The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch’An Buddhism

John R. McRae

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Reverend Eugene “Bub-In” Wagner
of the
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Foreword

Many of the manuscripts found at Tun-huang contain material of special significance to the history and development of Ch’an Buddhism. While scholars such as Hu Shih and Daisetsu Suzuki contributed noteworthy studies in the period before World War II, it was not until the documents in the Stein and, later, the Pelliot Collections became generally available on microfilm that research made substantial advances.

In the forefront of the new studies, which amounted to a reassessment and rediscovery of much of early Ch’an history, were Japanese scholars in both Kyoto and Tokyo. Among these scholars, the foremost is undoubtedly Professor Yanagida Seizan of the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University. Professor Yanagida, a consummate scholar and prolific writer who combines encyclopedic learning with keen insight, has published widely in all areas of Ch’an and Zen studies. Yet despite constant demands on his time, he has always been most generous in the help he has given to students from the West.

Dr. McRae, after extensive study with Professor Stanley Weinstein at Yale, went to Japan seeking the advice and guidance of Professor Yanagida. He has requited well his debt to both his mentors by providing a distinguished study of the Northern School and the formation of early Ch’an. Until the finds at Tun-huang, Northern Ch’an was a virtually unknown teaching, forgotten and relatively undocumented. Now, thanks to Dr. McRae’s exhaustive studies we have a thorough and lucid description of the history and thought of Northern Ch’an, and we know the teaching to have been a mature and literate form of Ch’an that played a significant role in eighth century T’ang China.

Dr. McRae has indeed made a significant contribution, one that other scholars in the field may well look to as an example of an academic competence that combines the best of Japanese scholarship with a superior command of the original materials. Dr. McRae’s study well reflects the level of academic excellence which modern scholarly studies of Ch’an have attained.

Philip Yampolsky
Columbia University
Preface

The original idea for this study was suggested by Professor Stanley Wein­stein, my advisor at Yale University, who also offered useful advice and constructive criticism during the course of writing. Research was undertaken in Kyoto with the assistance of Professor Yanagida Seizan, who took time from a very busy schedule to provide individual tutoring and instruction. Professor Yanagida also gave me permission to use his own transcriptions in the preparation of the texts included at the end of this book. My original introduction to Professor Yanagida was through the kindness of Professor Philip Yampolsky of Columbia University, who has graciously consented to add a foreword to this work. I would like to express my sincere gratitude and deepest appreciation for the teaching I have received; hopefully, my own limitations have not led to errors and misinterpretations.

Research for this book was carried out with the benefit of a Fulbright Fellowship and a grant from the Concilium on International and Area Studies at Yale.

Thanks are also due to Stephen Bodian for his skillful editorial help in the preparation of the final manuscript. Last, but not least, I would like to thank Peter Gregory, Assistant Professor at the University of Illinois and Executive Director of the Kuroda Institute, who did much to make the publication of this book possible.

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May 15, 1985
Abbreviations and Conventions of Usage

Abbreviations

CFPC: Ch’üan fa-pao chi
CTL: Ching-te ch’üan-teng lu
CTW: Ch’ing-ting ch’üan T’ang-wen
EJSHL: Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun
H: Hsü tsang-ching
HKSC: Hsü kao-seng chuan
JTFM: Ju-tao an-hsin yao fang-pien fa-men
KSC: Kao-seng chuan
LCFJC: Leng-ch’ieh jen-fa chih
LCSTC: Leng-ch’ieh shih-tzu chi
LTFPC: Li-tai fa-pao chi
SKSC: Sung kao-seng chuan
T: Taishō shinshū dai-zōkyō
TCL: Tsung-ching lu
TTC: Tsu-t’ang chi
Z: Dai Nippon zoku-zōkyō

Conventions of Usage

1. Ages of individuals are given in the Chinese style.
2. Terms such as “Buddha Nature” have been rendered capitalized and without hyphenation in order to accommodate occasional abbreviated references to “Nature” alone.
3. Interlinear glosses in translated passages are indicated by the joint use of parentheses and italics, i.e., (Another text says . . . ).
4. Chapter and section headings of the text are indicated by capitalized Roman numerals and Arabic numerals, respectively, while Roman nu-
merals and capitalized English letters have been used for the chapter and section headings of translated works.

5. Citations of material in Tun-huang manuscripts are given in the following form: manuscript line number, slash, plate number, colon, plate line number, e.g., 607/26:2.

