The clouds do not penetrate through Cōnglǐng.'[18]

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[15] Xuěfēng Yìcún (822–902), disciple of Shíxìang Hóngzhí 實相洪直, was an important master of the late Tang. He lived in Fujian province and was master of Yúnmén Wényǎn 雲門文偃 (864–949).

[16] Gŭshān Zàng (n.d.) is the disciple of Jiànyúan Zhòngxīng 漸源仲興 (n.d.).

[17] Chóngēn (n.d.) is disciple of Jiànyúan Zhòngxīng 漸源仲興 (n.d.). This entry in the JDCDL comprises only this encounter.

[18] Shàolín is the name of a famous monastery on Mount Sōng, this is where Bodhidharma, the 'patriarch' is said to have practiced for nine years. Cōnglǐng is a mountain range in the far west of China, in today's Xīnjīang province.

10. *Lǐzhōu Lèpǔ shān Yuánān chánshī* 澧州樂普山元安禪師[19] (JDCDL, fasc. 16:331b20)

問：「祖意與教意，	Someone asked: 'The intention of the patriarchs and the intention of the sūtras,
是一是二？」	are the one or are they two?'
師曰：「師子窟中無異獸，	The master said: 'In the lions cave, there is no strange beast,
象王行處絕狐蹤。」	where the elephant goes, there is no footprint of a fox.'

11. *Lǐzhōu Lèpǔ shān Yuánān chánshī* 澧州樂普山元安禪師 (JDCDL, fasc. 16:331c23)

問：「祖意與教意，	Someone asked: 'The intention of the patriarchs and the intention of the sūtras,
是同是別？」	are they the same or different?'
師曰：「日月並輪空，	The master said: 'Sun and moon take turns in the sky,
誰家別有路？」	who would not have their own path?'

12. *Húnán Lóngyá shān Jūdùn chánshī* 湖南龍牙山居遁禪師[20] (JDCDL, fasc. 17:337c23)

問：「祖意與教意，	Someone asked: 'The intention of the patriarchs and the intention of the sūtras,
同？	are they the same,
別？」	or are they different?'
師曰：「祖師在後來。」	The master answered: 'The patriarch did come later.'

13. *Jīngzhào Huáyán sì Xiūjìng chánshī* 京兆華嚴寺休靜禪師[21] (JDCDL, fasc. 17:338a16)

問：「祖意與教意，	Someone asked: 'The intention of the patriarchs and the intention of the sūtras,
同？	are they identical,
別？」	or are they different?'

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[19] Lèpǔ Yuánān is more commonly known as Lùopǔ Yuánān 洛浦元安 (834–898). He was a disciple of the above-mentioned Jiáshān Shànhuì.

[20] Lóngyá Jūdùn (835–923) was a disciple of the co-founder of the Cáodòng 曹洞 (Jap. Sōtō) School of Chán Buddhism, Dòngshān Líangjìe 洞山良价 (807–869).

[21] Xiūjìng (n.d.) was another disciple of Dòngshān Líangjìe.

師曰：「探盡龍宮藏，	The master answered: ‘Try your best to find what is hidden in the Dragon Palace,
眾義不能詮。」	the multitude of meanings cannot be explained.’

14. *Xiāngzhōu Jiùlǐng Shànběn chánshī* 襄州鷲嶺善本禪師[22] (JDCDL, fasc. 17:341c24)

問：「祖意教意，	Someone asked: ‘The intention of the patriarchs and the intention of the sūtras,
是同？是別？」	are they identical or are they different?’
師曰：「鷲嶺峯上，	The master said: ‘On top of Vulture Peak
青草森天；	green grass and heavenly forest,
鹿野苑中，	In Deer Park,[23]
狐兔交橫。」	Fox and rabbit are engaged in lively interchanges.’

15. *Hóngzhōu Fèngqī shān Tóngān yuàn Wēi chánshī* 洪州鳳棲山同安院威禪師[24] (JDCDL, fasc. 20:365c15)

問：「祖意教意如何？」	Someone asked: ‘What about the intention of the patriarchs and the intention of the sūtras?’
師曰：「玉兔不曾知曉意，	The master said: ‘The Jade Rabbit does not know about dawn,
金烏爭肯夜頭明。」	the Golden Bird surely illuminates the night.’[25]

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[22] Jiùlǐng Shànběn (n.d.) was a disciple of Háozhōu Sīmíng 濠州思明 (n.d.).

[23] Vulture Peak is said to be the setting where many of the main Mahāyāna sūtras were preached, whereas Deer Park (Sārnāth) is the place of Buddha Śākyamūni’s first sermon after his enlightenment.

[24] Tóngān Wēi (n.d.) is a disciple of Jiǔfēng Pǔmǎn (n.d.). He figures also in fascicle 28 of the collection *Chánmén niānsòng jí* 禪門拈頌集.

[25] Jade Rabbit is a conventional image for the moon, while the Golden Bird symbolizes the sun.

16. *Hóngzhōu Dàxióng shān Bǎizhàng Chāo chánshī* 洪州大雄山百丈超禪師[26] (JDCDL, fasc. 20:368b17)

問：「祖意與教意，	Someone asked: ‘The intention of the patriarchs and the intention of the sūtras,
同？	are they identical
別？」	or are they different?’
師曰：「金鷄玉兔，	The master said: ‘The Golden Bird and the Jade Rabbit
聽遶須彌。」	I heard they both circle Mount Sumeru.’[27]

17. *Sháozhōu Báiyún Xiáng héshàng* 韶州白雲祥和尚[28] (JDCDL, fasc. 22:384b28)

問：「教意祖意，	Someone asked: ‘The intention of the sūtras and the intention of the patriarchs,
同？	are they identical,
別？」	or are they different?’
師曰：「不別。」	The master answered: ‘They do not differ!’
曰：「恁麼即同也。」	‘But how can they be identical?’
師曰：「不妨領話。」	The master said: ‘Nothing will stop you from understanding this!’

18. *Yuèzhōu Bālíng Xīnkāi Hàojiàn dàshī* 嶽州巴陵新開顥鑒大師[29] (JDCDL, fasc. 22:386a25)

後僧問：「祖意教意，	Later a monk asked: ‘The intention of the patriarchs and the intention of the sūtras,
是同是別？」	are they the same, or are they different?’
師曰：「雞寒上樹，	The master said: ‘Chickens climb the trees when it is cold,
鴨寒入水。」	Ducks enter the water when it is cold.’

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[26] Bǎizhàng Chāo (n.d.) is one of the many disciples of Shūshān Kuāngrén 疎山匡仁 (also sometimes Guāngrén 光仁, n.d.).

[27] In Buddhist cosmology, the world mountain Sumeru, which is a strangely shaped peak, arises in the center of the world, around which the Sun and Moon revolve.

[28] Báiyún Xiáng, full name Báiyún Zǐxiáng 白雲子祥 (n.d.) is a disciple of Yúnmén Wényǎn 雲門文偃 (863–949).

[29] Bālíng Hàojiàn was also a disciple of Yúnmén Wényǎn.

19. *Yōuzhōu Chuánfǎ héshang* 幽州傳法和尚[30] (JDCDL, fasc. 23:397a08)

僧問：「教意與祖意，	A monk asked: 'The intention of the sūtras and the intention of the patriarchs,
是同是別？」	are they identical or are they different?'
師曰：「華開金線秀，	The master answered: 'Golden threads of a newly opened blossom are beautiful,
古洞白雲深。」	White clouds hang deeply over the old cave.'

20. *Hángzhōu Wǔyún shān Huáyán dàochǎng Zhìféng dàshī* 杭州五雲山華嚴道場志逢大師[31] (JDCDL, fasc. 26:422c02)

師上堂曰：「諸上座！	The master ascended the high seat and said: 'Venerables,
捨一知識而參一知識，	throw away one knowledge and gain some other knowledge,
盡學善財南游之式樣也。	You should all take an example in Sudhana and his travel to the south.[32]
且問上座：只如善財禮辭文殊，	Venerables, now let me ask: "Just like Sudhana had to leave Mañjuśrī,
擬登妙峯山謁德雲比丘，	and planned to climb Mount Sugriva to visit the monk Meghashri
及到彼所，	and once he arrived at that place,
何以德雲却於別峯相見？	why did Meghashri decide to see him

[30] Chuánfǎ (n.d.) was a disciple of Qīngfēng Chúanchǔ 青峰傳楚 (n.d.).

[31] Zhìféng (909–985) was a disciple of Tiāntái Désháo 天台德韶 (891–972).

[32] This refers to the story of Sudhana visiting the monk Meghashri, found in Chapter 39 of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. Cleary translates this as follows: 'Then Sudhana proceeded by stages to the country of Ramavaranta. Having reached Ramavaranta, reflecting on and tasting the mentally pleasing enjoyments based on higher action born of past roots of goodness, he went to Mount Sugriva, climbed the mountain, and looked in every direction for the monk Meghashri. Finally, after seven days, he saw the monk walking on the plateau of another peak. He went to Meghashri, paid his respects, and said, "O noble one, I have determined to seek supreme enlightenment, but I do not know how an enlightening being should learn the conduct of enlightening beings, or how one should accomplish it, or how to begin the practice of enlightening beings, how to carry it out, fulfill it, purify it, comprehend it, realize it, follow it, keep to it, and expand it, or how an enlightening being is to fulfill the sphere of universally good action. I hear that you give instruction for enlightening beings, so please tell me how enlightening beings proceed to supreme perfect enlightenment"' (Cleary 1984, Vol. 3:56).

	on a different peak?
夫教意祖意，	So are the teachings of the sūtras and the teachings of the patriarchs,
同一方便，	they are all the same skillful means,
終無別理。	and in no respect have different meanings.
彼若明得，	Once you understand this,
此亦昭然。	all this will be very clear!
諸上座即今簇著老僧，	Venerables, as you now cloud around this old monk,
是相見？	Did you meet him,
是不相見？	or did you fail to meet him?
此處是妙峯？	Is this place here Mount Sugriva?
是別峯？	Or is it a different peak?
脫或從此省去，	Get away from here and leave this place,
可謂不孤負老僧，	You really are ungrateful to this old monk,
亦常見德雲比丘，	You have always seen Monk Meghashri,
未甞刹那相捨離，	Are you able to realize this even for a single moment?
還信得及麼？」	Do you think you can really do this?"'

Rhetorical Structure of the Answers

A sub-variant of this question is the question about the difference between the specific teachings of the Chán school and the traditional teachings as expounded in the main Mahāyāna scriptures. If we take a closer look at just the 20 hits in JDCDL, we can attempt to further categorize them as follows:

1) Most of the passages have one answer, only a few have more than one, but at most two answers.
2) Many answers use 'poetical language' for the answer.
3) In one case, the answer is outrightly rejected.
4) In one case, the answer is giving purely in body language.
5) Very few answers give a comprehensible, 'logical' answer.

Passages with More than One Answer

Of the 20 passages translated above, 19 occur in dialogues, only one, the last one, is from a sermon. In most of the dialogues (15 out of 19) the dialogue is concluded after just one question and one answer, which is to say the monk asking the question was either satisfied with the answer or too baffled to ask further. In four of the dialogues (1, 2, 5 and 17), there is a second answer; in these four dialogues, the original questioner (except maybe in the first and second, where we are told 'a monk' asked the second question, which might as well be a different monk) apparently did not understand the answer and asked again in order to maybe get a better answer. The answer, however, does sometimes not differ very much from the first one; in the first dialogue, the answer is another couplet. In the other three cases, the follow-up question draws on the first answer and tries to get some further elucidation from the master: In the second dialogue, having received the answer 'Blue mountains are blue by themselves, white clouds are white of their own' and the second question then takes up the theme and further inquires about the blue mountain: 'What is the matter with the blue mountain?' only to receive the answer from a quite different context: 'Just return me a drop of rainwater!'

A similar rhetorical structure is apparent in the fifth passage, where the first answer is 'No meal for three years, but what you see is not a starving man.' This leads the questioner to take up the theme in the follow-up question: 'Even if it is not a starving man, why do I not experience enlightenment?' but he connects it very directly with his own situation. This seems to please the master, since his answer relates in a way somewhat unusual for Chán dialogues very directly to the question: 'As for the enlightenment, illusion is still your teacher.' In addition to this, he offers a *gāthā* of his own, which takes up the theme of enlightenment and delusion and tries to offer the questioner a further handle on this problem. The last one of this group of passages with two answers, passage no. 17, is remarkable in another aspect as well, since it is the only answer out of the 19 in which there is a straightforward, comprehensible and somewhat 'logical' answer to the simple question: 'They do not differ!' This, however, seems to come quite as a surprise to the questioning monk, so he utters 'But how can they be identical?' to which the master then concludes: 'Nothing will stop you from understanding this.'

Passages with Answers in Poetical Language

The most striking feature of the passages quoted here is its abundant employment of poetical language. Chán is well known for its affinity to poetical expression; many Chán masters have been renowned poets and poetical expression is at the core of collections like the *Bìyán lù* 碧嚴錄 (1125) of Yuánwù Kèqín 圜悟克勤 (1063–1135). However, it is less appreciated that even 10th and 11th century sources, such as the JDCDL, contain a considerable amount of poetical expression, most of it in the dialogues, such as the passages under consideration here.

Of all the answers given here, 14 out of 19 do contain some kind of poetical language, most of them (12) in form of a couplet, two others (5 and 14) have a double couplet, that is four lines of verse. Now as to the form of these verses, there is a slight preference for five characters per line (seven passages: 1, 2, 5, 9, 11, 13, 19), but four characters (six passages: 1, 7, 8, 14, 16, 18) are also seen, whereas only seven characters occur in three cases (6, 10, 15).

Now what might be the reason for this preference for poetical language? What is the rhetorical function of poetical language? To answer these questions, a brief reminder of the working of poetical language might be called for. Poetic diction, that is the poetic usage of language, is a mode of expression that is fundamentally different from the rational ('prosaic') discourse usually employed in everyday conversation and also used by the questioners in the passages under consideration here. The construction of meaning in poetical works is one of the central questions of philosophy and literary criticism and has been hotly debated ever since the *Poetics* of Aristotle; it is impossible to deal with adequately in this short essay. Instead, I would only like to point out the obvious, in that this mode of using language is used for its evocative qualities and usually also for its aesthetic value. The speaking does not proceed by the stating of a fact, but rather through evocating images and in some sense performing what is meant to be transmitted, thus inviting the listener to take part in this experience. Owen Barfield, in his investigation *Poetic Diction*, after giving some examples of different kinds of poetry, attempts to analyze their effect as follows: 'When I try to describe in more detail than by the phrase "aesthetic imagination" what experience it is to which at some time or another I have been led […] by these examples, I find myself obliged to define it as a "felt change of consciousness," where

"consciousness" embraces all my awareness of my surroundings at any given moment and "surroundings" includes my own feelings' (p. 48). Poetry seems to be able to achieve something where ordinary languages fails, namely inducing a change in the consciousness that transcends what can be rationally expressed. However, I am just stating the question, an answer will require a more thorough investigation into the use of poetic language in Chán *yǔlù*, so currently this has to be taken for mere speculation.[33]

The question under consideration here, given the polar nature of the two opposing (or seemingly opposing) alternatives of either 'the scriptures' or 'the patriarch's teaching' invite a treatment in couplets, which due to their inner structure of opposing lines lend themselves well to the expression of opposites, and in fact the composition rules for proper couplets require the construction of the verse lines in parallel. In our passages from the JDCDL, there are indeed some couplets following this basic structure (2, 8, 9, 18), but in many cases the parallelism is on the semantic level, rather than on the syntactic, as would be required by the formal composition rules. Examples of such opposites or polarities are clouds and mountains (1, 2), day and night (8), Jade Rabbit and Golden Bird (15, 16) or sun and moon (11), Shàolín and Cōnglǐng (9), lion and elephant (10), as well as chicken and ducks (18). In many of these cases, the answer, though in a poetic cloth, can be understood in a way that the scriptures and the teachings are only seemingly opposites, but do serve similar purposes, such as sun and moon, day and night, or are of a similar kind, like lion and elephant, or chicken and ducks. Even more direct are cases such as the allusions to Shàolín and Cōnglǐng, or Vulture Peak and Deer Park that, within the common context of the questioner and the respondent, seem to provide a clear answer to the question.

Other Modes of Answering the Questions

Apart from answering in poetic language, there are a few other modes of answering. In one case, the answer is outrightly rejected (3): 'Let's leave the question of same and different aside, what is there that goes

[33] Stephen Owen, in his Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics (1985), tries to throw light on the process of how poetical meaning is generated in reading Chinese poetry, especially also in comparison with some examples from the English tradition (Owen 1985:12–53 and passim).

in and out of your mouth?' This is a rhetorical technique seen very frequently in Chán *yŭlù*, which refuses to take any question, but rather throws the questioner back to himself, asks him to consider the fundamental question of what he himself is, with the ultimate aim of letting him realize the illusionary characteristic of the concept of the self of the one who is asking this question.

Another mode of answering is to use body language. Chán *yŭlù* are full of examples, where shouting, beating, bowing or other non-verbal answers are given to questioning monks. Compared to that, the only answer in body language of our selection seems rather tame. In passage no. 4 we are simply told: 'The master spread his hands.' This might well be a welcoming gesture, as this was usual practice in Dòngshāns tradition; however, it does not give a specific answer to the question asked.

Yet another way to answer the question is the most straightforward one, that is giving a rational answer that is directly related to the question. Only in two cases out of 19 answers is the question answered in this way, passages nos. 12 and 17. The latter one has already been discussed, since that leads to a follow up question, so let me consider passage no. 12: 'The patriarch did come later.' This answer seems to imply a simple temporal succession between the two, the teachings did historically precede the Chán school, not so much a contradiction or opposition, but a temporal sequence which might in fact a simple succession with the Chán school a natural heir, a contemporary interpretation of the teachings.

Lineage

One last aspect that should be considered when looking at the list of passages is how they map to the increasingly strong consciousness of lineage and traditions. Is there a common teaching style visible in answers giving by members of the same lineage? Or even more to the point, how about answers given by the same master? In passages nos. 5 and 6, the answers are both given by Jiáshān Shànhuì. The first of these is, as has been mentioned above, the only case where the questioner already clearly indicates a preference and challenges his interlocutor to explain his stance. He is, thus, already forced into the defensive, which might explain the comparatively long dialogue that ensues. He gives two answers, both with a strong poetical component, although in his second answer, he explains that, ‘As for the enlightenment, delusion is still your teacher,’ before supporting this with a gāthā. Compared to this, the answer in passage no. 6 is rather short, ‘The wind blows over the lake full of lotus leaves / To the traveler, ten miles is one leg,’ but not easy to digest.

Answers in passages nos. 10 and 11 are also given by the same master, Lèpǔ Yúanān, who is, in fact, the dharma heir of Jiáshān Shànhuì, to nearly the same question. Here, the answers do share some similarity, they are both given in couplets with a vaguely parallel structure. While the first ‘In the lions cave, there is no strange beast / where the elephant goes, there is no footprint of a fox’ could be construed to follow to some degree traditional prosodic rules of parallelism, the parallelism or better polarity in ‘Sun and moon take turns in the sky, / who would not have their own path?’ is, however, only semantic and not reflected in the structure of these lines.

The arrangement of the entries in the *Chuándēng lù* is intentionally according to the alleged lineages of the Chán School,[34] fascicles 7–13 contain entries for Mǎzǔ and his disciples, including the nascent Línjì School, whereas fascicles 14–26 give the records of the followers in the tradition of 石頭希遷 Shítóu Xīqīan (700–790) and the developing Cáodòng School. Using this categorization, we can assign the first four passages to what became the Línjì School and the remaining 16 to what would be known as the Cáodòng School. It should be kept in mind that, in terms of the number of entries, the

[34] For more on the structure of the JDCDL and its relation to the alleged lineages of the Chán School, see Wittern 1998:95ff.

latter clearly outnumbers the former, but nevertheless, based on this evidence, one could say that this question seemed to be of more virulence within the Cáodòng School. It will be more interesting to look more directly at closer members of a lineage. Of the passages quoted here, those with a connection to the lineage of Yúnmén Wényǎn are most numerous with 2, 7, 17 and 18.That said, there is also Jiáshān Shànhuì and his disciple Lùopǔ Yúanān, who together also have four passages here; they have already been discussed. The four answers from the Yúnmén lineage do not seem to show closer similarity to each other compared to those not affiliated with this lineage and there is not even a striking dissimilarity between the answers of the Línjì and Cáodòng traditions, so it seems safe to say that the aspect of lineage does not seem to play a role in the answering of the question, but there might be a preference for posing the question within what became known as the Cáodòng School.

Conclusions

The passages under consideration here have been analyzed very preliminarily under the guiding question of the function of the rhetorical devices they employ. Although in 19 of the 20 passages quoted here, while not a single answer was identical or even similar to one another, some similarity in the employment of rhetorical devices has been pointed out. The main finding perhaps is the fact that most of the answers under discussion here do employ some variety of what has been rather vaguely called 'poetic diction' here, this does seem to warrant a much more thorough discussion than has been possible here and clearly requires further investigation.

Another topic that would need to be looked into is the context in which the dialogues unfold. Since the selection based on a discussion topic did not really provide any conclusive result, it might very well be that it is the wrong feature of the dialogues to use as a selection criterion. It would be possible that the communicative and situational context of the question, as far as it is reported in the texts or can be deduced to some extend, provides a better grouping into significant differing use of rhetorical devices or even types of dialogues. This should serve to broaden our understanding also of the performative characteristic that is so clearly present in the texts, but hard to grasp and make available for analytic investigation.

On the other hand, it could also be useful to further investigate how different topics of conversation evoke different types of answers and if there is some connection between the rhetorical devices employed and the topic of conversation.

Such investigations would, first of all, require a much better categorization and preparation of the material than has been possible here but the necessity of such a preparation has been clearly demonstrated by the limited results achievable through a simple search in a database. Such a much more elaborated and sophisticated analytical model lies at the core of the Chan Database Project,[35] which will hopefully leave the planning stage soon. This should not only enable a more detailed investigation of the different possible factors of influence, it will also allow a better modeling of rhetorical devices.

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[35] A joint project lead by John R. McRae, Christoph Anderl and Christian Wittern. More information about the project is available at http://www.chandatabase.org.

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THE RHETORIC OF CHINESE LANGUAGE IN JAPANESE ZEN

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Japanese Zen developed within Japanese society, where it was taught by Japanese teachers to Japanese students on behalf of Japanese patrons. From within this thoroughly Japanese context, Zen teachers and students looked to China for models of what Zen should be. The development of Chinese-style Zen communities in early medieval Japan forced Japanese Buddhists to express themselves in written Chinese. They studied with great care the rules of Chinese prosody and Chinese rhetorical norms, as well as the entire range of specifically Zen literary genres (the so-called *Flame Histories*, *Recorded Sayings*, *kōan* collections, etc.). In spite of great effort, except for a few noticeable exceptions they were unable to produce in Japan the same kinds of Zen language that they imported from China. Their efforts to do so, both their successes and failures, can reveal a great deal regarding the construction of Zen rhetoric, their institutional functions and social audience.

The persuasive power of Zen rhetoric in pre-modern Japan rested on an inseparable bond between message and medium. Japanese Zen teachers used Chinese literary forms to convey the authentic Buddhism that, they asserted, had been transmitted in an unbroken lineage from India to China. Zen rhetorical expression included not just semantic content (e.g., literary tropes, puns, doctrinal formulations, mythological imagery, etc.), but also specific vocabulary, syntax and genres. Today, it is difficult to gauge how frequently or how freely Zen priests in Japan at any specific geographical location or historical moment used the Chinese language because, except for the Chinese poetry of the Five Mountains (*Gozan bungaku* 五山文學), the vast bulk of Japanese Zen literature remains unknown. It has not been adequately cataloged, surveyed, or archived, much less published or studied. We do not know how much literature survives in the locked storerooms of old temples.[1] Even when we do

[1] Catalogs are not completely lacking, but they are incomplete and inadequate. The well-known *Zenseki mokuroku* 禪籍目録 (1928; reprinted 1962 as *Shinsan zenseki mokuroku* 新纂禪籍目録), for example, primarily lists published texts found in

know that literature exists in this or that temple, it is not always accessible to outsiders. Nonetheless, a preliminary survey of the ways that Japanese Zen priests expressed themselves through Chinese literary forms might nonetheless be useful if only for the methodological questions it raises regarding the ways that scholars have approached the study of Zen texts and Japanese religious history.

China as the Model for Japanese Zen

Independent Zen groups, temples, and lineages developed in Japan at a time of social transformation when Buddhist institutions spread into rural areas and many other new Buddhist schools, such as Pure Land, Lotus (e.g., Nichiren), and Precept Schools appeared (Bodiford 2006a). Within this context, Zen leaders argued for the supreme religious authority of their Zen teachings by identifying them with an unbroken lineage of master-disciple relationships stretching from Japan to India via China (Bodiford 2007:268–269).[2] They extolled this lineage not as a sectarian identity (i.e., one faction within Buddhism), but rather as something that authenticated their own mastery of the Buddhism practiced in the state-recognized Zen (Chán) monasteries of Sòng-dynasty (*ca*. 960–1279) China. In their eyes, only the Zen lineage conveyed the whole of Buddhism (literature, doctrines, rituals, institutional practices, etc.) in its most authentic form (Bodiford 2007:262–264).

In Japan, the abstract notions of lineage and authenticity assumed concrete form in a variety of ways. First, Zen priests served as conduits for the introduction and dissemination of new material culture either imported from China or manufactured in Japan based on

university and institutional libraries. It does note manuscript editions of a few well-known titles, especially if they are works associated with the Sōtō Zen lineage. Nonetheless, it makes no attempt to survey the libraries and manuscript archives of Zen temples in general. Likewise, the *Kaidai, sakuin* 解題, 索引 (1978), supplement to the revised edition of the *Sōtōshū zensho* 曹洞宗全書, includes (Pp. 672–732) a list of manuscripts from Sōtō Zen temples that were donated to or copied by Komazawa University Library during the editing of this compilation. It is even more limited in scope, consisting exclusively of notable works associated with the Sōtō Zen lineage.

[2] In the dialog translated here, the Japanese Zen priest Enni 圓爾 (1202–1280) cites the authority of his lineage to silence the Confucian critic Sugawara Tamenaga 菅原爲長 (1158–1246). Similar assertions by other Japanese Zen teachers are too numerous to count.

Sòng-dynasty designs. Zen temples displayed their own forms of architecture, furniture, textiles, clothing, musical instruments, eating utensils, icons, deities, and so forth (Collcutt 1981:171–172). Second, Zen priests introduced the most recent trends in Chinese learning, including not just Buddhist thought, but also new Sòng Confucianism, medical knowledge, and dictionaries. The new academic knowledge they introduced developed with, and was propelled by, a rapid expansion in printing both by government bureaus and commercial presses (Cherniack 1994:32–57). Zen priests imported Chinese printing technology, so that Zen temples became the primary sponsors of printing in medieval Japan (Kawase 1970). The books they produced (known as *Gozanban* 五山版), consisted of reprints of Chinese editions, which Zen priests imported in great numbers (as documented, for example, by the *Fumon'in kyōronshōsho goroku Jusho tō mokuroku* 普門院經論章疏語録儒書等目録 of the Zen priest Enni 圓爾, 1202–1280). The newly-printed Sòng editions of the Buddhist canon were in great demand, and at least 14 sets survive today in Japan (Kornicki 1998:286–289).

Confucian texts were just as popular and as influential. The new Sòng Confucianism (i.e., Neo-Confucianism) and the ideology of the *Unity of the Three Creeds* (*sankyō itchi* 三教一致) gave Zen priests a doctrinal platform from which they could use Confucian and Daoist notions to comment on secular affairs. At the same time, the introduction of these ideas into medieval Japan helped foster the appearance of non-Buddhist cosmologies for the first time. It is no accident that one of the earliest religious text in Japan to adopt a self-consciously non-Buddhist point of view, the *Ruijū jingi hongen* 類聚神祇本源 (*Classified Accounts on the Origins of the Gods*, 1320) by the Ise Shrine celebrant Watarai Ieyuki 度會家行 (1256–1351), begins by quoting passages from Sòng-dynasty neo-Confucian commentaries on the *Yìjīng* 易經 (*Book of Changes*). These commentaries, some of which were subsequently lost in China, had become available in Japan only a few years earlier (Ōsumi 1977:352–354). Since the *Yìjīng* is the *locus classicus* for the word *shintō* 神道 (*shéndào*), there is little doubt that the new Sòng interpretation of the *Yìjīng* as cosmogony (instead of as a book of divination) helped Japanese conceptualize *shintō* in cosmological terms (Teeuwen 2002:247–255).

In Japan, newly-imported Sòng-style material culture and learning allowed the Zen ideological notions of lineage and authenticity to become a living reality inside Zen temples where priests practiced the latest styles of Buddhist rituals from the continent. Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253), the founder of the Sōtō Zen lineage in Japan, for example, asserted that he was the first person in Japan to establish a wide variety of Chinese Buddhist monastic rituals and offices, such as the rules for sitting Zen (*zazengi* 坐禪儀), evening lectures (*bansan* 晩參), the monastic cook (*tenzo* 典座), life in a Saṁgha Hall (*sōdō* 僧堂), lectures from the head of the hall (*jōdō* 上堂), annual observance of the Buddha's awakening (*jōdōe* 成道會), end-of-year lectures (*joya shōsan* 除夜小參), and the proper methods for taking meals and washing one's face (Ōkubo 1969–1970, 2.6, 2.31, 2.35, 2.78, 2.86, 2.101, 2.146, 2.298, and 1.435 respectively). This emphasis on the novelty of the rituals, refers not just to the procedures themselves, but also to the ritual language and nomenclature used to describe them.

Japanese manuals of Zen ritual procedures, such as the *Gyōji jijo* 行事次序 attributed to Keizan Jōkin 瑩山紹瑾 (1264–1325), describe in great detail not just the individual steps for each ritual, but also the precise language to be used. They give examples of the notices to be posted in advance to schedule the ritual, the proclamations used to announce the commencement of the ritual, the exchanges of greetings used during the ritual, the homily pronounced, and the dedicatory script (*ekō mon* 回向文) which concludes the ritual. The performative language used in these ceremonies is neither the Japanese vernacular, nor the literary language of Táng-dynasty (*ca*. 618–907) China, which already was well known by educated Japanese. Instead, Japanese Zen ceremonies reproduce the language of Sòng and Yuán-dynasty (1260–1368) Chinese monasteries, which includes vocabulary and Chinese vernacular expressions that were previously unknown in Japan. To ensure that this language would be used correctly regardless of the circumstances, some Zen manuals provide the same ritual with alternative scripts for use on different occasions.

The most extreme example of this practice probably is the *Shoekō shingi shiki* 諸回向清規式 (*Dedicatory Scripts for Zen Procedures*, T. 81 no. 2578), a manual of Zen rituals compiled around 1566 by the Japanese Zen priest Tenrin Fūin 天倫楓隠 (n.d.). As indicated by its title, this manual focuses special attention on the dedicatory scripts which must accompany every monastic ritual. These dedications

identify the ceremony, its performers and sponsors, the merit and blessings it generates, and then redirects (*ekō* 回向) the merit toward specific individuals and goals. Since this dedication of merit is the most important part of any ceremony, the *Shoekō shingi shiki* provides examples of dedicatory scripts in Chinese for every possible occasion and objective. In this way, it provided members of Zen communities in Japan with a practical textbook for composing Chinese scripts for their own ceremonies. And today it provides scholars with a comprehensive catalog of the entire array of ceremonies and the vast variety of purposes toward which they were directed by Zen priests in medieval Japan.

In addition to new Chinese ritual language and vocabulary, Zen priests also introduced new ways of pronouncing Chinese words. Since Chinese normally is written with glyphs that do not directly convey phonetic information, the pronunciation of Chinese glyphs can vary even when the written forms remain unaltered. Because members of Japanese Zen lineages attempted to preserve the pronunciations used in Chinese Buddhist monasteries of the Sòng and Yuán dynasties, even familiar Chinese words can sound very different when spoken in a Zen context.[3] The Chinese word for 'scripture' (*jīng* 經), for example, in Japan normally is pronounced as *kyō* in Buddhist contexts and as *kei* in non-Buddhist ones. In Zen contexts, though, it would be pronounced as *kin*, so that the Zen term for reading scriptures is *kankin* 看經 (instead of the expected Japanese Buddhist term *dokukyō* 讀經).

To gain some sense of how foreign the Zen pronunciations of Chinese Buddhist terms could sound to Japanese ears accustomed to other forms of Japanese Buddhism, consider the *Verse for Breaking the Gates of Hell* (*ha jigokumon ge* 破地獄偈). This verse, a short excerpt from the *Flower Garland Sūtra* (*Huāyán jīng* 華嚴經), is chanted by Buddhists across East Asia to help ancestors and other deceased beings to escape from karmic bonds. It can be translated as follows:

[3] In Japan, the pronunciation of many Buddhist terms differs from one school of Buddhism to the next, and even among different lineages or branches of the same school. The only reference works that attempt in any conscientious way to identify these variations in pronunciation are the two multi-volume dictionaries by Nakamura 1975 and 2001.

If people wish to know	若人欲了知
All buddhas of the past, present, and future	三世一切佛
They should view the dharma realms as:	應觀法界性
All is only mental fabrications	一切唯心造

(*Huāyán jīng* 華嚴經, Chapter 20, 'Yèmó tiāngōng zhōng jìzàn pǐn' 夜摩天宮中偈讚品; in T. 10, no. 279:102a–b)

The table below gives three alternative ways of pronouncing the Chinese glyphs for this verse. On the left side is the usual Japanese Buddhist pronunciation. In the middle is the pronunciation indicated in the *Shoekō shingi shiki* (T. 81, no. 2578 (fasc. 5): 685b), mentioned above. On the right side is modern Chinese (standard Mandarin *pǔtōnghuà*).

nyaku nin yoku ryōshi	ja jin yo ryōshi	ruò rén yù liǎozhi
sanze issai butsu	sanshi ishii fu	sānshì yīqiè fó
ōkan hokkai shō	ingan hakai shin	yīng guān fǎjiè xìng
issai yui shinzō	ishii i shinzō	yīqiè wéi xīnzào

As shown in this table, the Zen pronunciation of the *Shoekō shingi shiki* sounds closer to modern Chinese than to traditional Japanese Buddhist chanting. At the same time, though, it could never be mistaken for Chinese. In this same way, Zen priests in Japan used the rhetoric of Chinese to create their own hybrid Sino-Japanese styles of language.

Zen Rhetoric and Literature in Pre-modern Japan

The most important research on this topic was conducted by Tamamura Takeji 玉村竹二 (1911–2003), formerly a professor at the Historiographical Institute (Shiryō Hensanjo 史料編纂所) of Tokyo University. In this section, I only summarize a few of his key findings.[4] The articulation of a system of Zen temples across Japan meant that the specialized Chinese language of Zen moved beyond the walls of the cloisters. It became the language used for conducting relations between Zen temples and with government officials. Success as a Zen priest in Japan rested on one's ability to master the foreign

[4] For a list of Tamamura's major publications, see the bibliography. In this section, I follow the same format as in Tamamura 1941a and (except where noted otherwise) draw upon that source for my information.

language of Chinese Zen. Student priests memorized not just Chinese pronunciations, vocabulary, and grammar, they also memorized key passages from Chinese Zen texts, as well as countless Chinese poems. In their own writings, they carefully imitated the literary genres of Chinese Zen, the bureaucratic rhetoric Chinese institutions, and the special performative utterances of Zen ceremonies and rituals.

These writings in Chinese constitute the *Recorded Sayings* (*goroku* 語録; Ch. *yǔlù*) of Japanese Zen. As explained by Christian Wittern (see the respective article in this book), the genre of *Recorded Sayings* texts emerged after a long period of evolution in China. The early ones presumably were compiled posthumously based on notes by third parties who wrote down what they heard (or imagined that someone had heard) said by their former teachers. Since these early records have a variety of titles and formats, it is not always obvious which ones should be included or excluded from the genre of *Recorded Sayings*. In Japan, this kind of confusion does not exist. In Japanese Zen, this genre refers only to records of Chinese sayings pronounced by Zen teachers as part of their official monastic duties. Lecturers or pronouncements in Japanese are not included. Rather than '*Recorded Sayings*,' therefore, it would be more accurate to refer to these texts as 'collected Chinese compositions.'

