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## RESEARCH ARTICLE

# Vinaya and the Chan School: Hīnayāna precepts and bodhisattva precepts, Buddhism in the city and Buddhism in the mountains, religion and the state

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### Introduction

In recent years I have published several articles on the relationship between the early Chan School and the precepts, both the so-called Hīnayāna precepts of the traditional *vinaya*, as well as the *bodhisattva* precepts. Initially I had thought that it was important to study this question simply because it pertained to the development of the distinctive Chan monastic regulations known as ‘pure rules’ (*qinggui* 清規). But, as my research progressed, I began to realize that this question was also connected to matters quite fundamental to the very existence of the Chan School, and that it furthermore might, more broadly, hold the key to understanding the relationship between Buddhism and the state in China.<sup>1</sup> Based on my previous studies of these matters, in the present essay I will endeavor to present a summary of my thinking on this question of the relationship between the development of the Chan School and the precepts.

### Huike 慧可(d.u.) the mountain ascetic

When Buddhism first entered China, not only did those holding the reins of power gradually begin to have faith in and practice this religion, they also tried to control it. To recognize Buddhism is, in a certain sense, to recognize the existence of Buddhist monks and nuns. However, the existence of celibate monastic practitioners did not mesh easily with the Chinese world-view in which the emperor reigned supreme. Not only that, but Buddhist monastics did not engage in productive labor, and thus could not pay taxes. There were thus many ways in which the Buddhist clergy existed outside of the value system that had hitherto always persisted within China. Accordingly, in order to maintain control over the state, those in power always felt it was necessary to limit the number of Buddhist monks and nuns and to control their activities.

What served as the basic method for controlling the Buddhist clergy was the system of ordination certificates (*duje* 度牒 or *jiedie* 戒牒). Having been granted an ordination certificate, one was recognized as an official member of the clergy and was protected as such. Furthermore, by being given an ordination certificate, one’s status as a full-fledged

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member of the clergy became official, and one was henceforth made to perform religious services on behalf of the state.

Those monastics that held ordination certificates were thus seen as being useful to the state, both by providing religious protection for the state and by encouraging good behavior on the part of society at large. Those monks and nuns who did not have ordination certificates, in contrast, were considered to be ‘privately ordained clergy’ (*sidu seng* 私度僧). Seen as potential troublemakers, they became the object of periodic government suppression. Within Chinese Buddhism it was of course true that undergoing ordination and receiving the precepts also had the same kind of religious meaning that it had had in India, that is to say, as a necessary prerequisite for the pursuit of awakening. However at the same time ordination also came to have the character of a tool by which the government could control Buddhism, as well as of an official, government-granted privilege that monks and nun enjoyed.

In this respect Buddhism and the Buddhist clergy came to play a role within the governing structure of China, and Buddhism’s unequivocal status as a religion aimed solely at the pursuit of awakening could not help but be diminished by this. Those various people who were unsatisfied with this kind of existence for Buddhism tended to relocate to the mountains and forests outside of the major cities, where government power was concentrated, so as to devote themselves to religious practice. Such people did not have much concern with the special status that went along with official ordination certificates. They zealously pursued austere practices with the aim of realizing awakening, and they were the kinds of religious practitioners who with burning passion tried to transmit their own level of attainment to their followers. The monk Huike, regarded by the Chan School as one of its early patriarchs, seems to have been just this kind of person.

The oldest complete account of Huike’s life appears within the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳, a collection of hagiographies of famous monks that was composed in the mid-seventh century, roughly a century after the time when Huike lived.<sup>2</sup> According to this biography, Huike studied both Buddhist and non-Buddhist texts from an early age, and even before he met the Indian monk Bodhidharma (from whom, later tradition would say, he received initiation into the teachings of Chan) he had developed his own unique understanding of Buddhism. Later, when he was 40 years of age, Huike is said to have met Bodhidharma and to have studied under him for six years. Given that at this time in history the notion of *linage* had come to be highly valued, it is possible that this episode was included in Huike’s biography merely so as to indicate that Huike was heir to a prestigious lineage. Indeed, not only is it unlikely that Huike would have been able to actually understand the spoken words of an Indian such as Bodhidharma, but, as I have discussed elsewhere, the famous text of the *Erru sixing lun* 二入四行論 that Huike was supposedly taught by Bodhidharma is clearly based primarily on ideas that were already circulating at this time among Chinese Buddhist exegetes.<sup>3</sup> Thus even if the story of Huike studying under Bodhidharma is true, it seems clear that Huike’s understanding of Buddhism had already become solidified long before he even met Bodhidharma.

The biography further indicates that, after parting ways with Bodhidharma, Huike attracted many followers. He is said to have taught extensively in the capital of Ye 鄴 during the Tianping 天平 era of the Eastern Wei 東魏 dynasty (534–537), where he aroused the jealousy of a certain Meditation Master Daoheng who was supposedly known for his practice of meditation. After Daoheng bribed a local official, Huike was accused of a crime. Trapped in a situation from which he could not escape alive, Huike fled so as to avoid confrontation. He thereupon avoided settling in any fixed location, and wandering about outside the capital he continued to teach and proselytize.

Huike's biography does not mention any particular connection with the precepts or vinaya. However given that he was apparently pursued by government officials and did not have a fixed place of residence, it would be difficult to imagine that Huike was an official member of the clergy. Indeed it seems almost certain that he must have been a so-called privately ordained monk.

What is distinctive about Huike is thus not that he abandoned the city in order to live in the forests and mountains, but rather that he seems to have lived a life in which he came and went between the two. In other words while on the one hand he evidently concentrated his attention on his own spiritual cultivation and the guiding of disciples while living away from settled areas, at the same time he did not cease his society-oriented activities that took place mainly in the capital city. This kind of existence can rightly be called 'neither monastic nor lay.' Huike's influence thus reached to many different levels, and it is for this reason, perhaps, that he was able to acquire so many students.

Huike's biography goes on to mention a certain Layman Xiang 向居士 (d.u.) who supposedly became Huike's student through the exchange of letters, and one of these letters is then cited.<sup>4</sup> Laymen Xiang was, clearly, a layman, yet nonetheless a record of his life was recorded in Huike's biography just as were those of Huike's monastic disciple, Meditation Master Na 那禪師 (d.u.) and his disciple, Huiman 惠滿 (d.u.). Concerning Meditation Master Na, he is said to have become a monk after having been moved by hearing Huike preach. Concerning his later life, the biography goes on to say that:

After [Meditation Master] Na had become a monk, he no longer picked up the brush [to compose secular works] or set a hand on non-Buddhist books. He possessed only one robe and one bowl, and took eating but once a day as his perpetual practice. He further undertook the *dhūta* [austerities], and for this reason he never dwelled in towns or villages. 那自出俗, 手不執筆及俗書。惟服一衣一盂, 一坐一食, 以可常行。兼奉頭陀, 故其所往, 不參邑落。<sup>5</sup>

Master Na thus became an ascetic monk (*toutuoseng* 頭陀僧) as soon as he was ordained. Regarding Huiman, we are similarly told that he:

Formerly dwelled in the Longhua temple of Xiangzhou, but when he heard [Meditation Master] Na preach the Buddhist teachings, he immediately became his disciple and solely devoted himself to non-attachment. With but a single robe and [eating] but one meal a day, he owned nothing more than two needles [for patching his robes]. In winter he would beg for patches [for his robes], but in summer he just put [his robes] aside and exposed himself to the elements. He always said that he was never afraid of anything. His body did not suffer from insect bites [despite his going about naked], and he slept [peacefully], without dreams. He had no fixed abode, and when he [temporarily] stopped in a temple he would split firewood and make sandals [for the other monks]. He always practiced begging for food. 舊住相州隆化寺, 遇那說法, 便受其道, 專務無著。一衣一食, 但畜二針。冬則乞補, 夏便通捨, 覆赤而已。自述一生無有怯怖, 身無蚤虱, 睡而不夢, 住無再宿。到寺則破柴造履, 常行乞食。<sup>6</sup>

Huiman thus originally lived permanently at the Longhua temple, but after hearing the preaching of Master Na he adopted a peripatetic lifestyle. Moreover as the account continues:

When he heard that there was going to be an inquest and that some monks were going into hiding, [Hui]man took his robes and bowls and travelled about to various towns and villages. He was untroubled [by government officials]. When he happened to accept an offering, he immediately gave it to someone else; he was always disinterested. 故其聞有括訪, 諸僧逃隱, 滿便持衣鉢, 周行聚落, 無可滯礙, 隨施隨散, 索爾虛閑。<sup>7</sup>

Here ‘inquest’ likely refers to a government purge of privately ordained monks, and it would thus seem that Huiman was not a member of the officially recognized clergy. Even those of Huike’s disciples who were perhaps not privately ordained monks seem to have often considered official ordination as not particularly significant, as can be seen from the biography of Huike’s second-generation disciple Fachong 法冲 (d.u.). According to the record of his life given in the *Xu gao seng zhuan*, ‘in the first year of the Zhenguan era (627-649), an imperial edict was given ordering that privately ordained monks would be punished by death. Vowing that he would sacrifice his life [if need be], Fachong shaved his head [anyway].’ 貞觀初年, 下敕有私度者處以極刑。冲誓亡身, 便即剃落。<sup>8</sup> Here we thus see that Fachong was willing to become a privately ordained monk even at the risk of severe punishment. Furthermore, as the biography goes on:

Fachong travelled all throughout the region of Dongchuan without any official status. On several occasions he declined to undergo ordination. As he was approaching the age of 50, an official decree permitting ordination was issued. Officials in Yanzhou forced him to undergo ordination and to join to the Faji temple. Though he thus became an officially registered monk, he made his home in the wilds and in his heart remained one who shunned the world and practiced austerities. 冲周行東川, 不任官貴, 頗有度次, 高讓不受。年將知命, 有敕度人。兗州度抑令入度, 隸州部法集寺。雖名預公貴, 而栖泉石, 撫接遺逸爲心。<sup>9</sup>

Fachong thus avoided undergoing official ordination on several occasions. Only at the age of 50 did he finally become formally ordained. But even then he did not give up his ascetic, wandering lifestyle. Indeed according to his biography, in order to study the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* he sought out disciples of Huike and received their instruction:

Fachong’s fearless sojourn, fueled by his regret that the authentic meaning of the profound *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* had been forgotten, facilitated his discovery of the masters of the sutra wherever he was. Among Huike’s lineage there was someone who had mastered this scripture, and so [Fachong] took him as his teacher. This teacher frequently praised Fachong’s understanding, and therefore had Fachong take over the teaching of the students. Fachong lectured on the scripture more than thirty times. Fachong also later encountered one of master Huike’s direct disciples [and learned under him]. After that, Fachong expounded this scripture [based on the understanding of] the One Vehicle School of south India [which had been transmitted by Bodhidharma] a further 100 times. 冲以《楞伽》奧典, 沈淪日久, 所在追訪, 無憚夷險。會可師後裔, 盛習此經, 即依師學, 屢擊大節。便捨徒衆, 任冲轉教。即相續講三十餘遍。又遇可師親傳授者, 依南天竺一乘宗講之, 又得百遍。<sup>10</sup>

Thus while Fachong had become a privately ordained monk living a wandering, ascetic lifestyle even before he began his discipleship under Huike’s descendants, such that this mode of practice cannot be considered as having been only the result of influence from Huike, the line here in the biography that he ‘gave no mind to danger in his efforts to always inquire about [the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*],’ seems to indicate that Huike’s descendants too were active in remote, difficult to access mountain areas; that, in other words, they were wandering ascetics. It is thus clear that these kinds of practices were valued by both Fachong and these disciples of Huike.

What should be noticed here is that while Huike, as if neither a layman nor fully a monk, seems to have freely gone back and forth between the city and more remote regions and to have spent his time teaching not only other monks but also lay people, most of Huike’s spiritual descendants seem to have severed their ties to society, to have lived primarily in remote regions, and to have taken other monks as the primary audience for their teaching.<sup>11</sup> These differences do not necessarily indicate a complete change in

thinking, and we might, for example, understand them as somehow reflecting the influence of the persecutions of Buddhism carried out in the north during the sixth century (which would have perhaps encouraged monks to stay away from urban centers). Nevertheless even so, we can recognize here a strengthening of an orientation among these monks towards life in remote regions. And we may say this orientation was carried on by Daoxin 道信 (580–651), later remembered as the fourth Chan patriarch, when he settled on Mt. Shuangfeng in Hunan, where he would build his monastic community.

To be sure, there is no direct evidence of any connection between Daoxin and Huike. Daoxin's biography in the *Xu gao seng zhuan* does not mention his teacher by name, so from a strictly historical point of view we cannot give credence to claim of the later Chan school that Daoxin was the disciple of Huike's supposed disciple Sengcan 僧璨 (d.u.). Nevertheless there is also no need to completely deny (as some modern scholars do) the idea that Daoxin was a 'descendant' of Huike in some sense. Indeed we can recognize many points of similarity between the so-called 'East Mountain' (*Dongshan* 東山) teachings of Daoxin and the *Erru sixing lun*, the one major text that we know reflects the thinking of Huike. The claim that Daoxin was Huike's 'descendant' is thus not, it seems to me, problematic as such.<sup>12</sup>

The *Xu gaoseng zhuan* relates Daoxin's move to Mount Shuangfeng as follows:

On his way to Hengyue, he passed through Jiangzhou, where he was persuaded by various monks and laymen to reside for a time at the Dalin temple. Though the temple was plagued by bandits, [Daoxin] remained there for ten years. Daoxin was then invited by monks and laymen from Qizhou to come north across the Yangtze river to Huangmei county, where they built a temple [for him]. However he did not give up practicing in the mountains [and so refused]. He was [eventually] drawn by the beauty of the streams and rocks of Mt. Shuangfeng [in Huangmei county], and decided that that was where he would finish his days. That night many wild beasts came circling around [Daoxin]. When he bestowed the precepts and refuges upon them, they departed. For thirty years he stayed in the mountains. From throughout the country those seeking to study Buddhism came to him, even from very far away. The prefect Cui Yixuan heard of him, and he too came to pay homage. 欲往衡岳, 路次江洲. 道俗留止廬山大林寺. 雖經賊盜, 又經十年. 鄴州道俗, 請度江北黃梅縣衆造寺. 依然山行, 遂見雙峯有好泉石, 即住終志. 當夜大有猛獸來繞, 並爲授歸戒, 授已令去. 自入山來, 三十餘載, 諸州學道, 無遠不至. 刺史崔義玄, 聞而就禮.<sup>13</sup>

According to this account, before settling on Mt. Shuangfeng, just like Huike's disciples Daoxin was a 'mountain practitioner,' that is to say, was someone who carried out strict practice while dwelling in remote regions. Daoxin's community was carried on and developed on Mt. Huangmei by Daoxin's disciple Hongren, and eventually came to be called the 'East Mountain School' (東山法門). Within the East Mountain School the notion that Buddhist practice should be carried out in remote regions continued to be emphasized. Thus according to the *Lengjia shizi ji* 楞伽師資記, one of the earliest records of the teachings of the East Mountain School,

Someone asked [Hongren]: Why is it that one who wishes to study Buddhism must avoid towns and villages and must, rather, dwell in the mountains? 人問, '學道何故不向城邑聚落, 要在山居?'

[Hongren] answered: The trees needed to make a tall building come only from a deep valley; they cannot be found near to human habitation. Precisely because they are far from people they are able to avoid being cut down by axes. When they have grown large, then they are fit to be used as beams and rafters. Thus know that one must rest one's spirit in deep valleys, keeping far from the noise and dust [of human habitation]. Nourish your spirit while living in



the mountains, and for a long time keep apart from the affairs of the world. With not a single thing before your eyes, your mind will naturally come to be at peace. Then the flowers of the tree of the Way will open, and from the forest of meditation the fruits [of awakening] will be harvested. 答曰, ‘大廈之材, 本出幽谷, 不向人間有也。以遠離人故, 不被刀斧損斫。一一長成大物後, 乃堪爲棟梁之用。故知栖神幽谷, 遠避囂塵, 養性山中, 長辭俗事, 目前無物, 心自安寧。從此道樹花開, 禪林菓出也。’<sup>14</sup>

We can thus see that the East Mountain School of Daoxin and Hongren was heir to a value system that was also shared by Huike. This is also seen in that many of the Chinese apocryphal scriptures that were used by the East Mountain School, such as the *Foshuo fajū jīng* 佛說法句經 and the *Fo wei Xinwang pusa shuo toutuo jīng* 佛爲心王菩薩說頭陀經, were clearly composed by Buddhists dedicated to carrying out strict practice while living in remote regions, a point I have discussed elsewhere.<sup>15</sup>

### The East Mountain School and the vinaya

The opening lines of Daoxin’s biography in the *Xu gao seng zhuan* read as follows:

Daoxin’s original family name was Sima. From where he hailed is unknown. When he was six, he became the disciple of a certain Buddhist master. This master’s maintenance of the precepts was not pure, and Daoxin reprimanded him on this account. The master did not heed this advice, so [Daoxin] secretly maintained strict discipline [on his own]. This went on for five years without the master knowing of it. There were later two monks of unknown backgrounds who came to Mt. Wangong in Shuzhou where they practiced meditation in tranquility. Hearing [of them, Daoxin] sought them out and received instruction from them. For ten years he studied with them. These masters then left for Mt. Luofu, but [telling Daoxin that] if he remained behind he would eventually reap great benefit, they did not let [Daoxin] accompany them. Later, the government decreed that exceptional people would be allowed to ordain, and so Daoxin [eventually took ordination] and registered at the Jizhou temple. 釋道信, 姓司馬, 未詳何人。初七歲時, 經事一師, 戒行不純。信每陳諫, 以不見從, 密懷齋檢。經於五載, 而師不知。又有二僧, 莫知何來, 入舒州公山靜修禪業。聞而往赴, 便蒙授法。隨逐依學, 遂經十年。師往羅浮, 不許相逐, 但於後住, 必大弘益。國訪賢良, 許度出家。因此附名, 住吉州寺。<sup>16</sup>

It is thus clear, from this account at least, that Daoxin was officially ordained. Nevertheless the details concerning this ordination are not spelled out; indeed, while the biography records that Daoxin lived to the age of 71,<sup>17</sup> there is no mention anywhere of the number of years he spent as a monk, and hence no indication of when he was officially ordained.

Of note, however, is the line in the biography cited above in which Daoxin is said to have bestowed the precepts of the three refugees upon wild beasts, as well as the reference in the *Lengjia shizi ji* to Daoxin having composed a text pertaining to the bodhisattva precepts.<sup>18</sup> These points all suggest that Daoxin must have regularly bestowed the bodhisattva precepts on lay followers. Daoxin’s biography in the *Xu gao seng zhuan* also mentions that Cui Yixuan 崔義玄 (585–656), the governor of Qi Prefecture (Qizhou 鄆州) formally become Daoxin’s disciple. We may thus conclude that Daoxin, despite his clear inclination for living and practicing in remote regions, still maintained these kinds of contacts with society.

Concerning Daoxin’s successor Hongren, nothing is mentioned regarding his ordination in any of the earliest sources to record his biographical information (such as the *Chuan fabao ji* 傳法寶紀 and the *Lengjia shizi ji*). Since he was eventually able to organize and become the leader of a large monastic community, it might be presumed that he must have been an officially ordained monk; still, given that many of Hongren’s

students appear to have had irregular ordinations (as I discuss below), it is also not entirely impossible to imagine that he too was privately ordained.