6. The annotation for the composite version of the *Wu fang-pien* included is explained in n. 224 to Section Two.

7. All citations of material from the *Zoku-zōkyō* have been cross-referenced to the Taiwan reprint, the *Hsü tsang-ching*. 
Introduction

1. The Transmission of Ch’an According to the Platform Sūtra

For ancient and modern readers alike, the most common source of information about the Northern School of Chinese Ch’an Buddhism is the Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch (Liu-tsu t’an ching). According to the narrative found at the beginning of this text, the Fifth Patriarch, Hung-jen (600–74), instructed each of his disciples to compose a “mind-verse” (hsin-chieh) demonstrating the level of his enlightenment. If one of these verses manifested a true understanding of Buddhism, its author would receive the Fifth Patriarch’s robe and the status of Sixth Patriarch. All but one of the disciples simply ignored Hung-jen’s instructions, deferring instead to the man they felt would be the next leader of the Ch’an community. This man was Shen-hsiu (6067–706), the most important figure associated with the Northern School. Shen-hsiu’s reaction to Hung-jen’s request is recorded in the Platform Sūtra as follows:

The others won’t present mind-verses because I am their teacher. If I don’t offer a mind-verse, how can the Fifth Patriarch estimate the degree of understanding within my mind? If I offer my mind to the Fifth Patriarch with the intention of gaining the Dharma, it is justifiable; however, if I am seeking the patriarchship, then it cannot be justified. That would be like a common man usurping the saintly position. But if I don’t offer my mind then I cannot learn the Dharma.

In the end, Shen-hsiu did compose a verse, but he was so uncertain about its worth and the propriety of seeking the patriarchship that he inscribed it anonymously on a wall in one of the monastery’s corridors. He did this late at night so that no one would see him. Shen-hsiu’s verse read:

The body is the bodhi tree.
The mind is like a bright mirror’s stand.
At all times we must strive to polish it
and must not let dust collect.  

Upon seeing this verse the following morning, the Fifth Patriarch canceled a previously made commission to have illustrations from the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* painted on the wall, praised the verse highly, and ordered his students to recite it so that they might not suffer unfavorable rebirths in the future. To Shen-hsiu, however, he pointed out in private that the verse did not display true understanding. He counseled Shen-hsiu to write another verse in order to gain the Dharma, but in the end the future leader of the Northern School was unable to do so.

In the meantime, an uneducated layman from the far south of China named Hui-neng (638–713) was at work threshing rice, completely unaware of the Fifth Patriarch's instructions about the future succession. When one day an acolyte passed by the threshing room reciting Shen-hsiu's verse, Hui-neng realized immediately that its author did not understand the "cardinal meaning" of Buddhism. The boy explained the entire matter to Hui-neng, who asked to be led to the corridor wall on which Shen-hsiu's verse was inscribed. There he dictated his own poetic statement:

*Bodhi* originally has no tree.
The mirror also has no stand.
The Buddha Nature is alway clear and pure.
Where is there room for dust?  

In public, the Fifth Patriarch denigrated Hui-neng's verse, but late that night he called the illiterate but inspired layman into the lecture hall and expounded the *Diamond Sūtra* to him. Hui-neng was immediately awakened to its profound meaning, received the transmission of the Sudden Teaching and the Fifth Patriarch's robe, and left the monastery in secrecy that very night.

2. *The Platform Sūtra as Historical Allegory*

The *Platform Sūtra* is one of the most imaginative and dramatically effective pieces of early Ch'an literature. Not only is it entertaining and instructive to read, but it builds upon and resolves numerous issues of eighth-century Ch'an Buddhism in a manner that is ingenious but not forced or contrived. It takes the image of an unschooled religious genius first developed in connection with Hung-jen and expands it into the character of Hui-neng, who is both illiterate and inspired, déclassé but fundamentally superior. The *Platform Sūtra* 's depiction of Shen-hsiu as head monk and the originator of a very popular form of religious prac-
tice—i.e., that based on the verse attributed to him—is thus a reflection of the phenomenal success of Shen-hsiu and the "Northern School" at the beginning of the eighth century.