Every monastic ceremony and official duty required at least one, if not several, pronouncements in Chinese. The abbot and other monastic officers composed these Chinese sayings in advance. In the course of their daily monastic routines, therefore, they produced a written record of their Zen teachings. Since these teachings constitute the living words of religious truth, the sheets of paper on which they were written would never be discarded. They were saved day after day, month after month, and year after year. As long as a Zen monastery survives, its archive of recorded sayings would continue to grow. In some cases, the recorded sayings would be compiled into a formal collection and maybe even printed, as in the 1358 edition of *Dōgen's Recorded Sayings*.[5] In most cases, the records would simply be placed in boxes and kept in a storeroom. Collected in this way, the potential number of recorded sayings is extremely great. Tamamura (1941a:138) says that they exist beyond count (*kazu kagiri naku ari* 數限りなくあり). Most have probably been lost to the ravages of time;

[5] See *Eihei Gen zenji goroku* 永平元禪師語録, reprinted in *Sōtōshū zensho* 曹洞宗全書, 2.27–42.

however, with a Japanese Zen tradition of well over 600 years, even a small fraction of the total would constitute an enormous body of literature.

Japanese Zen recorded sayings typically include many of the following 13 types of records:

(1) The *Abbot's Inauguration* (*juen* 入院; not '*nyūin*') records what a new abbot says as he enters the temple for the first time.[6] Usually, he stops at each main building or feature—main gate, Buddha Hall (*butsuden* 佛殿), tutelary deities, ancestral hall, etc.—along the approach and offers a few comments or a poem in Chinese to commemorate each one. Once finally inside the Dharma Hall (*hattō* 法堂), he addresses the temple's patrons and the assembled priests, responds to questions, presents a formal sermon, and then offers concluding remarks.[7]

(2) The *Incense Presentation* (*nenkō* 拈香) records what someone who is becoming an abbot for the first time says as he offers incense upon entering the Dharma Hall for his inauguration. He offers incense three times: first in honor of the kingdom's ruler (*shukushin kō* 祝聖香), second in honor of his patron (*danna kō* 壇那香), and third in honor of the teacher whose dharma lineage he inherits (*hōon kō* 報恩香 or *shikō* 嗣香). This ritual represented the only public statement of one's lineage affiliation. Over the course of their training, Zen priests could study under a variety of teachers. When they became an abbot, though, they could acknowledge only one as their master. This public acknowledgment marks the priest's debut (*shusse* 出世 or *zuise* 瑞世) as a new Zen teacher.

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[6] In standard Japanese, the glyphs 入院 would be pronounced *nyūin* and mean 'to be admitted to a hospital or institution.' As a Zen term, the same glyphs are pronounced *juen* (similar to modern Chinese *rùyuàn*).

[7] For a detailed example of an early Japanese Zen inauguration ceremony, see my translation of the 1324 entrance of Keizan Jōkin 瑩山紹瑾 (1264–1325) into Yōkōji 永光寺 temple (Bodiford 1999a:504–511). For the original text of the 1392 entrance of Zekkai Chūshin 絶海中津 (1336–1405) into Jōtenji 承天寺, see Tamamura 1941a:119–121.

Presumably, priests would offer incense to their actual teacher, but exceptions also existed.[8]

(3) *Ascending the Hall* (*jōdō* 上堂) records sermons presented from atop the platform at the head of the Dharma Hall on certain designated days of the year. These days typically include: New Years (*saitan* 歳旦; 1.1), the first full moon (*ganshō* 元宵; 1.15), the first day (*tan* 旦) and full moon (*bō* 望) of each subsequent month, the Buddha's Nirvāṇa (*nehan* 涅槃; 2.15) and birthday (*busshō* 佛生; 4.8), the start of the summer retreat (*ketsuge* 結夏; 4.15), mid-summer (*tango* 端午; 5.5), the end of the summer retreat (*kaige* 解夏; 7.15), the harvest moon (*chūshū* 中秋; 8.15), the opening of the hearth (*kairo* 開炉; 10.1), Bodhidharma memorial (*darumaki* 達磨忌; 10.5), the Buddha's awakening (*jōdō* 成道; 12.8), mid-winter (*tōji* 冬至; 12.22), and New Year's Eve (*joya* 除夜; 12.30), as well as days that are unique to each temple, such the founder's anniversary (*kaisanki* 開山忌).[9] These sermons typically follow a four-part structure: opening remarks which note the occasion, responses to questions, the sermon proper, and concluding remarks. Frequently the teacher raises (*ko* 擧; i.e., 'quotes') a dialog from a Chinese Zen text and then offers alternative responses to the various exchanges. In this process the teacher might invite members of the assembly to ask questions or to present their alternative responses. Usually the records omit anything said from the floor, merely noting that 'questions and answers were not recorded' (*mondō furoku* 問答不録). When the abbot 'Ascends the Hall' at the special request of a patron, the ceremony is termed 'Ascending the

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[8] A notable early exception is the case of Kohō Kakumyō 孤峰覺明 (1271–1361) who received dharma transmission (*shihō* 嗣法) in the Sōtō Zen lineage from the Keizan Jōkin. Kakumyō, however, was invited to become the abbot of Unjuji 雲樹寺 temple with the support of a patron who wanted to sponsor someone in the Rinzai Zen lineage of Shinchi Kakushin 心地覺心 (1207–1298). In 1325, when Kohō Kakumyō performed his inauguration ceremony at Unjuji temple, therefore, he offered his succession incense to Shinchi Kakushin, a priest who had been deceased for some 27 years. See Bodiford 2007:271.

[9] For a list of annual lecture dates in medieval Sōtō Zen literature, see Bodiford 1993:160–161.

Seat' (*shinzo* 升座) and includes an expression of thanks and a dedication of merit on behalf of the patron.[10]

(4) *Minor Sermons* (*shōsan* 小參) stand in contrast to the 'great sermons' (*daisan* 大參) that are given when the abbot *Ascends the Hall.* In other words, these record sermons given by the abbot in other locations and on other occasions. The format tends to be less regular than the *Ascending the Hall* lectures, because the occasions can vary so greatly.

(5) The *Abbot's Retirement* (*tsuien* 退院) records the final sermon before the abbot leaves the temple. In format, it is similar to *Ascending the Hall*, but usually includes a farewell poem in Chinese to commemorate the occasion.

The first five types of records listed above (inauguration, incense, ascending the hall, minor sermons, and retirement) comprise the major sermons delivered by an abbot. All of them can include answers to questions (*mondō* 問答) from the floor.

(6) *Taking Up the Staff* (*hinpotsu* 秉拂) consist of lectures delivered by a senior disciple who acts in place of the abbot. In content, these lecturers resemble the *Ascending the Hall* and *Minor Sermons* discussed above. The performance of this ritual constitutes an important step in the training of a disciple since, by forcing him to compose and deliver a sermon in Chinese, it tests his ability to perform as an abbot and Zen teacher. For this reason, one can expect many more questions from the assembled audience. If a Japanese Zen recorded sayings text includes answers to questions from the floor, most likely it includes them from this ceremony.

(7) *Installing Icons* (*anza* 安座) consists of comments that describe the occasion, the identity of the icon, its special powers, the patron who provided it, and so forth. New icons are installed not just within the temple ground, but also at the homes of patrons. Frequently these comments are accompanied by a dedicatory inscription (to be placed inside the icon) or a poem in Chinese.

[10] For a large collection of Dōgen's *Ascending the Hall* sermons translated into English, see Leighton/Okumura 2004:75–472.

(8) *Consecrating Icons* (*tengan* 點眼; literally, 'dotting the eyes') consist of a sermon that accompanies the ceremony to formally bring the icon to life as a deity. Frequently this sermon is accompanied by a poem in Chinese.

(9) *Funeral Sermons* (*ago* 下火) consist of the remarks that accompany the conclusion of the funeral ritual, when the corpse is interred or cremated. In Japan, these tend to be very stylized exhortations of Confucian moral virtues, which convey little concrete information about the deceased. The Buddhist titles used to refer to the deceased, however, are assigned according to very elaborate hierarchy of designation. As such, they can reveal important clues as to the occupation, gender, and social status of the deceased. The information from funeral sermons found in the *Recorded Sayings* of Sōtō Zen teachers, in particular, document how Zen teachings spread over time from upper to lower strata of rural Japanese society (Bodiford 1993:196–208).

(10) *Ancestral Memorials* (*sodō nyūhai* 祖堂入牌) consist of the remarks that accompany the ceremony to install a memorial tablet (*ihai* 位牌) of a deceased priest or patron in the ancestral hall of the temple. Frequently this ceremony includes the recitation of a poem in Chinese which alludes to the posthumous name or virtues of the deceased.

The four types of records numbered seven through ten above (icons, consecration, funerals, memorials) comprise the so-called minor Buddhist services (*shō butsuji* 小佛事) performed on behalf of the temple's patrons. These are the ceremonies that serve the religious needs of lay people and that attract donations. During the times of war and civil strive during the late medieval period (*ca*. 1480–1580) large numbers of these types of ceremonies continued to be recorded in Chinese even while Chinese-language records of the so-called major services (items 1–5) declined in number. The religious significance of this shift in numbers can be interpreted in contrasting ways (see Bodiford 1993:196–200).

(11) *Poems to Commemorate Path Names* (*dōgō ju* 道號頌) are poems in Chinese that extol the virtues or special qualities of the person on whom the Zen teacher has bestowed a path name.

To understand the significance of these poems, first we must consider the conventions that govern priestly names.

In general, Zen priests tend to possess a basic pair of names, each with its own significance.[11] Their dharma name (*hōki* 法諱) is their most private and intimate designation. It usually consists of two glyphs. The first glyph is known as 'the upper' (*jō* 上) and the second glyph as 'the lower' (*ge* 下). Usually a relationship glyph (*keiji* 系字) forms the upper. It consists of a common glyph (*tsūji* 通字) shared by all members of the same generation of disciples in the same Zen lineage (Tamamura 1937). The path name (*dōgō* 道號) is a more public and honorific designation, which can be used alone or in combination with a dharma name. When used in combination, the path name always proceeds the dharma name.[12] It provides a poetic commentary on the dharma name, especially on the lower glyph (i.e., the glyph that is not shared with other members of one's lineage). Path names are intended to highlight the special nuances of that glyph and, by so doing, to reveal the hidden virtues of the person bearing it. In this sense, path names are also called 'expressing virtue sobriquets' (*hyōtoku gō* 表德號). For their poetic significance to be understood, they must be used in combination with one's dharma name (Tamamura 1941b).

Since dharma names literally connect a Zen priest to the other members of his lineage, they are not easily changed or

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[11] Many other types of names also exist, such as: secular cognomen (*sei* 姓), given names (*mei* 名), adult names (*ji* 字), sobriquets (*gō* 號), alternative names (*betsugō* 別號), honorary names (*kagō* 嘉號), toponyms (where one resides), hermitage names (*angō* 庵號), posthumous names (*shigō* 諡號), stūpa names (*tōmyō* 塔名), etc.

[12] There are, of course, exceptions. Neither Dōgen, nor Enni used path names, but one would be hard pressed to know this fact based on the entries in many reference works. Most reference works (with the notable exception of the *Zengaku daijiten*, 1985) provide unreliable information on the names of Zen priests. Typically they list their alternative names (*betsugō* 別號), which should always appear separately, side-by-side as in 'Dōgen Kigen' 道元希玄 or 'Enni Ben'en' 圓爾辯圓. Likewise, they combine stūpa names and dharma names to produce combinations, such as 'Koun Ejō' 孤雲懷奘 (1198–1280). Alternatively, instead of Mujū Dōgyō 無住道曉 (1226–1312), they combine the path name with a lodge name (Ichienbō 一圓房) to form the combination 'Mujū Ichien' 無住一圓. In these cases, and many others, otherwise reliable reference works must be used with caution.

discarded. Path names, however, can change freely. Zen teachers, therefore, award path names to their students to commemorate special events or accomplishments. On these occasions frequently they compose a poem in Chinese to provide even more context for indicating the special virtues to which the name alludes.

(12) *Poetic Comments on Old Episodes* (*juko* 頌古) consist of quotations from Buddhist texts—usually from Chinese Chán *Recorded Sayings* (Ch. *yŭlù*) but also from canonical scriptures—accompanied by a comment in the form of a Chinese verse. Dōgen's *Extensive Record* (*Eihei kōroku* 永平廣録), for example, devotes fascicle nine to this genre.[13] *Poetic Comments on Old Episodes* can constitute independent texts, either by themselves or accompanied by commentary. Representative examples of the latter, include the famous *kōan* collections known as the *Blue Cliff Record* (*Bìyánlù* 碧巖録) and *Wúmén's Barriers* (*Wúménguān* 無門關; a.k.a. 'Gateless Gate') attributed to Yuánwù Kèqín 圜悟克勤 (1063–1135) and Wúmén Huìkāi 無門慧開 (1183–1260), respectively.

(13) *Inscriptions* (*san* 贊) consist of Chinese-language comments written on paintings and portraits. Since portraits play an indispensable role in the monastic funeral and memorial services for abbots, the disciples of an abbot frequently painted or commissioned portraits of their teacher (Foulk/Sharf 1993–1994). Then they would request an eminent to add a Chinese comment. If the teacher is still alive, he might write a self inscription (*jisan* 自贊). Although *Recorded Sayings* do not include pictorial works, they normally contain transcriptions of the inscriptions authored by the Zen teacher.

In addition to *Recorded Sayings*, many Zen teachers in Japan also compiled collections of their miscellaneous compositions in Chinese. These so-called *Secular Compilations* (*geshū* 外集) might contain prose compositions, but the vast bulk consists of Chinese verse. Although designated as secular, in content and format these verses can

[13] It contains 90 Chinese verses which comment on a slightly fewer number of passages from Chinese Buddhist texts. See Leighton/Okumura 2004:537–598.

be hardly distinguished from the verses collected in Zen *Recorded Sayings*. In other words, verses in *Recorded Sayings* are usually indistinguishable from secular verse. They rarely address Buddhist themes or use overtly Buddhist vocabulary. Except for these rare verses with explicit Buddhist elements, only the identity of the author and the surrounding context renders one verse as religious and the other as secular.

The Chinese prose and verse composed by Zen priests in Japan consists of highly structured, formal compositions. The poems usually consist of four parallel couplets, the style known as regulated verse (Ch. *lǜshī* 律詩)—but double parallel couplets (i.e., simple quatrains; Ch. *juéjù* 絕句) also are common. In both formats, each line has a fixed number of glyphs (five or seven), arranged so as to produce balanced patterns of level (Ch. *píng* 平) or oblique (Ch. *zè* 仄) tones. Any tone deflected from level, to rise (Ch. *shàng* 上), fall (Ch. *qù* 去), or enter (Ch. *rù* 入; i.e., be cut off with a stop), is oblique (Downer/Graham 1963; Birch 1972). The last glyphs of certain lines conform to a mandatory rhyme (Ch. *yāyùn* 押韻) scheme. Prose is unrhymed, but also very rigidly structured. It invariably consists of the 'double harness' (Ch. *piánlì* 駢儷) style of matched lines in four and six glyphs (Ch. *sìliù wèn* 四六文). These lines must not only follow precise patterns of level and oblique tones, but must also display semantic balance with verbal contrasts (high-low, old-new, Buddhist-Daoist, etc.) drawn by allusions to secular Chinese literature (for an example translated into English with detailed exegesis, see Mather 1963).[14]

As can be seen from the survey above, Zen priests could not function as Zen priests without the ability to compose Chinese at a very high level of skill. They acquired this ability only with great effort, since the tones and rhymes of Chinese glyphs could not be conveyed within the phonetic of Japanese, but must be ascertained either by memorization or by consulting reference works. Thus, reference works circulated in great numbers. Zen priests in medieval Japan especially valued the *Púshìjí* 蒲室集 (*Hoshisshū*), a huge collection of poems and parallel prose pieces by the Chinese Chán

[14] Tamamura (1941a:142–156) provides a detailed overview of four-six double-harness (*shiroku benrei* 四六駢儷) prose. His explanation constitutes essential reading for anyone who studies Chinese literature composed in Japan.

priest Xiàoyǐn Dàxīn 笑隱大訢 (Shōin Daikin, 1284–1344), which they used as a model for their own works. It was first published in Japan in 1359 (in 21 fascicles) and reprinted repeatedly in abridged versions with and without commentary. They also imported many composition manuals by Chinese officials, such as the *Sìliù huà* 四六話 (2 fasc.) by Wáng Zhì 王銍 (fl. 1130).[15] The Japanese Zen priest Kokan Shiren 虎關師錬 (1278–1346), though, composed the most important composition manual. His *Zengi gebunshū* 禪儀外文集 (2 fasc.), first published in the 14th century, became subject to many commentaries. Tamamura (1941a:153–154) cites several more manuals, such as the *Siroku no hō* 四六之法, by Chūhō En'i 仲方圓伊 (1354–1423) and the *Siroku no setsu* 四六之説, by Kōsai Ryūha 江西龍派 (1374–1446).

Later Japanese Zen priests learned how to compose Chinese verse by memorizing numerous Chinese poems in many different formats. Rather than composing entirely new verses, they would rework existing models to fit new circumstances. For this purpose, they compiled lists of poems arranged by rhymes, subjects, number of glyphs per line (etc.), which they recited and used for calligraphy practice. The most well-known example of this classified collection of Chinese verse is the *Forest of Zen Verse* (*Zenrin kushū* 禪林句集; 1688), which is said to be a revised version of an earlier collection (the *Kuzōshi* 句雙紙) attributed to Tōyō Eichō 東陽英朝 (1426–1504) of Myōshinji 妙心寺 temple in Kyoto. It is still studied today, especially by priests engaged in the formal curriculum of *kōan* study who select phrases from it to express their insights (for an English translation and introduction, see Hori 2003).

The Chinese literature composed by Zen priests in Japan has attracted relatively little attention aside from a few recent translations of so-called Five Mountain poetry.[16] Scholars of Japanese literature usually lack the training in Chinese necessary to fully appreciate these works. They cannot evaluate the linguistic skill of the authors and tend to regard Chinese compositions as somehow foreign to the literary traditions of Japan. Scholars of Japanese religion frequently dismiss

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[15] Xīnwènfēng Publishing Company (Taipei) reprinted this work in 1985. In Japan it is commonly known as the *Ōkō shirokuwa* 王公四六話.

[16] Aside from the works of Tamamura Takeji, also see Colas 1991; Pollack 1985; Pollack 1986; Ury 1977; Yamagishi 1966.

these Chinese compositions as too literary and secular, intellectual exercises far removed from the religious sentiments of earnest Zen practitioners. Scholars of Japanese history likewise view Chinese literary pursuits as too elitist and too intellectual, of interest only to the few who lived within the wall of the cloister. Nonetheless, Tamamura (1941a:157–162) argues persuasively that regardless of their literary appeal (or lack thereof) these Chinese sources contain invaluable historical data useful for studying all aspects of medieval Japan. They are filled with dated entries in which their authors comment on current events, people, weather, food, fashions, politics and so forth. All of the comments reveal a great deal of valuable information about daily life in medieval Japan. The collection, preservation, cataloging, and digital dissemination of these texts are an urgent desideratum.

Chinese Poetics in Contemporary Japanese Zen

Skill in composing formal literary Chinese remains essential for Zen priests even today. Unlike their ancestors, however, Zen priests can rely on computer software nowadays to ensure that their Chinese compositions conform to the rules for proper tones and rhymes. According to one Japanese Internet site that sells such software (Zen Sōrin Net 禪叢林Net; http://www.zensorin.net), the program presents separate templates for each type of prose or verse. It is especially optimized for funeral sermons (*indō hōgo* 引導法語), consisting of five main sections, which are frequently likened to the head, body and legs:

(1) initial verse at the head
(2) posthumous religious designation
(3) main body
(4) one-word barrier
(5) the legs, which consist of the final couplet

Every section consists of highly stylized, regulated Chinese that uses parallelism within and across sections.

The head consists of Chinese regulated verse, usually in seven-glyph lines. The initial line (*kiku* 起句) describes the deceased's personality or character. The second line (*shōku* 承句) focuses on his religious or spiritual nature. The pivot line (*tenku* 轉句) mentions his

manner of or approach to death. The concluding line (*ketsuku* 結句) summarizes the significance of his life. This initial verse provides an outline for all the dharma words that follow. The posthumous name is the one that will be used on the memorial tablet (*ihai* 位牌) and tombstone for the deceased. It is usually a composite designation consisting of a cloister name (*ingō* 院號), path name (*dōgō*), ordination name (*kaimyō* 戒名), and ecclesiastical rank (*ikai* 位階). These designations use rather poetic Chinese terms, the full significance of which is meaningless to most lay people. In posthumous names for lay people, the cloister name traditionally reflects the secular social status of the deceased, while the path and ecclesiastical names reflect his or her occupation. Nowadays, less discriminatory posthumous names are the rule (Bodiford 1996).

The main body (*fukku* 腹句) consists of four subsections. It begins with an eight-glyph exaltation (*hachiji shō* 八字稱) of the deceased. The exaltation sums up the virtues of the deceased in two parallel lines of four glyphs each which rhyme. The rest of the body will expound on the significance of the words used in the exaltation. The second and third subsections consist of double-harnessed parallel prose. Each of these subjections should contain at least four parts to fully express the parallel counter points. Longer compositions also are possible. The second subsection (*kaku* 過句) alludes to some of the key events in the life of the deceased. The allusions in the third subsection (*ketsuku* 結句) shift attention from factual events, to their spiritual or religious significance. The final subsection (*manku* 漫句) is composed in freestyle Chinese prose (*sǎnwén* 散文). This subsection can express additional information or sentiments that otherwise would not easily fit into the rigid structure of the previous parallel prose. Typically, it indicates how the statements of the parallel prose fit together with the terms used in the posthumous name to give spiritual meaning to the life and death of the deceased. It concludes with assurances that the deceased will attain awakening or reach the land of the Buddha.

The one-word barrier (*ichiji kan* 一字關) consists of a Zen *kōan*, such as: 'Shout!' (*katsu* 喝), 'Look!' (*kan* 看) or 'Investigate!' (*san* 參), and so forth. This one word reminds us that Zen teachings force us to see the land of the Buddha as this land, right here, where neither life, nor death really exist as life or death. The legs (*kyakku* 脚句) consist of a final couplet that uses poetic imagery to shift the focus of

the funeral service from the narrow circumstances of the deceased to the universal mystery of the real nature of life and death. Typically, the couplet is selected from an extant poem drawn from the voluminous Chán literature of China.

Once the priest decides on the initial key words, the computer software (named 'Indō Zen Sōrin' 引導禪叢林; http://www.zensorin.net/indo.html) will ensure that the words used in the rest of the composition fit the required Chinese tone and rhyme patterns. Once the composition is finished, the software also ensures that it will be formatted on the page in the proper layout, so that the line breaks within each section occur at the proper position and each line will consist of the proper number of glyphs. Then the software will print the sermon in two modes. It will print it as Chinese (*kanbun* 漢文), with each line in Chinese word order (e.g., subject, verb, object). It will also print it as classical Japanese, with the Chinese words rearranged in Japanese order (*yomi kudashi* 読み下し; e.g., subject, object, verb).

Zen priests can present this sermon in three ways. First, they can recite it straight ('like a stick'; *bōyomi* 棒読み) in Chinese word order. They also can recite it as classical Japanese (*yomi kudashi*). Or, they can use the Chinese text as a point of departure for presenting a more-easily understood sermon in normal colloquial Japanese. I have observed ceremonies in which the head priest did all three. When reciting the words as Chinese, the manner of the ceremony is very formal and solemn. The presentation in classical Japanese is more relaxed, as the words will be given more slowly or even repeated so that the audience might try to follow what they hear. Then, with an almost casual manner the colloquial explanation uses contemporary idiom to bring the Chinese terms to life and relate them to the present circumstances. This progression of rhetorical forms in some ways reenacts the transmission of the Zen lineage across the historical ages. Initially, it connects the ceremony to Zen's Chinese roots. It concludes, though, by revealing how the present activities embody the words of the buddhas and ancestors in a modern Japanese setting.

Another common Zen ceremony that uses Japanese-style spoken Chinese seems to operate according to a similar ritual logic, but in reverse. Instead of using spoken Chinese to bring Zen's past into the present, it projects the present moment back into Zen's past. I am referring to the Dharma Combat (*hossen shiki* 法戰式) ceremony

performed by the residents of Sōtō Zen monasteries at the beginning of each 90-day training period. In this ceremony, the priest who will serve as the Chief Seat (*shuso* 首座) first must face the assembly and must respond to their questions one-by-one. The questioner is known as the 'master who opens his mouth' (*kaiku jari* 開口闍梨) and the Chief Seat also is called the First Seat (*daiichiza* 第一座). The English translation of our sample dialog is as follows:

Leader:	The master who opens his mouth is about to speak. Look!
Question:	Instructor! The dharma-gate's main points? I beg for your venerable view.
Answer [in verse]:	Fundamental, original dharma nature: The natural self-nature body.
Question:	Quite so. But then for what reason did all the buddhas and ancestors arouse their minds, cultivate practices, awaken, and [attain] nirvāṇa?
Answer:	A jewel unpolished has no sparkle.
Question:	[Explain] your meaning! [Explain] your meaning!
Answer:	The dharma is part of each person. But though abundantly endowed, without cultivation it does not appear and without authentication: no attainment.
Question:	First Seat! Say something more for me.
Answer [in verse]:	With clasped hands, you depart from your group. With palms together, return to your seat. That's it!
Question:	Take care! [i.e., Thank you.]
Answer:	Live long! [i.e., You are welcome.]

The English translation reveals nothing especially noteworthy in this dialog. It simply asserts that true religious attainment is possible only through Zen training. When the Japanese Zen pronunciation of this dialog is heard, though, it sounds quite remarkable.[17] It goes something like the following:[18]

[17] There exist at least two widely available audiovisual examples of this ceremony. It is depicted in the NHK (Nihon Hōsō Kyōlkai 日本放送協会) documentary *Dai Zen*

Kaiku jari seppo o ko seyo. Min!
開口闍梨、説破を擧せよ。見ん。

Sakusha, hōmon daikō, kō son'i.
問。作者、法門大綱、乞尊意。

Honrai hon hosshō, Tennen jishō shin.
答。本來本法性、天然自性身。

Nakanaka. Shobutsu shoso, isomo hosshin shugyō, bodai nehan shitamau ya?
問。中々。諸佛諸祖、爲甚麼發心修行、菩提涅槃し玉ふや。

Hōseki fuma mukō.
答。寶石不磨無光。

Son'i, son'i.
問。尊意、尊意。

Hō kore nin'nin jō. Hōbi to iedomo, moshu fugen, moshō mutoku.
答。法是人人分上。雖豐備、末修不現、末證無得。

Daiichiza, ware ga tame ni sara ni ie!
問。第一座、爲我更道。

Shashu shutsuban, Gasshō ki'i. Kore nari!
答。叉手出班、合掌歸位。是也。

Chinchō!
問。珍重。

Banzei!
答。万歳。

Even someone who does not speak Chinese could probably guess that this dialog does not resemble spoken Chinese. At the same time it

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mondo, hossen: wakaki unsuitachi no Eiheiji 大禅問答・法戦：若き雲水たちの永平寺 (1985), available on VHS video tape. A fictional version also can be seen in the theatrical film *Fansii Dansu* ファンシー・ダンス (*Fancy Dance*), directed by Suō Masayuki 周防正行, released by Daiei Pictures (1989), available on VHS and DVD.

[18] The monasteries prepare printed programs for this ceremony so that the priests can practice the appropriate kinds of questions and responses. The words actually spoken, though, rarely follow the program exactly as written. And the program does not always clearly indicate the pronunciation for every word or which passages are to be enunciated in Chinese or Japanese word order. This transcription of the dialog (based on a ritual program from Sōjiji 總持寺 monastery, Yokohama, 1982), therefore, represents my own interpretation of the program.

definitely is not Japanese either.[19] Rather, it is an unusual hybrid Japanese-style of imitation Chinese, one in which both classical and vernacular expressions appear. Likewise, a casual reader (or auditor) without knowledge of what the words mean can easily detect the balanced sounds and smooth rhythm of the phrasing in lines such as: 'honrai hon hosshō, tennen jishō shin'; 'moshu fugen, moshō mutoku'; and 'shashu shutsuban, gasshō ki'i.' Although it is not Chinese, it evokes the atmosphere of classical Chinese parallelisms. When Zen priests perform these words they live the reality depicted in the Chinese poetry they study.

Issues Presented by the Chinese Language in Japanese Zen

The Chinese literature composed by Japanese Zen monks goes far beyond what most scholars refer to as the literature of the Five Mountains (*gozan bungaku* 五山文学). It consists not just of Chinese poetry, but also of every possible manner of prose, records, legal documents, and ritual pronouncements. Although especially vibrant during the medieval period (14th through 16th centuries), in many ways it continues to be produced even today. Chinese stylistic forms were reproduced by Zen priests in such careful adherence to the rules of composition that in many cases modern scholars who examine the documentary record alone can detect hardly any differences between the literary environment of pre-modern Chinese Buddhist monasteries and their Japanese Zen counterparts. Reproducing this world of written signs was as much a religious activity as it was a literary one. Japanese Zen teachers repeatedly touted their faithful adherences to these Chinese norms as proof that their Buddhism was more authentic and more orthodox than anything heretofore practiced in Japan. For this reason, deviation from Chinese rhetorical norms could only be seen as signs of weakness or failure, not as creativity or self-expression.

This insistence on faithful reproduction raises many issues, the full implications of which are rarely explored. This essay is not the forum to address these issues, but, in closing, I do wish to mention the most important ones. First, this emphasis on identical literary formats obscures the fundamental fact that Zen in Japan is not and never has

[19] The NHK documentary mentioned above (note 17) provides subtitles with Japanese translations for these kinds of Zen dialogs.

been identical to Chán in China (nor Sŏn in Korea). Scholars of Japanese Zen, the vast majority of whom are themselves Zen priests, rarely examine the larger social context of these rhetorical practices and the ways that identical language can serve disparate goals in the various historical, linguistic, and political contexts of these lands separated by the sea. Despite the admonitions of scholars, like Akamatsu and Yampolsky (1977), questions of audience and reception are largely ignored.

Second, as a corollary, many scholars rely on Chinese Chán literature to define the key characteristics of Zen in Japan. Texts written in Japan, are ignored. This attitude clearly informs the *Zenseki shi* 禪籍志 (2 fasc.), a bibliography survey of Zen literature composed and published in 1716 by the Zen priest Seiboku Gitai 聖僕義諦 (n.d.). He describes 244 titles, divided into ten genres. All of the texts have Chinese authors, except for one Korean and ten Japanese authors whose works are listed in an appendix. Even in the case of these 11 non-Chinese authors, though, Gitai acknowledges only their works written in literary Chinese. More recently, in the 20th century, certain Japanese-language works—such as the *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼藏 (*True Dharma Eye Collection*) by Dōgen or the colloquial sermons (*kana hōgo* 假名法語) by teachers like Bankei Yōtaku 盤珪永琢 (1622–1693)—have attracted scholarly attention, but these remain the exception rather than the rule. Japanese-language texts by less important or less famous Zen teachers continue to be ignored. There exist vast numbers of so-called Zen *shōmono* 抄物 (i.e., texts written in an unlettered style modeled on colloquial speech) that have yet to be collected, examined or published. After the untimely death of Ishikawa Rikizan 石川力山 (1943–1997; formerly a professor at Komazawa University, Tokyo), no other scholar has devoted comparable attention and effort to the collection, preservation, cataloging, and analysis of Zen texts written in Japanese (Jaffe 1998). As a result, we lack access to the textual sources that will allow us to understand how the vast majority of Zen priests 'used elements of Buddhist lore, Zen practices, and Japanese folk beliefs to construct religious identities for themselves and for their lay patrons' (Bodiford introduction to Ishikawa 2002:121).

Third, editorial standards in Japan among scholars and publishers frequently emphasize correct Chinese grammatical and poetic usage over historical accuracy. In Seiboku Gitai's 1716 survey of Zen

literature (fasc. 2; p. 47), for example, he states that the *Kōzen gokokuron* 興禪護國論 (*Promoting Zen for the Protection of the Kingdom*; 1198; 4 fasc.) could not possibly have been written by Eisai 榮西 (a.k.a. Yōsai, 1141–1215), who we now know as its author, because it is written in an inferior style of Chinese. After it became common to publish Buddhist texts (from the 17th century onwards), no Buddhist temple or denomination wanted to risk exposing their famous patriarchs to charges that they might have made mistakes in their Chinese style. For this reason, Japanese Zen texts published during the Tokugawa period were extensively edited. Their Chinese style was corrected. Quotations from Buddhist scriptures were amended to agree with recently published editions of the Buddhist canon (such as the 1681 Ōbaku edition) instead of the Sòng-dynasty publications that would have been known to those patriarchs. Punctuation was added so that the Chinese could be read according to current methods of *kundoku* 訓讀 (i.e., techniques for rendering Chinese passages into Japanese word order) instead of earlier modes of reading, which were no longer fashionable. The pronunciations of names and terms were altered to agree with new standards (which is why we now pronounce the glyphs 榮西 as 'Eisai' instead of as 'Yōsai,' as is attested in medieval manuscripts). Modern published editions of Buddhist texts, especially of Zen texts, too often rely on these late editions without full consideration of earlier manuscripts.

As a result, in many cases the Zen texts attributed to famous priests tell us at least as much about the conditions at the time of the publication as they do about their original authors. The standard editions of many Sōtō Zen texts, in particular, must be discarded. The *Eihei shingi* 永平清規 (*Dōgen's Regulations*) did not exist prior to 1799 when it was compiled by Gentō Sokuchū 玄透即中 (1729–1807). The *Keizan shingi* 瑩山清規 attributed to Keizan Jōkin, but actually compiled by Manzan Dōhaku 卍山道白 (1636–1714), contains quotations from Chinese texts written 13 years after Keizan's death. Likewise, the *Denkōroku* 傳光録 attributed to Keizan was extensively rewritten by Busshū Sen'ei 佛洲仙英 (1794–1864) when he first published it in 1858 (Bodiford 2005b). *Kenzei's Chronicle* (*Kenzeiki* 建撕記; written 1452, published 1754) of Dōgen's life likewise became a completely different text at the hand of its editor, Menzan Zuihō 面山瑞方 (1683–1769). Menzan also rewrote the

Shōbōgenzō zuimonki 正法眼藏隋聞記, attributed to Ejō 懷奘 (1198–1280), when he published it in 1651. The list goes on and on. It is difficult to find a modern edition of an early Sōtō Zen text that is completely free of later emendations. Armed with this knowledge of Sōtō Zen textual history, I can only worry about the texts published in other Japanese Buddhist denominations. Without reliable sources, we cannot adequately analyze the rhetoric of Chinese language in Japanese Zen.

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DŌGEN'S APPROPRIATION OF CHINESE CHÁN SOURCES: SECTARIAN AND NON-SECTARIAN RHETORICAL PERSPECTIVES

STEVEN HEINE

The career of Dōgen 道元 (1200–1253) is notable for two main aspects. The first is that as a young monk he traveled to China in the 1220s and helped to bring back and introduce to Japanese Buddhism voluminous Song dynasty Chán records which mainly deal with the exploits of Táng dynasty masters. The second aspect is that Dōgen was the founder of two important temples, Kōshōji 興聖寺 outside Kyoto and Eiheiji 永平寺 in the remote Echizen mountains, which became the basis for the formation of the Sōtō sect 曹洞宗 (Ch. Cáodòng) as a prime example of the new Kamakura era Japanese Buddhism. This paper focuses on Dōgen's relation to Chán texts while recognizing that the two aspects are very much interrelated in that Dōgen used Chinese Chán as a model for his brand of Japanese Zen, and in his later years at Eiheiji made his approach to religion increasingly dependent on Chinese sources.

Chinese texts and their accounts of Chinese masters, in addition to his personal experiences at Chán temples in Zhèjiāng province (the Hángzhōu – Míngzhōu – Tàizhōu region) were key to the development of Dōgen's two major writings: the *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼蔵 in vernacular (*kana* 仮字) mainly composed at Kōshōji and during nine months of his moving into the Echizen area, and the *Eihei kōroku* 永平広録 in Chinese (*kanbun* 漢文, actually a hybrid Sino-Japanese) mainly composed at Eiheiji. However, Dōgen was also actively engaged with the texts he cites, often critiquing and/or revising them, including the records of his sectarian predecessors in addition to masters from rival lineages.