A number pieces of evidence make clear that the East Mountain School, in accord with the tradition established by Huike, did not consider the traditional precepts of the vinaya to be particularly important:

- (1) Both Faru 法如 (638–689), a disciple of Hongren who became famous in the capital of Luoyang in the late-seventh century, and Huineng 慧能 (638–713), also supposedly a disciple of Hongren (and later remembered as the Sixth Patriarch of the Chan School), are reported to have received the full precepts only *after* they had already become famous, and it seems that before this time they were both either postulants (行者) or perhaps privately ordained monks.<sup>19</sup>
- (2) Contradictions appear in the account of the ordination of Shenxiu 神秀 (606?–706), who was perhaps Hongren’s most famous disciple and who popularized the East Mountain teachings in the Chinese capital in the late-seventh and early-eighth centuries, and there is a strong possibility that Shenxiu did not receive a full ordination until after he had become established as a famous teacher.<sup>20</sup>
- (3) As the East Mountain school became established in the area around the Chinese capitals of Luoyang and Chang’an, it was criticized by other Buddhists (such as Huiri 慧日 [680–748]) for its lackadaisical attitude towards the vinaya (I will discuss this below).
- (4) The funeral epitaph for the monk Puji 普寂 (651–739) seems to suggest that Puji’s stricter attention to the vinaya represented some kind of change relative to the approach of his master, Shenxiu (I will discuss this below).
- (5) The so-called Baotang 保唐 School (which traced itself back to the East Mountain teachings of Daoxin and Hongren), which flourished in Sichuan in the eighth century, was known for not following the vinaya or taking the precepts and for their disregard of traditional Buddhist rituals. That the Baotang School truly did ignore the precepts is confirmed by the fact that in 796 CE they were commanded, by imperial degree, to begin taking the precepts and undergoing ordination in the normal manner.<sup>21</sup> However this tendency to downplay the significance of the precepts, which became so prominent in the Baotang School,<sup>22</sup> was actually common throughout all the early Chan groups that traced themselves to the East Mountain teachings.

However despite this orientation away from the formal precepts of the vinaya, all those who followed the East Mountain teachings did nonetheless give up the wandering, ascetic lifestyle so as to settle into relatively large, organized communities, and in doing so communal rules and regulations of some kind must have been necessary. But the ideological foundations for these rules and regulations were sought not in the traditional precepts of the vinaya, but rather in the bodhisattva precepts, something seen by the existence of the tradition according to which Daoxin composed a text on the bodhisattva precepts (mentioned above), and also revealed in numerous accounts of the sayings and doings of Hongren’s disciples.

Thus, in the *Dasheng wusheng fangbian men* 大乘無生方便門, a text thought to be associated with Shenxiu and his disciple Puji 普寂, ‘purity of the precepts’ is explained to be maintaining the ‘non-arising of mind’ (*xin buqi* 心不起) and according with one’s ‘Buddha nature’ (*foxing* 佛性).<sup>23</sup> In the *Dunwu zhenzong jingang bore xiuxing da bi’an*



*famen yaojue* 頓悟真宗金剛般若修行達彼岸法門要決, a text associated with Houmochen Yan 侯莫陳琰 (660–714) (a disciple of Shenxiu as well as the master Huian 慧安 [?–709]), the precepts are said to consist in simply contemplating the ‘place that is no place’ (*wu suozhu* 無所處).<sup>24</sup> Similarly in the Dunhuang manuscript of the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (*Liuzu tanjing* 六祖壇經), associated with Huineng and his disciple Shenhui 神會 (684–758), the ‘precepts of the three formless refuges’ (*wuxiang sangui jie* 無相三歸戒) are explained to be not the taking of refuge in the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha (the normal meaning of the three refuges), but rather the taking of refuge in ‘awakening’ (*jue* 覺), ‘uprightness’ (*zheng* 正) and ‘purity’ (*jing* 淨), which are the ‘three treasures of one’s own self nature’ (*zixing sanbao* 自性三寶).<sup>25</sup> And in the *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記, a text associated with master Wuzhu 無住的 Baotang School, Wuzhu’s own master Wuxiang 無相 (also known as master Jin 金和尚) is recorded to have taught that that three trainings of precepts, concentration, and wisdom are to be understood as referring to ‘not conceptualizing’ (*wuyi* 無憶), ‘not thinking’ (*wunian* 無念), and ‘not forgetting’ (*mowang* 莫忘) respectively.<sup>26</sup> Within all these examples we see that the ‘precepts’ 戒 have been interpreted as actually referring to the attainment of awakening.

In the example from the *Dasheng wusheng fangbian men*, the ‘precepts’ in question are specifically called the bodhisattva precepts. This understanding that ‘precepts’ means simply one’s Buddha nature seems to derive from a passage in the *Brahma-Net Sutra* (*Fanwang jing* 梵網經), which in Chinese Buddhism became the most important and authoritative text on the bodhisattva precepts.<sup>27</sup> It is significant, however, that despite this apparent debt to the *Brahma-Net Sutra*, within the texts associated with early Chan mentioned above there is absolutely no mention of the kinds of specific lists of prohibited activities that appear in the *Brahma-Net Sutra* in the form of the famous lists of 10 major and 48 minor precepts. Followers of early Chan seem thus to have thought about the ‘bodhisattva precepts’ in a more abstract manner, and not as a concrete set of regulations for religious life.

From the texts mentioned above associated with the followers of the East Mountain School, we can see that among many of Hongren’s disciples, there existed the practice of organizing religious gatherings in which, as a set, there took place confession and the bestowing of the bodhisattva precepts, preaching of the Dharma, and instruction in introductory meditation practices. Such activities may be what it is that early Chan texts mean when they speak of ‘opening the teachings’ (*kaifa* 開法). For example in the *Lengjia shizi ji*, we read that after receiving transmission of the Dharma from Hongren, Faru 法如 (638–689) first lived anonymously among the monks at the Shaolin 少林 temple. The text recounts how he later began his career as a teacher and ‘opened the teachings’ as follows:

After having secretly received certification, [Faru] went to various places where he practiced the teachings. When emperor Gaozong died, monks were allowed to ordain [to generate merit], and the assembly unanimously recommended him. He then went to the Shaolin temple on Mt. Song. However he remained unknown to others for several years. Later, he became increasingly in demand [as a teacher], but he still refused to accept students. During the Chuigong reign period, the famous monk Huiduan and others from the capital of Luoyang came to the Shaolin temple and beseeched [Faru] to carry out the “opening of the teachings.” Unable to refuse, he followed the method that had been passed down from past generations and carried out a large teaching event. Without any needless beating about the bush, he directly caused everyone’s mind to become awakened. 既而密傳法印, 隨方行道。屬高宗昇遐度人, 僧衆共薦興[=與?]官名, 往嵩山少林寺。數年, 人尚未測。其後照求日至, 猶固

讓之。垂拱中，都城名德惠端禪師等人，咸就少林，累請開法。辭不獲免，乃祖範師資，發大方便。令心直至，無所委曲。<sup>28</sup>

This expression ‘opening the teachings’ also appears in an inscription for the master Puji, which recounts that after Puji’s teacher Shenxiu had died, Puji, displaying the indifference to fame that a good Chan master should, ignored repeated requests to ‘open the teachings.’<sup>29</sup>

From these accounts we can infer that all the various different branches of the followers of the East Mountain teachings organized quite similar rituals that they referred to as ‘opening the teachings.’ The origin of this practice is thus most likely to be found in the original East Mountain teachings of Hongren and Daoxin.

‘Opening the teachings’ was thus a ritual gathering designed to introduce outsiders to the practices and doctrines of the East Mountain School, and its target audience was either lay persons or monks and nuns from other groups. Still, this does not mean that the theme of the bestowal of the bodhisattva precepts was merely a means for assembling this audience. Indeed as I have mentioned, many of those within the East Mountain School were not officially ordained monks, and thus there would have been, in principle, nothing separating such monks from the laypersons. The bodhisattva precepts were the guiding principle of religious life in the East Mountain School, and in the ritual of ‘opening the teachings’ this principle was demonstrated publicly.

Why, then, were the bodhisattva precepts taken as the emblem of the East Mountain School? It seems to me that this must have been a direct result of their style of life and practice. In the East Mountain School, several hundreds of people were established in a communal life with the common aim of the attainment of awakening. To this end, a concrete method of practice was developed.<sup>30</sup> Therefore quite naturally, communal regulations appropriate for this practice were established. In order to maintain the collective enterprise, each person had to take on responsibility for putting forth the physical labor and spiritual effort necessary for this kind of mutual support. Accordingly, devotion to the welfare of others was especially praised. This is conveyed in the following description, found in the section on Hongren from the *Chuan fabao ji*, of Hongren’s style of practice while he was living under Daoxin:

He always strenuously exerted himself in manual labor and was humble towards others. For this reason Daoxin had a high opinion of his talents. During the day, he would run errands, while at night he would sit in meditation until dawn. He never slackened or tired, continuing his efforts like this for many years.<sup>31</sup>

Included within the here mentioned ‘manual labor’ was farming, something that, in Indian Buddhism, had been prohibited for monks and nuns.<sup>32</sup> As is well known, after Huineng became Hongren’s disciple he was ordered by his new master to work in the rice-threshing room, a situation described in the Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sutra* as follows:

When Huineng heard these words, because of his karmic connection [to Buddhism] from a previous lifetime, he immediately left his family and travelled to Mt. Pingmu in Huangmei, where he paid reverence to the Fifth Patriarch Master Hongren. Master Hongren asked Huineng: “Coming here to this temple and paying me reverence, what is it that you here seek?” Huineng replied: “I am from Lingnan [in the South], and am a native of Xinzhou. Today I come from afar to pay homage to you, great master, not because I seek any thing, but only because I seek the method for becoming a Buddha.” The master [Hongren] scolded

Huineng: “You are from Lingnan, and what’s more, are an uncivilized barbarian! How could you become a Buddha?” Huineng replied: “Though people are of the North and South, Buddha-nature is without north or south. Though I differ from you, master, in that I am an uncivilized barbarian from the south, what difference could there be in our Buddha-natures?” The master [Hongren] wished to continue the discussion, but seeing that there were others about he remained silent. He then ordered Huineng to perform manual labor alongside the community. One of the other postulants then ordered Huineng to work in the threshing room for eight months.<sup>33</sup>

As can be seen from this account, Hongren’s community appears to have engaged in labor so as to be economically self-sufficient.