Similarly, in mentioning that Hung-jen publicly rejected Hui-neng's verse and that the new Sixth Patriarch spent years in hiding, the Platform Sūtra is acknowledging the initial obscurity of the "Southern School." Finally, the sūtra's scriptural references conform to the traditional understanding of the development of early Ch'an: Shen-hsiu's verse displaced paintings based in part on the Lankāvatāra Sūtra, but both Hui-neng's original enlightenment experience and final teachings from Hung-jen were based on the Diamond Sūtra. The transition from Northern to Southern School has traditionally been explained in terms of a shift from the Lankāvatāra to the Diamond and from the gradual to the sudden teaching. In these senses, the Platform Sūtra narrative can be read as an historical allegory.

One critically important omission, however, indicates that the Platform Sūtra was not merely echoing history, but rewriting it. This is the complete absence of any reference to the role played by Shen-hui (684–758), who carried the banner of Hui-neng during an extended, energetic campaign against Shen-hsiu's disciples and the Northern School in general. The whole point of the narrative, in fact, is to validate Shen-hui's claims about Hui-neng without reference to Shen-hui himself. That is, the Platform Sūtra wished to adopt and build upon Shen-hui's teachings without identifying itself with his sometimes acrimonious and self-serving campaign.

Although the verses and anecdote introduced earlier were evidently written after Shen-hui's death—his extant writings include no mention of them—they are designed to expand on positions first articulated by him. Shen-hui attacked the Northern School for teaching an inferior, gradualistic doctrine of meditation and enlightenment. According to Shen-hui, the adherents of that school taught that one should approach Buddhism as a means to progressively purify oneself, to propel oneself further and further along the path to perfect enlightenment.

Shen-hui was particularly critical of the meditation practices of the Northern School masters, claiming that they taught their students "to freeze the mind to enter dhyāna, to fix the mind to view purity, to activate the mind to illuminate the external, and to concentrate the mind to realize the internal." In other words, the members of the Northern School supposedly manipulated their minds in order to achieve certain specific effects, which, through a long regimen of sustained practice, eventually led to enlightenment. Shen-hui's Southern School disdained such practices because it was interested in a realm that was beyond all
notions of duality—i.e., of imperfection and perfection, etc.—and in an approach to religious training that yielded attainment of the ultimate goal instantaneously, rather than gradually.

3. The Traditional Interpretation of the Platform Sūtra's "Mind- Verses"

It is in the writings of Tsung-mi (780–841), a noted Ch’an and Hua-yen School theoretician who is supposed to have been a fifth-generation successor to Shen-hui, that we find the first explicit reference to and explanation of either of the Platform Sūtra verses. Although Tsung-mi never mentions the Platform Sūtra by name and does not refer to "Hui-neng's" verse, he quotes "Shen-hsiu's" verse and adds his own interpretation. Although the following passage from Tsung-mi’s Ch’an-yuan chu-chüan chi tu-hsü (General Preface to a Collection of the Interpretations of Ch’an) does not refer directly to the verse in question, it does include his most concise statement of his understanding of Northern School doctrine:

The first [interpretation of Ch’an] is the School of Stopping the False and Cultivating the Mind, which teaches that, although sentient beings are in fundamental possession of the Buddha Nature, it is obscured and rendered invisible because of their beginningless ignorance. Therefore, they suffer the births and deaths of samsāra. Because the Buddhas have eradicated false thoughts [from their own persons] they have a comprehensive perception of the [Buddha] Nature, have transcended birth and death, and have attained autonomous [mastery] (tzu-tsai) of the supernormal powers. One should know that the abilities and functions of ordinary persons and sages are not the same and that there are distinctions between their [apprehension of] the external realms of sensory perception and the internal mind. Therefore, one must depend on the oral instructions of one’s teacher, reject the realms of perception, and contemplate the mind, putting an end to false thoughts.

When these thoughts are exhausted one experiences enlightenment, there being nothing one does not know. It is like a mirror darkened by dust—one must strive to polish it. When the dust is gone the brightness [of the mirror] appears, there being nothing it does not illuminate.

One must also clearly understand the expedient means of entering into the realms of dhyāna, keeping oneself far from any disturbance and residing in a peaceful location, harmonizing body and breath, and sitting silently in the lotus position with the tongue touching the upper gums and the mind concentrated on a single object (ching, a “realm” of sensory perception).