East Asian training methods generally emphasize that in order to succeed as an appropriator of a particular line of teaching, a disciple should be able to equal or to surpass his mentor, who must be magnanimous enough to acknowledge and encourage the value of the comeuppance that is often demonstrated in a dramatic or even

combative way. Chán/Zen Buddhism is a tradition particularly known for transmitting lineages whereby an advanced current disciple, who is an imminent or soon-to-be-realized master, at once pays obeisance to and severely criticizes the patriarch, often through an exchange of ironic insults or physical blows, and receives disingenuously faint praise in response. The *locus classicus* for this trope is found in the legends of successive generations of Táng dynasty Hóngzhōu School 洪州宗 leaders, including the transmission from the patriarch Mǎzǔ 馬祖 to his foremost disciple Bǎizhàng 百丈, whose ears are screamed in and nose tweaked by the teacher; from Bǎizhàng to Huángbò 黃檗, who slaps his mentor and is called a 'red-bearded barbarian,' thus evoking Bodhidharma, as a form of admiration; and finally from Huángbò to Línjì 臨濟 (J. Rinzai), the founder of the Línjì School who is both the striker and the one being struck in their complex, dynamic set of edifying interactions.[1]

A sense of the power of rhetoric based on purposeful understatement in highlighting yet somehow distancing from or breaking with a predecessor is prevalent in Chán discourse. This is evident in an anecdote cited in Dōgen's 'Gyōji' 行侍 fascicle, which is a transmission of the lamp style essay recounting the patriarchs of the Chán lineage. According to this passage, Yuánzhì 圓智 delivers an unconventional eulogy by casually summing up his relationship with his senior colleague, Guīshān 潙山, a disciple of Bǎizhàng who helped Yuánzhì oversee a temple: 'I lived on Guīshān's mountain for 30 years, eating Guīshān meals and shitting Guīshān shit. But I did not learn the way of Guīshān. All I did was take care of a castrated water buffalo' (DZZ I:53). Of these remarks featuring the mentor's disingenuous self-deprecation filled with ironic praise for the senior partner, Dōgen comments that the junior's training was characterized by '20 years of sustained practice (*gyōji*).'

Rather than relying on physical slaps or blasphemous taunts, Dōgen's literary works epitomize the process of using language indirectly, yet forcefully, in vernacular sermons as an effective rhetorical means for challenging and going beyond his illustrious predecessors whom he also admires and praises for their positive

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[1] A collection of the records of the four masters, the *Sìjiā yǔlù* 四家語 (J. *Shike goroku*), is a Sòng text with materials culled from various transmission of the lamp records.

influence on developing his thought and practice. Throughout his writings, especially in the vernacular sermons of the *Shōbōgenzō* that was primarily composed in the late 1230s and early 1240s, Dōgen dutifully cites several dozen Chinese Chán masters whose works he had first studied while visiting China and training at Mt. Tiāntóng 天童山 (J. Mt. Tendō) a decade before. While dependent on their insight and creativity, he almost always deviates from their interpretations in order to establish his individual perspective, and often quite adamantly criticizes their views or attitudes.

Dōgen is even so scathing in some of his comments that, according to one theory of interpretation, a different version of the *Shōbōgenzō* was created in order to eliminate some of the fascicles that contained offensive language. From the standpoint of this theory, either Dōgen himself or one of his early followers were aware of the partisan, sectarian tone of some of his criticisms and decided to delete passages from the standard 75-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō* by creating an alternative 60-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō* text. He was trying to establish his sectarian identity in light of pressures from the Japanese government and contests or conflicts with the Tendai sect and other emerging religious movements in connection with the teachings of Rújìng 如浄 (J. Nyojō), his Chinese mentor at Mt. Tiāntóng, and the Cáodòng (J. Sōtō) school more generally.

Of the deleted fascicles, nine were composed during the first three quarters of a year after Dōgen’s move to Echizen province in the Summer of 1243.[2] Just before this phase as he was struggling to move his monastery to the mountains and to hold together and possibly expand a small but intense band of followers, he received a copy in 1242 of the *Recorded Sayings* (Ch. *yǔlù* 語録, J. *goroku*) of Rújìng that was sent from China and also began to focus on delivering

[2] It was long believed that the 60-*Shōbōgenzō* was compiled by Giun, who wrote a preface and verse commentary in 1329 that was handed down in his lineage through the 15th century. However, a recent theory proffered by Kawamura Kōdō maintains that this version consists of Dōgen’s first draft arrangements of the fascicles included in the 75-*Shōbōgenzō*, whose order and wording were later revised. According to Kawamura, there are interlinear notes in manuscripts of the 60-fascicle version that disclose how at least some of these fascicles were altered for inclusion in the 75-fascicle version. Kawamura maintains that Ejō edited this edition years later based on Dōgen’s own selection of fascicles before he died. This theory suggests that the 60-*Shōbōgenzō* is the ‘real’ text and the 75-fascicle edition is secondary, but it is not clear whether this claim is also meant to imply that Dōgen himself excised the controversial fascicles. See Kawamura 1986.

sermons in Chinese, rather than the vernacular sermons of the *Shōbōgenzō*. While supporting the axis of Cáodòng masters including founder Dòngshān 洞山 and Rújìng's two-generation predecessor or 'grandfather,' Hóngzhì 宏智 (J. Wanshi), the eminent patriarch at Mt. Tiāntóng, as representatives of authentic lineal transmission,[3] Dōgen sharply attacks Dàhuì 大慧, Hóngzhì's Línjì School rival. However, just half a decade earlier in *Shōbōgenzō zuimonki* 正法眼蔵隋聞記 6.19 he said he admired Dàhuì's commitment to continuous, diligent practice of *zazen* 坐禅 while having hemorrhoids (the same scatological passage in which Dōgen notes that diarrhea prevented him from entering China when the ship first docked) (Ikeda 1993:330–331). Yet, now he harshly criticizes the Sòng master, particularly in 'Jishō zanmai' 自證三昧, one of the fascicles excluded from the 60-fascicle *Shōbōgenzō* that was written in Echizen in the Winter of 1244.

Chán Masters and the Cáodòng School

Table 3 shows that Dōgen cites Rújìng and Hóngzhì far more extensively than other Chán figures in order to establish a sense of lineal affiliation with a particular Chinese stream for the sake of expanding his movement in Japan. However, the citations of the Sòng Cáodòng School masters must be seen in the context of his extensive citing of Línjì school masters primarily from the Táng dynasty. The next main figure dealt with by Dōgen is Zhàozhōu 趙州, who is featured in innumerable *kōan* cases, and this referencing occurs with greater frequency than citations of Dòngshān. This highlights that one of the important aspects of Dōgen's writing is the major role it played in introducing and disseminating Chán literary sources to Japanese monks without bias.

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[3] Dōgen referred to Rújìng as 'former teacher' (先師 *senshi*) and Hóngzhì as 'old buddha' (*kobutsu*).

Table 1: Dōgen's Most Frequently Cited Chinese Chán Masters[4]

MASTER	# CITATIONS	MASTER	# CITATIONS	MASTER	# CITATIONS
Rújìng 如淨	74*	Xuánshā 玄沙	12	Yuèshān 藥山	10
Hóngzhì 宏智	45	Dòngshān 洞山	12	Fǎyǎn 法眼	9
Zhàozhōu 趙州	33	Yuánwù 圜悟	12	Huánglóng 黃龍	9
Śākyamuni**	17	Mǎzǔ 馬祖	11	Huángbò 黃檗	9
Bǎizhàng 百丈	13	Xuěfēng 雪峰	10	Bodhidharma	8
Yúnmén 雲門	13	Guīshān 潙山	10	Línjì 臨濟	8
Huìnéng 慧能	12	Nánquán 南泉	10		

* Excludes Allusions Only, Memorials, and *Hōkyōki*; ** = Indian Buddha

In the sermons contained in the *Eihei kōroku*, Dōgen incorporates praise with criticism of Chan masters. He is especially critical of Zhàozhōu, one of the patriarchs along with Hóngzhì whom he refers to as an 'ancient master' (*kobutsu* 古仏), as in record nos. 1.140, 4.331 and 4.339, in addition to no. 2.154. In the last example, Dōgen appears to be defending the Chinese master in citing a passage from his recorded sayings against a critique proffered by a disciple, but concludes by overturning Zhàozhōu's standpoint:

> Consider this: 'A monk asked Zhàozhōu: "What is the path without mistakes?" Zhàozhōu said: "Clarifying mind and seeing one's own nature is the path without mistakes."' Later it was said: 'Zhàozhōu only expressed 80 or 90 per cent. I am not like this.' If someone asks: 'What is the path without mistakes?' I would tell him: 'The inner gate of every house extends to Cháng'ān 長安 [the capital, lit., 'long peace'].'
>
> The teacher [Dōgen] said: 'Although it was said thus, this is not worth considering. The old Buddha Zhàozhōu's expression is correct. Do you want to know the clear mind of which Zhàozhōu spoke?' [Dōgen] cleared his throat, and then said: 'Just this is it. Do you want to know about the seeing into one's own nature that Zhàozhōu mentioned?' [Dōgen] laughed, then said: 'Just this is it. Although this is so, the old Buddha Zhàozhōu's eyes could behold east and west, and his mind abided south and north. If someone asked me [Daibutsu 大仏]: "What is the path without mistakes?," I would say to him: "Do not go anywhere else." Suppose someone asks: "Master, isn't this tuning the

[4] Kagamishima 1985.

> string by gluing the fret?," I would say to him: "Do you fully understand tuning the string by gluing the fret?"' (DZZ III: 98)[5]

The phrase 'Do not go anywhere else' refers to appropriating enlightenment through concrete manifestations of phenomenal reality, rather than conceptual abstractions, while 'gluing the fret' suggests a misunderstanding of the function of spiritual experience.

In *Eihei kōroku* 3.207, Dōgen criticizes Yúnmén 雲門 and the whole notion of the autonomy of a 'Zen School,' which should not take priority over the universality of the Buddha Dharma:

> [Dōgen] said: Practitioners of Zen should know wrong from right. It is said that after [the Ancestor] Upagupta, there were five sects of Buddha Dharma during its decline in India. After Qīngyuán 青原 and Nányuè 南嶽, people took it upon themselves to establish the various styles of the five houses, which was an error made in China. Moreover, in the time of the ancient buddhas and founding ancestors, it was not possible to see or hear the Buddha Dharma designated as the 'Zen School', which has never actually existed. What is presently called the Zen school is not truly the Buddha Dharma.
>
> I remember that a monk once asked Yúnmén: "I heard an ancient said that although the [patriarch of the Ox Head School] expounded horizontally and vertically, he did not know the key to the workings of going beyond. What is that key to the workings of going beyond?" Yúnmén said: "The eastern mountain and the western peak are green." If someone were to ask Eihei [Dōgen]: "What is that key to the workings of going beyond?" I would simply reply to him: "Indra's nose is three feet long." (DZZ III: 140)[6]

Note that in Dōgen's rewriting of Yúnmén's response, neither of their expressions directly addresses the question although each has its merits as a reflection of Zen insight. Yet, Dōgen seems to suggest that Yúnmén's phrasing is deficient and that his own saying is on the mark, perhaps because it is at once more indirect and absurd, yet concrete and down-to-earth.

The key point is that Línjì School citations which are cast in a positive vein are primarily from the period before Dōgen's move to Echizen. During this early phase of his career, he does not deal very much with either Rújìng or Hóngzhì, surprisingly enough, but during

[5] The translations of the *Eihei kōroku* are largely taken from Leighton/Okumura: 2004:180–181. Note that in quoting the translation, the wording is sometimes slightly altered.

[6] Leighton/Okumura 2004:219–220.

the transitional stage he becomes at times excessively negative regarding the Línjì School as be begins to develop a sectarian focus on Cáodòng patriarchs. Beginning with the Echizen period, especially in the *Eihei kōroku*, a pattern emerges whereby Dōgen cites eminent masters from both the Línjì and Cáodòng schools in his vernacular and Chinese-style sermons, yet also is willing to challenge, revise, and rewrite their sayings to express his own unique understanding and appropriation of Buddhist teaching. Dōgen clearly relishes his role as a critical commentator and revisionist of leading Chinese masters. A common refrain in many of the sermons is: 'Other patriarchs have said it that way, but I [Eihei] say it this way […].' Part of his theme is that with the possible exception of Rújìng, nearly all the teachers and followers he met during his travels in China were disappointing in that they lacked some essential element of authenticity in the pursuit of the Dharma.

Once the move to Echizen is completed and he is fully ensconced in Eiheiji temple, Dōgen turns increasingly to Hóngzhì and Rújìng as models for *kanbun* sermons contained in the *Eihei kōroku*, while continuing his criticism of the Línjì School and also remaining willing to critique the Cáodòng patriarchs, when appropriate, in what can be referred to as a 'trans-sectarian' fashion. This means that his approach cuts across lines of sectarian division as part of an ongoing quest for personal integrity, authenticity, and autonomy. In accord with the style of transmission-as-transgression, for Dōgen, individuality is more highly prized than blind devotion or loyalty to the lineage.

It may seem that Dōgen is driven primarily by sectarian concerns to use a high-pitched and, in some cases, vituperative rhetoric against rival schools. However, at times he is pan-sectarian in citing masters from all Chán schools, as well as non-sectarian in that he also denies the existence of an independent 'Chán sect' altogether. In *Bukkyō* (仏経, *Buddhist Sūtras*) he attacks 'stupid, ignoramus skinbags' who either highlight Chán at the expense of basic Buddhism more generally or blur Buddhist doctrine as one of the 'three teachings' along with Daoism and Confucianism.

Influence Yet Critique of Hóngzhì

Dōgen's supposed sectarian-based outlook is tempered by an innovative rhetorical approach, that is, the way he shows little

reluctance in revising or even rejecting the Cáodòng School leaders with a creative use of language. In some cases, Dōgen cites the source text nearly verbatim as a sign of reverence but is then quick to critique the Cáodòng sages, whom he feels have misread or misinterpreted a key notion or citation from the Chán classics. For example, in *Eihei kōroku* 4.296 delivered on the occasion of the Winter solstice in 1248, Dōgen cites Hóngzhì as he had on several of these seasonal occasions, including nos. 135 and 206. Dōgen says: '"My measuring cup is full and the balance scale is level," but in the marketplace I buy what is precious and sell it for a low price,' thereby reversing the statement in Hóngzhì's sermon, 'Even if your measuring cup is full and the balance scale is level, in transactions I sell at a high price and buy when the price is low' (DZZ III:194).[7] Perhaps Dōgen is demonstrating a bodhisattva-like generosity or showing the non-dual nature of all phenomena that only appear to have different values.

Table 2: Classical Chán Texts Cited in the Eihei kōroku

	TEXT	*EIHEI KŌROKU* # CITATIONS
1	*Jĭngdé chuándēng lù* (J. *Keitoku dentōroku*) 景德傳燈録	68
2	*Hóngzhì lù* (J. *Wanshi roku*) 宏智録	43
3	*Zōngmén tŏngyào jí* (J. *Shūmon tōyōshū*) 宗門統要集	25
4	*Zōngmén liándēng huìyào* (J. *Shūmon rentōeyō*) 宗門聯燈會	24
5	*Rújìng lù* (J. *Nyojō roku*) 如淨録	10
6	*Jiātài pŭdēnglù* (J. *Katai futōroku*) 嘉泰普燈録	7
7	*Yuánwù lù / sòng gŭ* (J. *Engo roku / juko*) 圜悟録	9
8	*Tiānshèng guăngdēng lù* (J. *Tenshō kōtōroku*) 天聖廣燈録	9
9	*Dàhuì lù* (J. *Daie roku*) 大慧録	2
10	*Huángbò lù* (J. *Ōbaku roku*) 黃檗録	2
11	*Xù chuándēng lù* (J. *Zoku dentōroku*) 續傳燈録	2
TOTAL		211

A close look at Vols. 2–4 of the *Eihei kōroku*, which contains *kanbun* sermons from the early years at Eiheiji, delivered in the mid-1240s as edited by Ejō 懷奘, shows that Dōgen asserts the primacy of the discursive style of the recorded sayings of Song predecessors, especially Hóngzhì.[8] He wages a campaign to identify himself with

[7] *Ibid*.:278.

[8] For example, the *Hóngzhì guănglù* (J. *Wanshi kōroku*, in Taishō 48:1–121) consists of nine volumes: (1) *jōdō* 上堂 ('Ascending the Hall') and *shōsan*; (2) *juko* 頌古 ('Appraisals of Cases of Old') and *nenko* 拈古 ('Taking up Cases of Old'); (3)

the Hóngzhì-Rújìng axis that occupied the abbacy days in the 12th and early 13th centuries during the glory of Mt. Tiāntóng's monastic institution, which was also directed intermittently by Línjì School masters. This enables Dōgen to distinguish his lineage from rival Zen movements in Japan, and to support the rejection of Dàhuì because his lineage in China gave sanction to the fledgling Daruma School that was led by Dainichi Nōnin 大日能人.

Unlike Rújìng, who remained obscure except for his connection to Dōgen, Hóngzhì was widely recognized as one of the premier sermonizers and poets during the peak of the Cáodòng School, which had undergone a period of revival inspired by Fúróng Dàokǎi 芙蓉道楷 (J. Fuyū Dōkai) two generations before. Whereas Rújìng appears with great frequency in the *Shōbōgenzō*, Hóngzhì's role is quite prominent only in the *Eihei kōroku*.[9] While Dōgen sees Rújìng as a charismatic and inspirational teacher who deeply touched his life as well as that of other disciples, he admires Hóngzhì, whom he never had a chance to meet, mainly for his ceremonial role. Particularly during 1245–1246, Dōgen frequently turns to Hóngzhì as a model for ritual occasions at a time when he also begins to rely heavily on the monastic rules text, the *Chányuán qīngguī* 禪園清規 of 1103. Dōgen cites Hóngzhì three or four times on the occasion of the Buddha's birthday between 1246 and 1249. He also evokes Hóngzhì on other occasions, such as New Year, the beginning of the Summer retreat, the Boys' Festival, and the Winter solstice. A major consequence of overlooking the *Eihei kōroku* would be to neglect the importance of Hóngzhì's influence, where he is cited over 40 times.

It is clear that references to Hóngzhì, which are primarily concerned with ritual occasions when the master's words serve as a model Dōgen emulates yet generally revises, reach a peak in the late 1240s and seem to fade just as those to Rújìng begin picking up again in the early 1250s. The reliance on Hóngzhì for the most part does not continue in the later sections (Vols. 5–7) of the *Eihei kōroku* recorded by Giin 義尹, a former Daruma School monk who ten years after Dōgen's death took the text to China to have it certified at Mt.

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nenko; (4) *jōdō* and *jishu* 示眾 ('Instructing the Assembly'); (5) *shōsan*; (6) *hōgo* 法語 ('Dharma Talks'); (7–9) poetry; see Sakai 1980:75–118.

[9] With the prominent exception of the 'Zazenshin' 座禅心 and 'Jinshin inga' 深信因果 fascicles where Dōgen critiques and rewrites his views of meditation and causality.

Tiāntóng and returned with a controversial abbreviated version, the *Eihei goroku* 永平語録. Ishii Shūdō 石井修道 finds that the main change in the *kanbun* sermons edited by Gien, which cover the final years at Eiheiji, is that Dōgen is no longer as heavily influenced by Hóngzhì's recorded sayings, which are far less frequently cited. There also seems to be a greater emphasis on karmic causality based largely on the citation of early Buddhist scriptures, rather than Mahayana sutras or conventional Chán sources, but not any significant alteration in ideology regarding *zazen* or *kōan* interpretation that is supposedly based on the teachings of Rújìng (Ishii 1991).

As mentioned, Dōgen's reverence does not prohibit Zen-style rhetoric to critique the masters he favors though generally this falls short of blasphemy. In citing Hóngzhì, Dōgen rarely loses the opportunity to dispute or one-up him. A main example is *Eihei kōroku* 2.135, a sermon for the Winter solstice at Eiheiji (when it was still called Daibutsuji until the name was changed in 1246):

> When the old buddha Hóngzhì was residing at Mt. Tiāntóng, during a Winter solstice sermon he said: 'Yīn reaches its fullness and Yáng arises, as their power is exhausted conditions change. A green dragon runs away when his bones are exposed. A black panther looks different when it is covered in mist. Take the skulls of all the buddhas of the triple world and thread them onto a single rosary. Do not speak of bright heads and dark heads, as truly they are sun face, moon face. Even if your measuring cup is full and the balance scale is level, in transactions I sell at a high price and buy when the price is low. Zen worthies, do you understand this? In a bowl, the bright pearl rolls on its own without being pushed.'
>
> 'Here is a story,' [Hóngzhì continued]. 'Xuěfēng 雪峰 asked a monk: "Where are you going?" The monk said: "I'm going to do my communal labor." Xuěfēng said: "Go ahead." Yúnmén said [of this dialogue]: "Xuěfēng judges people based on their words."' Hóngzhì said: 'Do not make a move. If you move I'll give you 30 blows. Why is this so? Take a luminous jewel without any flaw, and if you carve a pattern on it its virtue is lost.'
>
> The teacher [Dōgen] then said: 'Although these three venerable ones [Hóngzhì, Xuěfēng, Yúnmén] spoke this way, I, old man Daibutsu, do not agree. Great assembly, listen carefully and consider this well. For a luminous jewel without flaw, if polished its glow increases [...].' With his fly-whisk [Dōgen] drew a circle and said: 'Look!' After a pause [Dōgen] said: 'Although the plum blossoms are colorful in the freshly

fallen snow, you must look into it further to understand the first arrival of yang [with the solstice]' (DZZ III:80–82).[10]

Table 3: Dōgen's Citations or Allusions to Hóngzhì

EIHEI KŌROKU	*Mid-Autumn*	EK 5.400, 1250
CITATIONS	EK 4.344, 1249	EK 5.403, 1250
	OTHER EXAMPLES	EK 5.418, 1250
Winter Solstice		EK 7.481, 1252
EK 2.135, 1245	EK 3.203, 1246 (full)	EK 7.494, 1252
EK 3.206, 1246	EK 3.246, 1247 (full)	EK 7.514, 1252
EK 4.296, 1248	EK 4.269, 1248 (full)	EK 8.s.13, 1240s
New Year	EK 7.498, 1252 (full)	EK 8.s.20, 1240s
EK 2.142, 1246	ALLUSIONS ONLY	EK 9.25, 1236
EK 3.216, 1247		EK 9.88, 1236
EK 4.303, 1249	EK 2.180, 1246	SHŌBŌGENZŌ
5.5 Day	EK 3.186, 1246	
EK 3.242, 1247	EK 3.187, 1246	Gyōbutsuigi, 1241
EK 4.261, 1248	EK 3.222, 1247	Zazenshin, 1242
EK 4.326, 1249	EK 3.223, 1237	Gyōji, p. 1, 1242
Bathing Buddha	EK 3.227, 1247	Kobusshin, 1243
EK 3.236, 1247	EK 4.264, 1248	Shunjū, 1244
EK 3.256, 1248	EK 4.285, 1248	Ōsakusendaba, 1245
EK 4.320, 1249	EK 4.329, 1249	Jinshin inga, 1253?
Summer Retreat	EK 4.337, 1249	SBGZ ZUIMONKI
EK 3.257, 1248	EK 4.340, 1249	3.10, 1237
EK 4.322, 1249	EK 4.341, 1249	
EK 4.341, 1249	EK 4.344, 1249	BENDŌWA (1231)
	EK 4.397, 1250	

Here, Dōgen is indebted to Hóngzhì's original passage, which cites Mǎzǔ's famous saying: 'Sun face [or eternal] buddha, moon face [or temporal] Buddha' as culled from *Cóngróng lù* 從容錄 (J. *Shōyōroku*) case 36, and he also includes a saying about the bright pearl that appears in the fourth line of Hóngzhì's verse comment on this case. But Dōgen challenges all the masters. After making a dramatic, well-timed demonstration with the ceremonial fly-whisk as a symbol of authority, he evokes the image of plum blossoms in the snow to highlight the need for continually practicing *zazen* meditation. This is reinforced by his rewriting of the jewel metaphor to put an

[10] Leighton/Okumura 2004:162–164.

emphasis on the process of polishing. Here we see evidence of Dōgen using a variety of rhetorical styles to make his case regarding sectarian perspectives, including silence and body language, natural imagery and rhetorical flourish, and paradox and reversal.

Rújìng as Chán Model

While serving as the centerpiece of the Sōtō sect's transmission mythology, modern scholars have questioned Dōgen's eulogizing of Rújìng, who was generally not so well known or highly regarded in the setting of Chinese monastic life, especially compared to Hóngzhì's illustrious reputation as a highly accomplished literary figure (Kagamishima 1983). But Dōgen considers his mentor an ideal Chán teacher, not so much for his feats as a literati, but for combining spontaneous sermonizing at all times of the day, rather than only during regularly planned ritual occasions, with a deep sense of integrity in terms of adhering to codes of discipline and maintaining a rigorous disdain for any form of corruption. Rújìng was committed to the sustained practice of *zazen* as the premier form of Buddhist training, and was also willing to acknowledge and support the dedication of young Dōgen, an outsider to the Chinese Buddhist system who had been poorly treated by the previous abbot at Mt. Tiāntóng.

In *Dōgen's Manuals of Zen Meditation*, which overturns conventional theories about the dating of the *Fukanzazengi* 普勧坐禅儀, an important meditation manual long considered one of Dōgen's earliest writings composed in the year of his return to China in 1227, Carl Bielefeldt points out:

> Not until the 1240s, well over a decade after his return from China and at the midpoint of his career as a teacher and author, does Dōgen begin to emphasize the uniqueness of Rújìng and to attribute to him the attitudes and doctrines that set him apart from his contemporaries. Prior to this time, during the period when one would expect Dōgen to have been most under the influence of his Chinese mentor, we see but little of Ju-ching or, indeed, of some of those teachings now thought most characteristic of Dōgen's Zen (Bielefeldt 1988:28).

This comment indicates that the emphasis on Rújìng became intensified and reached fruition fully 15 years after the trip to China,

at the time of Dōgen's move to Echizen and the challenge of accepting erstwhile Daruma School followers.[11]

In numerous *Shōbōgenzō* fascicles from the first several months after the move, when he and a small band of dedicated followers were holed up over the long first Winter in a couple of temporary hermitages before settling into permanent quarters, Dōgen provides his followers with a strong sense of lineal affiliation by identifying with Rújìng's branch. He claims this was the only authentic Chán school. The high estimation of Rújìng expressed during the 'midpoint of his career' was not apparent in Dōgen's writings before this juncture. While praising and elevating the status of his mentor, Dōgen also embarks on a devastating critique of rival schools, which he referred to as 'filthy rags' and 'dirty dogs' that defame the Buddha Dharma.

Dōgen notes receiving Rújìng's *Recorded Sayings* on the sixth day of the eighth month of 1242 in *Eihei kōroku* 1.105 (DZZ III:69).[12] But the first indication of renewed interest was in *Shōbōgenzō* 'Gyōji' (Part 2), which was written several months earlier and contains four citations as part of a lengthy discussion of Rújìng, which comes at the end of a survey of the biographies of monks who represent the pinnacle of Chán practice.[13] Although there were some references to Rújìng in writings dating back to the early 1230s, the full acknowledgment and celebration—or possibly idealization and exaggeration—of the mentor come at this time. The citation of Rújìng's attack on Dàhuì follower Déguāng 德光 seems to highlights the contrast between Rújìng's brand of rigorous monasticism and the antinomianism that typified the Daruma School's rejection of the precepts. The list in Table 4 shows that, apart from 'Gyōji' (Part 2), which was a year or so earlier, all the *Shōbōgenzō* fascicles containing multiple citations of Rújìng stem from the time of the move to Echizen.

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[11] At the time of the move, Dōgen began citing Rújìng with great frequency, but some of the passages are not found in the Chinese master's recorded sayings.

[12] Senne, the compiler of this volume of the *Eihei kōroku*, notes in this passage: 'Many words were not recorded.' Presumably, Dōgen spoke more, but Senne only wrote down what is included here. This sermon is also notable for Dōgen's emphasis on the role of language in relation to silence in communicating the Dharma.

[13] DZZ I:196–202.

Table 4: Shōbōgenzō Fascicles Citing Rújìng Multiple Times

DATE	FASCICLE	PLACE	# CITATIONS
1243.09.16	Butsudō	Kippōji	2
1243.09	Bukkyō	Kippōji	2
1243.09	Shohō jisso	Kippōji	2
1243.11.06	Baika	Kippōji	8
1243.12.17	Ganzei	Yamashibudera	7
1243.12.17	Kajō	Yamashibudera	5
1244.02.12	Udonge	Kippōji	2

As seen in Table 5, reliance on allusions to Rújìng expressed in *Shōbōgenzō* fascicles from the 1240s continued to proliferate throughout the later stages of Dōgen's career in *Eihei kōroku* sermons from the 1250s. Note that memorials for Rújìng were not begun until 1246, but were then continued for seven years until the end of Dōgen's career when illness forced him to stop preaching. Generally, these are brief and cryptic. [14] In *Eihei kōroku* 2.184 from 1246, for example, Dōgen expresses self-deprecation in celebrating Rújìng's wisdom:

> When I entered China, I studied walking like someone from Hándān 邯鄲. I worked very hard carrying water and hauling firewood. Do not say that my late teacher deceived his disciple. Rather, Tiāntóng [Rújìng] was deceived by Dōgen (DZZ III:122–124).[15]

The abundance of citations of Rújìng at certain periods—and their lack at other times—suggests a delayed reaction and retrospective quality. As demonstrated by recent Japanese scholarship, Dōgen's

[14] For example, no. 4.274 (DZZ III:183; Leighton / Okumura 2004:263) says: 'On this day Tiāntóng [Rújìng] mistakenly made a pilgrimage. He did not travel to Mt. Tiāntái or Mt. Wǔtái. How sad that for 10,000 miles there is not an inch of grass. The old master Guishan became a water buffalo and came here.' The phrase 'inch of grass' and the mention of Guishan as water buffalo are obscure references to old Chán sayings that highlight Dōgen's veneration of Rújìng.

[15] Leighton/Okumura 2004:203. 'Walking like someone from Hándān' refers to a story by Zhuāngzǐ 莊子 in the chapter on 'Autumn Water,' in which someone from the countryside went to the city of Hándān and imitated the fashionable walking of the townspeople, but before mastering this he lost his native ability and had to crawl home on hands and knees; see Watson 1968:187. Memorial day for Rújìng was 7.17; other memorial sermons are nos. 3.249, 4.274, 4.276 (out of sequence), 5.342, 5.384 and 7.515.

citations and evocations of Rújìng are at times at variance with the recorded sayings, the *Nyojō goroku* 如浄語録 (Ch. *Rújìng yǔlù*), even though Tokugawa era Sōtō scholar/monks heavily edited this text precisely in order to prove such a consistency (Kagamishima 1983; Nakaseko Shōdō 1997; He 2000). This raises basic questions about Dōgen's portrayal of his mentor and use of Chán sources, as well as why his approach seemed to have changed despite claims of unwavering continuity by the sectarian tradition. On the other hand, more frequently than one might suppose, an evocation of Rújìng's authority is not far removed from critique and revisionism of the master.

Table 5: Dōgen's Citations or Allusions to Rújìng

SHŌBŌGENZŌ	REFERENCES/ALLUSIONS ONLY	CITATIONS
MAKAHANNYAHARAMITSU, 1233-1	Bendōwa, 1231	EK 2.147, 1246
Senjō, 1239-1	Shōbōgenzō zuimonki, 1236	EK 2.179, 1246
Shisho, 1241-1	Senmen, 1239	EK 3.194, 1246
Kankin, 1241-1	Busso, 1241	EK 4.318, 1249
Gyōji 2, 1242-4	Busshō, 1241	*EK 4.319, 1249
Gabyō, 1242-1	Zazenshin, 1242	EK 5.379, 1250
Kobusshin, 1243-1	Darani, 1243	*EK 5.390, 1250
Kattō, 1243-1	Menju, 1243	*EK 5.406, 1250
AFTER MOVE TO ECHIZEN	Jippō, 1243	EK 6.424, 1251
*Butsudō, 1243-2	Zanmai ōzanmai, 1244	EK 6.432, 1251
*Shohō jissō, 1243-2	OTHERS	EK 6.437, 1951
*Bukkyō (S), 1243-2	Tenzokyōkun, 1234-2	EK 6.438, 1951
*Mujō seppō, 1243-1	Chiji shingi, 1246-1	EK 6.469, 1951
*Kenbutsu, 1243-1	*Shuryō shingi, 1249-1	EK 9.086, 1235
Baika, 1243-8	EIHEI KŌROKU	EK 7.502, 1252
Hensan, 1243-1	MEMORIALS	*EK 7.503, 1252
Ganzei, 1243-7	EK 2.184, 1246	*EK 7.522, 1252
Kajō, 1243-5	EK 3.249, 1247	EK 7.530, 1252
Udonge, 1244-2	EK 4.274, 1248	EK 10.80 (3)
Tenbōrin, 1244-1	EK 4.342, 1249	EK 10.84
Ho-u, 1245-1	EK 5.384, 1250	REFERENCES
Ango, 1245-1	EK 4.276, 1251	EK 1.048, 1236
Ōsaku sendaba, 1245-2	EK 7.515, 1252	EK 1.105, 1241
Kokū, 1245-1		EK 1.118, 1241
		EK 2.128, 1245
		EK 2.148, 1245

(* indicates that the passage is not in Rújìng's record, *Nyojō goroku*/*Rújìng yǔlù*)

Rújìng the Master and Dōgen the Transmitter

There are several main aspects of Rújìng's influence on Dōgen which are embodied in creative examples of rhetoric that help demonstrate his allegiance and loyalty, as well as longing for autonomy and independence. Perhaps the best known example of master-disciple interaction is the transformational experience of *shinjin datsuraku*, or 'casting off body-mind,' as depicted in the *Kenzeiki* and the *Denkōroku* 傳光録. Dōgen's enlightenment was triggered by the strict manner of training, whereby Rújìng insisted on the total commitment and dedication of disciples to the practice of meditation. The moment of *shinjin datsuraku* occurred when the monk sitting next to Dōgen was scolded by Rújìng for dozing off while doing *zazen* during a *sesshin* held as part of the Summer retreat, although according to a theory it may have transpired earlier than this as a '*satori* at first sight' when the master and disciple first met.

Perhaps an even more important influence than the specific occasion of his personal breakthrough in shaping Dōgen's overall religiosity is his sense of awe at Rújìng's teaching style. Of the compositions from the early 1240s, the 'Baika' 梅華 and 'Ganzei' 眼睛 fascicles consist almost entirely of commentary on Rújìng's teachings. 'Baika,' a sermon delivered on the sixth day of the eleventh month of 1243 during the year of Dōgen's move to Echizen when he was still struggling, evokes lyrical imagery as a symbol for enlightenment. It is dedicated to remembrances and citations of the sayings of the mentor, who apparently spoke frequently about the symbolism of the plum tree, whose fragrant blossoms appearing at the end of the Winter season are a harbinger of spring and, thus, spiritual renewal. According to the colophon, three feet of snow fell that day, and we can only imagine that Dōgen was perhaps a bit despondent and seeking out sources of inspiration.[16] In addition to reflecting on the natural image, Dōgen recalls his feelings during the time of his studies in China when he realized how fortunate he was as a foreign novice, since not many native Chinese had the ability or opportunity to take

[16] In a *waka* 和歌 verse composed on the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month of 1244, Dōgen writes: 'Crimson leaves / Whitened by the season's first snow— / Is there anyone / Who would not be moved / To celebrate this in song?' (in DZZ VII:154).

advantage of their contact with such an eminent teacher (DZZ II:71–72).

Dōgen also admires and appreciates the qualities of openness and flexibility that afforded him a unique avenue for accessibility to the abbot. In *Hōkyōki* 宝慶記, a record of Dōgen's conversations with Rújìng that was discovered posthumously and whose authenticity has been questioned by modern scholars, he reports that Rújìng invited him to come to the abbot's quarters on demand and without reservation, which would have been a rare privilege, indeed. According to a passage in the *Shōbōgenzō zuimonki*, Rújìng offered Dōgen the slot of head monk but he declined in deference to native seekers.

Part of the image of Rújìng that emerges in the writings of the transitional period is that of a master with great rhetorical skills, at least during one-on-one meetings or public orations, who breaks out of the mold of a formal monastic setting to deliver dynamic, spontaneous sermons. Dōgen considers Rújìng's approach uniquely compelling for the charismatic appeal and sincere authenticity he projected. Unlike many Chán masters who stuck to regulations and schedules, even for informal sermons, Rújìng was inspired to preach in different places of the temple compound at odd times of the day, including late hours. He gave lectures not only in the Dharma Hall on a fixed schedule, but any time of day or night when the inspiration struck.