John McRae, however, has argued that in as much as it emphasizes Huineng’s performing of manual labor, the *Platform Sutra* here reveals to us just the opposite, namely that the other, regularly ordained monks in this community such as Shenxiu did *not* engage in manual labor.<sup>34</sup> This conclusion, however, does not seem to be correct, for the other monks in the community were also, as I have discussed above, if not postulants (as was Huineng) then at least privately ordained monks. Indeed from the words ‘perform manual labor alongside the community’ in the passage above we must understand that Huineng here simply happens to have been assigned to the threshing room, and that the other monks in the temple were carrying out other, similar jobs.

Thus within the East Mountain community was codified both distinctive rules and regulations for a lifestyle that included manual labor, as well as methods of religious practice that took meditation as their central feature. On this basis it was thought that one would more easily attain awakening. However within the East Mountain community it was not only awakening itself that came to have an exalted value, but also the maintenance of collective harmony and the rules and regulations necessary to achieve it. In short for the East Mountain community the entirety of everyday life came to have this kind of exalted value. Daily life thus came to be emphasized to the same extent as was awakening itself. Daoxin’s biography in the *Lengjia shizi ji* 楞伽師資記, in the form of an excerpt from Daoxin’s *Rudao anxin yao fangbian famen* 入道安心要方便法門, thus states:

From the first, mind and body are just this very mind. Lifting up one’s foot and putting it down, one is always within the hall of practice. All actions and activities are awakening.<sup>35</sup>

In a similar vein, Hongren’s biography from this text, citing Xuanze’s 玄蹟 *Lengjia renfa zhi* 楞伽人法志, describes Hongren’s attainment as follows:

Sitting, standing, walking and lying down were [for him] all places of practice. All his actions of body, speech, and mind were the activities of the Buddha. [For Hongren], disturbance and calm were not distinct; speech and silence were as if one.<sup>36</sup>

Although it is questionable whether the words here attributed to Hongren or Daoxin were actually theirs, it is clear that these ideas became established within the East Mountain community.

In the passage from the *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記 cited above, the so-called three trainings of precepts, meditation, and wisdom were all taken as referring to the same thing, to ‘not conceptualizing’ (*wuyi* 無憶), ‘not thinking’ (*wunian* 無念), and ‘not forgetting’ (*mowang* 莫忘) (see above). Within the literature of the early Chan school various similar statements can be found equating the three trainings, and this would

appear to have been a common position from the time of the East Mountain community.<sup>37</sup> This taking of the three trainings as one amounts to the assertion that one cannot separate what I above referred to as ‘distinctive rules and regulations for a lifestyle that included manual labor,’ ‘methods of religious practice that took meditation as their central feature,’ and the ‘attainment of awakening.’ We can thus recognize within the religious practice of the East Mountain community the actualization in China of a new set of the ‘three trainings.’

We can, therefore, see why followers of the East Mountain teachings would have devalued the traditional, Hīnayāna precepts of the vinaya and instead looked to the bodhisattva precepts as a source for the basic principles for the regulation of their lives. For what they were aiming was this novel form of the ‘three trainings’ and the unity of these three trainings, that is, for the unity of their distinctive lifestyle regulations and the attainment of awakening based on their religious practices. The position within society afforded to them as members of the Buddhist clergy was not of concern to them. Accordingly, it was not an issue for them whether or not they had been officially ordained or whether or not they had officially received the precepts. Indeed on the contrary, the traditional precepts of the vinaya, which were rooted in Indian society and culture, fit poorly in many ways with their lifestyle and their religious practices. Most of all the prohibition on manual labor found in the Indian vinayas amounted, for followers of the East Mountain teaching, to no less than an obstacle to their religious practice.

In contrast to the traditional vinaya, the bodhisattva precepts were thought to be something that could be shared in common by both monks and the laity, and could thus be taken on by officially ordained monks, privately ordained monks, and lay persons, without any consideration given to their status. With this as the guiding principle, all practitioners could equally work towards awakening and live together cooperatively, and it would indeed have been especially important for manual labor not to be seen as a problem when monks and lay persons were living together without any separation between them (as was the case with the East Mountain School).

The adoption of the bodhisattva precepts by the East Mountain community would further have made sense from a doctrinal point of view. For while the East Mountain followers emphasized the possibility of the actualization of awakening—that is, of ‘wisdom’—on the basis of their religious practices—that is, ‘meditation’—such actualization was understood on the basis of *Tathāgathagarbha* doctrine as ‘seeing one’s Buddha nature.’<sup>38</sup> And ‘Buddha nature’ and ‘precepts’ are seen as one in the *Brahma-Net Sutra*, therefore the East Mountain followers took it as nothing other than the proclamation of the three trainings.

However while the East Mountain followers adopted the bodhisattva precepts on the conceptual level, for good reason they did not try to use the actual stipulations of the bodhisattva precepts as the basis for the regulation of their communities. Indeed, even though the 10 major and 48 minor precepts of the *Brahma-Net Sutra* are vastly more relaxed compared with the 250 precepts of the vinaya, they still had many points on which they were in conflict with the religious lifestyle that was devised by the East Mountain School. Accordingly the East Mountain followers drew from the *Brahma-Net Sutra* only the principle of the common treatment of monks and lay persons and the notion of the equality of the precepts and the Buddha nature, and in practice they did not worry too much about the details of the bodhisattva precept rules.

But how, then, is it possible that the East Mountain School, which while not following the precepts of the vinaya lived an outlaw-like existence all while assembling a large community of several hundred practitioners, did not become an object of concern on the

part of the government? In all probability the existence of the East Mountain School, located in southern reaches of the Yangtze river far away from the central government and furthermore based in remote areas, simply remained unknown to people in the region around the capital, even if we may assume that nearer-by their presence must have been known to at least some extent.

This the East Mountain School was indeed initially unknown to those living in the capital is confirmed by the manner in which Daoxuan's 道宣 (596–667) *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 was expanded over time. As discussed above, the extant text of the *Xu gao seng zhuan* includes a biography of Daoxin and mentions Daoxin's student Hongren. However these records were originally contained in a text known as the *Houji Xu gao seng zhuan* 後集續高僧傳, and were incorporated into the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* by a later person.<sup>39</sup> As Fujiyoshi Masumi 藤善眞澄 has shown, Daoxuan compiled this *Houji Xu gaoseng zhuan* only in the last years of his life (probably between 651 and 658), on the basis of information he obtained first hand on his travels along the Yangtze river into Sichuan,<sup>40</sup> and we may imagine that this is how he obtained the material for the biography of Daoxin.

In other words Daoxuan, who throughout his life ceaselessly sought out new information about the Chinese Buddhist community, only became aware of the existence of the East Mountain community late in his life, after having had the chance to personally travel into the lower Yangtze region where they were active. From this we may infer that during Daoxuan's lifetime the East Mountain School was indeed effectively unknown to those living in the region around the Chinese capitals of Chang'an and Luoyang.

In short, the reason the East Mountain community was able to break away from a religious lifestyle based on the vinaya of Indian Buddhism, and thereby establish a communal life based on distinctive regulations and methods of religious practice, is because they maintained the tradition, stemming from Huike, of a style of Buddhist practice carried out by those living away from cities in remote regions, and because they took as the stronghold for their activities a location sufficiently far removed from the power of the central government.

### 3. The entry of the East Mountain community into the capitals and the establishment of 'pure rules' (*qinggui* 清規)

The followers of the East Mountain teachings held up their own success in the attainment of awakening, and for this reason their existence gradually became known to others. This led eventually to practitioners flocking to them from all over China and their numbers swelling into the hundreds. When these practitioners had attained the fruits of their practice, as newly certified teachers they returned to their native provinces and began to spread the East Mountain teachings. In various areas a distinct lineage thus came into being that held up different disciples of Hongren as their patriarchs.

Within these various lineages of the early Chan School, those who settled in the region around the Chinese capitals—notably Faru 法如 (638–689), Hui'an 慧安 (?–709), and Shenxiu 神秀 (?–706), naturally became the most famous. Operating with the two Chinese capitals of Chang'an and Luoyang as their hubs, these masters carried out the ritual of 'opening the teachings' (as described above), and were greatly acclaimed. As discussed above, 'opening the teachings' was a ritual in which the bodhisattva precepts were bestowed and the doctrines and practices of the East Mountain School were introduced, one which was based at root on the non-recognition of any distinction between the clergy and the laity and in which the possibility of awakening for all beings

was proclaimed, and which therefore appealed especially to the laity and to women. It was not unusual for those laymen and women who became adherents of the East Mountain School to develop their practice, attain realization of awakening, and thereupon receive certification from a master.<sup>41</sup> Among those reported to have reached such a level were the two laymen Houmochen Yan and Chen Chuzhang, who even while remaining laymen became religious teachers in their own right and even left behind written teachings.<sup>42</sup> Among those devoted to the East Mountain School were numerous high officials, and as a result of their recommendations the masters Hui'an and Shenxiu were eventually treated as imperial teachers.

However from a wider perspective that these masters were so honored reflects not merely the veneration of these individuals by the emperor, but should also be seen as part of the concerted efforts of the state to bring the East Mountain community within the purview of its power. Making the leader of the East Mountain community that had formerly given little attention to the vinaya and maintained an existence far removed from the government an 'imperial teacher' (*dishi* 帝師) caused the East Mountain school to effectively swear obedience to the power of the imperium.<sup>43</sup> Things that were unproblematic when living in the mountains and forests of the lower Yangtze river valley would become impermissible now that they were settled in the two capitals under the close watchful eye of the emperor.