[Chih]-shen of the South, [Shen]-hsiu of the North, Pao-t’ang Wu-chu, Hsuan-shih, and their disciples all belong in this category. The technical details (ch’i, “traces”) of the expedient means of spiritual progress [taught by] the Ox-head and T’ien-t’ai [Schools], Hui-ch’ou (i.e., Seng-ch’ou), and
Guna[bhadra] are also largely similar, although their doctrinal interpretations differ.¹³

Tsung-mi's works contain a comprehensive systematization of the various interpretations of Ch'an, within which the teachings of the Northern School are relegated to the very lowest position.¹⁴ According to Tsung-mi, Shen-hsiu's verse and the supposed teachings of the Northern School fail to recognize the ultimate identity of enlightenment and the afflictions and illusions by which it is apparently obscured. As a result, the long years or even lifetimes of religious cultivation required to clean away those illusions were all in vain. The only achievement of any real benefit, and all that was really necessary, was the complete cessation of dualistic thinking.¹⁵

According to this interpretation, the Northern School teaching was inferior because it posited enlightenment as a specific goal that could be described, sought, and attained, and because it restricted the achievement of that enlightenment to those who had the energy and opportunity to engage in long years of practice. The metaphor of the mirror was thus used in the *Platform Sūtra* to describe the gradual teaching: Just as cumulative effort would result in the mirror's becoming ever brighter, so would sustained spiritual practice result in higher and higher levels of individual purification, until at last complete perfection was attained.

The Southern School's sudden teaching, in contrast, was superior in that enlightenment could be achieved by anyone—even the illiterate barbarian Hui-neng—in a sudden, instantaneous, and complete transformation. After an initial period of popularity, the Northern School was supposedly overwhelmed and driven into extinction by the Southern School, which was inherently superior because the true transmission of Ch'an had been from Hung-jen to Hui-neng rather than to Shen-hsiu.

With minor variations, this interpretation of early Ch'an history has been accepted for over a thousand years. Modern scholarship has examined much of the background to the *Platform Sūtra*, focusing chiefly on the very crucial role played by Shen-hui. Great strides have also been made in the study of the Northern School, which is now understood to have taught something other than the simple gradualism ascribed to it within Shen-hui's polemics and Tsung-mi's elaborate system. Even so, the treatment of the Northern School in modern works on Ch'an is problematic: The "mind-verses" of the *Platform Sūtra* are widely quoted and the superiority of the sudden over the gradual teaching is often discussed, but there is no unanimity on the validity or implications of the verses themselves.¹⁶ The absence of any comprehensive study of the Northern School and the sometimes obscure and stylistically unusual writings associated with it have led most scholars to fall back on
the traditional image of the school as gradualist in doctrine and secondary in historical importance to the Southern School.

Clearly, the demands of scholarly accuracy require that such inconsistencies be avoided. Citation of the Platform Sūtra verses is acceptable only if one distinguishes clearly between the history and legend of early Ch’an and if one is very precise about the verses’ legitimate frame of reference. That is, while the Platform Sūtra verses and anecdote reflect one late eighth century image of Ch’an, they do not in any way resemble the history of the Ch’an School during the seventh century.

4. Implications for This Study

Obviously, in strictly historical terms the Platform Sūtra narrative is completely inaccurate. First of all, if we follow the earliest records, Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng were never at Hung-jen’s side at the same time, and neither was there during the last few years of the master’s life, when a transmission might have taken place. Second, the very concept of a verse competition and the selection of a single successor seems more appropriate as literary flourish than historical fact. A single successor might have been selected as the spiritual leader of the community of ordained and lay trainees at Hung-jen’s monastery, rather than as the head of the Ch’an School per se, but the Platform Sūtra does not mention such a possibility. (Hung-jen’s monastery lapsed into almost complete obscurity after his death.) The notion that only one line of transmission could be considered legitimate—i.e., that from Hung-jen to Hui-neng rather than those from Hung-jen to Shen-hsiu, Hui-neng, et al.—could have developed only after Shen-hui’s campaign.

This being the case, we are left with the following question: Should the Platform Sūtra’s references to Shen-hsiu’s teachings simply be ignored, or do they have some basis in fact, however distorted or incompletely presented?