Shōbōgenzō 'Shohō jissō' 諸法実相 was presented by Dōgen in 1243 after '18 years had swiftly passed' since a remarkable occasion of mystical exaltation during the fourth watch of the night in the third month of 1226 (DZZ I:457–470). At that time, Rújìng gave a midnight sermon in the abbot's quarters, when Dōgen heard the drum beating, with signs hung around the temple announcing the event. Monks were burning incense and waiting anxiously to hear, 'You may enter [the abbot's room].' The sermon concluded with the saying: 'A cuckoo sings, and a mountain-bamboo splits in two' (DZZ I:467–468). Dōgen says that this was a unique method of intense, personal training not practiced in other temple districts. In several other passages in the *Shōbōgenzō* and *Eihei kōroku*, Dōgen describes the excitement and thrill of studying with someone of Rújìng's stature who attracted followers from all over China. In addition to Dōgen, Rújìng invited disciples to approach his quarters at various times when he or they felt the need for instruction. Therefore, Rújìng demonstrated supreme

discipline along with ingenious innovation. It is interesting to note that the *Shōbōgenzō* fascicle 'Kōmyō' 光明 from the sixth month of 1242 was delivered at two o'clock in the morning, as Dōgen proudly declares in the colophon, while the monks listened attentively as a heavy storm poured down during the rainy season (DZZ I:144).

There are several important passages in the *Eihei kōroku* which express Dōgen's view of the powerful and popular role of *kanbun* sermons based on Rújìng's model. A prominent example is the second passage in the second volume, *Eihei kōroku* 2.128 from 1245, which reveals Dōgen working through the complex stages of transition from informal vernacular to formal Chinese lectures and thus provides a good indication of why the kana style of the *Shōbōgenzō* was phasing out (DZZ, III:72–74). The passage is especially interesting, not because it repudiates *kana* in favor of *kanbun* sermons, but because it highlights the significance of lecturing in general as the key function of a monastic community. It explains Dōgen's admiration for Rújìng who was skillful at delivering several styles of informal lectures, including evening sermons (*bansan* 晩参), general discourses (*fusetsu* 普説) and provisional lectures (*shōsan* 小参). Technically, no. 2.128, though in *kanbun*, is different than the typical style of Chinese sermon because it was delivered in the evening, the typical time for informal lectures; it is one of a handful of evening sermons which appear at the beginning of the second volume of the *Eihei kōroku*, that is, in the earliest phase of the Echizen period.

The main feature that Dōgen admires of Rújìng's creative use of language is his ability to offer numerous spontaneous, off-the-cuff lectures any time of day that the inspiration struck for eager band of followers who must have shared in the excitement and charisma of the occasion: 'Regardless of what the regulations in monastic rules manuals actually prescribed, at midnight, during the early evenings or at any time after the noon-day meal, and generally without regard to the time, Rújìng convened a talk.' Dōgen then declares: 'As a disciple of Rújìng, I [Daibutsu 大仏], am also conducting evening meetings that are taking place for the very first time in our country' (DZZ III:72).[17] Dōgen describes the excitement that was so unique in his

[17] Leighton/Okumura 2004: 153–154. The text also says: 'He either had someone beat the drum for entering the Abbot's Quarters (入室 *nyūshitsu*) to give an open talk (*fusetsu*) or he had someone beat the drum for small meetings (*shōsan*) and then for entering the Abbot's Quarters. Or sometimes he himself hit the wooden clapper in the

Chán teacher's approach and also sets the standard for introducing various styles of sermons to Zen temples in Japan.

Dōgen as Transgressor

The reverent tone of a dutiful follower that is so apparent in the *Hōkyōki*, which deals with Dōgen's days as a disciple, is not necessarily duplicated in the *Eihei kōroku*, where he subjects Rújìng's interpretations of Chán *kōans* and other sayings to a process of revision and rewriting. Dōgen summons his rhetorical facility to distance himself from all predecessors, and mentor Rújìng is not immune to this revisionism, as in *Eihei kōroku* 3.194:

> [Dōgen] said, I remember a monk asked an ancient worthy: 'Is there Buddha Dharma or not on a steep cliff in the deep mountains?' The worthy responded: 'A large rock is large; a small one is small.' My late teacher Tiāntóng [Rújìng] said: 'The question about the steep cliff in the deep mountains was answered in terms of large and small rocks. The cliff collapsed, the rocks split, and the empty sky filled with a noisy clamor.'
>
> The teacher [Dōgen] said, 'Although these two venerable masters said it this way, I [Eihei] have another utterance to convey. If someone were to ask: "Is there Buddha Dharma or not on a steep cliff in the deep mountains?," I would simply say to him: "The lifeless rocks nod their heads again and again. The empty sky vanishes completely. This is something that exists within the realm of the buddhas and patriarchs. What is this thing on a steep cliff in the deep mountains?"' [Dōgen] pounded his staff one time, and descended from his seat (DZZ III:132).[18]

The phrase 'The lifeless rocks nod their heads again and again' is a reference to Dàoshēng 道生, Kumārajīva's great disciple and early Chinese Buddhist scholar, who, based on a passage in the *Mahā-parinirvāṇa sūtra* that all beings can become buddha, went to the

Monk's Hall (*sōdō* 僧堂) three times and gave an open talk in the Illuminated Hall (照堂 *shōdō*). After the open talk, the monks entered the Abbot's Quarters (*hōjō* 方丈). At other times, he hit the wooden block hanging in front of the Head Monk's Quarters (*shuso* 首座) and gave an open talk in that room. Again, following the open talk the monks entered the Abbot's Quarters. These were extraordinary, truly exceptional experiences!'

[18] *Ibid.*:210–211.

mountain and preached the Dharma to the rocks, which nodded in response.[19]

In *Eihei kōroku* 2.179, Dōgen uses rhetoric to critique five prominent figures, Śākyamuni and four Chinese Chán masters including Rújìng, who respond to a statement of the Buddha in the *Śūraṃgama sūtra*, Chapter 9, as also cited and discussed with the same conclusion in *Shōbōgenzō* 'Tenbōrin':

> [Dōgen] said, The World-Honored One said, 'When one person opens up reality and returns to the source, all space in the ten directions disappears.' Teacher Wǔzǔ of Mt. Fǎyǎn 五祖法演 said: 'When one person opens up reality and returns to the source, all space in the ten directions crashes together resounding everywhere.' Zen Master Yuánwù of Mt. Jiāshān 夾山 said: 'When one person opens up reality and returns to the source, all space throughout the ten directions flowers are added on to brocade.' Teacher Fóxìng Fǎtài 佛性法泰 said: 'When one person opens up reality and returns to the source, all space in the ten directions is nothing other than all space in the ten directions.'
>
> My late teacher Tiāntóng [Rújìng] said: 'Although the World-Honored One made the statement: "When one person opens up reality and returns to the source, all space in the ten directions disappears," this utterance cannot avoid becoming an extraordinary assessment. Tiāntóng is not like this. When one person opens up reality and returns to the source, a mendicant breaks his rice bowl.'
>
> The teacher [Dōgen] said, 'The previous five venerable teachers said it like this, but I, Eihei, have a saying that is not like theirs. When one person opens up reality and returns to the source, all space in the ten directions opens up reality and returns to the source' (DZZ III:118).[20]

Another key example of Dōgen's creative rewriting of Rújìng's words is *Eihei kōroku* 2.147, which displays some of the qualities of the *honkadori* 本歌取り poetic technique in terms of how revisions are made based on extensive quoting of the original passage:

> Dōgen held up his monk's staff, pounded it once on the floor, and said: This is the staff of Daibutsu. Buddhas and lands as numerous as the sands of the Ganges River are all swallowed up in one gulp by this staff. All the living beings in these lands do not know and are not aware of it. All you people, where are your noses, eyes, spirits, and headtops? If you know where they are, within emptiness you can place the staff

[19] *Ibid.*:211.
[20] *Ibid.*:198–199.

> vertically or hold it horizontally. If you do not know, there is rice and gruel for you on the sitting platforms [in the meditation hall].
>
> I remember that a monk asked Zen Master Bǎizhàng Dàzhì 百丈大智: 'What is the most remarkable thing [in the world]?'[21] Bǎizhàng said, 'It is sitting [or practicing *zazen*] alone atop Great Hero Peak [of Mt. Bǎizhàng].'[22] Moreover, my late teacher Tiāntóng [Rújìng] said, 'If someone asks the venerable Rújìng: "What is the most remarkable thing?" I would simply reply to him: "What remarkable thing is there? Ultimately, what is it? I moved my bowls from Jìngcí temple to Tiāntóng and ate rice."'[23]
>
> What these two venerable teachers said expresses it pretty well, and yet they cannot avoid the laughter of observers. If someone asked me, Daibutsu, 'What is the most remarkable thing [in the world]?' I would answer by raising high my staff at Daibutsuji temple in Japan, and he then puts the staff down and stepped off the dais.

The source record evoked by the sermon, *Bìyán lù* 碧巖録 (J. *Hekiganroku*) case 26,[24] seems a bit surprising in its emphasis on meditation, as Bǎizhàng is known primarily for his emphasis on rules expressed in the first (and probably apocryphal) Zen monastic code, the *Zenmon kishiki* 禪門規式 (Ch. *Chánmén guīshì*). This text stresses the role of the charismatic abbot's sermons that are supposed to be held twice a day, before and after the midday meal, far more than the practice of *zazen*, which is left up to discretion of the disciple rather than being strictly confined by a uniform schedule.[25] When Rújìng rewrites the response as, 'It is just eating rice in a bowl at Jìngcí temple on Mt. Tiāntóng' (DZZ IV:280), he shifts the focus from

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[21] *Dazhi*, literally 'Great Wisdom,' was an honorific posthumous name given to Bǎizhàng by the emperor.

[22] 'Great Hero' Peak (Dàxióng 大雄) was the name of the summit above Bǎizhàng's monastery where the master and other monks would hold special meditation retreats withdrawn from the monastery.

[23] Jìngcí Temple 淨慈寺, where Rújìng resided as abbot before Mount Tiāntóng, was the fourth-ranked of the five mountains, or major temples of the country. Tiāntóng was ranked third among the five mountains, so Rújìng's move was an elevation in status.

[24] This saying can be taken to mean that Bǎizhàng went on retreat to one of the main mountain peaks located behind the temple to practice *zazen*, or that he is characteristically identifying himself with the name of the mountain and thus saying, in effect: 'I sit alone.' In the *kōan* cited in *Bìyán lù* 碧巖錄 no. 26, the disciple claims to understand the comment, and Bǎizhàng slaps him.

[25] T. 51:250c–251b.

zazen to everyday praxis and from Mt. Bǎizhàng to his own mountain temple.

Dōgen reflects on this case at least five times in his works. He cites Rújìng's revision approvingly in 'Kajō' 家常 (1243), but in *Eihei kōroku* 2.147 from the same year as 'Ho-u' 鉢盂 (1245) he rewrites the concluding statement. In the context of discussing the value of wielding the Zen staff,[26] which metaphorically encompasses all aspects of reality, Dōgen cites Rújìng's response but this time he says: 'I would answer by raising high my staff at Daibutsuji temple in Japan,' and he then puts the staff down and steps off the dais (DZZ III:92–94).[27] Dōgen shows both a willingness to challenge his mentor and a ritual use of the staff as a means of proclaiming the legitimacy of his approach. Similarly, in *Eihei kōroku* 2.145, Dōgen refers to his lineage as 'a diverse amalgamation […] horns grow on the head, dragons and snakes mix together, and there are many horses and cows […] they all discern the monk's staff and complete the matter of a lifetime.' To mention a few of the many other instances, in no. 2.150 he holds up the staff and pounds it on the floor saying: 'Just this is it,' and in no. 2.168 he asks rhetorically: 'Is there a dragon or elephant here who can come forth and meet with Daibutsu's staff?'

To summarize, Dōgen employs rhetoric innovatively as a double-edged sword to highlight either admiration and veneration or criticism and condemnation of both his rivals and predecessors. Much of Dōgen's eulogizing of Rújìng can be accounted for as a way of using Chán as a rhetorical device for creating a sectarian identity in Japan grounded exclusively in Cáodòng/Sōtō teachings. However, Dōgen is also always eager to distance himself from his mentor in order to establish his own sense of integrity, and in that context rhetoric serves as criticism. These trends are not necessarily problematic because they are very much in accord with the tradition of transgressing while transmitting, as Dōgen navigates his path through sectarian, pan-sectarian, non-sectarian, and trans-sectarian positions in establishing his movement in early Kamakura Japan. In this sense, Dōgen seeks to master Chán rhetoric paradoxically as a means of undermining what it was designed to accomplish and, thereby, to perfect it.

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[26] Bǎizhàng was particularly known for carrying a ceremonial fly-whisk (*hossu*), which also figures prominently in the gestures and demonstrations Dōgen uses in his sermons.

[27] Leighton/Okumura 2004:175.

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Appendix: Texts

Note: All source passages cited below from the *Eihei kōroku* are from DZZ Vols. III and IV.

154 上堂。挙。僧問二趙州一。如何是不錯底路。趙州云、明心見性是不錯底路。後来云、趙州秖道二得八九成一。我即不レ然。若有レ人問、如何是不錯底路。即向レ他道、家家門裏透二長安一。師云、雖二恁麼道一不レ足レ觀矣。趙州古仏道得是也。要レ知二趙州道之明心一麼。欬一欬云、便是這箇。要レ知二趙州道之見性一麼。笑一笑云、便是這箇、雖二然恁麼一、趙州古仏、眼觀二東西一、意在二南北一。忽有レ人問二大仏一、如何是不錯底路。即向レ他道、輒不レ可レ離二這裏一。忽有レ人道、和尚膠レ柱調レ絃麼。更向レ伊道、儞知二得膠レ柱調レ絃麼。

207上堂。云。参学人須レ知二邪正一。所レ謂、優波毱多已後、称二五部之仏法一、乃西天之陵替也。青原・南嶽已後、擅二五家之宗風一、乃東地之訛謬也。況乎呼二仏法一而以称二禅宗一、古仏曩祖之代未三嘗得二見聞一也、未三嘗得二有在一也。今称二禅宗一、実非二仏法一。仏法豈称二禅宗一者乎。若称二仏法一為二禅宗一者、舌盍二堕落一。初心晩学不レ可レ不レ知。測知、号二禅宗一之学人、非二釈尊之遺弟一矣。記得。僧問二雲門一。承、古有レ言。牛頭横説竪説、未レ知レ有二向上関捩子一。如何是向上関捩子。門云、東山西嶺青。或有レ問二永平一、如何是向上関捩子。祇対レ他道、帝釈鼻孔長三尺。

135冬至上堂。挙。宏智古仏住二天童一時、冬至上堂云、陰極而陽生、力窮而位転。蒼龍退レ骨而驟、玄豹披レ霧而変。要将二三世諸仏髑髏一穿作二数珠子一穿。莫レ道二明頭暗頭一。真箇日面月面。直饒倆斗満秤平、也輸二我売レ貴買レ賤。諸禅徳、還会麼。盤裏明珠不レ撥自転。挙。雪峰問レ僧、甚処去。僧云、普請去。雲峰云、去。雲門云、雪峰因レ語識レ人。宏智云、莫二動著一。動著三十棒。為二什麼一如レ此。皓玉無レ瑕、彫レ文喪レ徳。師云、三位尊宿雖二恁麼道一、大仏老漢又且不レ然。大衆諦聴、善思二念之一。皓玉無レ瑕、琢磨増レ輝。今日一陽佳節、君子長至。雖二是俗人之佳節一、実乃仏祖之慶祐也。昨日一線短去、陰極而過刺刺。今朝一線長至、陽生而鬧聒聒。乃是衲僧納二慶祐一、応レ時仏祖賀舞踏。直超二空王威音之境界一、豈拘二春秋冬夏之時候一。恁麼見得、雖レ為二賢聖之命脈、人天之肝胆一、未二是祇園之鼻孔、鶏足之眼睛一。諸人要レ会二這箇時節佳辰一麼。以二払子一作二一円相一云、看。良久云、雪裏梅華設使明、這辺更問一陽至。〈当山在二北陸之越一、自レ冬至レ春積雪不レ消、或七八尺、或一丈余、随レ時増減。又天童有二雪裏梅華之語一、師常愛レ之。故当山住後、多以レ雪為レ語。〉

184天童和尚忌上堂。云。入レ唐学レ歩似二邯鄲一。運レ水幾労柴也般。莫レ謂先師瞞二弟子一。天童却被二道元瞞一。

194上堂。云。記得。僧問二古徳一。深山巌崖還有二仏法一也無。徳云、石頭大底大、小底小。先師天童道、深山巌崖問、石頭大小答。巌崩石迸裂、虚空闊聒聒。師云、両位尊宿雖二恁麼道一、永平更有二道理一。忽或レ人問下深山巌崖還有二仏法一也無上、向レ他祇対。頑石点頭更点頭。虚空消殞転消殞。這箇便是仏祖辺事。作麼生是深山巌崖裏事。卓二拄杖一一卓下座。

179上堂。云。世尊道、一人発レ真帰レ源、十方虚空悉皆消殞。五祖山法演和尚道、一人発レ真帰レ源、十方虚空築著磕著。夾山圜悟禅師道、一人発レ真帰レ源、十方虚空錦上添レ華。仏性法泰和尚道、一人発レ真帰レ源、十方虚空只是十方虚空。先師天童道、一人発レ真帰レ源、十方虚空悉皆消殞、既是世尊所レ説、未レ免三尽作二奇特商量一。天童則不レ然。一人発レ真帰レ源、乞児打二破飯椀一。師云、前来五位尊宿道是恁麼、永平有レ道与レ前不レ同。一人発レ真帰レ源、十方虚空発レ真帰レ源。

147至晩上堂。拈二拄杖一卓一卓云、這箇是大仏拄杖子。河沙諸仏河沙国土、総被二拄杖一口呑却一了也。其中衆生不覚不知。汝等諸人、鼻孔・眼睛・精魂・頂𩕳、在二什麼処一。若知二在処一、於二虚空中一横按竪卓。若也不知、長連牀上有レ粥有レ飯。記得。僧問二百丈大智禅師一。如何是奇特事。百丈云、独坐二大雄峰一。又先師天童云、有レ人問二浄上座如何是奇特事一、只向レ他道、有二甚奇特一。畢竟如何。浄慈鉢盂、移二過天童一喫飯。這二尊宿、道也太殺道。未レ免二傍観笑一。若有レ人問二大仏、如何是奇特事一、即向レ他対、大仏拄杖卓二日本国一。卓一拄杖下座。

POJO CHINUL 普照知訥 AND *KANHWA* SŎN 看話禪: RECONCILING THE LANGUAGE OF MODERATE AND RADICAL SUBITISM

ROBERT E. BUSWELL, JR.

Among the many contributions Pojo Chinul 普照知訥 (1158–1210) made to Korean Buddhism, perhaps none is more important to the subsequent history of the tradition than his role in introducing the new technique of meditation on the 'critical phrase' or 'keyword' (*kanhwa* Sŏn, Ch. *kànhuà* Chán 看話禪) into its practice (Buswell 1989:20–44). Chinul was the first Korean Buddhist teacher to write about the *kanhwa* technique and to actively promote its use. Even though *kanhwa* Sŏn was but one among a whole panoply of meditation styles that Chinul taught, his championing of the technique late in his life eventually led to its predominance in Korean Buddhist praxis. However, the approach to *kanhwa* Sŏn that Chinul outlines in his writings differs in some important respects from that which becomes normative within the Chinese Línjì/Imje 臨濟 tradition. The most crucial of these differences is the accommodation Chinul achieves between his preferred soteriology of sudden awakening/gradual cultivation (*tono chŏmsu*, Ch. *dùnwù jiànxiū* 頓悟漸修)—what I term a 'moderate subitism'—and *kanhwa* practice.

The interpretation of *kanhwa* Sŏn that is generally accepted in the Línjì School views the technique as involving what I have elsewhere termed 'radical subitism,'[1] that is, the soteriological stratagem of sudden awakening/sudden cultivation (*tono tonsu*, Ch. *dùnwù dùnxiū* 頓悟頓修). Where *kanhwa* Sŏn is viewed as radical subitism, the technique is claimed to focus exclusively on the enlightenment experience itself, the presumption being that a full and complete awakening would automatically perfect any and all forms of

[1] I have examined the evolution of this meditation technique in Chinese Chán Buddhism in Buswell 1987:321–377; I include there references to relevant works in both Japanese and Western scholarship. For *kanhwa* practice in Korea, see Buswell 1986:199–242, and especially 216–226. I draw freely on these and other of my works in this chapter.

cultivation, thus rendering both awakening and practice as 'sudden.' In order to reconcile this new system of *kanhwa* Sŏn with his preferred soteriology of moderate subitism, Chinul has to negotiate a quite considerable divide in the Chán use of language, between the more accommodative stance toward the scholastic argot found in the writings of Guīfēng Zōngmì 圭峰宗密 (780–841) and the more radically iconoclastic Línjì use of language. It is this negotiation that will be the subject of this chapter.

Chinul's Preferred Soteriology of Moderate Subitism

Chinul discusses the sudden/gradual issue in several of his writings, including his earliest work, *Kwŏn su Chŏnghye kyŏlsa mun* 勸修定慧結社文 (*Encouragement to Practice: The Compact of the Samādhi and Prajñā Community*), written in 1190, and, *Susim kyŏl* 修心訣 (*Secrets on Cultivating the Mind*), composed between 1203 and 1205 and arguably his most popular treatise. However, his most extensive examination of this question appears in his magnum opus, *Pŏpchip pyŏrhaengnok chŏryo pyŏngip sagi* 法集別行錄節要 并入私記 (*Excerpts from the Dharma Collection and Special Practice Record with Personal Notes*; hereafter *Excerpts*), completed in 1209, one year before his death. *Excerpts* was intended to present a comprehensive accounting of earlier analyses of Buddhist soteriology in Chinese sources. His treatment includes copious quotations from relevant sources on the subject, accompanied by an exposition (his 'personal notes') that sought to resolve the discrepancies in those variant interpretations. Chinul's purpose in *Excerpts* was not solely theoretical, however. Fearing that an improper understanding of the regimen of praxis would hinder spiritual development, Chinul meant for his account of soteriology to serve as a *vade mecum* for students of meditation. Hence, his explication of this issue was always accompanied by an examination of the practical applications of the theory. Unlike many Chán and Sŏn masters, then, Chinul strongly advocated that even Sŏn practitioners required a firm grasp of Buddhist doctrine if their practice was to succeed.

As I have discussed at length elsewhere,[2] the soteriological approach Chinul most consistently advocated in his writings is termed sudden awakening/gradual cultivation (*tono chŏmsu*, Ch. *dùnwù jiànxiū* 頓悟漸修). In this approach, which Chinul derived from the Chinese Huáyán/Chán exegete Guīfēng Zōngmì, practice was to begin with a sudden, initial insight into the structure of the person's relationship with the world. This type of insight was termed an 'understanding-awakening' (*haeo*, Ch. *jiěwù* 解悟). The functional equivalent of the 'path of vision' (Skr. *darśanamārga*) in Indian Abhidharma systems, understanding-awakening grounded the student in a correct intellectual comprehension of the nature and characteristics of both himself and his universe. Chinul, following the Chinese Huáyán patriarch Chéngguān 澄觀 (738–840), defines this kind of awakening as 'the clear comprehension of nature and characteristics […in which one has] clearly apprehended the mind-nature.'[3] But while the student might at that point have the understanding of a buddha, his practice would still be much too immature for him to consistently act enlightened. Interminable latent propensities (Skr. *vāsanā,* K. *sŭpki,* Ch. *xíqì* 習氣) would continue to buffet his mind, infecting his action and inhibiting his ability to express the enlightenment he now knew to be inherent in his mind. Consequently, while making that initial awakening the basis of his

[2] See my study and translation of Chinul's works in Buswell 1983:56–61; this book has been reprinted in abridged paperback form as Buswell 1991. I am currently preparing a revised English edition of Chinul's collected works for two new series of translations of seminal Korean Buddhist materials sponsored by the Chogye Order and the Academy of Korean Studies. For Chinul's conception of sudden awakening/gradual cultivation, see Buswell 1986:203–207. Zōngmì's preferred soteriology, which so inspired Chinul, has been studied in Gregory 1987:279–320. Material relevant to this topic may also be found in Hee-Sung Keel 1984, Chapter 2. Citations to Chinul's works in this article are to my translation in Buswell 1983. For ease of reference, I also cite the standard Korean editions of Chinul's works most commonly used in Korean scholarship (see An Chin-ho 1957), and followed by page and line number, where relevant (see also Pang Hanam/Kim T'anhŏ 1937/1975).

[3] Chéngguān's *Huáyán jīng xíngyúan pǐn shū* 華嚴經行願品疏 (*Commentary to the 'Original Vows' Chapter of the Avataṃsakasūtra*), in ten rolls; *Xùzàngjīng* (續藏經, *Supplement to the Canon*) ZZ. 227.5.48b-198a; the passage in question appears in roll 2, section five, *ZZ.* 227:5.64b–64c and is translated in *Excerpts*, Buswell 1983:287–288 (see An Chin-ho 1957:45.10–48.2). Chinul always refers to this text as the *Zhenyuan Commentary*, after the Tang dynasty reign-period during which this last translation of the *Huáyán jīng* was made. For bibliographical references to this text, see Buswell 1983:350, n. 92.

training, the student had then to continue on to develop his awakening through 'gradual cultivation' (*chŏmsu*, Ch. *jiànxiū* 漸修), counteracting the inevitable defiled tendencies of mind and cultivating wholesome qualities. This would be the equivalent of the Indian 'path of practice' (Skr. *lokottara-bhāvanāmārga*). Once this cultivation was perfected, there would then be a final 'realization-awakening' (*chŭngo*, Ch. *zhèngwù* 證悟), the equivalent of the Indian 'path of completion' (Skr. *niṣṭhāmārga*), in which the student's initial intellectual understanding was confirmed through direct realization. At that stage, the person becomes a buddha in fact, as well as in potential: As Chinul says, again following Chéngguān, realization-awakening is 'the mind that reaches the mysterious ultimate.'[4]

Problems with Radical Subitism

As a consistent advocate of sudden awakening/gradual cultivation, Chinul usually is fairly critical of approaches involving sudden cultivation—e.g., sudden awakening/sudden cultivation (*tono tonsu,* Ch. *dùnwù dùnxiū* 頓悟頓修)—in which cultivation was said to be perfected instantly along with the insight generated through sudden awakening. In his treatment in *Excerpts* of four Chán schools, for example, Chinul criticizes the Hóngzhoū 洪州 School, which is claimed to have advocated a sudden awakening/sudden cultivation approach, for encouraging insouciance among Sŏn practitioners. Chinul presumed this to occur because the Hóngzhoū School's exclusive emphasis on the awakening experience might foster the mistaken notion that cultivation had no role to play in spiritual praxis. After all, if, as the Hóngzhoū School claimed, all beings are inherently endowed with the buddha-nature and all the defilements and discriminatory phenomena present in our ordinary world are inherently void, there then are really no wholesome qualities to be developed (for they are all present congenitally), no defilements to be counteracted (for they are all void), and no liberation to be achieved (for one is already enlightened). Chéngguān's hierarchy of soteriological stratagems, which culminate in sudden awakening/sudden cultivation, implied too that radical subitism was the supreme approach to practice. Indeed, this view of the superiority

[4] Chéngguān, *ibid*.

of sudden awakening/sudden cultivation is prominent also in the later Chán School, especially through the influence of teachers in the Línjì line and its collateral Yángchí 楊岐 and Mì'ān 密菴 branches.

Chinul instead demands that an ideal soteriological stratagem should perfect both passive and sequential approaches to practice. Exclusive attention to passive forms of practice, which emphasized the absolute reality of principle, could lead to complacency and nihilism, resulting in the student grasping at a state of calmness and aloofness. This is the principal danger with radical subitism: No provision is made for counteracting the unwholesome tendencies of mind that, Chinul claimed, will habitually arise even after the initial understanding-awakening. Equally virulent, however, would be the problem created by presuming that negative character traits and mental attitudes must be counteracted and that wholesome states of mind must be developed—positions taken by advocates of what we might call 'radical gradualism' (*viz*., gradual cultivation/gradual awakening). This approach could sustain the mistaken belief that there really were qualities external to oneself that needed be practiced and goals not yet realized that needed to be achieved. Students then would never be able to lessen their grasp on the phenomenal world, for their whole worldview would be founded on the mistaken belief that dharmas do indeed exist in reality and that enlightenment really is something external to oneself. They, therefore, would be unable to advert to their own inherent nature, which was considered to be the vivifying source of all those phenomena. The moderate subitism of sudden awakening/gradual cultivation, Chinul claims, addressed both concerns.

Perhaps the most devastating critique that can be made of radical subitism, which Zōngmì first raised and Chinul repeats, is that it actually is nothing more than a truncated vision of sudden awakening/gradual cultivation. From the standpoint of the present lifetime only, sudden awakening/sudden cultivation might seem to be the most uncompromising interpretation of practice. From the standpoint of past lives, however, it is clear that people who have successfully followed a sudden awakening/sudden cultivation approach in this lifetime already had experienced the sudden understanding-awakening in a past life. After that initial under-standing-awakening, they continued to cultivate their insight gradually through many lifetimes, until finally in this present life they suddenly experienced realization-awakening and their cultivation was

apparently perfected instantaneously. But, in such a case, sudden awakening/sudden cultivation was in fact nothing more than a matured form of sudden awakening/gradual cultivation; for Chinul, there could be no sudden perfection of the understanding of the phenomenal world that is accrued through persistent practice.

This collapse of sudden awakening/sudden cultivation into sudden awakening/gradual cultivation is summarized nicely by Chinul in his *Secrets on Cultivating the Mind*, where he confirms his previous judgment that virtually all soteriologies eventually end up being sudden awakening/gradual cultivation:

> 雖曰頓悟頓修是最上根機得入也 若推過去已是多生 依悟而修 漸熏而來 至于今生 聞卽開悟 一時頓畢 以實而論 是亦先悟後修之機也 則而此頓漸兩門 是千聖軌轍也
>
> Although some have advocated sudden awakening/sudden cultivation, this is the access for people of the highest faculties. If you were to probe their pasts, you would see that their cultivation has been based for many lives on the insights gained in a previous awakening. Now, in this life, after sustained gradual permeation, they hear the dharma and awaken: In one instant [their practice is brought to] a sudden conclusion. But if we try to explain this according to the facts, then this capacity [for sudden awakening/sudden cultivation] is also the result of an initial [sudden] awakening and its subsequent [gradual] cultivation. Consequently, this two-fold approach of sudden awakening and gradual cultivation is the track followed by thousands of saints. (Buswell 1983:143; Pang Hanam / Kim T'anhŏ 1937/1975:41b)

Sudden awakening/sudden cultivation is, therefore, relevant only for those few advanced bodhisattvas whose spiritual faculties—the wholesome roots (Skr. *kuśalamūla*)—have already fully matured. For the great majority of Buddhist adepts, sudden awakening/gradual cultivation is the only viable approach to practice.

The Kanhwa Technique

Kanhwa meditation is a uniquely Sŏn form of practice that comes into ascendance during the Sòng Dynasty in China, about one generation before Chinul, in which the student is taught to contemplate (*kan*, Ch. *kàn* 看) the 'critical phrase' or 'keyword' (*hwadu*, Ch. *huàtoú* 話頭) of a Sŏn 'precedent' or 'case' (*kongan*, Ch. *gōngàn*, J. *kōan* 公案). In the Chinese Línjì School of Chán, which became the major proponent

of this meditative technique, *kanhwa* Sŏn is presumed to follow a sudden awakening/sudden cultivation approach to soteriology, because it focuses exclusively on the awakening experience, not on such progressive practices as morality (Skr. *śīla*), concentration (Skr. *samādhi*) and wisdom (Skr. *prajñā*). Through the radical disentangle-ment from the conceptual processes of thought created by investigating the *hwadu*, the student recovers his enlightened source of mind and is thereby able to act out his enlightenment spontaneously. Hence, Línjì Chán adepts of the *kanhwa* technique claim that cultivation is perfected simultaneously with awakening. One of the most trenchant summaries of this Chinese view of *kanhwa* meditation appears in a verse by the Yuán Dynasty monk Zhōngfēng Míngběn 中峯明本 (1263–1323), writing two generations after Chinul:

> 参禪非漸小 至體絕邊表 難將有限心 來學無為道 一 證一切證 一了一切了
>
> Investigating Chán (*ch'amsŏn*/ Ch. *cānchán* 参禪; *viz*., observing the keyword) does not involve any progression,
> The ultimate essence is free from all extremes and representations.
> It is difficult to use the limited mind,
> In cultivating the unconditioned path.
> In one realization, all is realized.
> In one flash of cognition, all is cognized.
> (Zhōngfēng Míngběn 中峯明本 1965:1 *jì* 輯, 10 *jí* 集, 75 *cè* 冊: 32168b25–26 (*juàn* 卷 17); Zhōngfēng Míngběn 1977, roll 17: 96b.)

Because of this emphasis on generating an instantaneous awakening instead of developing a sequential series of practices, *kanhwa* Sŏn is therefore termed a 'short-cut' (*kyŏngjŏl*, Ch. *jìngjié* 徑截) to enlightenment.

Sudden Awakening/Sudden Cultivation and the Kanhwa Technique

In the context of *kanhwa* meditation, Chinul is much more favorably disposed towards the radical subitism of sudden awakening/sudden cultivation. Although Chinul's funerary stele mentions that the master had his third and final awakening as a direct consequence of reading the *Discourse Records* of Dàhuì Zōnggaǒ 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163), a seminal figure in the Línjì School of Chinese Chán Buddhism, during a three-year long sojourn at Sangmujuam between 1197–1200, Dàhuì

hardly registers in Chinul's earlier writings and there is no mention whatsoever of *kanhwa* practice. There is, for example, not a single citation to Dàhuì's writings in Chinul's first composition, the *Encouragement to Practice* (*Kwŏnsu Chŏnghye kyŏlsa mun* 勸修定慧結社文), written in 1190; only two in *Secrets on Cultivating the Mind* (*Susim kyŏl* 修心訣), written between 1203 and 1205, one a quotation (Buswell 1983:148), the other a quotation from a scriptural passage that Dàhuì also cites (Buswell 1983:143, n. 10); and none in his *Admonitions to Beginning Students* (*Kye ch'osim hagin mun* 誡初心學人文), written in 1205. These data suggest that Chinul had not yet been exposed to Dàhuì's *Records* or its treatment of the *kanhwa* Sŏn technique until sometime between 1190 and at least 1197 (but perhaps as late as 1205). It is only in the concluding portions of his 1209 magnum opus, *Excerpts*, that *kanhwa* Sŏn is first recognized as a unique system of meditative training and given detailed explication. Even there, however, Chinul is hesitant to prescribe the technique to any but the most exceptional of meditators. Indeed, the coverage of *kanhwa* Sŏn in *Excerpts* is hardly in keeping with the remainder of that treatise and, as I have suggested elsewhere, looks somewhat incongruous (Buswell 1989:20–44). Chinul almost implies as much in his brief introduction in *Excerpts* to his section on *kanhwa* Sŏn, where he states that his detailed examination of different soteriological strategies has shown that Zōngmì's approach of sudden awakening/gradual cultivation is adequate for the needs of most students. To guard against students becoming too attached to Zōngmì's words, however, Chinul decides to present some brief excerpts about *kanhwa* Sŏn at the end of the treatise, showing how this new meditation technique can lead beyond words to liberation. Perhaps tellingly, this section includes none of the trenchant analyses Chinul offered in all earlier portions of his treatise: Here, he merely strings together without comment a few quotations from the *Records* of Dàhuì Zōnggaŏ. The structure leaves the reader with the distinct impression that Chinul had still not fully reconciled himself to the *kanhwa* technique and had yet to fully work it into his preceding analysis of soteriology.[5]

In the Chinese Línjì School of Chán, which, as we saw above, became the major proponent of this meditative technique, *kanhwa* Sŏn

[5] For this section, see Buswell 1983:334–338 (An Chin-ho 1957:125.2–135); the introductory comments appear in Buswell 1983:334 (An Chin-ho 1957:125.2).

is presumed to follow the soteriological schema of sudden awakening/sudden cultivation. In *Excerpts*, however, Chinul still tries to fit *kanhwa* meditation into his preferred soteriological stratagem of sudden awakening/gradual cultivation. Chinul notes at the conclusion of *Excerpts* that *kanhwa* meditation is actually intended only for the most advanced of practitioners. For the average person to succeed in practice, he must instill in himself correct understanding of nature and characteristics and of truth and falsity—in other words, generate the understanding-awakening. Only after such a sudden awakening should the *hwadu* then be used (Buswell 1983:338–339; An Chin-ho 1957:135–136). In this interpretation, generating correct understanding constitutes sudden awakening, while *kanhwa* Sŏn would be the subsequent gradual cultivation. Hence, in *Excerpts*, Chinul continues to advocate his preferred soteriology of sudden awakening/gradual cultivation, despite his new interest in *kanhwa* Sŏn.