It was just at this moment that objections to this disregard for the vinaya began to be voiced by those monks in the region around the capitals who encountered the teaching of the East Mountain School. Representative of such critics was the master Hui'ri 慧日 (680–748),<sup>44</sup> who criticized followers of the Chan school as follows:

Those who practice meditation [followers of Chan] are entirely careless with regards to the precepts and abstinences. Many do not hold to them at all. In this, how can they hope to attain meditation? How is it that I know that these meditators do not hold to the precepts? I know this not through inference, but through direct experience. [Among such followers] the ordained, after noon [when according to the *vinaya* monks should not eat], still consume all kinds of so-called "medicinal" [foods] to their hearts' content. The laity fill their bellies thrice daily. Where, in such a situation, is there any maintenance of the precepts and abstinences? They classify alcohol as a "medicine" [so as to be allowed to drink it], and similarly consume [the normally prohibited] pungent foods [such as onions and garlic]. When they are sick, they eat the meat of fowl—were they to die in such a state, they could not be said to be holders of the pure precepts! Considered from this point of view, these [followers of Chan] do not maintain the precepts and abstinences but merely nourish their bodies, and none of them are engaged in religious practice that leads to future rewards. Though they talk about "emptiness," their actions lie firmly within the world of being. When they preach the Dharma to others they say that "all things are empty." But as for themselves, everything seems to exist, and they are entirely unable to sacrifice their material bodies in the pursuit of the path or to maintain the precepts for even a short time. Day and night they care for themselves, concerned only for their own continued existence. This is simply confusing religious practice with mundane affairs, and is far indeed from what actually it means to be a monk. 然坐禪者，於彼齋戒，心全慢緩，多分不持。以何爲因，而得禪定。何以得知？學坐之人，不持齋戒。以現量知，非比知也。出家者，過中藥食。種數千般，恣情盡足。在家者，三時飽食，持齋何在？酒通藥分，熏穢令補，病服鳥殘。及自死者，淨戒安存？以此理推，不持齋戒，但養見身，詎修來報？口雖說空，行在有中。以法訓人，即言“萬事皆空。”及至自身，一切皆有。不能亡軀徇道，齋戒一時。日夜資持，唯愁不活。此乃行參塵俗，沙門之義遠矣。<sup>45</sup>

Hui'ri's criticism, directed at representatives of the so-called 'Northern' school, was prompted primarily by the early Chan school's refusal to recognize the value of the Pure Land teachings. By attacking the Northern school for their laxity with regards to the



vinaya and the precepts Huiji was here no doubt seeking to convince a wider audience of clergy and laypersons of the validity of his criticism. Indeed inasmuch as laxity with regards to the precepts was clearly recognized as running counter to shared Buddhist understanding, just as did Huiji adherents of a more traditional style of Buddhism could be expected to cast a critical eye on the East Mountain School's casual attitude towards the precepts.

The followers of the East Mountain School eventually came to live in various large temples within the two capitals, such as the Fuxian 福先 and Nanlongxing 南龍興 temples in Chang'an, and the Jing'ai 敬愛 and Xingtang 興唐 temples in Luoyang. The monks of other lineages who lived in such temples would in principle have lived lives that were in conformity with the precepts of the vinaya, and in various ways there would surely have been created much friction between them and any resident monks who did not highly value the vinaya. Such friction would not, moreover, have remained an internal monastic issue, for the East Mountain School's way of existence also could absolutely not be accepted or recognized by the state, which had always sought to control and govern the clergy by means of ordination-certificate system.

Accordingly the East Mountain School had no choice but to change their orientation. Shenxiu's disciple Puji 普寂 (651–739), who like his master became an 'imperial teacher,' thus instructed his own disciples in the importance of not merely the bodhisattva precepts but also the *Hīnayāna* precepts. Puji's funeral epitaph, composed by the famous Li Yong 李邕 (678–747), relates this situation and the resultant flourishing of Puji's lineage as follows:<sup>46</sup>

The six patriarchs [from Bodhidharma to Shenxiu], venerating only the single gate of practice [of the Chan School], were not known for the precepts, and only occasionally transmitted their teachings. For this reason the master Shenxiu was criticized by ordinary people and his teaching abandoned by them, while the very wise followed the essential meaning [of his teachings] seeking directly for the sagely path. But [Puji, by valuing the precepts more highly], began by solidifying the base, and gradually reached to the high platform [of awakening]. In this manner he was able to gather to him a large number of people, and his disciples grew ever more numerous. For this reason, those to whom he transmitted his teachings number far more than one. 且爰自六葉，式崇一門。未誦戒經，或傳法要。大通以凡例起謗，將棄我聞。深解依宗，遽求聖道。所以始於累土，漸於層臺。攝之孔多，學者彌廣。故所付諸法，不指一人。<sup>47</sup>

Thus for Puji to value the *Hīnayāna* precepts both gave face to the government and averted the criticisms of his contemporaries. This new position was in some ways a kind of expedient that would allow Puji's disciples to more easily reside in the large monasteries of the capitals, and Puji's disciples seem to have well understood their master's thinking, for they also followed the tradition of the East Mountain school in recognizing the ultimate character of the bodhisattva precepts. This can be seen, for example, in the funeral epitaphs for Puji's disciples, where alongside the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, which by this time had become emblematic of the Chan School, we also find the *Brahma-net Sutra* occasionally invoked.

[The master Dazheng] first visited the elder Dazhao, where he awakened from delusion and become free of bondage, having opened up his mind-ground as if like a child,<sup>48</sup> and in the sphere of meditation he swept away the dust of his mind . . . when master Dazhao died, he sought out the instruction of the great master Guangde. When they first met, they simply exchanged greetings. On their second meeting, [Guangde recognized his ability] and shared his teaching seat with him. When [Dazheng] asked a question about profound things, he was answered only with silence. The two of them had both equally reached to the [advanced bodhisattva stages] of Perfect Awakening and Marvellous Awakening, their level of realization being perfectly equal and matching. In their practice of the *Brahma-Net Sutra* and their

understanding of the *Lankavatara-sutra*, they were in perfect accord for a long time. 詣長老  
大照，醒迷解縛。開心地如毛頭，掃意塵於色界。... 大照既沒，又尋廣德大師。一見而拱  
手，再見而分座。問之於了，荅之以默。俱詣等妙，吻合自他。梵衲之行，楞伽之心，密契  
久矣。<sup>49</sup>

Similarly in another inscription we read:

The Chan Master's Dharma name was Changchao. He studied meditation under the great  
master Dazhao (i.e. Puji), inherited wisdom from the master Shengshan, and realized non-  
grasping under the master Jingshou ... consequently using the mind-ground of the *Brahma-  
Net Sutra* he returned to the source, and using the teachings of the *Lankavatara-sutra* he  
illuminated his true nature. He guided both those who lived in Jingzhou and Yuezhou and  
those who had left their homes and were residing in the capital. 禪師法號常超，發定光於大  
照大師，垂惠用於聖善和上，證無得於敬受闍梨。... 於是以梵綱心地，還其本源；楞伽  
法門，照彼眞性。荆越之俗，五都僑人，有度者矣。<sup>50</sup>

And Puji's disciple Huiguang 慧光 (d.u.), in his *Chanmen jing xu* 禪門經序, wrote  
the following:

When reached the age of 15, I travelled throughout the land. Knowing that the matter of birth  
and death was important, I gave rise to the four [bodhisattva] vows and sought the Buddhist  
teachings wherever I went. On Mt. Song, and the Songyue temple, I paid reverence to the  
master Puji [in hopes he would become my teacher]. He asked me: "Do you recite the  
bodhisattva precepts? If you seek the Dharma, you must be able to recite these precepts, and  
then I will bestow the teachings on you." After not more than one or two months I had  
memorized the precepts, and following this for three years I received the teachings [from  
Puji]. 余乃身年三五，遊歷十方。自爲生死事大，遂發弘願，處處求法。吾於嵩山嵩嶽寺，  
禮拜寂和上。問言，"汝誦得菩薩戒不？汝若求法，要須誦戒，即與汝緣。" 吾不經一兩箇月，  
誦戒了，便求法，直至三年。<sup>51</sup>

Here we thus see Huiguang recording Puji's own words to the effect that the  
bodhisattva precepts are a precondition for religious practice. In connection with this it  
should also be noted that Puji's disciple Daoxuan 道璿 (702–760), who during the Nara  
era was invited to Japan, is recorded to have compiled a commentary on the *Brahma-Net  
Sutra* (entitled *Jizhu Fanwang jing* 集註梵網經).<sup>52</sup>

However even though here the bodhisattva precepts are still given a quite exalted  
status, it must be noticed that already we can detect significant differences as compared  
with the original East Mountain teachings. For whereas in the original East Mountain  
teachings this initial stage of practice was referred to only vaguely as 'the bodhisattva  
precepts' or 'the formless precepts,' in these records pertaining to the disciples of Puji  
they have clearly become formally associated with the *Brahma-Net Sutra*. Here too we  
thus seem to see some kind of reaction against those who had been criticizing the Chan  
School for its indifferent attitude towards the precepts. In other words while the  
'bodhisattva precepts' had for the East Mountain School been merely a kind of ideal,  
by the time of Puji's disciples it had become necessary to formalize them as the  
specific provisions contained in the 10 major and 48 minor precepts of the *Brahma-  
Net Sutra*.<sup>53</sup>

Another important question here concerns the way that the religious lifestyle of  
followers of the East Mountain teachings underwent a fundamental change as they  
began living within the large temples of the capitals. We may imagine, for example,  
that they were forced to adopt a style of life that was in harmony with the precepts of the  
vinaya in order to avoid conflicts with the other resident monks. And this would mean

abandoning the communal lifestyle based on manual labor that had been the tradition of the early East Mountain teachings. Despite this, for the sake of their own practice and the instruction of their disciples, for these new, capital-based members of the East Mountain lineage engaging in religious practices would mean living in more remote regions was still considered indispensable. Accordingly bases of operation outside the capitals themselves were still necessary, and hence do we find Puji based in the Songyue 嵩嶽 temple on Mount Song, and Yifu 義福 (658–736) in the Huagan 化感和 Guiyi 歸義 temples on the Zhongnan mountains.<sup>54</sup> In other words, for this generation of masters it was necessary to lead a dual lifestyle; a lifestyle that was both of the capitals and of the mountains.<sup>55</sup>

This change in lifestyle cannot but have had some influence on the doctrines and ideas of the early Chan School. From this point of view, the criticisms launched by Shenhui against the Northern School can be seen as having taken as their target the fact that those who had gone off to live in the capitals had lost the true tradition of the East Mountain School, that there had been a change for the worse in their understanding.

In his *Nanyang heshang wenda za zhengyi* 南陽和尚問答雜徵義, Shenhui explains the differences between himself and the Northern School as follows:

The prefect Kou said: “The understanding of these two great monks is not the same.” Attendant Wang asked the master [Shenhui]: “How have these differences come to be?” 寇太守云: “此二大德見解不同。”王侍御問和上, “何故得不同?”