In the first place, we have reason to suspect that Shen-hsiu’s verse is not an entirely groundless invention. Nothing like the verse itself occurs in Northern School literature, but a few passages and some general considerations exist that may explain part of the Platform Sūtra’s misinterpretation. Even more intriguing is a passage suggesting that Shen-hsiu actually could have used the metaphor of the mirror exactly as it occurs in the verse attributed to him—but with a meaning completely different from that verse’s traditional interpretation. In the second place, certain other details of the verses—such as the reference to the bodhi tree and the famous third line of Hui-neng’s verse in later texts, which reads, “Fundamentally there is not a single thing”—are reminiscent of specific references in Northern School literature. The implication is that the teachings
of the Northern School played some part in the formulation of the ideas attributed to Hui-neng.

Therefore, the answer to the question just posed is that the testimony of the *Platform Sūtra* must be considered—not as a guide to the seventh- or even the early eighth-century teachings of the Northern School, but as an indication of the status of that school at the end of the eighth century.

5. *Ch’an’s Pseudohistorical Doctrine and the Historical Study of Ch’an*

Needless to say, the *Platform Sūtra* paints far too simple a picture of the development of early Ch’an. The problem is not only that the story told in this text is inaccurate, that the exchange of verses and transmission to Hui-neng could not have occurred as stated. Nor is the problem even that the gradual and sudden teachings cannot be reliably attributed to the historical figures Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng. These are all matters of historical fact, which can be verified or refuted by examining the documents at hand. The real problem engendered by the *Platform Sūtra’s* overly simplistic depiction of early Ch’an lies rather in the extremely pervasive and seldom questioned tendency of modern scholarship to view the history of Ch’an solely in terms of a succession of individual masters and disciples.

The history of Ch’an is customarily discussed in terms of the lives and teachings of a succession of individual masters. The traditional orthodoxy of the Ch’an School would have its followers believe that the only significant information about Ch’an is the body of biographical information and inspired sayings of a number of individual religious authorities, who follow each other in master-disciple relationships much like a set of beautiful pearls on a string. The status of the Ch’an School at any given time may be defined, according to this approach, by the biography and teachings of Bodhidharma, followed by the biography and teachings of Hui-k’o, Seng-ts’an, Tao-hsin, Hung-jen, and so on. For later periods, one would want the sum of such information for all active masters, so that the overall history of the Ch’an School is the sum total of such descriptions.

Obviously, it is appropriate in many cases to organize discussion of the history of Ch’an by proceeding from one generation to the next—I will follow this course of action myself in certain parts of this book. Nevertheless, an uncritical allegiance to the Ch’an orthodoxy ignores two important realities of early Ch’an history. First, except for Shen-hsiu, Shen-hui, and a few other individuals, the extant body of primary sources does not indicate one-to-one correspondences between individual masters and specific doctrines. Rather, the bulk of our doctrinal infor-
mation can be identified only as having been valid in a certain general context at a certain time. I will argue in Part Two that this is especially true of two texts that have until now been used quite frequently for the elucidation of the individual teachings of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen. Second, such a simplistic methodology as the "string of pearls" approach of necessity ignores major areas of potentially significant political, social, and intellectual influences upon the development of Ch'an. Hence the passive acceptance of the Ch'an position concerning the transmission from master to disciple does a disservice to our understanding of this school as a legitimate segment of human religious history.

6. The Origin of the Terms "Northern School" and "East Mountain Teaching"

The problems of distinguishing between pseudohistorical propaganda and historical reality are not limited to the study of the Platform Sutra. The following is the first recorded usage in Ch'an literature of the term "Northern School":

When Preceptor [Shen]-hsiu was alive, spiritual aspirants [all over] China referred to these great masters as "[Hui]-neng of the South and [Shen]-hsiu of the North" (nan Neng pei Hsiu). This was common knowledge. These references led to [the usages] of the two schools of North and South. Dhyāna Master P'u-chi is in reality a student of [Shen-hsiu of] Yu-ch'iian [ssu]. He actually never went to Chao-chou [to study under Hui-neng], so it is therefore impermissible for him now to declare falsely [that his teaching is] the Southern School.

This passage is from the P'u-t'i-ta-mo nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun (Treatise on the Definition of the Truth about the Southern School of Bodhidharma), the transcript of a polemical sermon given by Shen-hui in 732. The implication of Shen-hui's statement is that P'u-chi never referred to his teachings as the "Northern School" (pei-tsung), but actually used the term "Southern School" (nan-tsung). This early usage of that term to refer to Shen-hsiu's lineage is corroborated in at least one other early text. In contrast, there is no indication that Shen-hsiu or any of his immediate disciples ever used the term "Northern School" in reference to themselves.