In *Excerpts*, Chinul even raises some suspicions about the true efficacy of *kanhwa* meditation. Although a gifted meditator might be able to gain sudden awakening through investigating the *hwadu*, awakening for him would merely mean that he was totally absorbed internally and thus free from any conceptual understanding. While he was in that state he might appear to be fully enlightened, but as soon as he withdrew from his meditation and began to use his mind he would once again become immersed in conceptualization. His sensory contacts would be colored by value judgments (Skr. *saṃjñā*), producing in turn passion and anger, and in all respects he would show himself to be still subject to the defiling tendencies of mind. Hence, his awakening remains deficient in the understanding that should precede cultivation according to Chinul's preferred strategem of moderate subitism. This deficiency occurs because *kanhwa* practice was not based on the correct doctrinal understanding generated through the sudden understanding-awakening, which should have initiated the meditator's training. Such mastery of doctrine would have familiarized the student with the true nature of the conditioned world, so that defiling tendencies would not pressure him after the rejection of conceptualization that occurs through *hwadu* practice. Hence, right view, as generated through the initial understanding-awakening, was a crucial factor even for meditators investigating the *hwadu*. In fact, Chinul is so intent on incorporating *kanhwa* practice into sudden awakening/gradual cultivation that he recommends the more

conventional techniques of the dual cultivation of *samādhi* and *prajñā*, which he had discussed earlier in *Excerpts*, to *kanhwa* meditators who find themselves still subject to defilement. Although the *hwadu* may thus be a more refined technique than such conventional approaches, those approaches could just as readily lead to the same rarified stages of the path as achieved through *kanhwa* practice (Buswell 1983:338–339; An Chin-ho 1957:135–136).

But *Excerpts* posits still another way of interpreting the soteriological process followed in *kanhwa* practice. Chinul suggests that the *hwadu* may also be viewed as a special kind of 'shortcut expedient,' (Buswell 1983:334; An Chin-ho 1957:125.10) which transcends all the soteriological schemata discussed previously in *Excerpts*. *Kanhwa* Sŏn specifically targeted 'accomplished meditators [...] who have the capacity to enter the path after leaving behind words,' who would then come 'to know the one living road that leads to salvation' (Buswell 1983:334; An Chin-ho 1957:125.8-9, 126.1). *Kanhwa* Sŏn was a supplementary technique, designed to help skilled meditators overcome the conceptual understanding based on their knowledge of dharmas and their attributes, understanding that was a product of the sudden awakening/gradual cultivation approach as taught by Zōngmì. While especially adept meditators may be able to work directly on the *hwadu*, in their case the so-called 'shortcut' constituted an entirely separate approach from the radical subitism presented in the soteriological schemata treated previously in *Excerpts*. *Hwadu* investigation was just too advanced for most people, who would still need the correct understanding developed through sudden awakening/gradual cultivation if they were to have any chance of overcoming attachment and defilement. Only 'truly an outstanding person [...] [who is] not pressured by words and speech or by intellectual knowledge and conceptual understanding' would be able to succeed while using just the *hwadu* (Buswell 1983:339; An Chin-ho 1957:136.8–9). Hence, despite the affinities Chinul has for the *kanhwa* technique, he concludes in *Excerpts* that Zōngmì's approach of sudden awakening/gradual cultivation still remains the most appropriate soteriology.

Why is there this ambivalence in *Excerpts* as to how to analyze the soteriological program of *kanhwa* Sŏn? *Excerpts* is the culmination of a series of treatises by Chinul providing analytical treatments of Sŏn, which go back to his earlier *Encouragement to Practice* and *Secrets on Cultivating the Mind*. In that series of works, written between 1190

and 1205, Chinul sought to prove the superiority of sudden awakening/gradual cultivation as a soteriological stratagem and to vindicate the Sŏn School's approach to praxis. When, for the first time in his writings, Chinul treats in *Excerpts* the technique of *kanhwa* meditation, he simply appends passages from Dàhuì's *Records* to this complex soteriological discussion with little *esprit de synthèse*. While Chinul reveals obvious sympathies in *Excerpts* with this new style of Sŏn practice, he has yet to synthesize it fully with his treatment of Buddhist soteriological systems. Hence, he treats *kanhwa* Sŏn in two different ways in *Excerpts*: (1) an approach that can be incorporated, albeit hesitatingly, into sudden awakening/ gradual cultivation, or (2) as a separate technique that has nothing at all to do with previous Buddhist scholastic accounts of the different schemata of awakening and cultivation.

This ambivalence is almost resolved in Chinul's posthumous work, *Kanhwa kyŏrŭiron* 看話決疑論 (*Resolving Doubts about Observing the Hwadu*; hereafter *Resolving Doubts*), the first account of *kanhwa* Sŏn written by a Korean. In this treatise, Chinul accepts Chinese views about the *kanhwa* technique, portraying it as a sudden cultivation/sudden awakening approach that produces the realization-awakening. The second attitude toward *kanhwa* Sŏn still inchoate in *Excerpts*—*kanhwa* Sŏn as a completely separate technique—is fully formed in *Resolving Doubts* and justified conceptually. This interpretation is upheld because meditators who are investigating the *hwadu* need not 'pass through their views and learning, their understanding and conduct' (Buswell 1983:250; Pang Hanam/Kim T'anhŏ 1937/1975:134b) before achieving realization, as does one who follows other soteriological approaches. Instead practitioners of the 'shortcut' approach of *kanhwa* Sŏn, from the very inception of their meditation, are:

> 無法義聞解當情 直以無滋味話頭 但提撕擧覺而已 故無語路義路心識思惟之處 亦無見聞解行 生等時分前後 忽然話頭 噴地一發 則如前所論 一心法界 洞然圓明故
>
> '[…] unaffected by acquired understanding in regards to both dharmas and their attributes. Straight off, they take up a tasteless *hwadu* and are concerned only with raising it to their attention and focusing on it. For this reason, they remain free of ratiocination via mind or consciousness along the way of speech or the way of meaning, and stay clear of any idea of a time sequence in which views, learning, understanding, or conduct are to be developed. Unexpectedly, in an instant they activate

> one moment of realization concerning the *hwadu* and, as discussed previously, the *dharmadhātu* of the one mind becomes perfectly consummate and clear' (Buswell 1983:250; Pang Hanam/Kim T'anhŏ 1937/1975:134b).

Resolving Doubts was compiled by Chinul's successor, Chin'gak Hyesim 眞覺慧諶 (1178–1234), from material remaining after Chinul's death in 1210, and was first published in 1215. As I have suggested elsewhere (Buswell 1986:218–219), Chinul's thought seems to have rapidly crystallized around *kanhwa* practice toward the end of his career, a process we see beginning one year before his death in the concluding portions of *Excerpts*, but which is fully realized in *Resolving Doubts*. In this last work, Chinul no longer acts as the Sŏn apologist, attempting to defend the Sŏn school by demonstrating its parallelisms with the teachings of the Buddhist scriptures. Here, he fully embraces the Línjì presentation of Chán, as enunciated by Dàhuì, and points out its superiority to all other forms of Buddhist praxis in purity of technique, speed of consummation, and orthodoxy of outlook. In scant few other places in his *oeuvre* does Chinul display such vehement displays of Sŏn partisanship as found in the following quote, cited in *Resolving Doubts*: 敎外別傳 逈出敎乘 非淺識者 所能堪任 'The separate transmission outside the teaching [*viz*., Sŏn] far excels the scholastic vehicle. It is not something with which those of shallow intelligence can cope' (Buswell 1983:250; Pang Hanam/Kim T'anhŏ 1937/1975:134b).[6]

Even in this most polemical of his treatises, however, Chinul has not entirely abandoned his interest in incorporating *kanhwa* Sŏn into the moderate subitism of sudden awakening/gradual cultivation. Unwilling to jettison his preferred soteriological schema, he backs away from claiming that *kanhwa* Sŏn perforce is exclusively a sudden awakening/sudden cultivation approach by also interpreting *kanhwa* practice in such a way that it would be appropriate for students at all levels of meditative development, not simply for advanced meditators. That is, *kanhwa* Sŏn too could be placed within the framework of sudden awakening/gradual cultivation, as is the case with all other approaches to meditation taught by Chinul. This task Chinul is able to

[6] One of the few other displays of Sŏn partisanship appears in *Excerpts*, where Chinul discusses some of the shortcomings of doctrine and notes laconically that 若敎外別傳者不在此限 'the separate transmission [of Sŏn] that is outside the teachings is not subject to the same limitations' (Buswell 1983:296; An Chin-ho 1957:2.1–2).

accomplish by distinguishing between two distinct ways in which the *hwadu* may be observed: Investigation of its meaning (*ch'amŭi*, Ch. *cānyì* 參意) and investigation of the word (*ch'amgu*, Ch. *cānjù* 參句).[7]

In the case of the famous 'no' keyword (*mu hwadu*, Ch. *wú huàtoú* 無 話頭) ascribed to Zhàozhōu Cóngshěn 趙州從諗 (778– 897), for example, the student is to start his investigation by examining the question: 'With what intent in mind did Zhàozhōu say "no" (lit. [a dog] 'does not have' [buddha-nature]) (*mu*, Ch. *wú* 無)?' The purpose of this type of investigation of the meaning (*ch'amŭi*) is to generate intense inquiry into the *hwadu*. Such inquiry is possible because this type of investigation has 'taste' (*mi*, Ch. *weì* 味)—that is, intellectual interest. But while such intellectual interest helps the student to maintain enthusiasm for his practice, it also impedes him from abandoning altogether discriminative processes of thought. Hence, students who investigate the meaning of the *hwadu*:

> 與圓頓門正解發明者一般矣 如是之人 觀行用心 亦有見聞解行之功
>
> '[…] are the same as those following the complete and sudden approach [of the scholastic schools] who have been enlightened through right understanding. When such people use their minds in contemplation practice, they still retain the efficacy of views and learning, understanding and conduct' (Buswell 1983:252; Pang Hanam/Kim T'anhŏ 1937/1975:137b).

In other words, investigation of the meaning generates the understanding-awakening, which retains an element of conceptual understanding that must be overcome if the student is to progress toward the ultimate realization-awakening.

Such conceptual understanding is surmounted through the more advanced approach of *kanhwa* meditation: Investigation of the word (*ch'amgu*). The student finally recognizes that to make any further progress in his practice he must abandon all latent concern he may have with Zhàozhōu's motives in saying 'no' and just look directly at the word 'no' itself. Since this non-discursive form of meditation no longer includes the conceptual component present in the investigation of the meaning, the student is ultimately able to overcome the obstruction of knowledge (Skr. *jñeyāvaraṇa*), resulting in the realization-awakening. Chinul, thus, leaves us with a progressive regimen of *kanhwa* Sŏn, starting with the understanding-awakening

[7] I have discussed these two types of *hwadu* investigation in Buswell 1986:220–223.

catalyzed through the investigation of the *hwadu*'s meaning and culminating in the realization-awakening that results from investigating the word. This is, of course, precisely the regimen posited by sudden awakening/gradual cultivation. But even though Chinul lauds the investigation of the word in *Kanhwa kyŏrŭiron*, he despairs at the ability of present-day practitioners to cultivate that style of meditation and at the end of the treatise comes out in favour of the investigation of the meaning:

> 此證智現前者 今時罕見罕聞故 今時但貴依 話頭叅意門 發明正知見耳
>
> 'Those in whom such realization-wisdom [through investigating the word] has been made manifest are seldom seen and seldom heard of nowadays. Consequently, we should value the approach that investigates the meaning of the *hwadu* and thereby produces right knowledge and vision [viz. sudden awakening/gradual cultivation]' (Buswell 1983:253 (with slight changes); Pang Hanam/Kim T'anhŏ 1937/1975:137b).

Elsewhere in *Resolving Doubts*, Chinul reiterates this accommodation between *kanhwa* Sŏn and sudden awakening/gradual cultivation through his doctrine of the three mysterious gates (*samhyŏn mun*, Ch. *sānxuán mén* 三玄門), a hermeneutical principle developed by Chinul to clarify the connection between *kanhwa* Sŏn and the synthesis between Chán and the scholastic schools (especially the Huáyán, or Flower Garland, School) found in Zōngmì (and most of Chinul's own works as well). To summarize these gates briefly, Chinul posits that the most basic level of Sŏn discourse uses rhetoric similar to that found in the doctrinal schools of Buddhism, such as Hwaŏm/Huáyán, to explain the fundamental identity between enlightened buddhas and ignorant sentient beings. This first mysterious gate Chinul terms the 'mystery in the essence' (*ch'ejung hyŏn*, Ch. *tĭzhōng xuán* 體中玄). In order to disentangle the student from the doctrinal concepts employed in the first gate, Sŏn next pushes the student toward *kanhwa* Sŏn, which keeps the meditator from stagnating at a purely intellectual level of understanding. This second gate Chinul calls the 'mystery in the word' (*kujung hyŏn*, Ch. *jùzhōng xuán* 句中玄). Ultimately, however, even the words of the *hwadu* must be abandoned in favour of completely non-conceptual forms of pedagogy, such as striking, beating, and pregnant pauses. These peculiarly Sŏn forms of expression Chinul terms the 'mystery

in the mystery' (*hyŏnjung hyŏn*, Ch. *xuánzhōng xuán* 玄中玄).[8] These three mysterious gates thus portray *kanhwa* Sŏn as a natural outgrowth of the mystery in the essence—for our purposes here, Zōngmì's approach to Chán, as followed closely by Chinul in all his previous works—and culminating itself in the still more profound teaching styles personified by such classical masters as Măzǔ Daòyī 馬祖道一 (709–788) and Línjì Yìxuán 臨濟義玄 (d. 867). Hence, despite the polemical character of much of this posthumous treatise, Chinul continues to treat *kanhwa* Sŏn both within his preferred system of moderate subitism and as a new and truly innovative form of radical subitism, as do later Chinese Línjì exponents.

There is some chance that the intensity with which Chinul champions Sŏn in *Resolving Doubts* may reflect the editorial hand of his successor, Chin'gak Hyesim 眞覺慧諶 (1178–1234), who became a strong advocate of *kanhwa* practice. Still, it is clear that Chinul was himself moving toward a more sympathetic appraisal of the sudden awakening/sudden cultivation regimen and its iconoclastic use of language as advocated by the Línjì School. By the time Hyesim succeeded Chinul as abbot of Susŏnsa 修禪社/寺 (the present-day Songgwangsa 松廣寺), this new leader had all but abandoned the other meditation techniques taught by his predecessor, such as the dual cultivation of *samādhi* and *prajñā*, in favour of *kanhwa* meditation, with its implicit agenda of radical subitism.[9] This growing emphasis on *kanhwa* Sŏn during the mid- to late-Koryŏ period led to an increasing domination of Korean Buddhism by Línjì Chán views on philosophy and praxis. Soon after Chinul's time, Korean Sŏn practice came to be based almost entirely on the *kanhwa* technique. Chinul's eclectic approach to Buddhist training could readily accommodate variant styles of thought and practice, including both Hwaŏm and Sŏn. But the coalescence of Korean Buddhism around the Línjì Chán technique of *kanhwa* meditation resulted in a drastic narrowing in the scope of the tradition. As a byproduct of this process, the more accommodative attitude toward language found in the

[8] See my earlier treatments of the three mysterious gates in Buswell 1986:223–226 and 1988:245–246.

[9] How much of this emphasis on *kanhwa* Sŏn came as a direct result of Chinul's influence is unknown. Since Hyesim left Susŏnsa in 1208 and then returning to assume the mantle of leadership only after his master's death, Chinul may not have played much of a personal role.

'mystery in the essence' and the 'mystery in the word' are eclipsed in favor of the radical iconoclasm of the 'mystery in the mystery.' Ultimately, it is a matter of some irony that Chinul's own preferred soteriology and rhetorical strategies were undermined by the tacit accommodation toward radical subitism found in his last writings.

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FROM APOLOGETICS TO SUBVERSION: SOME INITIAL OBSERVATIONS ON SŎLCHAM'S 雪岑 *CHODONG OWI YOHAE* 曹洞五位要解

JÖRG PLASSEN

While Literati Sŏn was imported from China to the Korean peninsula already during the Koryŏ Dynasty, in the wake of the gradual repression of Buddhism in Chosŏn from the 15th century onwards Buddhist exegetes authored several apologetic treatises which sought to demonstrate nothing less than the ultimate unity of Buddhism and Confucianism. The *Chodong owi yohae* (*Essential explanations on the five positions of the Tsao t'ung* [*lineage*]), written by the monk Sŏlcham (1435–1493, better known as Confucian literate Maewŏltang Kim Sisŭp), equates Sŏn Buddhist and Neo-Confucian thought in a most radical fashion. The text provides a bold integration of the well-known Chán/Sŏn dialectical scheme of the Five Positions (*wǔwèi*) and Zhōu Dūnyí's (1017-1073) '*Tàijí tú*,' as well as Zhū Xī's commentary. Perhaps even more intriguing than the argumentative basis underlying this equation are the subversive rhetorical techniques applied.

1. Introduction

When it comes to the relations between Buddhism and Confucianism from the late 14th to the late 15th century, among the first terms coming to one's mind would be 'repression' or 'conflict.' Thus, under the influence of the anti-Buddhist polemics of Neo-Confucian scholars like Yi Saek 李穡 (Mogŭn 牧隱, 1328–1396) and Chŏng Tojŏn 鄭道傳 (Sambong 三峰, 1342–1398), the new ruling house soon would issue a series of repressive measures against the Buddhists.

Under the rule of T'aejong 太宗 (r. 1400–1418) the number of temples and tradition lineages were drastically reduced and Sejong 世宗 (r. 1418–1450) further reduced the remaining seven tradition lineages to just two. Only after the death of his beloved queen, did he seek consolation in Buddhism and attempted to transfer merit by

publishing the vernacular lives of the Buddha. The usurper Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455–1468), by contrast, was overtly favorable towards Buddhism and even established the Kan'gyŏng to'gam 刊經都監, a court office responsible for the publication of Buddhist texts. His successor Sŏngjong 成宗 (r. 1470–1490), however, abolished this institution and the tyrant Yŏnsan'gun 燕山君 (r. 1454–1506) had the headquarters of the two remaining tradition lines closed down. After a short period of detente, Chungjong 中宗 (r. 1506–1544) in 1508 went so far as to wipe out the monastic examination system. Chosŏn 朝鮮 Buddhism did not recover from this series of blows and found itself marginalized within the mountains until the late 19th century.

While, from the institutional point of view, this textbook narrative of repression, restoration and ultimate abolishment may give a rough account of the general trends during the 15th century, more recently it has been subject to criticism because the historical processes were more complex (cf., e.g., Kim Jongmyung 2007; Plassen forthcoming). For one, the individual rulers' actions were not consistently pro- or anti-Buddhist. To raise but one example, King T'aejong followed the Confucian and early Neo-Confucian scholars' stereotype that the monastic system harms the state as it leads to tax evasion and, as mentioned above during the 6th year of his reign, he reduced the number of monasteries. This, however, did not prevent the same ruler from promoting the printing of Buddhist scriptures. In 1413, he had the governor of Kyŏngsang-do 慶尙道 send paper manufactured in three provinces to the monastery of Haeinsa 海印寺 in order to facilitate a reprint of the Buddhist canon. For another, the textbook account focuses exclusively on the role of the king, evoking the impression of a static antagonism between two monolithic blocks, Neo-Confucian officials on the one side and Buddhist monks on the other. Evidently, even before the rise of the zealous Sarimp'a faction, influential Neo-Confucian ideologists, such as Chŏng Tojŏn or Sejong's 'pain in the neck' Ch'oe Malli 崔萬理 (?–1445), harbored a fiendish attitude towards Buddhism. And yet, the case of the early Neo-Confucian Yi Saek (1328–1396), who already in the middle of the 14th century (1352) lamented about a too high number of monasteries and monks from a fiscal point of view but also considered Buddhism ideologically compatible with a Confucian state (Chung Chai-sik 1985; *T'oegye chŏnsŏ* 退溪全書: 1157b–1158b), entails that

even among the paragons of the new ideology the relationship with Buddhism could be of a more complex nature.

Correspondingly, after the establishment of the new dynasty, there were also attempts at developing a unifying perspective on Confucianism and Buddhism. In the following section, we will discuss one of the most radical and, hence, perhaps most intriguing among these philosophical blueprints in greater detail. Before doing so, however, we should draw some attention to some lesser known Buddhist activities of the ruling house, thus shedding some light on the general background.

2. Buddhism in the Ruling House and Among the Literati

As mentioned above, in mourning for the queen, King Sejong himself published two vernacular lives of the Buddha, *Wŏrin sŏkpo* and *Wŏrin ch'ŏn'gang chi kok*. While these texts appear to have been intended for a somewhat broader audience, his son King Sejo ordered the production of highly specialized editions of several sūtras and pertaining standard commentaries which were quite evidently intended for monastic use.[1] During Sejo's rule, all 11 of these *ŏnhae* (lit.: 'explanations in ordinary language') were completed and from 1482 to 1496 another seven texts were published under the patronage of the widows of Sejo, Tŏkchong and Sŏngjong. The impulse towards the production of these arguably most specialized Sŏn 禪 Buddhist *ŏnhae* editions, however, appears to have been given by no-one other than Sejong himself: For one, in a preface by Sejo, we find a remark detailing that his deceased father "[…] always regretted not to be able to look into the commentaries on the *Zhèngdào gē* 證道歌," and a postface written by Han Kyehŭi 韓繼禧 (1423–1482) in 1482 states that Sejong wanted to "translate this and other Sŏn texts into the language of the country (*i kugŏ*)," handing the unfinished task over to his sons, the later kings Munjong and Sejo. Quite obviously, we have to be reluctant to adopt the widespread propagandistic image of Sejong as a Neo-Confucian ruler. Apparently, his interest in and

[1] The majority of these editions contained at least one essential Chinese language commentary, at times followed by several sub-commentaries. The basic text was at least interspersed with Korean language particles and verb markers as reading aids and translated into Korean.

official ambitions concerning Buddhism went far beyond the issues of grievance and the transfer of merit (cf. Plassen forthcoming).

As the participation of Han Kyehŭi suggests, much the same holds true for some of the most influential 15th century court officials. In fact, besides monks, a number of important scholar officials were also involved in the production of Buddhist *ŏnhae* text projects. Thus, in the colophons besides the name of Han Kyehŭi we find those of Kang Hŭimaeng 姜希孟 (1424–1483), No Sajin 盧思愼 (1427–1498) or Sin Sukchu 申叔舟 (1417–1475), all personalities better known by their leading roles in projects, such as the production of the judicial codex *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* 經國大典, the edition of the geographic compendium *Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* 東國輿地勝覽, historical works or King Sejong's linguistic projects.

No Sajin and Kang Hŭimaeng also appear to be responsible for some oddities in the literary anthology *Tongmunsŏn* 東文選 (1478): Although we would not find poems or prose by influential monks, such as Hyesim 慧諶 (1178–1234), Iryŏn 一然 (1206–1289) or Pou 普愚 (1301–1382), among the 4,302 works assembled in the collection we nevertheless encounter 82 Buddhist pieces, including six *taeŭi* 大意 sections ascribed to the famous exegete Wŏnhyo 元曉 (617–686), very likely intentionally masked as prefaces (*sŏ*) to fit them into one of the categories of the collection.[2] As this example indicates, even under the increasing Neo-Confucian dominance after Sejo's reign, scholars would still manage to subvert the Confucian norms and to some extent carry on Buddhist agendas.

3. The Approach Towards Confucian Literacy

A tendency towards silent assimilation for obvious reasons can be noticed especially on sides of the Buddhist clergy. The beginnings of this accommodation of 'Confucian' norms, however, predate the repression by at least two centuries. Thus, a certain assimilation of Sŏn Buddhist writings towards the literary norms of the Confucians

[2] The absence of another strand of transmission and the case that the *hyŏnŭi* 玄義 type texts containing these *taeŭi* sections but no prefaces are listed in Ŭich'ŏn's 義天 (1055–1101) catalogue seem to corroborate the assumption that the editors of the *Tongmunsŏn* themselves cut out these sections.

can be traced back towards the founding times of Chogye-jong 曹溪宗, more specifically to Chinul's predecessor Hyesim (1178–1234).

It was the latter who initiated the compilation of the *Sŏnmun yŏmsongjip* 禪門拈頌集 in 30 scrolls, a monumental collection of poems, dialogues and *kongan*s by Chinese and Korean Chán 禪 and Sŏn masters. Hyesim's disciples again compiled not only the *Recorded Sayings of the Chogye Great Master True Awakening* (*Chogye Chin'gak Kuksa ŏrok* 曹溪眞覺國師語錄), ironically apparently for reasons of authenticity formulated in Sòng-Chinese colloquial, but also a collection of poems and prose of their master under the very Confucian title (*Collected Poems of the Master 'Without Leaning*,' *Muŭija sijip* 無依子詩集). This work would set the precedent for a series of similar collections of Buddhist masters' poetry written since the 13th century AD.

The reasons for this move towards the literati style of writing should be sought less in a heightened appreciation of Chinese culture due to the Mongol threat and eventual dominance, but rather in the gradually spreading influence of Chinese *munja Sŏn* 文字禪 (Ch. *wénzì Chán*: 'Letters Chán,' cf. Gimello 1992), a movement which began in Sòng China in the 10th and 11th centuries AD in reaction to positions fiendish towards literature. Above all, this movement—beginning in Sòng-China, but, as evidenced by the amount of *sijip* 詩集 produced, the continuation of the 'classicist' commentarial traditions in the *ŏnhae* genre or *ŏrok* 語錄 (Ch. *yǔlù*) written not in Korean, but in Sòng colloquial—was even more vigorous in Korea and has to be seen on the backdrop of the composition of the Sŏn-Buddhist clergy: As we know from Choe Byŏnghon's work on the relationship of the emerging Chogye-jong with the royal family and the military rulers, as well as Sem Vermeersch's recent research on the selection of the abbots of important monasteries near Kaesŏng 開成, the Sŏn-Buddhist clergy at the times of Hyesim was dominated by the offspring of influential clans. Quite naturally, the officials' writings and Confucian literary norms and practices would have a lasting impact on monastic life.

4. Apologetic Reconciliation of Teachings

This rather uncontrolled process, which led to the import of forms of discourse and a philologically-oriented mindset, was to be followed at the beginning of the 15th century by a calculated attempt at reconciling the teachings described by Charles A. Muller as the "The Culmination of the East Asian Confucian-Buddhist Debate in Korea."[3]

The immediate reason for this must have been the anti-Buddhist polemics of Chŏng Tojŏn's infamous ideological treatise *Diverse Criticisms against the Buddhists* (*Pulssi chappyŏn* 佛氏雜辨). Covering 19 vastly different topics, Chŏng calls to account all kinds of presumed logical fallacies and immoral aspects of Buddhist teachings. Thus, topics as different as the theory of rebirth, mind and nature, concrete things (*to ki* 道器), the destruction of human bonds and 'sympathy' are treated. In addition, we find sections on 'The Real' and 'The Provisional,' hells, misfortunes and blessings, begging for food, Sŏn teachings, sameness and difference between Buddhism and Confucianism, Bodhidharma's coming to China, deviation from the heavenly Way, vain talk on Buddha-nature, the negative effects of Buddhism on the duration of several dynasties, and discarding heterodoxy.

Without ever mentioning Chŏng's work openly, the eminent Sŏn scholar Kihwa 己和 (Hamhŏ Tŭkt'ong 涵虛得通, 1376–1433) addresses in his *Hyŏn chŏng non* 顯正論 (*Treatise on Manifesting What is Correct*) several of Chŏng's accusations against the Buddhists.

In this thoroughly apologetic treatise (showing resemblances to the Sòng scholar Qìsōng's 契嵩 *Fŭ jiào biān* 輔教編), Kihwa tries to devalidate Chŏng's moralistic complaints, among them the classic criticism that leaving one's family means a lack of piety to one's parents, by means of at times somewhat forced argumentations. Thus, he insists that the Buddha may have left his family but only in order to come back later and present it with the incomparable gift of the Dharma. At the same time, he points out the inconsequences within contemporary Confucianism, claiming that contemporary Confucianism did not understand the teachings of Confucius and Mèngzĭ 孟子. Thus, he tries to demonstrate that true humaneness (*in*

[3] Cf. the title of Muller 2005. The following summary is very much indebted to Muller's helpful introductions and translations (Muller 2005, 2007).

仁, Ch. *rén*) entails mercy for all creatures and, thus, also vegetarianism, to this end adducing passages saying that the sage is at one with the 10,000 things and a passage from the *Mèngzǐ*, according to which the *jūnzǐ* 君子 remains out of the kitchen because he cannot bear the cries of the animals being slaughtered.

Of special interest in our context, however, are the 14th section of Chŏng Tojŏn's treatise and the closing part of Kihwa's treatise: Under the rubrics of 'Criticism concerning sameness and difference of Confucianism and Buddhism,' Chŏng Tojŏn points out that 'these' and 'those' may use the same expressions but do so with different intentions. Thus, in Confucianism, emptiness and differentiation, stillness and movement are inseparable, while Buddhism amounts to the pure annihilism of emptiness only.

As to be expected, Kihwa in his apologetic attempt to reconcile the teachings also involving Taoism, comes to a totally different conclusion (HPC 7.225: b1ff.): While, for Chŏng Tojŏn, the simultaneous presence of emptiness and differentiation, stillness and stimulus were a peculiar characteristic of Confucianism, from Kihwa's standpoint precisely the simultaneous presence of activity and non-activity, stillness and mental activity are the basic message underlying all three teachings. As we will see shortly, only a few decades later a similar evaluation would become the basis for an even more radical conception.

4. An Uncommon Instance of Doctrinal Cross-fading: Sŏlcham's Interpretation of the 'Five Positions'

In 1979, the Korean scholar Min Yŏnggyu disclosed a transcript of the *Chodong owi yohae* (*Essential Explanations on the Five Positions of Cáodòng)*. Apart from the contributions by Ch'oe Kwimok—in particular, his helpful partial translation of the text into the Korean language (2006)—not too much research on this text has subsequently been done.

The author of the *Chodong owi yohae* is none other than Sŏlcham 雪岑, better known as the compiler of the *Siphyŏndam yohae sŏ* 十玄談要解序, and even better known under his worldly name Kim Sisŭp 金時習 (Maewŏltang 梅月堂, 1435–1493). One of the 'surviving six subjects' (*saeng yuk sin* 生六臣), he was renowned during the Chosŏn dynasty for his superb poetry and since the beginning of the

20th century even more widely known as the author of the *Kŭmo sinhwa* 金鰲新話, which is said to mark the beginning of fictional prose in Korea. After King Sejo's usurpation of power, he withdrew from the court and became a monk. Later in his life, he returned to the laity and married, only to become a monk again after the death of his wife.

As the title indicates, the *Chodong owi yohae* is a compendium of—in all ten—different expositions on the *wŭwèi*/*owi* (Five Positions) of the Chán-Buddhist Cáodòng 曹洞 (Jap. Sōtō) tradition. The *wŭwèi* are perhaps best characterized as different modes of perception combined into a dialectical formula, which shows different perspectives on the opposites of the 'straight' (Ch. *zhèng*, K. *chŏng* 正) and the 'slanted' (Ch. *piān*, K. *p'yŏn* 偏), i.e., the absolute and the phenomenal, which ultimately coincide. The formula as such has been transmitted in a didactical poem, which commonly is attributed to Dòngshān Liángjiè 洞山良价 (807–869) and Cáoshān Běnjì 曹山本寂 (840–901). Each of the five stanzas of the poem consists of a short three-character formula and three cryptic lines of explanation, the formulae being ascribed to Dòngshān, whereas the explanations seem to go back to Cáoshān.[4]

Within Sŏlcham's compilation, the commentary on the *Tanha Chisun Sŏnsa owi sŏ* 丹霞子淳禪師五位序 (*The Preface to the Five Ranks by Chán Master Dānxiá Zĭchún* 丹霞子淳, 1064–1117) is the most interesting part. From the very first line onwards, Buddhist contents are woven into each other with Confucian terms, such as the 'Greatest Ultimate' (Ch. *tàijí*, K. *t'aegŭk* 太極), 'Heaven' (Ch. *tiān*, K. *ch'ŏn* 天) and 'Yīn and Yáng':

> 夫 黑白未分 難為彼此
>
> Now, black and white not yet having been separated,
> they hardly make up for 'that' or 'this'.
>
> 黑白 陰陽二氣也 ❍屬隐 ●屬陽
>
> Black and white are the two [kinds of] vapour.
> ❍ belongs to Yīn, ● belongs to Yáng.

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[4] Perhaps the most detailed and insightful discussion on the *wŭwèi* in Western languages written so far can be found in Plempe (1998). I should acknowledge my indebtedness to Michael Friedrich for alerting me to the existence of this important dissertation.

The association with Yīn and Yáng comes as no surprise as the *wǔwèi* were indeed already related to the *Book of Changes* (*Zhōuyì* 周易).

Soon afterwards a sentence in the preface which is clearly related to this work:

> 玄黄之後 方位自他
> After grey and yellow,
> directions and positions, self and others

is explained through a well-known corresponding passage in the *Zhōuyì* and interpreted in the way that after the division of the Great Ultimate into Heaven and Earth the five forms of ether harmonically follow each other and that the seasons change, nothing escaping this law. Almost disjointly, we find the following sentence again referring to 'this' and 'that':

> 今 據 周子圖及朱子解 以示 來由 兼標 彼此同轍

> Now I rely on Master Zhōu's diagram and Master Zhū's explanations, in order to explain the origins and at the same time to demonstrate that 'that' and 'this' (i.e., their and our teachings) are on the same track.

What follows is a depiction of Zhōu Dùnyí's 周敦頤 (1017–1073) 'Diagram of the Greatest Ultimate' (*Tàijí tú* 太極圖); however, in a highly unusual form: Combined with the basic formulae of the *Wǔwèi tú* into one diagram:

While the reader would in vain hope for a more detailed explanation of this daring synthesis, Sŏlcham instead proceeds by extensively quoting Zhū Zhī's 朱熹 (1130–1200) explanations on Zhōu's original diagram, and then resumes with:

> 右依周子圖朱子解令行人知
> 陰陽五圈與偏正五圈相配
>
> To the right, I lean on Master Zhōu's diagram and Master Zhī's explanations in order to induce the practitioners to recognize that the five circles of Yīn and Yáng and the five circles of 'the crooked' (the slanted) and 'the right' match each other.
>
> 但識其趣不必泥於名句幸甚
>
> Only if one recognizes their inclinations, one does not have to become muddied by (or: get stuck in) names and phrases. How blessed!

To the contrary, explaining the sentence:

> 於是借黑權正假白示偏
>
> Here, one avails oneself of the [color] 'black' in order to alternatively [designate what is] 'right,' and borrows the [color] 'white' in order to display [what is] crooked (or: slanted).

Kim Sisŭp, in his comments, resorts to a totally different strategy:

> ● 正 真性之體
> ❍ 偏 真性之用
>
> ● The right is the body of true nature;
> ❍ The crooked (slanted) is the function of true nature.
>
> 真性圓融
> 體用兼該
> 理事双彰
>
> True nature is [in a] round [way] fused;
> body and function are both complete;
> structure and event are both manifest.
>
> 處萬有而不廣
> 攝一塵而不窄
>
> It dwells in the ten thousand [things] having [features] and yet is not broad; it contains a single particle of dust and yet is not narrow.

萬相頓寂而不隱 不同陰之靜也

That the ten thousand characteristics suddenly come to a rest and yet are not hidden is [due to the fact] that it (true nature) is not identical with the stillness of Yīn.

千差森列而不露 不同陽之動也

That the thousand differences characteristics form luxuriant classes and yet are not exposed is [due to the fact] that it (true nature) is not identical with the movements of Yáng.

先天地而無其始
後天地而無其終

It precedes Heaven and Earth and yet has no beginning;
it follows Heaven and Earth and yet has no ending.

非名句可數
非言思可及

[If] it is not what names and sentences could quantify,
it is not what words or thoughts could reach up to,

則亦非經書所論道與太極之稱

then it also is not the designation of 'The Way' or the 'Great Ultimate' discussed in the classics ('warps') and the books.