[Shenhui] answered: “What one now describes as being not the same is that for Chan Master Zheng, one must first cultivate meditation, and that after [attaining] meditation one can give rise to wisdom. But this way of thinking is not correct. Right now while I am talking to you, attendant, meditation and wisdom are equally in operation. Accordingly to the *Nirvana-sutra*, when meditation is great but wisdom is weak, ignorance increases. When wisdom is great but meditation weak, false views increase. When both meditation and wisdom are equal, then this is called “seeing one’s Buddha nature.” This is why I say that [my understanding] is not the same [as that of master Zheng]. 答曰, “今言不同者, 爲澄禪師要先修定以後, 定後發慧。即知不然, 今正共侍御語時, 即定慧俱等。涅槃經云, “定多慧少, 增長無明; 慧多定少, 增長邪見。若定慧等者, 名爲見佛性。故言不同。”

Attendant Wang asked: “When are meditation and wisdom equal?” The master [Shenhui] replied: “As for ‘meditation,’ its essence is ungraspable. As for ‘wisdom,’ it is to see this ungraspable essence, which while always tranquil is also always functioning. This is what it means to study in such a way that wisdom and meditation are equal. 王侍御問, “作沒時是定慧等。”和上答, “言定者, 體不可得; 所言慧者, 能見不可得體。湛然常寂, 有恆沙巧用。即是定慧等學。”<sup>56</sup>

In other words, while originally it was held that meditation and wisdom must exist at the same time, Chan Master Zheng and the other teachers of the Northern School separate these two things and therefore make the mistake of understanding them as step-by-step stages, with wisdom only produced after having first attained meditation. In essence, then, Shenhui’s comments here are a criticism of the degeneration of the principle of the equality of the three trainings, which had originally been taught and manifest within the East Mountain community.

The original form of the various editions of the so-called ‘*Dasheng wu fangbian*’ 大乘五方便 is as a liturgy for the performance of the ‘opening the teachings’ ritual of the Northern School, one that was composed during the time of the Puji under the title *Dasheng wusheng fangbianmen* 大乘無生方便門.<sup>57</sup> Within this ritual, following the bestowing of the bodhisattva precepts, a method for meditation practice is explained through a dialog between master and disciple:

Next, having instructed everyone to sit in the meditation posture, ask: “O disciples of the Buddha, when the mind becomes calm and unmoving, what is it that is called ‘purity’? O disciples of the Buddha, all buddhas have a great method for entering the path. As soon as the mind is purified, one transcends even the realm of the buddhas.” 次各令結跏趺坐。問。佛子，心湛然不動，是沒言淨。佛子，諸佛如來有入道大方便，一念淨心，頓超佛地。

The master strikes the wood. Have [everyone] into the name of the Buddha once. 和擊木，一時念佛。

The master says: “All marks cannot be grasped. This is why the *Diamond Sutra* says ‘whatsoever marks there are are all empty.’ Watching the mind, if it is pure, this is called the stage of ‘pure mind.’ Do not tire your body and mind; do not relax your body and mind. Letting go, look afar. Look with equality. Look upon emptiness over yonder.” 和言，“一切相總不得取。所以《金剛經》云，凡所有相，皆是虛妄。看心若淨，名淨心地。莫卷縮身，心舒展身心。放曠遠看，平等看，盡虛空看。”

The master says: “What do you see?” The disciple says: “I do not see a single thing.” 和問言，“見何物?” 子云，“一物不見。”

Master: “Looking upon purity, look carefully. Use the pure eye of the mind. Look far, with no limit, no boundary.” 和，“看淨細細看，即用淨心眼。無邊無涯際遠看。”

The master says: “Look! Nothing is obstructed.” 和言，“無障礙看。”

The master asks: “What do you see?” Answer: “I do not see a single thing.” Master: “Look far ahead of you. Look far behind you. Look equally, at the same time, in the four directions and above and below. Look upon emptiness. Look long, with the pure eye of the mind, without interruption, and without being limited by time. If you can do this properly, body and mind will become regulated, their operation without hindrance.” 和問，“見何物?” 答，“一物不見。” 和，“向前遠看，向後遠看。四維上下，一時平等看，盡虛空看。長用淨心眼看。莫間斷。亦不限多少看使得者。然身心調，用無障礙。”

The disciple says: “Just this is the Buddha.” 子云，“是佛。”<sup>58</sup>

Following this passage there are further similar dialogs concerning concepts such as ‘the Buddha’ 佛, ‘the pure Dharma realm’ 淨法界, ‘the *tathāgatha*’ 如來, the ‘three bodies [of the Buddha]’ 三身, after which the following dialog is presented:

The master strikes the wood and asks: “Do you hear a sound?” Answer, “We hear, but there is no moving.” [The master]: “Just this not moving is the method for giving rise to wisdom on the basis of meditation. It is the method for the opening of wisdom. Hearing is wisdom. This method not only gives rise to wisdom, it can also causes meditation to be correct. This is the method for the opening of wisdom, for the attaining of wisdom. This I called the method for the opening of wisdom.” 和尚打木問言，“聞聲不?” 答，“聞不動。” “此不動是從定發慧方便，是開慧門，聞是慧。此方便非但能發慧，亦能正定。是開智門，即得智，是名開智慧門。”<sup>59</sup>

Judging from the line ‘the method for giving rise to wisdom on the basis of meditation,’ it seems undeniable that here there is an understanding that ‘meditation’ and ‘wisdom’ are to be treated as a sequence. In Shenhui’s *Nanyang heshang dunjiao jietuo chan men zhi liao xing tanyu* 南陽和上頓教解脫禪門直了性壇語, this kind of method for meditation is targeted for criticism, and it is stated that, ‘One must not activate thoughts so as to control the mind, nor must one ‘look far’ or ‘look near.’ All of this is not correct’ (不得作意攝心，亦不復遠看近看，皆不中).<sup>60</sup> Shenhui was thus evidentially quite familiar with the contents of the Northern School’s ‘opening the

teachings' ritual, and most likely Shenhui's criticisms of the Northern School were grounded in this knowledge.

However while the *Dasheng wusheng fangbianmen* presents meditation and wisdom as a sequential process, we cannot say that this was the only doctrinal position of Puji and the members of the Northern School. For it is entirely possible that this was seen simply as a useful method for explaining things to an audience of beginners so that they could more easily understand. Indeed within the *Dasheng wusheng fangbianmen*, in the form of a criticism of the understanding of the two lesser vehicles, we do find the following passage that at least indirectly affirms the equality of meditation and wisdom:

Question: "What are 'hearing' and 'not hearing'?" Answer: "People of the two vehicles hear when they are not in meditation but do not hear when they are within meditation. So people of the two vehicles have no wisdom when they are in meditation. [At such a time] they are unable to preach the Dharma, and unable to liberate living beings. When they exit from meditation, with mind now unconcentrated, they preach the Dharma, but they lack [at such time] the nourishment of the water of meditation. This is called 'the meditation of dry wisdom.' This what is meant by 'hearing' and 'not hearing.'"

Question: "What are 'perverse meditation' and 'correct meditation'?" Answer: "The meditation without wisdom of the people of the two vehicles is call 'perverse.'" 問: 是沒是聞不開?" 答, "二乘人出定即聞, 在定不開。二乘人在定無慧, 不能說法, 亦不能度衆生。出定心散說法, 無定水潤, 名乾慧定 是聞不開。" 問, "是沒是邪定正定?" 答, "二乘人有定無慧名邪。"<sup>61</sup>

However despite such passages, when investigating what Shenhui refers to as 'the separation of wisdom and meditation' (定慧分離) this notion of 'the method of giving rise to wisdom on the basis of meditation' (從定發慧方便) mentioned in the *Dasheng wusheng fangbianmen* passage cited above does indeed appear to be a deviation from the teachings of the East Mountain tradition, and it would thus seem that by Puji's time various doctrinal changes had begun to take place.

Followers of the so-called Northern School did not reply directly to Shenhui's criticisms, but they did use their political connections to have Shenhui banished from the area. We may view this action of the Northern School as the now conformist Chan attempting to rid itself of its remaining 'outlaw' elements. Here then, Chan had, under the protection of the power of the emperor, effectively become the same as city-based Buddhism.

And this transformation into a form of city-based Buddhism seems to have become even more rapid as time went on. From the various manuscripts related to the *Dasheng wu fangbian* 大乘五方便 it can be determined that after the time of Puji's disciple Hongzheng 宏正 (d.u.), the ritual of 'opening the teachings' progressively disappeared. It is true that there was, at this time, a flourishing of the form of scriptural commentary known as 'contemplative analysis' (心觀釋).<sup>62</sup> However this reveals merely the increasingly inward-looking nature of Northern School Chan thought, along with an increasingly strong tendency to separate awakening from religious practice.<sup>63</sup> At the same time we find that some of Puji's disciples and grand-disciples became specialists in the transmission of the Hīnayāna precepts. This represents, on the one hand, a devaluing of the Mahāyāna precepts,<sup>64</sup> but also shows that the existence of the East Mountain style – in which no distinction was made between monastic and lay in the pursuit of awakening – had disappeared.

Yet despite have successfully chased Shenhui away, the foundations of the Northern School were far from rock-solid. For indeed soon thereafter the An Lunshan rebellion rocked the capitals, laying them to ruin, and the power of the emperor upon which the Northern School had been relying began to falter. Although in the midst of this chaos

Shenhui himself died while in exile, after the An Lushan rebellion had been contained. Shenhui's disciples began to promote their teacher's virtues in the capitals, with the result that eventually Huineng was officially recognized as the Sixth Patriarch and Shenhui as the seventh.<sup>65</sup> The power of the Northern School thus waned. But Shenhui's school did not fare much better, and it too eventually declined. In its willingness to enter the capitals and rely upon the power of the emperor for its survival, Shenhui's school was, ultimately, no different from the Northern School.