If Shen-hui was the first to call Shen-hsiu and his associates the Northern School, then how did these men refer to themselves? The following passage provides the answer to this question:

In the first year of the Ta-tsu [period, or 701 C.E.,] Dhyāna Master Shen-hsiu was given an Invitation to enter the eastern capital [of Lo-yang. Thereafter he] accompanied the [imperial] chariot on its comings and goings, pro-
selytizing within the two capitals and personally becoming the Imperial Instructor.

The Great Sage Empress [Wu] Tse-t’ien inquired of him: “Whose teaching is it that you transmit?”

[He] answered: “I have inherited the East Mountain Teaching of Ch’i-chou (i.e., Huang-mei, the location of Hung-jen’s monastery).”

. . . [Empress Wu] Tse-t’ien said: “In considering the cultivation of the Path, the East Mountain Teaching is unexcelled.”

This passage is included in a text known as the Leng-ch’ieh jen-fa chih (Records of the Men and Teachings of the Lankā [vatāra]; hereafter cited as LCJFC). This work was compiled by Hung-jen’s student Hsuan-tse, probably sometime between 708 and 710. The LCJFC does not, however, occur independently, but only as quoted in the Leng-ch’ieh shih-tzu chi (Records of the Teachers and Disciples of the Lankā [vatāra]; hereafter cited as LCSTC). This text, fortunately still extant, was written by Ching-chueh, a disciple of both Hsuan-tse and Shen-hsiu. The terms “East Mountain Teaching” (tung-shan fa-men) and “Pure Teaching of East Mountain” (tung-shan ching-men) occur elsewhere in the LCSTC as well as in two slightly earlier Northern School documents.

We have no direct evidence as to what name, if any, Tao-hsin (580-651) and Hung-jen (600-74) used to refer to their own teachings. As the passages just quoted make clear, however, Shen-hsiu identified himself as the transmitter of Hung-jen’s teaching, P’u-chi labeled his doctrines (which were inherited from Shen-hsiu) as the Southern School, and Shen-hui appropriated this latter label for his own use.

In spite of the apparent inequity of using a term first applied pejoratively, I will follow modern scholarly convention in using “Northern School” to refer to Shen-hsiu and his successors. This usage presents no problem, as long as we refrain from unreservedly accepting statements by later authors (such as Tsung-mi) that the term “Northern School” refers directly to Shen-hsiu and his successors, rather than to the image of Shen-hsiu and his teachings within Shen-hui’s writings and the Platform Sūtra.

Also in accord with general modern practice, I will use the name “East Mountain Teaching” to refer to Tao-hsin and Hung-jen. This usage actually presents a much more serious problem than the label “Northern School.” First, its original meaning was neither so specific nor so clearly sectarian as the other term. In one epitaph dating from shortly after 750, in fact, “East Mountain Teaching” is used to refer to the teachings of the Ch’an School as a whole in juxtaposition with “the concentration and insight of T’ien-t’ai” (T’ien-t’ai chih-kuan). Second, the primary ancient and modern referents of the name “East Mountain Teaching,”—i.e., the teachings of Shen-hsiu and his associates or, alternatively, the
teachings of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen—display a temporal disconformity that is chronologically slight but potentially very misleading.

7. The Distinction Between Legend and History

The problem with the term "East Mountain Teaching" is that all of our information about Tao-hsin and Hung-jen is contained in sources associated with Shen-hsiu and the so-called Northern School. Tao-hsin does receive a biographical entry, in which Hung-jen is mentioned, in the *Hsü kao-seng chuan (Continued Lives of Eminent Monks;* hereafter cited as *HKSC*). Although none of the information contained in that entry is suspicious or even significant enough to warrant close deliberation, Shen-hsiu himself was the most likely source of information for this biography.28 All the rest of the data concerning Hung-jen's biography comes from early eighth-century Northern School sources. As subsequent discussion will indicate, these works are more concerned with legend and propagandistic rationalization than with the demands of critical historical analysis. As a result, the accuracy of their assertions regarding the early Ch’an patriarchs must occasionally be called into question.