As can be easily discerned, the wording of the first part of the above section draws upon Buddhist terminology and imagery (with an emphasis on Hwaŏm, cf. *wŏllyung, i sa* 理事 'structure and event,' *il chin* 一塵 'a single particle'), while the second part resorts exclusively to terms related to *Zhōu Yì* exegesis. The transition occurs almost indiscernibly with the phrase *man sang ton chŏk I pul ŭm* 萬相頓寂而不隱: While *ton chŏk* 頓寂 'suddenly come to a rest' reminds of Chán Buddhist soteriology, *ŭm* 陰 leads over to *Zhōu Yì* cosmology.

Employing the intricate rhetorical device of blending the vocabularies into each other by means of cross-fading, Sŏlcham does not argue for the identity of the two teachings, but instead most skillfully persuades the reader into presupposing it.

Somewhat later on, the reader is confronted with yet another diagram:

Again, the commentary does not really give any insight as to why Kim Sisŭp with such *nonchalance* may bring together such disparate things as the dynamic cosmology of Zhōu Dùnyí and Zhū Xī and the rather soterio-phenomenological descriptions of the meditation positions in the house of Cáodòng. A question bothering in particular because the Confucian predecessors also explains the process of the unfolding of the *tàijí* into Yīn und Yáng, five phases and ten thousand things mentioned in the *Xìcí zhuàn* 繫辭傳 appendix to the *Zhōuyì*.

5. The Interpretatory Background of Sŏlcham's Equation

The suggested unity of the diagrams, therefore, may seem somewhat forced and yet it is not arbitrary. It is the expression of Kim Sisŭp's understanding of the Great Ultimate, which dwells exclusively on the identity of Yīn and Yáng with the T'aegŭk. This tendency can be seen, for instance, in a text in the *Maewŏldangjip*, Kim Sisŭp's collected works, titled *Exposition of the Greatest Ultimate* (*T'aegŭk sŏl*):

> 太極者 無極也
> 太極本 無極也
>
> The Great Ultimate is the ultimate of not-having.
> The Great Ultimate is the ultimate of original non-having.
>
> 太極陰陽也
> 陰陽太極也
>
> The Great Ultimate *is* Yīn and Yáng.
> Yīn and Yáng *are* the Great Ultimate.

謂之太極 別有極 則非極也

[If] one calls it 'Great Ultimate' and there is a separate 'Ultimate,' then it is not the ultimate.

極者至極之義 理之至極而不可加也
大者包容之義 道之至大而不可侔也

As for the 'ultimate': this has the meaning of the 'utmost ultimate,' it means that it is the utmost ultimate of the structure and it cannot be increased.

As for the 'great': this has the meaning of 'encompassing,' it means that it is the utmost greatness of the Way and nothing can be compared to it.

陰陽外別有太極 則不能陰陽
太極裏別有陰陽 則不可曰太極

[If] there separately were a 'Great Utmost outside of Yīn and Yáng,' then it (or: they) could not act as Yīn and Yáng.
[If] there separately were a 'Yīn and Yáng inside the Great Utmost,' then it (or: they) could not be called 'Great Utmost.'

陰而陽 陽而陰
動而靜 靜而動

It acts as Yīn and yet acts as Yáng;
it acts as Yáng and yet acts as Yīn.
It moves and yet is still;
it is still and yet moves.

其理之無極者 太極也

That its structure has no 'utmost' (i.e., an end) is [precisely] the 'Great Utmost.'

Although the identification of the Greatest Ultimate with the movements of Yīn and Yáng, as shown in the secondary literature (cf. Choe 2006), is again based on quotations from the *Tàijí tú shuō* 太極圖說 and can hence be justified on the basis of the text, one nevertheless cannot escape the impression that Kim Sisŭp's reading of the *Tàijí tú shuō* tends to emphasize this ultimately atemporal identity at the expense of due consideration of another aspect present in the text: The temporal unfolding of the world into increasingly complex forms.[5] Sŏlcham's attention is exclusively directed towards the

[5] I would like to express my gratitude to Christian Mularzyk for patiently leading me

identity relation between the aspects of the atemporal absolute and the temporal manifestations as Yīn and Yáng, or stillness and movement. Thus, he later dwells upon the change of day and night and the four seasons, but only in order to point out the one line (*il kwan* 一貫) immanent in a series of phenomena which is conceived of as merely cyclical.

The assumption that, for Kim Sisŭp, this ultimate identity of both stillness and movement with the goal of liberation is, in fact, the actual content of the Sŏn way is corroborated by a passage in an untitled text contained in the 'Chapsŏl' 雜說 ('Assorted explanations') at the end of the *Maewŏltangjip*:

> 所言禪者
>
> What one speaks of as 'Sŏn':
>
> 動靜 語默 雍容不迫 曲盡機宜
>
> Movement and stillness, speech and silence harmoniously allow for each other without force; the crooked has been exhausted, and the occasion is being conformed with.
>
> 如 元氣斡旋 晝夜 晦朔 盈虛 消息 生長 往來
>
> —Just like as in the circulation of the primordial vapor day and night, the first and the last [day] of the month, fullness and emptiness vanish and come to a rest and [again] are [re]born and grow, hence and forth.
>
> 竟無躁急 亦無舒緩
> 脈脈不斷 純亦不已
>
> In the end there is no haste and also there is no idleness;
> [The iterations of] pulse on pulse are not interrupted, and the thread also does not come to an end.
>
> 當喜則喜
> 當怒則怒
> 當愛則愛
> 當敬則敬
>
> [If] one ought to be joyful, then one is joyful;
> [If] one ought to be angry, then one is angry;

towards a somewhat more nuanced understanding of the *Tàijí tú shuō* and, thus, also to the validity of Kim Sisŭp's interpretation.

[If] one ought to be kind, then one is kind;
[If] one ought to be respectful, then one is respectful.

乃至 坐臥起居。一循時變。

Until [the point] that sitting and lying down, getting up and abiding in one sequence change according to the [proper] time.

謂之一貫。
謂之中庸。
謂之時中。

One calls it the 'one thread;'
one calls it the 'middle and constant;'
one calls it the 'middle [within] time.'

易云。雷風。恒。君子以。立不易方。

The Changes say: "Thunder and wind are constant; the gentleman by this establishes the method of not changing."

夫是之謂禪。

Well, this is called 'Sŏn.' [...]

Interestingly, except for the introductory line, the whole section is clad in purely Confucian wordings. Nevertheless, by its contents it effectively only rediscovers the Buddhist idea of the Middle (*chung* 中) within the provisional (*ka* 假), i.e., the phenomenal, also at the heart of the Confucian texts.

6. Conclusion

While for Kihwa the stillness in or, rather, beyond movement was the bridge between the teachings. For Sŏlcham, it is the atemporal middle present within both punctual movement and its complement stillness.

In as much as Sŏlcham focuses exclusively on the relation between the phenomenal to the underlying middle, he reveals himself as a Buddhist; and yet in his oscillating moves between ontology and phenomenology/psychology again as a Neo-Confucian. In fact, what perhaps distinguishes Sŏlcham/Kim Sisŭp from his predecessor most is that he masterfully utilizes both the Buddhist and the Confucian code, dissolving them into each other by means of inconspicuous rhetoric.

On the surface, approaching the matter from both angles, in the last resort he adheres to the Buddhist pattern of the middle within the phenomenal, which, however, he appears to rediscover also in the Confucian texts. It might not necessarily be an exaggeration to state that the 'Great Buddho-Confucian debate' found resolution in the subversive dialogue between Sŏlcham and Kim Sisŭp.

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HYUJŎNG'S *SŎN'GA KWIGAM* AND ITS HISTORICAL SETTING AND SOTERIOLOGICAL STRATEGIES

JONGMYUNG KIM

The purpose of this paper is to inquire into the historical setting of and soteriological strategies in Hyujŏng's 休靜 (1520–1604) *Sŏn'ga kwigam* 禪家龜鑑 (*Speculum on the Sŏn* [*Meditation*] *School*), which was published in 1564 and was his response to contemporary historical and intellectual milieus. With this in mind, this article focuses on an examination of his strategies in the historical context and his soteriological approaches for people of inferior spiritual faculty, including the recitation of the Buddha's name and the incantation of spells.[1]

Hyujŏng, better known in Korea as Sŏsan taesa 西山大師 (Great Master Sŏsan), was one of the most highly venerated *Sŏn* 禪 (Ch. *Chán*, J. Zen) monks in the history of Korean Buddhism. He was also emblematic of Buddhist leaders during the Chosŏn 朝鮮 Dynasty (1392–1910) who sought to respond to Confucian pressures. He was also the man from whom much of the rest of the subsequent lineage of Chosŏn Buddhism derives, thus having served as the grandfather of modern Korean Buddhism (Buswell 1999:135–46).

In his treatment of Hyujŏng, Robert Buswell sought to explore how Hyujŏng attempted to respond to the ideological critiques of his religion by rival Confucians and what forms of Buddhist thought and practice Hyujŏng believed would be the most appropriate in the suppressive environment within which Buddhism was forced to exist (Buswell 1999:134–159). I have previously discussed Hyujŏng's approaches to enlightenment in terms of Buddhist soteriology in the Korean context based on the *Speculum on the Sŏn School* (Kim 2006a:78–108); however, despite a plethora of extant materials,

[1] This article was originally presented at an International Conference on Chán /Sŏn/Zen Buddhism with the Theme 'Zen Texts as 'Public' Documents: Zen Rhetoric in a Diachronic and Comparative Perspective,' University of Oslo, Oslo and Rosendal, Norway, 25 August to 1 September 2008. I am grateful to those who made comments on this paper, and, in particular, to Robert Mihalik, who proofread this paper, and William Bodiford, who corrected some diction in my presentation paper.

Korean Buddhism after Hyujŏng remains one of the most under-researched areas in Korean Buddhist studies and deserves much more attention than it has so far gleaned from scholars (Buswell 1999: 159).

Based on the text-based approach, this paper is composed of three sections. The first section of this paper discusses Hyujŏng's works and the major contents of his *Speculum on the Sŏn School*. An examination of the references of Hyujŏng's *Speculum on the Sŏn School*, the ontological basis of his soteriology, and the issue of the sanction of spiritual achievement manifests that his soteriology was a product of the historical setting in which he lived, rather than that of his philosophical reasoning (Kim 2006a:99). Then, the second section of this paper discusses Hyujŏng's strategies in the composition of his most important work in the historical context. Hyujŏng's soteriology starts with his understanding of human existence of his time (Kim 2006a:84). And finally, the third section investigates his soteriologcal strategies, in particular, for people of dull faculty. The unity of the Three Religions, i.e., Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism, and the harmonization of *Sŏn* and *Kyo* 敎 ('Doctrine') constitute the essence of Hyujŏng's thought in his *Speculum on the Sŏn School*.[2]

Hyujŏng's Buddhist thought is classified into the following three categories: ontology, phenomenology and soteriology. His discussion of soteriology[3] in the *Speculum on the Sŏn School* is much longer than that of ontology and phenomenology, demonstrating that his primary concern was with soteriology (Kim 2006a:104–105).[4]

Hyujŏng emphasizes the significance of self-awakening. However, he views that skillful means are also necessary because there are both

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[2] For a concise guide to the ideas of Hyujŏng, see Kim 1995:418–421. For a more detailed discussion of this subject, see Buswell 1999 and Kim 2006a: 81–84.

[3] Ontology refers to the theory of existence, phenomenology to that of phenomena, and soteriology to that of salvation. Buddhism does not view any existence as a substantial entity. Therefore, the terms of ontology and phenomenology are not appropriate for Buddhism. However, these two terms were employed in this paper to designate the original mind-nature of human beings and human reality, respectively, for the sake of convenience. Though derived from Christianity, the notion of soteriology is in use in Buddhist academe to refer to paths towards the Buddhist goal.

[4] For the process of Hyujŏng's soteriology, see Kim 2006a:84–94; for a comparative analysis of Hyujŏng's soteriology with Wŏnhyo's 元曉 (617–686) and Chinul's 知訥 (1158–1210), refer to Kim 2006a:95–98.

the changing and the unchanging aspects of mind and people are different in terms of spiritual faculty. Hyujŏng was primarily interested in the salvation of people of medium and lower spiritual faculty and proposed the recitation of the Buddha's name and *dhāraṇī* for them.[5]

Hyujŏng's Works and the Contents of the Speculum on the Sŏn School

Hyujŏng's Works

Hyujŏng's works are representative of the Buddhist response to the growing influence of Neo-Confucianism in Korea[6] and his works are also among the best-known products of Chosŏn Buddhism (Buswell 1999:135). His works are as follows: *Samga kwigam* 三家龜鑑 (*Speculum on the Three Religions*); *Speculum on the Sŏn School*; *Simbŏp yoch'o* 心法要抄 (*Essential Excerpts from the Dharma of Mind*); *Sŏn'gyo sŏk* 禪教釋 (*Explication of Meditation and Doctrine*); *Sŏn'gyo kyŏl* 禪敎訣 (*Secret of Meditation and Doctrine*); *Ch'ŏnghŏ chip* 淸虛集 (*Collected Works of Ch'ŏngho [Hyujŏng]*), *Sŏlsŏn ŭi* 說禪儀 (*Ritual of Expounding Meditation*); *Unsudan kasa* 雲水壇歌詞 (*Lyrics on the Altar of Cloud and Water*); and *Samno haengjŏk* 三老行蹟 (*Conduct of Three Elders*). All of these works are included in Volume 7 (616a–758b) of *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* 韓國佛敎全書 (*Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*, hereafter *HPC*). Among these, the *Speculum on the Sŏn School* is his *magnum opus*. Hyujŏng's major ideas in these works are that the essential teachings of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism are the same; that Meditation is the

[5] *Dhāraṇī* (K. *chinŏn* 眞言 or 'true words') has been used in Korean Buddhist circles since the introduction of Buddhism to Korea in the 4th century. In particular, the recitation of *dhāraṇī* and the Buddha's name constituted an important part of Buddhism during the latter period of the Chosŏn dynasty (An 2006:114). Emphasis on the recitation of the Buddha's name has been a tradition since the Three Kingdoms period until the 7th century. The addition of *dhāraṇī* to the recitation of the Buddha's name was a characteristic of Buddhism during the Chosŏn dynasty (Hong 1988:290). This tradition continues today (Song 1999:82) and *dhāraṇī* still constitutes a major part of the current daily Buddhist rituals (Kim 2006b:150–151; Kim 2007:25–27).

[6] For Hyujŏng's response to Confucian domination, refer to Buswell 1999: 134–159.

Buddha's mind and the Doctrine is the Buddha's words; that Meditation is better than Doctrine as a way of finding truth; and that everyone possesses the potential for salvation (Kim 1995:418).

Contents of the Speculum on the Sŏn School

The *Speculum on the Sŏn School* was widely used both at home and abroad. In Korea, this text has played a significant role in the survival of Korean Buddhism since the Chosŏn dynasty and translations of this text have been published since the 1940s.[7] In particular, the popularity of this text was greater in Japan than in Korea. Approximately 80 versions of this text, including its copies and annotations, were published in Japanese and the Japanese Rinzaishū 臨濟宗 (Ch. Línjì zōng) is said to have revived based on this text.[8]

The main contents of the *Speculum on the Sŏn School* are composed of Hyujŏng's discussion of the significance of meditation and mind, the mental attitude of a practitioner, the contents of study, the essence of cultivation, a man of freedom, the methods of self-study, the process of study, the right and wrong attitude of study, the Chinese Chan lineages, and the correct recognition of the true nature of existence.

Hyujŏng emphasizes the importance of Meditation over Doctrine and develops the theory of one's mind. He explicates the mental attitude of a true practitioner, which is a sincere mind, a faithful mind, a strenuous mind, a doubtful mind, the mind of neither yielding, nor self-conceit, and a pure mind. The content of learning that Hyujŏng emphasizes is the removal of ignorance and bifurcated thought of the subject and the object. With regard to the process of study, Hyujŏng stresses sudden awakening followed by gradual cultivation and the importance of instruction from the master. As for the right attitude of study, Hyujŏng emphasizes the observance of precepts, the abolition of craving, conduct of giving, not to get angry, and patience. He criticizes those who study for self-praise while lacking sincerity towards learning. He also denounces harshly those monks who were

[7] Sŏn'ga kwigam (1948); Sŏn'ga kwigam (1962); Pŏpchŏng (1972); Sŏ Jaeha (1995); Yi Chongik and Sim Jaeyŏl (1998); and Beop Joeng (2003).

[8] Yi and Sim 1998:iii, xv; research on the background of the popularity of the *Speculum on the Sŏn School* in Japan and its role in Japanese Buddhist circles remain for further studies.

attached to their riches and honors. In addition, Hyujŏng discusses the dharma lineages and family customs of the five Chinese Chán schools, including Línjì zōng, which were active in 9th to 10th-century China. However, Hyujŏng also argues that none of the schools practice proper soteriological methods because such methods are limited by their dependence on a system of words and letters. Moreover, Hyujŏng discourages clinging to intellectual understanding, and instead he encourages an understanding of the true nature of existence (Kim 1999:850–881).

In particular, Hyujŏng's major concern in his *Speculum on the Sŏn School* is with the process of study, which constitutes sudden enlightenment, the need for attaining recognition from one's master after sudden enlightenment, followed by gradual cultivation. According to him, sudden awakening refers to the intellectual recognition acquired through the genuine teaching in words that the nature of one's mind is unchanging, but its attributes are changing in accordance with environmental factors. Hyujŏng also says that one should practice gradually after attaining sudden enlightenment and what matters most is to cultivate meditation without intellectual reference to doctrinal understanding.

His thought in the *Speculum on the Sŏn School* is best represented by his discussion of various soteriological approaches to attain enlightenment. Hyujŏng's soteriology was characteristic of his thought, thus distinguishing himself from other scholar-monks of both Korea and China. The most distinctive feature of Hyujŏng's soteriology lies in his proposal of easier ways to enlightenment, including the chanting of the Buddha's name (*yŏmbul* 念佛), to his fellow monks of medium and lower spiritual faculty. In particular, his soteriology is best characterized by his harmonization of *Sŏn* (meditation) and *yŏmbul*, but with some limitations (Kim 2006a:99).

Hyujŏng's Strategies in the Historical Context

Hyujŏng intensely defended the survival of Buddhism (Buswell 1999:146) during the time when it was harshly suppressed by the Confucian Chosŏn government. Among the monks, unorthodox [Confucian] texts were more popular than orthodox [Buddhist] texts and the compilation of Buddhist ritual texts was in vogue. To respond to such a historical setting, Hyujŏng composed the *Speculum on the Sŏn School*.

Buddhism in Korea peaked during the Unified Silla 新羅 (668–935) and Koryŏ 高麗 (918–1392) dynasties and became a virtual state religion. However, Buddhism was heavily suppressed during the Chosŏn dynasty.[9] As the suppression intensified, Buddhist intellectuals sought to mitigate the erosion of Buddhism by seeking concessions with the increasingly dominant Neo-Confucian ideologies. During Hyujŏng's lifetime, Neo-Confucianism flourished and such representative Confucian scholar-officials as Yi T'oegye 李退溪 (Yi Hwang 李滉, 1501–1570) and Yi Yulgok 李栗谷 (Yi I 李珥, 1536–1584) were active. The Neo-Confucian literati entered government service in the capital and dominated the political process. The social position of monks declined as Buddhism withered in the wake of Confucianism (Kim 1995:418). By the beginning of the 16th century, the Neo-Confucian dominance of Korea was uncontested. In particular, Yi T'oegye was the quintessential anti-Buddhist ideologue whose radical views on Buddhism exacerbated anti-Buddhist sentiments among members of Chosŏn Confucian circles since his time and thereafter.[10]

One of the few respites from this continued persecution occurred during the reign of King Myŏngjong 明宗 (1545–1567), when the queen-mother Munjŏng 文定 (1501–1565) served as regent to the juvenile king. The queen-mother was a devout Buddhist and supported the efforts of the eminent monk Pou 普雨 (1515–1565), who attempted to revive Buddhism by unifying it with Confucianism (In'gyŏng 2000:69–71). In 1552, the monastic examinations were reinstituted as a means of recruiting new monks into the order. During this period, Hyujŏng passed the examination and was appointed prelate of Chosŏn Buddhism (Buswell 1999:140).

Part of Hyujŏng's strategy to preserve Buddhism in his time was to compose a basic primer on Buddhist praxis and doctrine entitled *Speculum on the Sŏn School*, wherein both contemporary publishing circles and the Buddhist intellectual milieu influenced its development.

[9] For the Chosŏn compression of Buddhism, see Buswell 1999:135–140.
[10] For Yi T'oegye's view on Buddhism, refer to Kim 2005:121–146.

The Need for a Primer on Buddhist Doctrine and Praxis

In both the preface and the postscript to the *Speculum on the Sŏn School*, Hyujŏng describes the motivation that prompted him to write this basic primer on Buddhism. He said:

> Those who trained in Buddhism in the past never said what the Buddha did not say, and never practiced what the Buddha did not practice [...] But nowadays what those who train in Buddhism transmit and intone are the phrases of the [Confucian] literati; what they solicit and retain are the poems of the literati [...] No matter how many [literati texts] they have, it is never enough... Although I am unworthy, I have aspired to the training of the ancients and have treasured the precious leaves and numinous clauses [of Buddhist texts]. However, their phrases are quite prolix; the sea of the canon is wide and vast. There will be few disciples of similar aspiration later who will not have to go to make their own compilations. Therefore, I chose several hundred of the most important passages from this literature and wrote them down on sheets of paper that I titled *Speculum on the Sŏn School*. Though terse in expression, they are comprehensive in meaning. If, taking these words as your awesome teacher, you study them deeply and understand their subtlety, then in each and every word there would be a living Śākyamuni. Be diligent in this! (*HPC* 7:619a).[11]

This preface reveals that Hyujŏng composed the *Speculum on the Sŏn School* to teach Buddhist doctrine and *Sŏn* praxis to his junior monks who were actually more interested in the study of secular learning, Confucianism, and the composition of [Confucian] poetry than in Buddhist canonical texts (Kim 2006a:104).

An epilogue to the *Speculum on the Sŏn School*, which was written by Yujŏng 惟政 (1544–1610), one of Hyujŏng's disciples, indicates that Hyujŏng compiled this book to teach his disciples who were ignorant, young, and in conflict in terms of Meditation and Doctrine.

> The book to your right was composed by our master T'oeŭn [Hyujŏng]. He was an elder monk of the Chogye School.[12] Sadly, the Master's [Buddha's] teachings have gradually disappeared over the past 200 years and consequently, monks of Meditation and Doctrine have opposing views. Monks who emphasize Doctrine, only indulge in dregs while counting grains of sand in vain and, as such, they do not

[11] I followed the translation of Buswell 1999:147.
[12] For the history and development of the Chogye School, see Kim 2004: 158–159.

> understand how to become enlightened or that enlightenment is superior to the five doctrinal teachings. Conversely, monks who advocate Meditation boast their own original nature rather than cultivate themselves or understand the theory of sudden enlightenment and subsequent gradual practice. [Therefore,] Meditation and Doctrine became ambiguous and [they] do not distinguish gold from sand [...] Alas! The Way is in unprecedented danger of disappearing from sight, just as a brook murmurs along and a strand of hair draws 10,000 hooks, so too is the tenuous nature of The Way. Today, few people follow The Way. It has been ten years since our master resided in Mt. West [Mt. Myohyang]. During his breaks from whipping the cow, [i.e., cultivating one's mind], he read 50 volumes of sūtras, treaties, and recorded sayings. He took notes and excerpts from them, often discussed them with two to three of his disciples, and even taught them to his junior monks. His teaching method was like raising a flock of sheep [...] Our master sympathized with his young and ignorant disciples. Therefore, he added annotations to each word or phrase and interpreted them in order [...] The essence of 10,000 scriptures and the root of the five Chán schools are comprised in this work. Truth was expressed in every word of this work and every phrase of it conformed to the teachings of its respective school. Consequently, people's perverse views underwent a transformation, as recalcitrance gave way to understanding. [Therefore, this book] is most worthy of its title, *Speculum on the Sŏn School*. Indeed, it is a recipe for understanding and practice (*HPC* 7:646a–c).

Influence of Contemporary Publishing Circles

The time of Hyujŏng witnessed many publication projects of Buddhist ritual texts, and contemporary publishing circles probably influenced the increasing focus on the recitation of *dhāraṇī* in the *Speculum on the Sŏn School*.

Texts on Buddhist rituals during the Three Kingdoms of Korea (57 BC–935 CE) and the Koryŏ period (918–1392) were few. In contrast, they were published in greater numbers during the Chosŏn dynasty. The publication of texts on Buddhist rituals continued from the 15th to the 19th centuries. A large number of publications of *dhāraṇī* texts (Hong 1988:285) and emphasis on esoteric elements were the prominent characteristics of Buddhism during the period (Sørensen 2006:97), indicating that Buddhist ritual occupied a very important position in contemporary Buddhist circles (Nam 2004:71–98).

Overall, the number of Buddhism-related woodblock prints from the Chosŏn dynasty is five in the 15th century, 63 in the 16th century,

and 130 in the 17th century (Park 1987:465–487). These figures show a rapid increase in the number of Buddhist ritual texts during the time of Hyujŏng. In addition, many Buddhist ritual texts are included in Volumes 7 to 12 of *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* (*Collection of Korean Buddhist Texts*). There are also 72 works on Buddhist rituals (pp. 379–98) in *Han'guk Pulgyo ch'ansul munhŏn mongnok* 韓國佛敎撰述文獻目錄 (*Catalog of Compiled Texts on Korean Buddhism*) (Dongguk taehakkyo Pulgyo munhwa yŏn'guso p'yŏn 1976:397). Furthermore, more than 40 texts on esoteric Buddhist rituals were published over 130 times during the Chosŏn dynasty (Nam 2004:8). In particular, *dhāraṇī* text compilations (*chinŏn chip* 眞言集) were popular publications. Their publications increased rapidly after the 16th century and continued until the 18th century (Nam 2004:i). Hyujŏng's *Lyrics on the Altar of Cloud and Water*, a collection of daily events for *Sŏn* monks, is a good example (Nam 2004:71–2l). Hyujŏng's liturgical manuals have had a continuous influence on the subsequent development of ritual and esoteric practices within Korean *Sŏn*, which persists in the present century (Sørensen 2006:90–91).

Impact of Contemporary Buddhist Intellectual Milieu

The unity of Meditation and Doctrine was a prominent feature during the Sòng (960–1279) and Yuán (1206–1367) dynasties. This trend towards unity transferred to the Míng (1368–1644) dynasty where it became even stronger. Additionally, public cases (Ch. *gōngàn* 公案) that were in harmony with the recitation of the Buddha's name (Ch. *niànfó* 念佛) were developed in the Sòng dynasty and remained popular during the Míng dynasty (Ibuki Atsusi 2005:243–244). Similarly, in China, during the Chosŏn dynasty when Hyujŏng was active, the movement of harmonizing Meditation and Doctrine was in vogue. Moreover, as in China, and even before Hyujŏng's time, the Three Religions of Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism were already popular in Chosŏn Korea. Major thought of Hyujŏng in his works constitutes the unity of the Three Religions and that of Meditation and Doctrine.[13] The *Speculum on the Three Religions*[14] represents the former, while the *Speculum on the Sŏn School* portrays

[13] For the discussion of these issues, refer to Buswell 1999.
[14] For explanatory notes of the *Speculum on the Three Religions* and it's thematic essence, refer to Kim 1999:850–81.

the latter. In particular, the close relationship between *Sŏn* and the recitation of the Buddha's name in the *Speculum on the Sŏn School* was an outcome of the Buddhist intellectual setting of his time (Kim 2006a:104).

Soteriological Strategies of Hyujŏng

It is said that Hyujŏng revealed the two major concerns that pervaded his writing: why Buddhists should accept an accommodation with Confucianism; and why the bifurcation in the Buddhist church of his time between Meditation and Doctrine was obsolete and inappropriate (Buswell 1999:147–149). However, Hyujŏng was not just a *Sŏn* master in the narrow sectarian sense of the word, but he encompassed both Pure Land and esoteric practices in his monastic career. In particular, his *Speculum on the Sŏn School* puts an emphasis on discussing various soteriological approaches to enlightenment, in particular, for people of dull faculties.

Hyujŏng's Thought in the Speculum on the Sŏn School

The contents of the *Speculum on the Sŏn School* are neither syllogized like modern-day academic articles, nor clear. However, his thought in it is classified into the following three categories: ontology, phenomenology, and soteriology (Kim 2006a:82), among which his greatest concern was with soteriology.

In Buddhist history, there have been two major types of approaches to enlightenment: doctrinal teaching and meditative praxis. Hyujŏng views these approaches as shortcuts to enlightenment for people of higher spiritual faculty and he emphasizes the simultaneous cultivation of the two. According to Hyujŏng, the majority of practitioners attain sudden enlightenment through doctrinal teaching. However, he gives primacy to the investigation of the live word (*hwalgu* 活句) through meditation as the fastest way to complete enlightenment (Kim 2006a:89–92).

Hyujŏng's soteriology begins with the practitioner's attainment of sudden enlightenment to the original nature whereby the practitioner must gain sanction for his sudden enlightenment from an enlightened master. Only then should he proceed to gradual cultivation.[15] This

[15] Hyujŏng's soteriology of sudden enlightenment followed by gradual culti-

schematic theory of gradual cultivation constitutes the essence of Hyujŏng's soteriology (Kim 2006a:86).

Hyujŏng interprets human existence in terms of mind and person. He argues that there are two types of mind: one is the original mind, which is perceived as pure, clean, bright and numinous; and the other is the ignorant mind of phenomenological attachment. Hyujŏng's view is that the Buddha acts in accordance with his original mind and sentient beings are identical to the Buddha in essence. Therefore, he emphasizes the significance of one's mind and the self-awareness of it. However, he also argues that sentient beings act in accordance with their deluded mind. This is the reason why the Buddha and sentient beings are not the same in the phenomenal world. Hyujŏng's soteriology is grounded on this point. Hyujŏng also considers that each person has accumulated unique proportions of the precursors to human suffering, ignorance, and craving. This phenomenal difference among people also became a point of departure of Hyujŏng's soteriology.

Hyujŏng argues that because everyone is originally endowed with Buddha-nature, he can become a Buddha. However, he says that the level of an individual's attachment to craving determines the duration of their quest for enlightenment. That is, people who crave less can attain awakening faster than those with greater craving can. Therefore, Hyujŏng suggests two types of soteriology: salvation by self-power and salvation by other-power. The former is for people of sharp spiritual faculty; the latter is for people of medium and dull spiritual faculty. In other words, he proposes that the attainment of enlightenment by self-power, which means the cultivation of *hwadu* 話頭 ('critical phrase'), is for the former, while the attainment of enlightenment by other-power, which includes the recitation of the Buddha's name and *dhāraṇī*, is for the latter. Of these two soteriological methods, Hyujŏng preferred the self-power method. According to him, this method is a faster way to attain enlightenment than other-power method is.

Hyujŏng also proposes the simultaneous cultivation of Meditation and Doctrine for people of higher spiritual faculty. The ideological basis for Hyujŏng's argument for the unity of Meditation and Doctrine lies in the Buddha's teaching. For him, the Buddha's words are

vation appears to have been heavily influenced by that of Chinul, for which refer to Buswell 1983:36–71, 1991:57–71.

doctrine and his mind is meditation. Accordingly, Hyujŏng argues that both Meditation and Doctrine are critical to attaining enlightenment. Even though Hyujŏng was a *Sŏn* monk, he views that as far as doctrinal teachings are not attached to words and letters, they are also useful for spiritual cultivation. However, it does not mean that he values Meditation and Doctrine equally. He distinguishes Meditation from Doctrine and discusses the differences between the two as follows. Since Doctrine depends on words and letters, it cannot fully recognize truth, and since meditation is a soteriological way to awaken to the essence and function of existence intuitively and independent of the linguistic limitations of words and letters, he puts greater priority on Meditation than on Doctrine. Ultimately, Hyujŏng emphasizes the attainment of enlightenment to one's mind and he was primarily interested in cultivating *Sŏn* as the best way to this goal.[16] He says:

> On one's death bed, one should observe that five aggregates are all empty in nature, four great elements have no self, and true mind, which has no feature, is neither produced, nor annihilated. (Human) nature is neither produced at one's birth, nor destroyed at one's death. It is clear, round, and serene and mind and the world are the same. If one can attain sudden enlightenment to this, he will be no longer bound from the three time periods [of past, present and future]. He who rose up to this stage is none other than a man of freedom beyond the secular world. Although he encounters all Buddhas, he will not be attached to them. Although he is in hell, he will not be scared. Only when he is free from discursive thought, will he be in accordance with the realm of phenomena. What matters most is this (*HPC* 7:643b).

Hyujŏng asserts that not all sentient beings function the same. Thus, he conveys the need to adopt 'skillful means' (Skt. *upāya*) as tailored to people's unique spiritual constitutions. He admits the method by other-power is easier than the cultivation of meditation for people of inferior spiritual faculty (Kim 2006a:84–6).

Hyujŏng's Soteriology for People of Inferior Spiritual Faculty

Hyujŏng addresses the need for skillful means for two reasons: because of the multiple meanings in the Dharma and differences among people in spiritual capacity.

[16] For Hyujŏng's views on Meditation and Doctrine, see Buswell 1999:152–155.

NEED FOR SKILLFUL MEANS

> There are multiple meanings in the Dharma and there are many people with different dispositions. Therefore, skillful means are necessary. Here the Dharma refers to one thing and people mean sentient beings. The Dharma has both the changing and unchanging aspect and people have the faculty of sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation. Therefore, skillful means in words and letters are necessary. This means that even a needle is not allowed officially, but a cart can pass through personally.[17] Sentient beings are originally born good, but they are subject to suffer transmigration due to lack of wisdom. Who can prick the thick membrane of ignorance without a golden knife, i.e., wisdom, that emerged in the world? The merciful instructions of the Buddha and patriarchs enabled sentient people to climb a joyful hill beyond the sea of suffering. Therefore, it is difficult for even them with as many bodies and lives as sands in the Ganges to repay even one ten thousandth of their debts to their Buddha and patriarchs (*HPC* 7:635a).

Therefore, Hyujŏng strongly warns people of medium and lower faculty not to advance straight to the practice of meditation without depending on the genuine teaching in words and letters.

Hyujŏng suggests three types of easier ways in words to enlightenment for people of dull faculty: the incantation of spells (*chiju* 持呪); salvation by divine power (*sillyŏk* 神力); and the chanting of the Buddha's name.

Hyujŏng proposes the recitation of *dhāraṇī*[18] as one of the easier ways to enlightenment. According to him, current karma can be controlled by reciting spells. He also argues that because past karma is difficult to remove, divine power is necessary. He says:

> Recitation of true words enables people to repress their karmic effects easily in their lives and correct their conduct. However, it is difficult to get rid of action in their previous lives. Therefore, they have to depend on miraculous power (*HPC* 7:640a).

In particular, among these three soteriological approaches, the third approach, the recitation of the Buddha's name, attracted Hyujŏng's greatest attention.

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[17] This metaphor refers to that everyone is originally endowed with Buddha-nature, but each individual functions differently.

[18] In his *Lyrics on the Altar of Cloud and Water*, Hyujŏng also emphasizes the recitation of *dhāraṇī*.

RECITATION OF THE BUDDHA'S NAME

The essence of Hyujŏng's thought lies in his soteriology through the harmonization of meditation with the chanting of the Buddha's name for his fellow monks of medium and lower spiritual faculty (Kim 2006a:80). Regarding the recitation of the Buddha's name, Hyujŏng says:

> Recitation of the Buddha's name with the mouth is called *songbul* 誦佛 and recitation of the Buddha's name in the mind is named *yŏmbul*. Recitation of the Buddha's name using only the mouth is not at all useful for cultivating The Way. The six-letter dharma teaching, 'Na mu A mi t'a bul' ('to take refuge in Amitābha Buddha'), is a shortcut to free oneself from metempsychosis. One should recite the Buddha's name without forgetting the Buddha's teaching. What is called *yŏmbul* means the unity of mouth and mind [...] 'While a dull figure attempts to lead his life by recitation of the Buddha's name, an enlightened one purifies his mind by himself,' and 'Sentient beings in general save themselves by awakening to one's mind and the Buddha can't save them.' [...] What they actually did was to get rid of the root of all [discursive thought] with one dharma. Forty-eight wishes of Amitābha Buddha in the Pure Land are just skillful means [...] If one who wants to cross the sea [of suffering] makes a boat, it will be slow. This is compared to self-power. If he crosses the sea on a rented boat, it will be fast. This is compared to the Buddha's power [...] Someone said, 'My mind is pure land. Therefore, no body can be reborn into it. My disposition is Amitābha. Thus, no-one can see him.' These words seem to be correct. However, they are wrong to believe that like a Buddha, they lack avarice and hatred. Don't they have avarice and hatred like him? They are also wrong to believe that like a Buddha, they can change hell into lotus flower more easily than turning the hand. I am always fearful of karmic power and falling into hell. However, how can I change hell into lotus flower, [i.e., the land of the Buddha]? That Buddha sees infinite worlds as they are before his eyes. In contrast, I cannot see what happened even with a partitioned wall. How can I see the worlds in the ten directions just as if they are in front of my eyes? Therefore, even though everyone is the same as the Buddha in nature, he is a sentient being in conduct. The feature and function of the two are as far as heaven and earth (Kim 2006a:93).