In the aftermath of the An Lushan rebellion, the Tang court lost its ability to extend its authority into the provinces, and the tendency was for the 'military governors' (*jiedushi* 節度使) who controlled those regions to become gradually more independent. In this context the lineages of the later descendants of the East Mountain School represented by Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788) and Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 (700–790), who were based in the provinces and who spread their teachings there, gradually gained more prominence for it was they who, giving no mind to the power of the state, were able to put into practice the values of the East Mountain School. Among the followers of Mazu and Shitou there were some who lived within large provincial monasteries, and in such cases they most often lived together with monks of other schools, a situation that gave rise to numerous problems. Accordingly it eventually came to pass that various Chan masters undertook to choose locations in the mountains suitable for their religious practices to build there their own temples. Within the 'Chan temples' that were established in this way it was necessary to establish rules and regulations for religious practice, and this, it seems, was the origin of the so-called 'pure rules' (*qinggui* 清規). The creation of the 'pure rules' was eventually most often attributed to Mazu's disciple Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (749–814), but in all likelihood this was simply because from amongst the various different 'pure rules' that were in existence those known as *Baizhang's Pure Rules* were one of the most representative.

As I have already suggested, the basic spirit of the 'pure rules' of later Chan seem to have already been present within the East Mountain community. However the formal establishment of the 'pure rules' took place only later among the disciples of Mazu and Shitou. There are two good reasons for why this took place at this time:

- (1) After having experienced confusions and tribulations in the form of the Northern School, the followers of the East Mountain School, which had originally come from the style of Buddhism practiced in remote regions away from the capitals, could, through the form of these 'pure rules,' reaffirm their basic doctrinal standpoint.
- (2) Because there were, at this time, numerous Chan monks who succeeded in various regions, these 'pure rules' came to be accepted in society as integral parts of the lifestyle associated with Chan Buddhism.

The establishment of the 'pure rules' represented the formal establishment of a new school of Buddhism, with its own values, doctrines, and modes of practice. From this point of view, the establishment of the 'Chan School' is something that we can gradually discern only with followers of Mazu and Shitou. This was the actualization, in a China comprised of vastly different social conditions than India, of the original mode of existence of Buddhism as a religion set up at a clear distance from the temporal powers of the state, with its aim being the resolution, through awakening, of fundamental existential questions.



It must not be forgotten, however, that the establishment of such a school of Buddhism in China depended on the social conditions created by the aftermath of the chaos of the An Lushan rebellion and the attendant de-centralization of state power. The profound change in the Chan School's existence that took place later must be understood as having taken place together with another set of profound changes in society that occurred with the advent of the Song dynasty, namely the disappearance of most of the aristocracy and the concentration of power in the hands of the emperor.<sup>66</sup>

## Conclusion

I have thus here attempted, based on previous publications of the past several years, to present my understanding of the connection between the precepts – both the Hīnayāna precepts and the Mahāyāna precepts – and the Chan School. The source material for making a complete study of this question is, truth be told, insufficient, and my own understanding can only be taken as provisional. Still, it seems to me that it has been worth attempting to grasp the big picture to the extent that we understand it today, and it is to be hoped that whatever errors I have made will be corrected by future scholars.

Concerning the questions I have raised, I will in closing mention the following two topics that merit further research.

- (1) The relationship between the vinaya and the 'pure rules' within the lineages of Mazu and Shitou lineages.
- (2) The influence of the Northern School's understanding of the vinaya on Japanese Buddhism.

My own research has recently been focusing on the second of these questions, and I have already published several articles in which I attempt to re-evaluate the activities, in Japan, of Puji's disciple Daoxuan.<sup>67</sup> I am at present further investigating the relationship between Daoxuan's activities and the famous legend that held Prince Shotoku 聖德 (572–621) to be a reincarnation of Nanyue Huisi, as well as the influence of the Northern School of Chan on the development of the thought of Saichō 最澄 (767–822). Results of these investigations will be published soon.<sup>68</sup>

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

## Notes

1. I have discussed the formation of the Chan School in relation to Chinese state power in Ibuki "Tōzan hōmon to kokka kenryoku".
2. T. 50, 551c27–552a27.
3. Concerning this point, see Ibuki, "*Ninyū shigyō ron* no seiritsu ni tsuite"; Ibuki, "*Ninyū shigyō ron* no sakusha ni tsuite: Donlin jo wo chūshin ni"; and Ibuki "Eka den no Sai kentō".
4. T. 50, 552a28-b12.
5. T. 50, 522c5-7.
6. T. 50, 552c7-12.
7. T. 50, 552c16-18.
8. T. 50, 666a11-12.
9. T. 50, 666b29-c4.
10. T. 50, 666b1-6.

11. In this regard the record in Fachong's biography of his relationship with two officials, a certain Du Zhenglun 杜正倫 and Yu Zhining 于志寧 (T.50, 666c4-23) is somewhat anomalous. However Fachong also studied the Sanlun and Huayan teachings, and thus was not an heir to the teachings of Huike alone.
12. Concerning these points, see Ibuki, "Tōzan hōmon to Ryōga shū no Seiritsu", 91–95.
13. T. 50, 606b14-20.
14. Yanagida, *Zen no Goroku* 2, 268.
15. Ibuki "Hokku kyō no shisō to rekishi teki igi", and Ibuki "Shinnō kyō no shisō to seisakusha no seikaku".
16. T.50, p. 606b2-8.
17. T.50, p. 606b27.
18. Yanagida, *Zen no Goroku* 2, 186.
19. On these points, see Ibuki, "Tōzan-hōmon no hitobito no Denki ni tsuite (jō)", 26–31 and Ibuki, "Tōzan-hōmon no hitobito no denki ni tsuite (ge)", 46–55.
20. Ibuki, "Jinshū no jukai wo megutte".
21. Zongmi 宗密, in the third fascicle of his *Yuanjue jing dashu chao* 圓覺經大疏鈔, describes the Baotang School as 'not strictly maintaining the teachings and the practices' (教行不拘). He gives his reasons for this characterization as because: 'They do not carry out any Buddhist practices. Shaving their heads, they just put on monastic robes, without receiving the precepts. They dispense entirely with rituals of confession and repentance, reading and reciting Buddhist texts, making images of the Buddha, or copying scriptures, all of which they take to be instances of "false thinking." Within the temples where they live they carry out no Buddhist rituals' (ZZ.1-14-3, 278d). That members of the Baotang School were forced by imperial order to take the precepts is related in the biography of Huanxi 歡喜 in the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* (T. 50, 891c5-21).
22. This may have some connection to the fact that the teacher of Wuzhu 無住, leader of the Baotang School, was the layman Chen Chuzhang 陳楚章 (d.u.). Concerning Wuzhu's lineage, Zongmi's *Yuan jue jing da shu chao* 圓覺經大疏鈔 says that: 'The origins [of this lineage] also lie in a descendent of the Fifth Patriarch, namely the master Laoan. ... [Laoan] had four disciples, all eminent. Among them was one disciple who was a layman. His name was Chen Chuzhang. He was known as 'Chen Qige' ['Seventh Elder Brother Chen']. There was then a monk named Wuzhu, who upon hearing Chen preach was awakened. Wuzhu's practice and understanding were exceptional. Later he went to Shu [Sichuan], where he met master Jin who was teaching Chan. Wuzhu also attended his lectures where he studied further, but in no way did he have to change any of his former views [because they were already correct]. He then wished to transmit [his understanding] to others, but he wondered if perhaps since he had inherited [his understanding and awakening] from a layperson that it was not appropriate for him to transmit [to others]. So he therefore took master Jin as his [official] teacher. 其先亦五祖下分出, 即老安和上也。.....有四弟子, 皆道高名著。中有一俗弟子陳楚章, ... 時號陳七哥。有一僧名無住, 遇陳開示領悟, 亦志行孤勁。後遊蜀中, 遇金和上開禪, 亦預其會, 但更諮問見, 非改前悟。將欲傳之於未聞。意以稟承俗人, 恐非宜便, 遂認金和上為師 (ZZ. 1-14-3, 278c-d).
23. 汝等懺悔竟。三業清淨。如淨瑠璃。內外明徹。堪受淨戒。菩薩戒是持心戒。以佛性為戒性。心瞥起即違佛性。是破菩薩戒。護持心不起。即順佛性。是持菩薩戒。(Suzuki, *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, 168).
24. 問曰。煩惱來時。若為對治。師曰。着力看無所處。即斷。問曰。貪嗔癡起。若為作法。師曰。硬看無所處。即不起。問曰。十惡五逆。若為戒畧。師曰。諦看無所處。即不發。問曰。與弟子授戒。師曰。此是大授戒竟。(Ueyama, "Chibetto-yaku *Tongo shinshū yōketsu no kenkyū*", 101).
25. 今既懺悔已。與善知識授無相三歸戒。大師言。善知識。歸依覺兩足尊。歸依正離欲尊。歸依淨衆中尊。從今已後。稱佛為師。更不歸依餘邪迷外道。願自三寶慈悲證明。善知識。慧能勸善知識歸依自性三寶。佛者覺也。法者正也。僧者淨也。自心歸依覺。邪迷不生。少欲知足。離財離色。名兩足尊。自心歸依正。念念無邪故。即無愛著。以無愛著。名離欲尊。自心歸依淨。一切塵勞妄念。雖在自性。自性不染著。名衆中尊。(Yang, *Xinban Dunhuang Xinben Liuzu tanjing*, 29).
26. 金和上每年十二月正月與四衆百千萬人受緣。嚴設道場。處高座說法。先教引聲念佛。盡一氣念。絕聲停念訖云。無憶無念莫忘。無憶是戒。無念是定。莫忘是惠。此三句語即是總持門。(Yanagida, *Zen no Goroku* 3, 143).