Hyujŏng argues that there are two types of the recitation of the Buddha's name: the recitation with the mouth and the recitation in mind. He prioritizes the latter over the former. For Hyujŏng, the recollection of Amitābha Buddha's name is a skillful means to lead

people of inferior faculty to wholesome conduct and eventually to enlightenment. For him, the salvific ground of the chanting of the Buddha's name rests in Amitābha Buddha's whole-hearted compassion toward all sentient creatures. Hyujŏng compares the efficacy of self-power and other-power in attaining enlightenment. He argues that self-power is a slower approach to awakening while otherworldly power is a shortcut (Kim 2006a:92–95).

Conclusion

Hyujŏng's *Speculum on the Sŏn School* was a product of the historical and intellectual setting in which he lived. In particular, his work gave primacy to praxis, primarily for people of inferior spiritual faculty. Hyujŏng composed his *magnum opus* as a simple primer on Buddhist thought and practice for Buddhist neophytes in the context of the anti-Buddhist policy of the Chosŏn government. He focused on soteriological ways by other-power, which was represented by the recitation of the Buddha's name and the incantation of spells, in his work.

It is said that Hyujŏng seemingly hoped to restore the past glory of an effective, and uniquely Korean, approach to Buddhist thought and praxis (Buswell 1999:157–158). However, this argument warrants further discussion as evidenced in the following issues. Chinese Chán monks in the 7th century regarded the idea of the Western Paradise after death as a skillful means for people of dull spiritual faculty and negated it directly (Ibuki Atsusi 2005:66). Chinese elites became civil servants with the strengthening of kingship during Sung China and those who failed in the civil service examination were often ordained as Chán monks (Ibuki Atsusi 2005:146–148) which was exactly the case with Hyujŏng. Chinul, the remote spiritual mentor of Hyujŏng, did not emphasize the chanting of the Buddha's name as a viable way to the Buddhist goal. Hyujŏng composed his *Speculum on the Sŏn School* while hiding deep in the mountains to engage in religious cultivation. Hyujŏng's *magnum opus* was aimed at serving as a simple primer on Buddhist thought and practice for Buddhist neophytes during his time, which means that his work did not play such a significant role as Martin Luther's (1483–1546) 'Die 95 Thesen' (*The Ninety-five Theses*) did in the history of religion.

In addition, Hyujŏng's soteriological strategies had limits in terms of its reference, his criteria of gradating the spiritual faculty of

practitioners, his pedagogical tool (Kim 2006a:103–105), his neglect of the early teaching of the Buddha, dependence of the Sinitic Buddhist tradition, unclear interpretation of an enlightened master, prohibition from studying non-Buddhist texts, metaphysical ontology, and soteriology based on other-power.

Therefore, the influence of his literary strategies on the composition of his *Speculum on the Sŏn School* seems to have been of little consequence in Korean society of his time. Scholars of Korean Buddhism both at home and abroad have devoted themselves to analyzing the thoughts of such eminent Buddhist thinkers as Wŏnhyo and Chinul.[19] However, Hyujŏng's thought was not a product of his concrete philosophical reasoning, but that of the historical setting in which he lived. This result justifies a historical reexamination of the thoughts of prominent Buddhist thinkers of Korea.

In spite of the limits of Hyujŏng's thought in the *Speculum on the Sŏn School*, its impact on Korean Buddhism has been significant. Thanks to his efforts, Doctrine was eventually restored to nearly equal footing with Meditation within the Korean Buddhist tradition (Buswell 1999:158–159).[20] Furthermore, Hyujŏng's emphasis on an intuitive understanding of the true nature of existence, his positive view on human existence, and his presentation of soteriology for people of diverse spiritual faculties will be able to provide the moderns, whose thoughts are bifurcated by a logocentric paradigm, with a new view on man and the world.

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[19] For overseas trends in research on Korean Buddhism, refer to Jorgensen 2006:9–26; McBride 2006:27–48; Mohan 2006:49–68; Sørensen 2007:21–34.

[20] For distinctive characteristics of Korean Sŏn tradition from many of the shibboleths concerning the nature of the Zen religious experience found in Western writing on the school, see Buswell 1992:215–223.

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MANHAE HAN YONGUN'S ATTEMPT AT PRODUCING AN ALL-INCLUSIVE MODERN BUDDHIST COMPENDIUM: *PULGYO TAEJŎN*

VLADIMIR TIKHONOV (PAK NOJA)

Han Yongun 韓龍雲 (pen name: Manhae 卍海, 1879–1944) is rightfully considered one of the most representative Buddhist thinkers and activists of 20th century Korea. This article concentrates on one of his works which have not received much scholarly attention so far, the Pulgyo Taejŏn, his attempt to produce a comprehensive Buddhist compendium aimed at adapting Buddhism to the modernization efforts of Korea. Although Han was associated with a Sŏn style of Buddhism his work mainly consists of a large amount of citations from the canonical literature. Through the method of restructuring and re-interpreting the canonical materials the author pursues his rhetorical and polemic objectives of presenting Buddhism as an universal religion suited for modern times, as well as creating an image of Buddhism apt to provide superior solutions for dealing with modernity as compared to the Confucian and Christian rivals.

Introduction: Han Yongun and Korea's Colonial Buddhism

Han Yongun 韓龍雲 (pen name: Manhae 卍海, 1879–1944) is rightfully considered one of the most representative Buddhist thinkers and activists of 20th century Korea. A scion of an impoverished family of a low-level provincial clerk, he mastered the basics of the traditional Confucian learning and, having been ordained as a Buddhist monk in 1905, acquired also a good portion of modern knowledge. On the textual level, aside from the Japanese and Korean newspapers and journals, his main sources were the works by late Qīng reformers, particularly Liáng Qǐcháo's 梁啟超 (1873–1929) *Collected Writings from the Ice-drinker's Studio* (*Yǐnbīngshì héjí* 飲冰室合集). Institutionally, he largely owed his knowledge of the modern subjects to the classes at Korea's first-ever modern Buddhist educational institution, Seoul's Myŏngjin School, which he attended in 1906–1907. And, last but not least, his vision of 'Buddhist

modernity' was formed by his half-year long stint in Japan in 1908, where, on invitation from the Sōtō sect, he attended the Komazawa University classes. His mentor was Professor Asano Fuzan 浅野斧山, a noted researcher of Japan's Zen history and author of meditation-related writings (Ko 2000: 29–57; Tikhonov/Miller 2008: 1–30).

By the end of the 1900s to the beginning of the 1910s, Han obviously considered producing a modernist Buddhist discourse his main task. His view of the state of the contemporaneous Korean Buddhism, as expressed, for example, in the manifest of his modernistic Buddhism—the treatise *On the Reformation of Korean Buddhism* (*Chosŏn Pulgyo Yusinnon*), written approximately around 1909–1910 and printed in 1913—was a peculiar combination of pessimism with hope. The stated ground for pessimism was the patent inability of Buddhism to 'outperform' its Christian rivals in terms of being a paradigmatic modern religion: 'Cleansed' from the folk cults and 'anachronistic customs' (Han considered the monastic celibate to be of them), possessing well-developed educational and missionary institutions and economically self-sufficient. The optimism and hope were based upon the stated belief that Buddhism, in contrast to the intrinsically 'superstitious' Christianity, perfectly fits the modern worldview, as a religion of freedom, cosmopolitan openness and altruism (Tikhonov/Miller 2008: 41–153). However, aside from the idiosyncratic modernist interpretation of the Buddhist doctrine, Han also had good realistic, down-to-earth grounds to view the prospects of his religion in Korea with some guarded confidence.

Buddhism, liberated from the shackles of the Neo-Confucian oppression by the Westernizing reforms of the 1890s–1900s, was a growing religion in the midst of serious qualitative transformation in the 1900s–1910s. The number of monks and nuns, for example, increased from 5,779 in 1909 to 8,170 in 1913, and continued to grow further. The number of activist believers—known as lay sponsors of monastic Buddhism—was put at 170,354 nationally in 1926, which would be slightly less than the total number of Presbyterian believers for 1925 (182,650 nationally), but more than twice higher than the total for Catholics the same year (89,798) (Han Tongmin 2001:62–63; Han Kyumu 2001:241). Given that the Buddhists were in no position to enjoy the sort of foreign (mostly French in the case of Catholics and mostly American or Canadian in the case of Presbyterians) sponsorship various Christian denominations benefited so much from,

the statistics may be understood as showing the vitality of colonial Buddhism.

Of course, the colonial situation could not but emerge as a serious problem for any Korean religion with nationalist aspirations (Buddhism being no exception), and from the end of the 1910s onwards Han Yongun too gained the reputation of a foremost anti-Japanese nationalist leader (Ko 2000:107–155). In the beginning of the 1910s, however, the situation was somewhat different. The colonial 'Temple Ordinance' (*Sach'allyŏng* 寺刹令), promulgated in June 1911 (implemented from 1st September 1911), put the monastic Buddhism under the strict supervision of the authorities through the system of 30 national 'head temples' (*ponsa* 本寺). Their abbots were now required to obtain approval for their nominations from the Governor-General, and controlled smaller 'branch temples' administratively attached to them (*malsa* 末寺). However, the new system, which delegated much administrative and economical power to the 'head temples'' abbots—who now almost monopolized decision-making in the temple property management issues—, also enabled them to boldly invest in educational and missionary enterprises. Occasional mismanagement and fund misappropriation could be checked, for example, with the use of the newly-emerging 'public sphere'—campaigns in printed media, etc. That even Han Yongun, his nationalist credentials being above doubt, addressed the Japanese colonial authorities his proposal to allow the Korean monks and nuns to marry (Tikhonov / Miller 2008:113–114), shows that the monastic response to the Japanese policies was not necessarily only negative. The development of the Buddhist schools and missionary centers (*p'ogyodang* 布教堂) continued throughout the 1910s: For example, Yongjusa 龍珠寺, a well-known 'head temple' in the vicinity of Seoul, supported a modern-type school, a missionary primary school and three specialized Buddhist colleges of a more traditional type (*kangwŏn*) (Han Tongmin 2001:66–78). All these newly-founded educational and missionary establishments needed texts for study and preaching; it was this demand that propelled Han Yongun into compiling and publishing several such texts in the 1910s.

Great Buddhist Compendium – a Modernist Buddhist Bible?

One of the texts Han Yongun envisioned as a part of the textual basis for Korea's modernized Buddhism was *Pulgyo Taejŏn* (佛教大典, *Great Buddhist Compendium*), written approximately between 1910 and 1913 and printed by Pŏmŏsa 梵魚寺 on 30 April 1914. The main textual sources for the compendium were obviously the *Tripiṭaka Koreana* (*Koryŏ Taejanggyŏng* 高麗大藏經), as well as *Dainihon Kotei Daizōkyō* (大日本校訂大藏經縮刷藏本, Tokyo 1885) and *Manjikyō* (卍字藏, Kyoto 1902). As far as the centrally-important domestic source, *Tripiṭaka Koreana*, was concerned, Han Yongun is known to have used the xylographic copy possessed by T'ongdosa 通度寺 (Southern Kyŏngsang Province, Yangsan County), and to have attentively perused all the 6802 fascicles (*kwŏn*) in an effort contemporaries considered almost superhuman (Han Yongun 1973, Vol. 3, p. 11). This compendium consists of the traditional textual sources only, but rearranges them in such a rhetoric sequence that the reader is expected to gain an impression that Buddhism is a quintessentially universal religion, compatible with the traditional Confucian morality and simultaneously best suited to fulfill the needs of modern times. To make such an impression, Han Yongun deploys the teachings—often mutually controversial—of various schools in an order which was fine-tuned to his modernist aims.

Since the *Great Buddhist Compendium* is a sort of modernist 're-arrangement' of the traditional Buddhist canon, rather than an independent work, it attracted comparatively scarce attention even among the South Korean researchers, not to even speak about the foreign Korean (or Buddhist) studies' practitioners. In contrast to the huge effort devoted to the analysis of the treatise *On the Reformation of Korean Buddhism* considered the masterpiece of Han's early Buddhist thought, only very few articles deal specifically with the *Great Buddhist Compendium*. One of them (Chŏn 1985) offers a detailed qualitative analysis of the text, and underlines the centrality of *Avataṃsaka*-related scriptures for its structure and content—among all the 1,741 fragments from the Buddhist scriptures cited by Han Yongun, 211 (12,1%) are derived from the *Avataṃsaka*-sūtra or commentaries to it. It persuasively argues that in the early 1910s Han Yongun's Buddhist thinking was dominated by the *Avataṃsaka* ideas of the cosmic interconnectedness and mutual interpenetration, non-

duality of the mental and material, sacred and profane, and by the ideal of a selfless *bodhisattva*, a person whose altruism is based on the insights into the non-duality of 'self' and 'others.' It further offers convincing arguments that the synthesis of the *Avataṃsaka* paradigm with Han Yongun's modernist worldview was greatly facilitated by the inclusiveness of the *Avataṃsaka* mega-narrative of the all-embracing cosmic unity, and that the modern concept of 'freedom' was grafted by Han Yongun onto the *Avataṃsaka* ideal of the 'unobstructed' (enlightened) consciousness.

Another 1980s research which mentions the *Great Buddhist Compendium* extensively (Ko 1984:319–325) emphasizes Han Yongun's attempts to make crude Korean translations (basically, just by inserting the vernacular grammatical particles, while retaining practically all the classical Chinese words of the original) of the scriptural texts he included in the *Compendium*, and contrasts this obvious popularizing effort with the almost purely classical Chinese language of the treatise *On the Reformation of Korean Buddhism.* Since most of the existing scholarship I managed to get access to shows little interest in the compositional principles of the *Compendium*'s structure, or in the possible socio-political or cultural implications of Han Yongun's selection of the scriptural fragments, I intend to emphasize this part here. I will try to 'decipher' the message Han Yongun was sending to his readers by including certain selected parts of the sacred texts into his anthology, a 'Buddhist Bible' of sorts, in a certain idiosyncratic order, while ignoring others.

The *Great Buddhist Compendium* consists of nine parts (*p'um* 部), which were arranged in the following order:

(1) 'Foreword,' 'Preface' (explanations on the importance of learning Buddhadharma, etc.)
(2) 'Basics of the Teaching' (the law of cause and effect, emptiness, etc.)
(3) 'Buddha'
(4) 'Faith'
(5) 'Karma' (including a chapter on rebirth)
(6) 'Self-Cultivation' (characteristically, a modernist term, *chach'i*, literally 'self-rule,' is used)
(7) 'Interaction with Others'
(8) 'Propagation of Faith'
(9) 'The Ultimate' (on achieving Nirvāṇa)

Among these nine parts, two were arranged in the way which cannot but suggest a strong influence of the modern ideas.

First, the 'Interaction with Others' part (*Taech'ip'um* 對治品) consists of the chapters on family, teacher-pupil relations, interpersonal relations, society and state—the words like 'family' (J. *katei*, K. *kajŏng* 家庭) or 'society' (J. *shakai*, K. *sahoe* 社會) used as chapter titles being essentially of Meiji Japanese coinage. 'Society,' for example, was a newly-coined term which initially, in the early 1870s, denoted the sphere of private (non-governmental) relationship. By the early 1890s, however, its meaning shifted to the contemporary one, namely 'society' as the public sphere, or the 'people,' also in the political aspect of the term (Doak 2007:132–149). In this meaning, it was first used by the vernacular Korean press (for example, the famed progressive newspaper *Tongnip Sinmun* 獨立新聞) in the late 1890s, and became better understood by the mid-1900s, when a variety of articles explaining its meaning appeared in various modernization-oriented media (Pak 2001).

Second, the 'Self-Cultivation' part (*Chach'ip'um* 自治品) ends with a chapter on 'hygiene' (J. *eisei*, K. *wisaeng* 衛生)—the idea of 'hygiene' in early 20th century Korea being a part of every modernist discourse. This concept—basically, a Japanese translation of the German *Gesundheitspflege*, which was in use in Japan from the mid-1870s onward and was first used by the Korean reformers in 1882–1883—had much wider meaning then than today. Almost everything related to the new, modern, 'corporal regime,' beginning with regular physical exercises and including, for example, a fixed daily rhythm, was seen as part of 'hygiene,' which itself formed the cornerstone of the very idea of 'civilization and progress' (Yi 2008:70–75).

Third, the special emphasis on the 'Propagation of Faith' might have been influenced by the ideas about 'competing with Protestantism through strengthening of the Buddhist missionary work,' visible in the treatise *On the Reformation of Korean Buddhism*. There, 'faith propagation' was taken as a religious equivalent of the mundane 'struggle for survival'—which Han Yongun, then an ardent Social Darwinist, believed to be the law of the cosmos and human society (Tikhonov/Miller 2008:73–77).

A Modernist Appropriation of Buddhist Ideas

Imposing modernist classification upon the traditional religious material was not an easy task. It may be said that the material itself resisted the modernist 'intrusion.' For example, in the chapter on 'society' in the 'Interaction with Others' part, the first paragraph is about 'Public Virtue/Morality' (*kongdŏk* 公德). The term became popular in China, Korea and Vietnam due to Liáng Qǐchāo (1873–1929) and his seminal *New Citizen* (*Xīnmínshuō* 新民說, 1903), where the modern 'public virtues' were contrasted to the 'private virtues' (Ch. *sīdé*, *K. sadŏk* 私德), as the ethical pillar of the traditional society. An indefatigable modernizer in those days, Liáng described the Confucian 'virtues' as mostly grounded in private relations and loyalties—between relatives, clansmen, friends, or ruler and courtier as private persons. However, the modern state required its citizens to be thoroughly beholden to 'public,' and not 'private' virtue. For a contemporary reader, the term 'public virtue' may associate with Habermasian concept of modern (bourgeois) 'public sphere' (German 'Öffentlichkeit') as the space between the realms of private life and public authority where, independently of status boundaries, public opinion is being formed in a series of complicated negotiations between independent actors (Habermas 1989:30–32). However, Liáng used the term in significantly different meaning. Liáng's 'public virtue' meant, first and foremost, willing and enthusiastic submission to the public authority ('exhausting oneself in fulfilling the duties towards the society'), and then, the ability to enjoy the rights the state or society secured in the Darwinist 'struggle for existence' with other states and societies (Liang 1989; Zhuanji 4:12–15). Liáng's—Darwinist and utilitarian—understanding of 'public morals' was embedded in a vision of a modern 'patriot' doing everything to 'benefit the state and society.'

Han Yongun evidently wished to find some textual proof of the Buddhist doctrinal support for this sort of ethical vision. However, the canonical fragments he chose in order to explain the idea of 'public virtue' were obviously completely taken out of their original context. For example, Han Yongun takes a fragment from the Chinese *Avataṃsaka* (Fascicle 12, 'Chief in Goodness': Xiánshǒu pǐn dì shí-èr zhī èr 賢首品第十二之二) saying: 於諸行路大水處，造立橋梁及船筏 ('in the places where there is big water [blocking] the various roads,

I will build bridges and make rafts') from its context, in which it is a part of a metaphoric description of Bodhisattva Chief in Goodness' and other enlightened beings' efforts to move the sentient beings to their enlightenment (tr. Cleary 1993:346–347):

> [Supreme concentration called peace and bliss]
> Also emits a light called 'salvation':
> This light can awaken all beings
> And cause them to develop great determination
> To liberate the living from the sea of desire.
> If one can universally produce this determination
> To liberate the living from the sea of desire,
> Then one can cross over the torrents of afflictions
> And lead the way to the sorrowless citadel of freedom.
> By building bridges and rafts
> Wherever there is water on the roads,
> Criticizing fabrication and praising dispassionate calm,
> Thereby is this light attained.
>
> It also emanates a light called 'annihilating attachment':
> This light can awaken all beings,
> Causing them to give up objects of desire
> And concentrate on the savor of the sublime teaching of liberation.[1]

For Han Yongun, however, the fragment obviously should have suggested that Buddhism endorsed the sacrifices made by the individuals in the name of the collective—this notion of 'heroic sacrifice for the benefit of the nation/society' being an important part of the modernist ideology of early 20th century in both China and Korea (Yi et al. 2003:210–223).

Another citation Han wanted to use in order to illustrate in a Buddhist way the concept of 'public virtue,' was from the *Brahmajala-sūtra* (*Fàn-wǎng jīng* 梵網經) (Sutra Translation Committee of the United States and Canada 2000):

> [A disciple of Buddha] should [constantly counsel and teach all people to] establish monasteries, temples and pagodas in mountains and forests, gardens and fields. He should also construct stupas for the Buddhas and

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[1] See the Chinese original from the *Taishō Tripiṭaka*: 又放光明名濟度，此光能覺一切眾，令其普發大誓心，度脫欲海諸群生。若能普發大誓心，度脫欲海諸群生，則能越度四瀑流，示導無憂解脫城。於諸行路大水處，造立橋梁及船筏，毀呰有為讚寂靜，是故得成此光明。又放光明名滅愛，此光能覺一切眾，令其捨離於五欲，專思解脫妙法味。 (T. 10, no. 279:75c08–14).

> buildings for winter and summer retreats. All facilities required for the practice of the Dharma should be established. Moreover, a disciple of the Buddha should explain Mahayana sūtras and the Bodhisattva precepts to all sentient beings. In times of sickness, national calamities, impending warfare or upon the death of one's parents, brothers and sisters, Dharma Masters and Precept Masters, a Bodhisattva should lecture and explain Mahayana sūtras and the Bodhisattva precepts weekly for up to seven weeks. The disciple should read, recite, and explain the Mahayana sūtras and the Bodhisattva precepts in all prayer gatherings, in his business undertakings and during periods of calamity—fire, flood, storms, ships lost at sea in turbulent waters or stalked by demons.[2]

The original meaning of the citation (Precept No. 39, against light violation) was to emphasize the merits produced by Dharma preaching and the demerits of one's failure to teach Dharma to others, and to call attention to monks' duty to preach Mahāyāna sūtras on certain occasions (death of parents or teacher, natural calamities, etc). Some of the occasions are clearly fantastic from the viewpoint of a modern reader—'stalked by demons,' for example, was hardly anything Han Yongun might have understood as 'reality.' Moreover, the duties highlighted by the fragment are essentially rather more religious than civic, or 'public.' Han Yongun, however, essentially takes it as evidence of the 'public-spiritedness' of the Buddhism in a modern sense. So, in a way, the traditionalist religious concepts, such as 'saving of the sentient beings' are being subjected to a modernist re-conceptualization.

Han Yongun's "Progressism" and its Limitations

The social message of Han Yongun as a modernist Buddhist is both relatively progressive and quite moderate. 'Progressiveness' refers to, for example, Han's reading of the Buddhist understanding of the desirable way of interaction between different class and status groups. Han Yongun uses the Buddhist texts which warn against the arrogance

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[2] See the Chinese original from the *Taishō Tripiţaka*: 建立僧房山林田園。立作佛塔。冬夏安居坐禪處所。一切行導處皆應立之。而菩薩應為一切眾生講說大乘經律。若疾病國難賊難。父母兄弟和上阿闍梨亡滅之日。及三七日乃至七七日。亦應讀誦講說大乘經律。齋會求福行來治生。大火所燒大水所漂寸。黑風所吹船舫。江河大海羅剎之難。亦應讀誦講說此經律 (T. 24, no. 1484: 1008b12–16).

of the noble in relations with the low-born, especially within the monastic order (subduing one's own arrogance was an old topic in Buddhist ethics), as proof that Buddhism advocates the 'harmony of the classes' (*kyegŭp yunghwa* 階級融化), that is, a gentler and less discriminatory attitude of the rulers towards the ruled. The part of the Chinese *Madhyama Nikaya* (Ch. *Zhōng āhán*, K. Chung Aham 中阿含) Han cited in connection with 'class harmony' (Han Yongun 1973, Vol. 3:229) is actually an injunction against these arrogant monks who value themselves highly while despising others, either on the basis of their noble descent, or using their superior experience as a rationale. It may be said that, by connecting this age-old injunction to the modern social problems, Han re-interpreted the Buddhist legacy in a progressive way. But his interpretation was also markedly moderate, since class antagonisms as such were hardly ever mentioned or hinted to.

In some ways, one may say that Han 'Confucianizes' Buddhism, selecting from the Buddhist sūtras the excerpts dealing with the topics normally belonging to the sphere of the Confucian morality in Korea—relations between owner and servant, between a man and his wife, etc. Especially often are used such parts of *Nikayas* as, for example, the *Śīgālavāda sūtra* (Ch. *Shàn shēngzǐ jīng* 善生子經, T. 1, no. 17, *Digha Nikaya* 31). Describing the ideal relationship between the spouses, Han quotes from the Chinese translation of this sūtra (translated by Zhī Fǎdù 支法度 in 301), which formulates a wife's duties in the following way:

> The wives should serve their husbands in 14 kinds of affairs. What kinds of affairs are they? The wives should be masterful in doing things, well-organized, attentive, rising early in the mornings, going to bed late in the evenings, diligently studying, waiting for the husband with the door closed, inquiring the husband on his health once he returns, maintaining a harmonious atmosphere, speaking smoothly, preparing the seats, [making] clean foods and drinks, thinking about donations [to the monks] and giving the food to her employees.[3]

This sentence—the quintessence of the patriarchal wisdom on 'wifely virtues'—might have suited the Korean Confucian public,

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[3] See the Chinese original from the *Taishō Tripiţaka*: 婦又當以十四事事於夫。何謂十四。善作為。善為成。受付審。晨起。夜息。事必學。闔門待君子。君子歸問訊。辭氣和。言語順。正几席。潔飲食。念布施。供養夫 (T. 1, No. 17:254a28–b2).

making it better disposed towards Buddhism. However, it was not completely unacceptable also from the viewpoint of the 'good wife, wise mother' (*liáng qī xián mǔ* 良妻賢母) paradigm, which dominated the late 19th to early 20th understanding of womanhood in Japan and among Korea's progressives (Bernstein 1991:194–200; Jager 2003:43–73). The mention of the necessity of study for women might have been specially endearing for the progressives. However, then Han Yongun cites almost the entire Chinese translation of *Sujātā sūtra* (*Yùyé jīng* 玉耶經, T. 2, no. 143—originally from *Anguttara Nikaya* 7:59), which classifies all wives into seven categories and elaborates the patriarchal rules on how the husbands were supposed to be 'served':

> Buddha told Sujātā: 'In serving in-laws and husband, the wives may commit five good deeds and three evil deeds. What are the five good deeds? First, the wives should go to sleep late and rise up early. They should then comb their hairs, dress themselves neatly, wash all the dirt clearly from their faces, ask first the respected people before doing anything, be always submissive and modest in their hearts, and never eat the tasty, sweet foods first. Second, they should never get angry and resentful when chided by their husbands and in-laws. Third, they should be faithful to their husbands and in-laws with all their hearts, and never even think about behaving lecherously. Fourth, they should always wish their husbands and in-laws long live, and keep order in house when the husbands are out. Fifth, they should always think about their husbands' good characteristics, and never think about the evil ones.
>
> Then, what are the three evils? First, if the wives do not pay the due respects to their husbands and mothers-in-law, wish to eat the nice foods first themselves, go to bed before sunset and do not rise up with the sunrise, and cast angry looks onto their husbands when being chided and reprimanded. Second, if the wives are not full-heartedly loyal to their husbands and in-laws, but only think about other men. Third, if the wives wish to make their husbands die soon, so that to marry somebody else instead. Those are the three evils.' Sujātā listened to Buddha silently, without uttering a word.
>
> Buddha told Sujātā: 'There are seven categories of wives. The first are the mother-like wives, the second are sister-like wives, the third are like good friends in Dharma, the fourth are like wives, the fifth are like female slaves, the sixth are like bitter enemies, and the seventh are like would-be killers [of their husbands]. Those are the seven categories of wives. […] Which are the mother-like wives? They love their husbands and in-laws just with motherly kindness, and do not leave their side serving them in the mornings and evenings. They never miss the proper

time for serving them foods and drinks, and they are afraid that the other people will regard them as lightly-minded. They are never tired of thinking compassionately [about their husbands], and they are as compassionate to their husbands as they are towards their children. Such are the mother-like wives. Which are the sister-like wives? They are so respectful and sincere in serving their husbands and in-laws, as if they are siblings related by blood to each other. Without having anything else in mind, they treat their husband as if they were their blood family members, respectfully serving them as if they were elder brothers. Such are the sister-like wives. Which are the wives resembling friends in Dharma? They serve their husbands and in-laws with the most sincere devotion, they are so reliant on their husbands that they never can separate themselves from each other, they always confess to their husbands even the most personal and secretive matters, they always follow the reprimands and instructions of their husbands once they err, and never make [additional] mistakes, and in their ardent eagerness to respect good deeds, cultivate bright wisdom and transcend this world they resemble good friends in Dharma. Such are the wives resembling good friends in Dharma. Which are the wife-like wives? They serve food and drinks to their husbands with utmost respect and sincerity, they are always modest and submissive while obeying the orders of their husbands and in-laws, they rise up early and go to bed lately, they always use polite speech, they have no superfluous words in their mouths, and do nothing superfluous with their bodies. They ascribe all the good things to the efforts of the others, while blaming themselves for the failures. They preach, advice and admonish [others] making them to progress in practicing the Way, and there is not a grain of evilness in their minds. They are faultless in practicing their wifely virtues. They never violate the ceremonial norms when they enter, and never commit any faults when they exit. They treasure only harmony. Such are the wifely wives. Which are the slave-like wives? They are too fearful to dare to be arrogant, they are doing their best to avoid [failing] in everything they do, they are always respectful, loyal, filial and virtuous, their speech is always meek, and their character is harmonious, and they never commit nasty or deviant acts by word or deed. They are chaste, good-hearted, pure, simple and direct in their speech. They are always strictly applying the ritual norms to themselves. Even if happily [loved by their husbands], they do not become arrogant; even if not treated well, they never get bitter about it. Even if mistreated, chided or humiliated, they never get angry, remaining only cheerful and harmonious. They advice their husbands to follow their own wishes, and do not envy if the husbands develop [other] sensual affections. Even if mistreated undeservedly, they do not emphasize their uprightness; doing everything to practice wifely virtues, they are never

choosy about food or clothes. They are fully devoted to their respectful attitudes, and only are afraid that they do not do enough, serving their husband in a slave-like way. Such are slave-like wives.

Which are the bitter enemy-like wives? Instead of being glad at seeing their husbands, they harbor anger. They think about moving away days and nights, look more like guests than spouses, always fight relentlessly with their husbands, lay in their beds with their hairs unkempt and cannot be put to work, never think about housekeeping and child-rearing, shamelessly commit lecherous deeds, and, like dogs or cattle, abuses and humiliates their relatives, as if they were enemies. Such are the enemy-like wives. And then, which are the killer-like wives? By day and night, they are full of anger [at their husbands], they only think about the ways to get separated from them, and, wishing to poison them but being afraid of the other people getting to know about it, they sometimes resort to the help of their close or distant relatives in such matters. They are as hateful as enemies, they do harm to husbands' treasures and hirelings, they sometimes use their paramours to kill their husbands, and they angrily resist taking their husbands' orders. Such are the killer-like wives. So, such are the seven categories of wives […].' After listening to Buddha's preaching, Sujātā was said to have immediately repented her faults in not treating her own husband and mother-in-law properly, and to have mended her ways.[4]

[4] See the Chinese original from the *Taishō Tripiţaka*: […] 佛告玉耶。婦事姑妐夫婿。有五善三惡。何等為五善。一者為婦當晚臥早起。櫛梳髮綵整頓衣服。洗拭面目勿有垢穢。執於作事先啟所尊。心常恭順。設有甘美不得先食。二者夫壻呵罵不得瞋恨。三者一心守夫婿。不得念邪婬。四者常願夫婿長壽。出行婦當整頓家中。五者常念夫善不念夫惡。是為五善。何等為三惡。一者不以婦禮承事姑妐夫婿。但欲美食先而噉之。未冥早臥日出不起。夫欲教呵瞋目視夫。應拒猶罵。二者不一心向夫婿。但念他男子。三者欲令夫死早得更嫁。是為三惡。玉耶默然無辭答佛。佛告玉耶。世間有七輩婦一婦如母。二婦如妹。三婦如善知識。四婦如婦。五婦如婢。六婦如怨家。七婦如奪命。是為七輩婦。[…]。何等為母婦母婦者。愛念夫婿猶若慈母。侍其晨夜不離左右。供養盡心不失時宜。夫若行來恐人輕易。見則憐念心不疲厭。憐夫如子。是為母婦。何等為妹婦。妹婦者。承事夫婿盡其敬誠。若如兄弟同氣分形。骨肉至親無有二情。尊奉敬之如妹事兄。是為妹婦。何等為善知識婦者。侍其夫婿愛念懇至。依依戀戀不能相棄。私密之事常相告示。見過依呵令行無失。善事相敬使益明慧。相愛欲令度世如善知識。是為善知識婦。何等為婦婦者。供養大人竭誠盡敬。承事夫婿謙遜順命。夙興夜寐恭恪言命口無逸言身無逸行。有善推讓過則稱己。誨訓仁施勸進為道。心端專一無有分邪。精修婦節終無闕廢。進不犯儀退不失禮。唯和為貴。是為婦婦。何等為婢婦者。常懷畏慎不敢自慢。兢兢趣事無所避憚。心常恭恪忠孝盡節。言以柔軟性常和穆。口不犯麤邪之言。身不入放逸之行。貞良純一質朴直信。恒自嚴整。以禮自將夫婿。納幸不以憍慢。

In this story of a 'repentant unworthy wife' (actually, daughter-in-law of Anāthapindika, a Buddhist layman), the idealization of the 'slave-like wife' hardly fully suited the ideals of Korea's modernists of the early 1910s. It was not, however, fully out of sync with the new times either. The dominant 'good wife, wise mother' paradigm used to prescribe to the daughters, wives and mothers a sort of submissive ('virtuous') behavior and "devotion to the family" that was quite compatible with older kinds of patriarchal discipline preached in the above-cited sūtra. A popular 'ethics' (*susin* 修身) textbook for female primary schools by No Pyŏnghŭi, *Yŏja Sohak Susinsŏ* 女子 小學 修身 書 (*Female Primer on Ethics*, Seoul, Pangmun Sŏgwan 1909), defined the ideal female behavior as first and foremost 'gentle and modest' (*yamjŏnhan*) and advised the female students to develop their habits of politeness, to be especially careful and respectful towards their future husbands and in-laws, and never think about taking the food first—very much in the same way Buddha was said to have advised Sujātā. Husbands, even in modernizing Korea of the first decade of the 20th century, were supposed to be 'served' (*sŏmgida*) by their wives, viewed as 'heaven' if they were 'wise,' but never 'disliked' even if they were 'ugly' (Han'gukhak munhŏn yŏn'guso 1977, vol. 10:537–551). So, Han Yongun, in essence, was showing through his *Great Buddhist Compendium* that the modern vision of 'good wife, wise mother' in the form it took in contemporaneous East Asia, had not only Confucian, but also Buddhist roots as well. It looks also as if in this case, the broader—and relatively conservative—Confucian public was the intended receiver of the message on Buddhism's 'decent' nature, 'wholly comparable' with the 'sage teachings' of Confucius and Mencius.

Among many other preachings in Han's anthology closely paralleling the Confucian worldview, there is a paragraph on 'peace'

設不接遇不以為怨。或得捶杖分受不恚。及見罵辱默而不恨。甘心樂受無有二意。勸進所好不妒聲色。遇己曲薄不訴求直。務修婦節不擇衣食。專精恭恪唯恐不及。敬奉夫婿婢事大家。是為婢婦。何等為怨家婦者。見夫不歡恒懷瞋恚。晝夜思念欲得解離。無夫婦心常如寄客。狺狺鬪諍無所畏忌。亂頭墜臥不可作使。不念治家養活兒子。或行婬蕩不知羞恥。狀如犬畜毀辱親里。譬如怨家。是為怨家婦。何等為奪命婦者。晝夜不寐恚心相向。當何方便得相遠離。欲與毒藥恐人覺知。或至親里遠近寄之。作是瞋恚常共賊之。若持寶物雇人害之。或使傍夫伺而殺之。怨枉夫命。是為奪命婦。是為七輩婦。[…] (T. 2, no. 143:865c22–867a17)

(Ch. *pínghé*, K. *p'yŏnghwa* 平和), in which the (excessive) litigation is discouraged (an important point in the Confucian vision of 'harmony'). On the cardinal question of 'good governance' (Ch. *shànzhèng*, K. *sŏnjŏng* 善政), Han offers the following Buddhist recipe for 'good kingship' originally taken from the 6th century *Bodhisattvagocaropāya-viśaya-vikurvāṇa-nirdeśa sūtra*, translated by Guṇabhadra (on this sūtra, see also Zimmermann 2000):

> Respect the law and do not commit superfluous acts, always think about benefiting the sentient beings, ensure that your clansmen follow ceremonial norms, be able to get knowledge on the behavior of the others, always keep yourself clean and pure, take distance from all unnecessary preoccupations. If you follow those rules, you will be able to dominate the world, and will be known as a king who practices Dharma. Such king is always diligent in self-cultivation, able to know well the world, masters all the arts, and never shows any idleness. He uses artful means to protect the world, and the sentient beings obtain peace and joy. Nobody suffers, since the king always benefits the others. He preserves the wholeness of his mind and speaks out the word of compassion. […] Everybody loves such a king, everybody is joyful about him.[5]

This sūtra basically teaches the ethics of patriarchal 'fatherly government,' in which the rulers' political capital is based upon the presumed observance of the religious ethics. This type of teaching is distinctively pre-modern, since the 'state' is reduced to the king's personal dominium, and the public authority is understood as being based upon the king's personal authority and power. However, in some ways, a pre-modern moralist preaching on the 'virtuous, fatherly king' was quite compatible with the official 'family state' (*kazoku kokka*) ideology of the early 1910s Japanese Empire—a colonial citizen of which Han Yongun, however unwillingly, was at that point. As interpreted by such influential official philosophers as Inoue Tetsujirō (1855–1944), the Japanese monarchy, with its 1890 *Imperial Rescript on Education* (*Kyōiku ni Kansuru Chokugo* 教育ニ関スル勅

[5] See the Chinese original from the *Taishō Tripiṭaka*: 重法不放逸, 常念利眾生，眷屬有禮法，善能知他行，自身常清淨，離諸無益業，彼王勝世間，名行法行王。貌重言常和，於善勤精進，善能知世間，一切諸伎藝。以常不懈怠，方便護世間，眾生得安樂，無有苦惱者。常樂利益他，將護一切心，出口說愛語，[…] 一切愛樂王 (*Dà púzhēníqiánzǐ suǒ shuō jīng* 大薩遮尼乾子所說經, T. 9, no. 27 2:338c4–17).

語) promoting both 'loyalty and filial piety' and modern patriotism simultaneously, was a 'moral state,' a guardian of the ethics and embodiment of 'moral goodness' (Doak 2007:92–102). While the *Imperial Rescript on Education* was solidly grounded in the Neo-Confucian textual legacy, Han Yongun was obviously trying to show that Buddhism could also offer a good doctrinal basis for a socio-political message of a similar kind.

Conclusion

Generally, the anthology provides a 'modernized' Buddhist message well acceptable both for the traditionalist Confucian and—to a degree—modernist public in early colonial Korea, and textually largely based on Āgama literature and the great Mahāyāna sūtras (*Avataṃsaka sūtra*, *Lotus sūtra*, etc.). The *Great Buddhist Compendium*'s message emphasized both the excellence and competitiveness of Buddhism as a religion (with the ongoing rivalry against the Christian missionaries in mind) and also the supposedly salubrious social effects of the Buddhist propagation. A fragment from *Amitābhavyūha* (*Wúliàng qīngjìng píngděng jué jīng* 無量淸淨平等覺經, T. 12, no. 361) used in the 'Foreword' to the anthology, stated clearly that the Buddhist preaching would eventually lead the world to the ideal state in which 'the strong will not humiliate the weak, everybody will be secure at their respective places, harvest failures and epidemics will never happen, wars will never take place, states will be free from banditry, bitterness and enmity will disappear [...]' (Han Yongun 1973, vol. 3:21). Buddhism was, thus, offered as the ultimate cure against most evils the majority of Koreans were suffering from or painfully aware about. Similar to the way in which missionary Christianity was often presented, Buddhism was shown in this anthology as a religion of great messianic promise, of a magnificent, if utopic, vision for 'better future.' Notably, the Zen writings are mostly missing from the anthology, although Han clearly considered himself a meditational monk (Han 1973, vol. 2:310–319). He obviously saw them as too esoteric for the intended readership of the anthology—broad layers of educated layfolk, often of Confucian or modernist persuasions.

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SERMONS BY XŪ YÚN: A SPECIAL TRANSMISSION WITHIN THE SCRIPTURES

THERESE SOLLIEN

The Question of Xū Yún's Rhetorical Style: Classical or Modern? According to his biography, one of the most influential Chinese Chán masters of modern times, Xū Yún (虛雲, often referred to as Empty Cloud, 1840–1959) was 120 years old by Chinese age calculation when he passed away. His lifetime occurred during an era of rapid and dramatic change, not only for Chinese Buddhism, but for Chinese society as a whole. Xū Yún experienced the demise of the Qīng dynasty, rise and fall of the Republican era, the Japanese occupation, and in his final decade he also saw China under Communist rule. In many ways, however, Xū Yún himself—that is, his own life and teachings—is not representative of change, but rather of the preservation and continuation of tradition. This article will argue that Xū Yún follows the traditional path of other Chán/Zen/Sŏn masters who advocated the usage of holding a *huàtóu* in meditation. By quoting Táng and Sòng dynasty Chán patriarchs at great length and frequently verbatim, instead of paraphrasing or reinterpreting them, Xū Yún is a transmitter of the tradition and not an innovator.

If we accept the birth year given in his biography, Xū Yún did not become enlightened until age 56. He had agreed to assist in leading a meditation retreat in Gāomín Monastery (高旻寺) in the Jiāngsū province, but on his way to the monastery he slipped and fell into a river where he was caught in a fisherman's net, whereupon he fell gravely ill. Without disclosing his dismal state, he requested to be excused from his obligations during the retreat and to participate only as a regular visitor at the meditation sessions. The Abbot of Gāomín Monastery did not accept this and took it as an insult, and he proceeded to scold and beat Xū Yún severely with a wooden ruler. It was during this retreat that Xū Yún became enlightened, following the tradition of gaining enlightenment upon an act of oral or physical violence.[1] In one of the most famous historical examples, Línjì (臨濟)

[1] Xu Yun/Hunn 1988:37–39.

was repeatedly slapped by his mentor Huángbò (黃檗) as a catalyst to his experience of awakening. However, unlike the stories of Chán masters who experienced enlightenment without necessarily being versed in, or even by defying the precepts of Buddhist literature, Xū Yún was a middle-aged man who had studied sūtras extensively since the age of 11. He had also traveled to India, Tibet, and Burma while spending 37 years of his life as a monk. In addition, he had gone on a pilgrimage from Mount Pǔtuó (普陀山), a small island in Zhèjiāng province, to Mount Wǔtái (五台山) in Shānxī (山西) province, prostrating himself every three steps and praying for the rebirth of his mother in the Pure Land by reciting the name of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva.[2]

Despite being a conventional narrator of the Chán canon, Xū Yún played an extraordinary role in greatly invigorating Chinese Buddhism, which had grown moribund after several centuries of political turmoil, Westernization, and neglect of the institutions. He rebuilt and restored a number of Buddhist temples. For instance, Yúnmén Monastery (雲門寺) is said to have been in absolute ruins when Xū Yún arrived in the 1930s, with only a single monk living on the premises. Xū Yún decided to rebuild this monastery which provided a sanctuary for about a hundred local people during the Japanese occupation, and who in return helped with the restoration work. Today, the monastery is home to over 350 monks, and the women's monastery Xiǎoxītiān (小西天) next to it houses more than 200 nuns. In both of these monasteries, as in many other Chinese Chán monasteries, both the Pure Land practice of recitation and Chán meditation using *huàtóu* (話頭) as a meditation device are taught side by side. This syncretistic approach was a style of practice revived, taught and advocated by Xū Yún.

According to the sermons included in his biography, Xū Yún teachings do not reveal an innovative Chán master who takes stories about the Dharma transmission of ancient masters and reinterprets or inverts them. Instead, he transmits the classics pretty much intact, with any minor variation likely being the result of textual discrepancy rather than a deliberate attempt to change or revise the original. An interesting example is the way in which Xū Yún recites the story of Diamond Zhōu (周金剛), a moniker for Déshān (德山) who claimed

[2] *Ibid*.:13–24.

to be the 'King of the *Diamond Sūtra*.' In this story that is contained in the prose narrative to Case 4 of the *Blue Cliff Record* (*Bìyán lù* 碧嚴錄), Déshān is traveling to Lóngtán Temple (龍潭寺), and on his way he meets an old woman selling rice cakes and refreshments. Since Déshān is carrying the *Diamond Sūtra*, she presents him with a riddle about the ungraspable mind, using an ingenious wordplay to outsmart him. In the end, Déshān walks away without being able to answer her riddle, and it seems that this elderly layperson has been proven to be more insightful than the Chán master. Japanese Zen master Dōgen (1200–1253) recounts this story in the 'Shinfukatoku' fascicle of the *Kana Shōbōgenzō* and criticizes both the old lady and Déshān for allowing the wordplay to bring the conversation to an end. Dōgen goes on to suggest what Déshan might have replied to undermine the old lady's philosophical pun instead of walking away without any refreshments.[3] In contrast to Dōgen's elaborate interpretive exercise, Xū Yún lets the story speak for itself without any additional remark or interpretation.

Recent studies suggest that the language of Xū Yún's sermons have a close relationship to the language of Sòng texts in general and the *Recorded Sayings* in particular.[4] He is portrayed as a kind of latter day Song literati in modern garb. We do not have an account of the manner by which Xū Yún's sermons were recorded, and it is certainly imaginable that one or several monks took notes during his talks and subsequently made corrections and modifications to these notes. However, assuming that there is little discrepancy between these sermons as they are rendered in Xū Yún's biography and the way in which they were originally presented in the monastic setting, a close look at Xū Yún's *kāishì* (開示) sermons from Shanghai in 1953 during a retreat which was attended by both monks and laymen will show that not only is his language close to that of the Song texts; in many cases the citations in the sermons are identical, word-by-word transmissions of the phrasing as recorded in the Taishō version. Therefore, I maintain that he should not be seen as a throwback to the Sòng, but as a modern person who tried his best to transmit the texts in a contemporary setting.

This in no way diminishes the greatness of Xū Yún's contribution to the revival of Buddhism in 20th century China. His accomplish-

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[3] Heine 1994:33–34.
[4] See, for instance, Campo 2003:273–301, as cited in Anderl 2004:xxvi.

ments were monumental. However, as a deliverer of sermons, he should be seen as one who relied upon the classics but not, as some have suggested, because he was able to capture the locution of an ancient era. Rather, it is because he must have faithfully studied and memorized the traditional texts preserved in modern collections. For an audience of followers unschooled in Buddhist literature, this must have come across as an impressive rhetorical feat, even though in comparison with some of the giants of the Chán/Zen tradition, Xū Yún's approach may seem to lack the creative spark that the school is known for.

I am now going to introduce four examples that show the way Xū Yún has treated the classics. In each case, I present the English translation of Xū Yún's original Chinese sermon along with up to three sources texts that he probably studied and from which he culled the source material, including *The Gateless Barrier* (*Wúmén guān* 無門關), *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* (*Liùzǔ dàshī fǎbǎo tánjīng* 六祖大師法寶壇經), *An Outline of Historical Researches into the Śākya Family Lineage* (*Shìshì jīgǔ lüè* 释氏稽古略), and *The Teaching Record of Dàhuì* (*Dàhuì Pǔjué chánshī yǔlù* 大慧普覺禪師語錄).

Four Examples of Xū Yún's Use of Chán Texts

Example 1

The first example[5] is taken from the famous story of how Mahākāśyapa received wordless Dharma transmission from Buddha by producing a faint smile. Xū Yún's wording is highly formulaic, albeit not as faithful to the sources as other examples below. However, keeping in mind that this sermon was delivered in 1953, the style of speech is strikingly unmodern. Xū Yún was seemingly able to recreate Sòng rhetoric based primarily on his careful study of the texts from the Taishō[6] edition. Had he been an innovator, he would likely have taken license to alter or revise the source passage according to his

[5] All citations are taken from Zhū Jìngzhòu 1997. All translations are my own.
[6] *The Gateless Barrier* (無門關): T. 48, no. 2005:293c, also *An Outline of Historical Researches into the Śākya Family Lineage* (释氏稽古略): T. 49, no. 2037:753b.

teaching predilections, but we do not find examples of such rhetoric in his sermons.

English	Xū Yún	無門關	釋氏稽古略
As for the Dharma of this sect, when the Buddha finally ascended his seat, he picked up the golden sandalwood flower put before him by the Great Heavenly King and presented it to the assembly.	至於宗門下一法。乃佛末後陞座。拈大梵天王所獻金檀木花示眾。	世尊昔在靈山會上。拈花示眾。	大梵天王以金色波羅華持以獻佛。世尊拈華示眾
At the time, of the men and *devas* of the assembly, no one could grasp his meaning.	是時座下人天大衆。皆不識得。	是時眾皆默然。	人天百萬悉皆罔措。
Only Mahākāśyapa broke into a smile.	唯有摩訶迦葉破顏微笑	惟迦葉尊者破顏微笑。	獨有迦葉破顏微笑。
Thereupon the Buddha said: 'I have the treasure of proper insight, the wonderful mind of Nirvana, and the ultimate essence of nothingness. This I transmit to you.'	世尊乃曰。[吾有正法眼藏。涅槃妙心。實相無相。咐囑於汝。]	世尊云。吾有正法眼藏涅槃妙心實相無相微妙法門。	世尊曰。吾有正法眼藏涅槃妙心。分付迦葉。
This is the separate transmission outside the teachings, not establishing words and letters, the unsurpassable Dharma door of enlightenment through direct realization.	此乃教外別傳。不立文字。直下承當之無上法門。	不立文字教外別傳。付囑摩訶迦葉。	

Example 2

The second example is a short narrative about how Xíngsī inherited the Dharma from Huìnéng. The story exemplifies how their Chán teaching is superior to that of other schools of Buddhism which advocate a method of gradual enlightenment. Notice that a key example is the final sentence '六祖深器之,' in which Xū Yún's version is identical to the three sources with the exception of '*liùzǔ* 六祖,' who is referred to as either *zǔ* 祖 or *shī* 師. Since this is not a quotation of direct speech, Xū Yún could have chosen a somewhat more modern wording, such as '六祖深深器重他,' but instead chose to remain faithful to the wording of his sources,[7] even though this approach might have been less understandable to his audience unless they were already familiar with the story.

English translation	Xū Yún	大慧普覺禪師語錄	六祖大師法寶壇經	景德傳燈錄
Once upon a time, the 7th Patriarch Xíngsī of Qīngyuán Mountain asked the 6th Patriarch:	昔者七祖青原行思問六祖曰	示眾。舉青原思和尚問六祖	行思禪師。生吉州安城劉氏。聞曹溪法席盛化。徑來參禮。遂問曰	
'What does one do to avoid falling into progressive stages?'	[當何所務。皍不落階級]	當何所務即不落階級	當何所務。即不落階級	當何所務即不落階級
The patriarch asked: 'What have you been doing in the past?'	祖曰。[汝曾作甚麼來]	祖云。汝曾作甚麼來	師曰。汝曾作什麼來	祖曰。汝曾作什麼

[7] *The Teaching Record of Dàhuì* (大慧普覺禪師語錄): T. 47, no. 1998:843c, also *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* (六祖大師法寶壇經): T.48, no. 2008:357b and *The Jǐngdé Transmission of the Lamp* (景德傳燈錄): T. 51, no. 2076:240a.

Xíngsī said: 'I have not even practiced the Noble Truths.'	思曰。[聖諦亦不為]	思云。聖諦亦不為	曰。聖諦亦不為	師曰。聖諦亦不為
The patriarch asked: 'Which progressive stages have you fallen into?'	祖曰。[落何階級]	祖云。落何階級	師曰。落何階級	祖曰。落何階級
Xíngsī said: 'When not even having practiced the Noble Truths, what progressive stages are there?'	思曰。[聖諦尚不為。何階級之有]	思云。聖諦尚不為。何階級之有	曰。聖諦尚不為。何階級之有	曰聖諦尚不為。何階級之有
The 6th Patriarch thought he was very talented.	六祖深器之	祖深器之	師深器之	祖深器之

Example 3

This third example is a story about Chán master Făcháng, who is enlightened by the *gōngàn*, 'It is the mind that is Buddha,' which he has received from Măzŭ Dàoyī 馬祖道一. An instance of Xū Yún's arcane quotation style is his usage of the preposition *sì* 似. Even in Táng and Sòng times, this character was very rarely used as a preposition, and, for instance, in the *Zŭtáng jí* 祖堂集 it connects verbs to indirect objects together with *jŭ* 舉 ('to bring up, to cite'), *shuō* 說 ('to say, speak'), and *chéng* 呈 ('to present, submit').[8] This story is the only place in Xū Yún's sermons where 似 is used as a preposition. In the first occurrence in the story, the wording is '僧歸舉似鹽官,' whereas the *Jĭngdé Transmission of the Lamp* version[9] uses 說 instead of 舉: '僧歸說似鹽官.' In the second occurrence, Xū Yún's version is identical to that of the *Jĭngdé*

[8] Anderl 2004:322–323.
[9] JDCDL, T. 51, no. 2076:254c.

Transmission of the Lamp: '其僧回舉似馬祖.' This shows the extent to which his rhetorical style was antiquated.

English translation	Xū Yún	景德傳燈錄
When the Chán Master Fǎcháng of Dàméi called on Mǎzǔ for the first time, he asked him: 'What is Buddha?' Mǎzǔ replied: 'It is the mind that is Buddha.'	昔日大梅法常禪師。初參馬祖。問。[如何是佛。] 祖曰。[即心是佛]	明州大梅山法常禪師者。襄陽人也。姓鄭氏。幼歲從師於荊州玉泉寺。初參大寂。問如何是佛。大寂云。即心是佛
He thereupon bade farewell to Mǎzǔ and went to Méi Zǐzhēn's old hermitage in Sìmíng, and settled to reside there permanently.	師即大悟。遂禮辭馬祖。至四明梅子真舊隱處。縛茆而居	師即大悟
During the reign of Zhēnyuán of the Táng dynasty, in the assembly of Yánguān there was a monk. The monk went to gather branches for walking sticks, but got lost and came to the hermitage.	唐貞元中。鹽官會下有僧。因採拄杖迷路至庵所	唐貞元中居於天台山餘姚南七十里。梅子真舊隱。時鹽官會下一僧入山采拄杖。迷路至庵所
He asked: 'How long have you been here?' The Master replied: 'I have just seen that the mountains turned green and then yellow again.'	問。[和尚在此多少時。] 師曰。[祇見四山青又黃。]	問曰。和尚在此山來多少時也。師曰。只見四山青又黃。
He further asked: 'Which way do I go to get out of the mountain?' The Master said: 'Follow the stream.'	又問。[出山路向甚麼處去。] 師曰。[隨流去]	又問。出山路向什麼處去。師曰。隨流去

The monk returned and took this up with Yánguān. Yánguān said: 'I once saw a monk in Jiāngxī, but I never heard from him afterwards, could this be the same monk?'	僧歸舉似鹽官。官曰。[我在江西曾見一僧。自後不知消息。莫是此僧否]	僧歸說似鹽官。鹽官曰。我在江西時曾見一僧。自後不知消息。莫是此僧否
A monk was thereupon sent to invite him. Dàméi replied by a verse:	遂令僧去招之。大梅以偈答曰	遂令僧去請出師。師有偈曰
'A dried up log rests against the Winter forest,	摧殘枯木倚寒林	摧殘枯木倚寒林
How many times does it meet the Spring without changing its mind?	幾度逢春不變心	幾度逢春不變心
The woodcutter encounters it, and yet ignores it,	樵客遇之猶不顧	樵客遇之猶不顧
Why would a stranger strain himself to collect it?	郢人那得苦追尋	郢人那得苦追尋
A pond of lotus leaves holds endless amounts of clothing,	一池荷葉衣無盡	
And the pine nuts from a few trees provide food aplenty.	數樹松花食有餘	
When your lodgings are discovered by worldly men,	剛被世人知住處	
You move your thatched cottage further into the forest.'	又移茅舍入深居]	

When Mǎzǔ heard that the Master was living in the mountains, he sent a monk to ask him: ‘When you met the Great Master Mǎzǔ, what did you obtain which made you live in this mountain?’	馬祖聞師住山。乃令僧問。[和尚見馬大師。得個甚麼。便住此山]	大寂聞師住山。乃令一僧到問云。和尚見馬師得箇什麼便住此山
The Master replied: ‘The Great Master said to me that it is the mind that is Buddha, and that is why I live here.’	師曰。[大師向我道。即心是佛。我便這裡住]	師云。馬師向我道即心是佛。我便向遮裏住
The monk said: ‘The Great Master’s Buddha Dharma recently changed again.’ The Master said: ‘How so?’ The monk said: ‘Now he says it is neither mind, nor Buddha.’	僧曰。[大師近日佛法又別。] 師曰。[作麼生。] 僧曰。[又道非心非佛]	僧云。馬師近日佛法又別。師云。作麼生別。僧云。近日又道非心非佛
The Master said: ‘The old man is deluding people, and it will never come to an end. According to him it is neither mind, nor Buddha, but as far as I am concerned, it is the mind that is Buddha.’	師曰。[這老漢惑亂人未有了日。任他非心非佛。我祇管即心是佛]	師云。遮老漢惑亂人未有了日。任汝非心非佛。我只管即心即佛
The monk told this to Mǎzǔ. The Master said: ‘The plum is ripe.’	其僧回舉似馬祖。祖曰。[梅子熟也]	其僧迴舉似馬祖。祖云。大眾。梅子熟也

Example 4

The fourth and final example is the story of Chán master Déshān, who went to Lóngtán Temple and on his way encountered an old woman

selling rice cakes. Although it would be difficult to know exactly which version of each story Xū Yún memorised, this lengthy narrative shows that the wording of long passages are verbatim quotations, even when he is not quoting direct speech. This is especially apparent in the introductory passage, where Xū Yún's wording in eight consecutive lines is almost identical to the versions found in *An Outline of Historical Researches into the Śākya Family Lineage*[10] and *Jĭngdé Transmission of the Lamp*.[11]

English translation	Xū Yún	释氏稽古略	景德傳燈錄
In ancient times there was a master Déshān who came from Jiǎnzhōu in Sìchuān.	昔日德山祖師。是四川簡州人	德山朗州德山禪師。名宣鑒。簡州人	朗州德山宣鑒禪師。劍南人也
His secular surname was Zhōu. He became a monk at the age of 20.	俗姓周。廿歲出家	姓周氏。丱歲出家	姓周氏。丱歲出家
The year he became fully ordained, he meticulously studied the Vinaya Piṭaka, and of all the scripts concerning essential nature he acquired a thorough knowledge.	依年受具。精究律藏。於性相諸。經。貫通旨趣	依年受具。精究律藏於性空寺。通貫諸經旨趣	依年受具精究律藏。於性相諸經貫通旨趣
He often spoke of the *Diamond Sūtra*, so his contemporaries called him 'Diamond Zhōu.'	常講金剛般若。時人謂之周金剛	常講金剛般若。時謂之周金剛	常講金剛般若。時謂之周金剛

[10] T. 49, no. 2037:840–841.
[11] T. 51, no. 2076:317b–c.

He said to his fellow students: ‘If a hair swallows an ocean, then the *ocean of bhūtatathatā* is not at loss. If the mustard seed hits the needle-point, the needle-point does not move. As for *śaikṣa* and *aśikṣa*,[12] only I know it.’	嘗謂同學曰。〔一毛吞海。性海無虧。纖芥投鋒。鋒利不動。學與無學。唯我知焉]		厥後訪尋禪宗。因謂同學曰。一毛吞海海性無虧。纖芥投鋒鋒利不動。學與無學唯我知焉
Later he heard that Chán was flourishing in the South. He lost his temper and said: ‘Those who become monks and nuns spend a thousand eons studying Buddha’s dignity and ten thousand eons studying Buddha’s minute behavior, yet they do not attain Buddhahood.	後聞南方禪席頗盛。師氣不平。乃曰。〔出家兒。千劫學佛威儀。萬劫學佛細行。不得成佛	不信南方宗禪之道。乃曰。出家兒千劫學佛威儀。萬劫學佛細行。不得成佛。	
Those southern demons dare say they can directly point to the mind and realize their self- nature and become Buddhas? I shall sweep out their caves and extinguish their kind, recompensating my gratefulness to Buddha.’	南方魔子。敢言直指人心。見性成佛。我當掃其窟穴。滅其種類。以報佛恩〕	南方魔子敢言。直指人心見性成佛。我當摟其窟穴滅其種類以報佛恩	

[12] 學 (*xué*) is the process of acquiring knowledge. In the Mahāyāna, the ten stages of the bodhisattva belong to 學; the stage of Buddha to 無學 (*wú xué*). Śaikṣa describes someone still under instruction; someone who has yet to reach the *arhat* position, and *aśikṣa* the state of arhatship; beyond study (Foguang:6214–6215).

Thereupon, carrying the *Qīnglóng Commentary* on a shoulder pole, he left Shǔ (Sìchuān).	遂擔青龍疏鈔出蜀	遂檐青龍疏鈔出蜀至澧陽
When he reached Lǐyáng on his way, he saw an old lady selling crackers on the side of the road. To rest and recuperate he wanted to buy crackers and refreshments.	至澧陽路上。見一婆子賣餅。因息肩買餅點心	路上買油糍點心
The old lady pointed to his shoulder pole and said: 'What kind of text is this?' The Master said: 'The *Qīnglóng Commentary*.'	婆指擔曰。〔這個是甚麼文字。〕師曰。〔青龍疏鈔〕	婆子指其檐曰這箇是甚麼。師曰。青龍疏鈔
The old lady said: 'Which sūtra does it talk about?,' and the Master said: 'The *Diamond Sūtra*.'	婆曰。〔講何經。〕師曰。〔金剛經〕	婆曰講何經。 師曰。金剛經
The old lady said: 'I have a question. If you can answer it, then I will grant you these refreshments called mind-pointers.[13] If you cannot answer it, then go elsewhere.'	婆曰。〔我有一問。你若答得。施與點心。若答不得。且別處去	婆曰我有一問。若道得我當供上座油糍。若道不得不與油糍

[13] These refreshments, often referred to in the Cantonese romanization *dim sum*, uses the literal meaning 'pointing to the mind' as a way of wordplay.

The *Diamond Sūtra* says: “The past mind cannot be achieved. The present mind cannot be achieved. The future mind cannot be achieved.” I wonder, to which mind would the honored monk like to point?’ Master Déshān had nothing to say.	金剛云。“過去心不可得。現在心不可得。未來心不可得。”未審上座點那個心。〕師無語	婆乃問曰。經中道過去心不可得。未來心不可得。現在心不可得。未審上座點那箇心。師無語乃不得油糍而去	
He thereupon went to the Dragon Pond Monastery. He went to the Dharma Hall and said: ‘For a long time “Dragon Pond” (‘Lóngtán’) has resounded , but it seems that now that I have come, I see no pond and no dragon appears.’	遂往龍潭。至法堂曰。〔久嚮龍潭。及乎到來。潭又不見。龍又不現〕	遂之澧州龍潭寺。至法堂曰。久嚮龍潭及乎到來。潭又不見。龍又不現	因造龍潭信禪師。問答皆一語而已(前章出之)師即時辭去。龍潭留之
Lóngtán appeared and said: ‘You personally have arrived at the Dragon Pond.’ Master Déshān had nothing to say, and settled there.	潭引身而出曰。〔子親到龍潭。〕師無語遂棲止焉	潭隱身曰。子親到龍潭。師無語求棲止焉	
One evening when he was standing attendance, Lóngtán said: ‘It is late at night. Why not retire?’ Master Déshān wished goodnight and left.	一夕侍立次。潭曰。〔更深何不下去。〕師珍重便出	一夕侍立。潭曰更深何不下去。師便出	一夕於室外默坐。龍問。何不歸來
He turned back and said: ‘It is dark	却回曰。〔外面黑。〕潭點	却回。曰外面黑潭點紙	師對曰黑。龍乃點燭與師。

outside.’ Lóngtán lit a paper-torch and gave it to the Master. Master Déshān was about to receive it when Lóngtán blew out the flame. Thereupon Master Déshān reached great enlightenment, and made his obeisance to him.	紙燭度與師。師擬接。潭復吹滅。師於此大悟。便禮拜	燭度與師擬接。潭即吹滅之。師當下大悟便禮拜	師擬接。龍便吹滅。師乃禮拜
Lóngtán said: ‘What did you see?’ Master Déshān said: ‘From this day forward I will never doubt your words again.’	潭曰。〔子見個甚麼。〕師曰。〔從今向去。更不疑天下老和尚舌頭也。〕	潭曰子見箇甚麼。師曰。從今向去更不疑天下老和尚舌頭也。	龍曰。見什麼。曰從今向去不疑天下老和尚舌頭也。
The following day, Lóngtán ascended his seat and said to the assembly: ‘If there is a fellow whose teeth are like sword-leaf trees, and whose mouth likens to a basin of blood, who when beaten with the staff does not turn his head, then at some point he will go to the highest point of a solitary mountain and establish my doctrine.’	至來日。龍潭陞座謂眾曰。〔可中有個漢。牙如劍樹。口似血盆。一棒打不回頭。他時向孤峰頂上。立吾道去在。〕		至明日便發。龍潭謂諸徒曰。可中有一箇漢。牙如劍樹口似血盆。一棒打不迴頭。他時向孤峯頂上立吾道在

Master Déshān took the *Commentary* and piled it up in front of the Dharma Hall. He lit a fire and said: ‘To exhaustively discuss the abstruse is like a hair put in the great void and exhausting the world’s essential devices is like pouring a drop into a great pool.’	師將疏鈔堆法堂前。舉火炬曰。〔窮諸玄辯若一毫置於太虛。竭世樞機。似一滴投於巨壑。〕	來日將所携疏鈔。於法堂前焚之。舉火曰。窮諸玄辯若一毫置於太虛。竭世樞機。似一滴投諸巨壑。	
Thereupon, he set the pile on fire. After having bidden farewell, he went directly to Guīshān. Carrying the remains under his arm, he went to the Dharma Hall, which he crossed from west to east and east to west.	遂焚之。於是禮辭。直抵潙山。挾復子上法堂。從西過東。從東過西	辭去抵溈山	師抵于溈山。從法堂西過東迴視方丈
He saw the abbot and said: ‘Does it exist? Does it exist?’ The Master of Guīshān was sitting, and did not look up. Master Déshān said: ‘It does not. It does not,’ and left.	顧視方丈曰。〔有麼有麼。〕山坐次殊不顧盼。師曰。〔無無。〕便出		溈山無語。師曰。無也無也
When he reached the front door, he said: ‘Even if it is like this, I should not be so hasty.’ Thereupon he dignifiedly went back in to meet the abbot.	至門首乃曰。〔雖然如此。也不得草草。〕遂具威儀。再入相見		便出至僧堂前乃曰。然雖如此不得草草。遂具威儀上再參

As soon as he crossed the threshold, he took out his *niṣīdana* and said: ‘Monk!’ The Master of Guīshān had almost picked up his fly whisk when Master Déshān cried out, shook his sleeve and left.	纔跨門。提起坐具曰。〔和尚。〕山擬取拂子。師便喝。拂袖而出		才跨門提起坐具喚曰。和尚。溈山擬取拂子。師喝之揚袂而出
When night came, Master Guīshān asked the head monk: ‘The newcomer who came today, is he here?’ The head monk said: ‘When he turned his back on the Dharma Hall, he put on his straw sandals and left.’	溈山至晚問首坐。〔今日新到在否。〕座曰。〔當時背却法堂著草鞋出去也。〕		溈山晚間問大眾。今日新到僧何在。對曰。那僧見和尚了更不顧僧堂便去也
Master Guīshān said: ‘This man will later go to highest point of a solitary mountain and build a thatched hut. He will scold Buddha and curse the patriarchs.’	山曰。[此子已後向孤峰頂上。盤結草庵。呵佛罵祖去在。〕		溈山問眾。還識遮阿師也無。眾曰。不識溈曰。是伊將來有把茅蓋頭。罵佛罵祖去在
Master Déshān stayed in Lǐyáng for 30 years. During the Táng dynasty persecution of Buddhism by Emperor Wǔzōng, he took refuge in a stone cave in Dúfú mountain.	師住澧陽三十年。屬唐武宗廢教。避難於獨浮山之石室	復還住澧陽三十年。屬武宗廢教。隱於獨浮山之石室。	師住澧陽三十年。屬唐武宗廢教。避難於獨浮山之石室

During the first years of the *dàzhōng*-era, prefect Xiè Tíngwàng of Wǔlíng restored the monastery of Déshān and called it Gǔdé Chán Temple.	大中初。武陵太守薛廷望。再崇德山精舍。號古德禪院	宣宗大中初。武陵刺史薛廷望再葺德山精舍。號古德禪院	大中初武陵太守薛廷望再崇德山精舍。號古德禪院(相國裴休題額見存)
He was looking for someone sagacious to manage the monastery and heard of the attainments of Master Déshān.	將訪求哲匠主持。聆師道行		將訪求哲匠住持。聆師道行
He repeatedly invited him, but he (i.e., Master Déshān) would not descend the mountain.	屢請。不下山	請師住持不肯下山	屢請不下山
Tíngwàng then set up a plot, sending officials to falsely accuse him of handling tea and salt and said that he had violated the prohibition law.	廷望乃設詭計。遣吏以茶鹽誣之。言犯禁法	廷望設詭計。以茶鹽誣師致之入州	廷望乃設詭計。遣吏以茶鹽誣之言犯禁法
They fetched the Master and made him enter the prefecture, and the prefect resolutely asked him to come and reside there. He greatly expounded the school's teaching.	取師入州。瞻禮堅請居之。大闡宗風	禮敬堅請。然後居之以闡玄化	取師入州瞻禮。堅請居之。

Conclusions

Xū Yún's rhetorical style may be viewed mainly in two main ways. One approach is to read him as a voice from a Táng/Sòng dynasty grave, or as a Chán master who invokes the greatness of former times by embodying the rhetorical style of the Chán canonical literature in the modern era. From this perspective, he is a contemporary master who works innovatively with the classics, and his greatness lies in his unique ability to capture the golden age that produced voluminous Zen anecdotes and sayings. However, a close reading of the records of his sermons does not support this view of Xū Yún, and it seems misleading to put forward such an interpretation of his method of dealing with the sources.

The second approach is to view Xū Yún as a Chán master who has memorized the traditional literature to such an extent that he is able to quote lengthy passages from previous masters from the Táng/Sòng dynasty. The four examples of his texts that are analyzed in detail above support this view by showing that Xū Yún emulated the rhetoric in the transmitted texts of the past and cannot be considered to have created new passages. In each of the four cases in which he cites materials from the golden age, we find that he is quoting verbatim from the classical sources, rather than inventing a new style that derives from yet significantly changes the tradition.

This second view is strengthened by Xū Yún's modest self-introduction at the 1953 retreat held in Shanghai: 'I have been asked to come and speak,' he says, 'but I cannot do more than pick up a few sentences left by the Buddha and the patriarchs' (要我來説。也不過是 拾佛祖幾句剩話。). Such a disclaimer, which is by no means uncommon in Chinese culture that routinely valorizes the past, may typically be seen as a nod to the golden age. In the case of Xū Yún, however, we should see that this expression does not play the role of somewhat disingenuously citing his respect for the classes that he revises. Rather, the introductory comment is revelatory of his sense of self-identity as understood in relation to the sources that influence all of his rhetoric. From this perspective, he is clearly a transmitter of the Chán tradition and not an innovator who seeks to alter or surpass it.

The question can then be raised whether this second view of Xū Yún seems to diminish his creativity or detracts from his greatness. In responding to this query, I would emphatically answer 'no' because

his achievements lie firmly rooted in the way he rose to the challenges of his time as he recovered and resurrected what had become a long-forgotten tradition and brought it into the modern, highly secularized world with a sense of dynamism and vitality. Without his crucial contributions to the revival of Chán, many of the classic sources of the tradition would be neglected or overlooked in contemporary China.

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