27. 復從天王宮下至閻浮提菩提樹下。爲此地上一切衆生凡夫癡闇之人。說我本盧舍那佛心地中初發心中常所誦一戒光明金剛寶戒。是一切佛本源。一切菩薩本源。佛性種子。一切衆生皆有佛性。一切意識色心是情是心皆入佛性戒中。當當常有因故。有當當常住法身。(T. 24, 1003c19-25).
28. Yanagida, *Zen no Goroku* 2, 390.
29. 神龍歲, 請不哭泣而不言。縑素墜心, 棟梁落構。以爲四害騰口, 誰者能緘? 五欲亂繩, 誰者能截? 乃合謀悉意, 聞香求花。如鳥隨風, 如輪隨跡。咸請和上一開法緣, 使四園可遊, 八池可浴。則僧非聚食, 人異散心。願聞樂器之音, 用滋毛孔之潤。和上曰: “夫淨燈可以照勝宅, 助風可以持寶城。今何爲乎? 且千車之聲, 不入於耳; 萬人之請, 誰聽其言?” (*Dazhao chanshi tabei* 大照禪師塔銘, *QTW* vol. 262, 5b).
30. On this point, see Ibuki, “Shoki Zenshū bunken ni miru Zenkan no jissen”.
31. Yanagida, *Zen no Goroku* 2, 386.
32. In China, it was similarly usually understood that monks and nuns were not supposed to directly engage in farming. See for example (*Dasheng yizhang* 大乘義章, T. 44: 764c20-24; *Sifenlü shanfan buque xingshi chao* 四分律刪繁補闕行事鈔, T.40: 19a8-16).
33. Yang, *Xinban Dunhuang Xinben Liuzu tanjing*, 7–9.
34. McRae, *The Northern School*, 41–43.
35. Yanagida, *Zen no Goroku* 2, 186.
36. *Ibid.*, 273.
37. See, for example, *Guanxin lun* 觀心論, in Tanaka, “Bosatsu sōjihō to Kanjin ron (ni)”, 53; and *Nanyang heshang dunjiao jietuo chanmen zhiliao xing tanyu* 南陽和上頓教解脫禪門直了性壇語, in Yang, *Shenhui heshang chanhua lu*, 8.
38. For example in Daoxin’s biography in the *Lengjia shizi ji* we are told that: ‘You must understand that Buddha is nothing but mind. Outside the mind there is no separate Buddha. In brief, [what you must do] is fivefold. First is to know the essence of the mind, whose nature is purity. This essence is exactly the same as the Buddha . . . fifth is to maintain concentration without moving. Whether in movement or in stillness, one constantly abides, and this allows a practitioner to clearly see his Buddha nature and to quickly enter the gate of meditation.’ (Yanagida, *Zen no Goroku* 2, 225) . Similarly later it is said that: ‘Seeing the Buddha nature, one is forever freed from birth and death. Such a person is called one who has transcended the world.’ (Yanagida, *Zen no Goroku* 2, 255).
39. Ibuki, “Zoku Kōsōden no zōkō ni kansuru kenkyū”, 60–61.
40. Fujiyoshi, *Dōsen den no kenkyū*, 271–297.
41. See Ibuki, “Boshi-mei ni miru shoki no Zenshū (jō)”; and Ibuki, “Boshi-mei ni miru shoki no Zenshū (ge)”.
42. Concerning Houmochen Yan, see Ibuki, “Tongo shinshū kongō hannya shugyō tatsu higan hōmon yōketsu to Katakū Jinne” . Concerning Chen Chuzhang, see above note 22.
43. The first master of the East Mountain School to be become an ‘imperial teacher’ was Hui’an 慧安, and this position was then later carried on by Shenxiu 神秀 and Xuanze 玄曠. After Shenxiu’s death, Huineng was called upon to fill this role but refused. Xuanze was then obliged to move to the capital instead. In other words in the beginning Hongren’s disciples took on the role of imperial teacher following the order of their seniority. Later, when Hongren’s direct disciples had died, it was the disciples of Shenxiu – namely Puji 普寂 and Yifu 義福 – who assumed this position. We can here clearly discern that by assigning its leaders to the position of imperial teacher, the intention was to being the East Mountain School under the power of the state. Furthermore the state also began to occasionally bestow various kinds of honorific titles on masters of the Chan School (‘posthumous names’ [*shihao* 諡號] and ‘stupa names’ [*tahao* 塔號]). This too can be seen as yet another stratagem from bringing the East Mountain School and its supporters within the ambit of the power of the state. On these points, see Ibuki, “Tōzan hōmon to kokka kenryoku”.
44. Ibuki, “Zenshū no tōjyō to shakai teki hankyō: Jōdo jihi shū ni miru Hokushūzen no katsudō to sono eikyō”, 18–20.
45. T. 85: 1237c6-15.
46. Ibuki, “Kairitsu kara shingi he: Hokushū no Zen-ritsu Itchi to sono Kokufuku toshite no Shingi no tanjō”, 56–61.
47. *QTW* vol. 262, 9a.
48. Translation tentative.
49. *Dongjing Da Jingaisi Dazheng chanshi bei* 東京大敬愛寺大證禪師碑, *QTW* vol. 370, 4a-b.

50. *Gu Zhongyue Yue chanshi taji* 故中岳越禪師塔記, *QTW* vol. 316, 17a-b.
51. Suzuki, *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, 331.
52. Hazama, “Daianji Dōsen no *Chū Bonmō kyō* ni tsuite”.
53. Especially important as concerns this point is Daoxuan’s *Jizhu Fanwang jing* 集注梵網經. This commentary was composed in the later years of Daoxuan’s life, when he was living in Japan. However it no doubt reflected the perspective on the bodhisattva precepts held by the East Mountain School. Unfortunately Daoxuan’s commentary is no longer extant. However based on a few preserved citations the following distinctive ideas can be seen: 1) the notion that for lay persons it was permissible to undertake the bodhisattva precepts partially, that is, to accept only some of them (referred to as ‘partial acceptance’ 分受), and 2) that one was permitted to receive the bodhisattva precepts no matter what sins one had previously committed. All of this indicates a concern with making it easier for lay people to receive precepts, and such a concern would have been necessary precisely because at this time the bodhisattva precepts were no longer seen merely as an idealized concept as they had been in the early stages of the East Mountain School, but had come to be seen as maintaining the specific provisions of the *Brahma-Net Sutra*. Concerning the distinctive features of the *Jizhu Fanwang jing*, see Ibuki, “Ribēn guwenxian suojian Zhongguo Zaoqi Chanzong”.
54. As I mention in my article (Ibuki, “Tōzan-hōmon no hitobito no Denki ni tsuite (jō)”), as evidence for my proposal that in compiling his *Chuan fabao ji* 傳法寶紀 Du Fei relied not on Puji 普寂 but rather on Yifu 義福 I observe that at the end of the *Chuan fa bao ji* it is mentioned that the inscription *Datong Daoxiu heshang tawen* 大通道秀和上塔文 was carved on a stele erected at the ‘Gui’ 歸 temple on Mt. Zhongnan, and that this may have some connection with Yifu’s long residence at the Huagan temple on the same Mt. Zhongnan (41–43). However when writing that article I was rather unsure about the meaning of the phrase ‘Gui temple’ 歸寺, so a number of uncertainties remained. Later, however, I noticed that in fascicle 8 of the *Baoke congbian* 寶刻叢編, there is cited a certain *Zhudao shike lu* 諸道石刻錄, which mentions a stele inscription for a certain Chan Master Dazhi 大智 of the ‘Guiyi temple’ 歸義寺 (see op. cit., Ibuki, “Tōzan hōmon to kokka kenryoku”, 162). Based on this it has become clear to me that the ‘Gui temple’ mentioned in the *Chan fa bao ji* is an error for ‘Guiyi temple,’ that Yifu 義福, whose posthumous name was Chan Master Dazhi, lived at the Guiyi temple where he promoted the teachings of Shenxiu, that Du Fei indeed relied on Yifu in compiling the *Chuan fa bao ji*, and that after Yifu’s death his disciples erected, at that temple, a stele inscription for their master.
55. Notable concerning this point are the activities of the Northern School follower Daoxuan 道璿 in Japan. Though in his later years Daoxuan shut himself away at the Hiso 比蘇 temple on Mount Yoshino 吉野 where he practiced meditation and compiled the *Jizhu Fanwang jing* 集注梵網經, the connections that existed between the Hejō capital of Nara and Mt. Yoshino were similar to what obtained in China between the Zhongnan mountains and Chang’an, and Mount Song and Luoyang. If prior to his seclusion Daoxuan came and went between Mount Yoshino and the Hejō capital, then we might imagine that the activities of Puji and Yifu had served as a model. Concerning this point, see Ibuki, “Shoki Zenshū to Nihon Bukkyō”, 36–39.
56. Yang, *Shenhui heshang chanhua lu*, 85.
57. Ibuki, “*Daijō gohōben* no seiritsu to tenkai”, 42–44.
58. Suzuki, *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, 168–169.
59. Ibid., 172–173.
60. Yang, *Shenhui heshang chanhua lu*, 9.
61. Suzuki, *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, 175–177.
62. Translator’s note: ‘Contemplative analysis’ is a term used by modern Japanese scholars to refer to a form of commentary found in many texts associated with early Chan in which the external ritual actions prescribed in Buddhist scriptures – such as offering incense or making offerings – are interpreted metaphorically in reference to aspects of the mind. See John R. McRae, *The Northern School*, 201–207.
63. See Ibuki, “*Daijō gohōben* no seiritsu to tenkai”, 47–51.
64. See Ibuki, “Hokushū-zen ni okeru Zen-ritsu itchi shisō no keisei”.
65. See Ibid., 148–155.
66. The preceding discussion is based on Ibuki, “Kairitsu kara shingi he”, 77–80.
67. In addition to Ibuki, “Shoki Zenshū to Nihon Bukkyō: Daianji Dōsen no Katsudō to sono eikyō”; see Ibuki, “Dōsen ha hontō ni Kegon no soshi dattaka?”; and Ibuki, “Dōsen ha Tendai kyōgaku ni kuwashikattaka?”.

68. See Ibuki, “*Ihon Jōgū taishi den no seiritsu to tenkai*”; and Ibuki, “*Shōtoku taishi Eshi goshin setsu no keisei*”; and Ibuki, “*Saichō no Zen sōjō to sono igi*”.

## References

### Abbreviations

QTW = *Quan Tang Wen* 全唐文.

T = *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經

ZZ = *Dai Nippon Zoku zōkyō* 大日本續藏經

Dai Nippon Zoku zōkyō 大日本續藏經 [Expanded Buddhist Canon of Japan]. Maeda Eun 前田慧雲 (ed.). Tokyo: Zōkyō-shoin 藏經書院, 1905–12.

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