The single most important task facing the modern student of early Chinese Ch’an Buddhism is the accurate discrimination between legend and history. Each has its own distinctive value: Legend reflects the school's total creative output and is an important guide to its self-image, whereas history is the modern understanding of the dynamic cultural and intellectual realities of the school's development. The legend of the "transmission of the lamp" of the teachings from one master to another was one of the most important innovations of early Ch’an, but the statements made within the context of this legendary format cannot be taken automatically at face value as historical assertions to be judged as either true or false and correlated with other "facts." While such "historical" assertions may have bases in fact, we must not forget that they occur within a context determined by the propagandistic or polemical purposes of the given texts.

The second passage introduced in Section 6 of this Introduction is a perfect case in point. Shen-hsiu’s invitation to court and his activities in the two capitals are without doubt valid historical events, but these facts and his dialogue with Empress Wu were selected from a large body of information to glorify the status of the departed Ch’an Master, to sanctify the derivation of his teaching from a certain religious predecessor, and, implicitly, to legitimize the prestige of his heirs. In this example we need not infer any gross distortion of the original historical situation for the purposes of incorporation into the *LCSTC*.

In other cases, however, statements occur that seem to idealize the
character of an individual Ch'an master in the face of other directly contradictory evidence. (Hui-neng's biography, of course, is the most prominent example.) Such cases must be approached with extreme caution, since the Ch'an orthodoxy that threatens to distort our critical perspective came into existence on the basis of a series of innovations made during the very period under study. Although it is fortunate, in one sense, that the texts of the Northern School to be considered here are not so full of patent fabrications and questionable attributions as some of the slightly later texts of early Ch'an (the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* [Records of the (Transmission of the) Dharma-treasure through the Generations; *LTFPC*], is undoubtedly the most egregious of all in this respect), the most difficult parts of the Ch'an legend to work with are actually those that lie somewhere between obvious fact and palpable fiction.

The assertions made about the supposed Third Patriarch Seng-ts'an, for example, are completely unusable as historical data. Only the most foolhardy or avowedly myopic student of early Ch'an would suggest that Seng-ts'an had any knowable impact on the school's historical development or any actual connection whatsoever with the text usually attributed to him, the *Hsin-hsin ming* (Inscription on Relying upon the Mind). On the other hand, the lives of Shen-hsiu, P'u-chi, and other Northern School figures are well enough documented through epitaphs and other contemporary sources that we know at least the general outlines of their lives and contributions.

The cases of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen, however, are not so clear-cut. There exist valid data about their biographies and relatively early texts describing their teachings, and these two sets of information would seem to dovetail neatly and without any blatant contradictions. As I will suggest later, however, these texts cannot be reliably attributed to Tao-hsin and Hung-jen. (See Part Two, Chapter VI, Section 1.) Even though the texts in question are no doubt more representative of the teachings of these individuals than is the *Hsin-hsin ming* representative of the teachings of Seng-ts'an, their individual attributions to Tao-hsin and Hung-jen cannot be accepted without important qualifications. In other words, for the very core of the early Ch'an succession—the third, fourth, and fifth generations—specific teachings cannot be correlated with individual patriarchs.

8. The Approach Taken Here

The considerations discussed in the previous section require that all exclusively doctrinal matters be left until the second part of this study. The first task to be undertaken here will be to describe the historical development of the Northern School. In order to probe the immediate
antecedants of the school, I will begin with a brief discussion of Bodhidharma and his immediate successors. Unfortunately, considerations of space make it impossible to examine in detail the larger background of Ch’an within the context of Chinese Buddhism and Buddhist meditation traditions in general. The second task to be undertaken in Part One of this study will be to analyze the development of the “transmission of the lamp” texts and the evolution of the Ch’an School’s sense of its own identity.
Part One

HISTORY
CHAPTER V

The Earliest Teachings of Ch’an

1. Introductory Remarks

Only one work, it is generally agreed, can legitimately be attributed to Bodhidharma: the Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun (Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices, or EJSHL). D. T. Suzuki has suggested that certain of the numerous works from Tun-huang and elsewhere that bear Bodhidharma’s name are also legitimately his, but Suzuki’s arguments are based more on hope than on reason and have been thoroughly confuted. After decades of discoveries in the collections at London, Paris, and Peking and after much research in Japan, China, and elsewhere on the meaning of the Tun-huang finds, our best and almost only source for the earliest teachings of Ch’an remains, ironically, the one text that has been available all along.

It is uncertain, of course, whether the EJSHL was actually written by Bodhidharma. The literary elegance of the text suggests that it was neither a product of his hand alone nor a simple translation from Sanskrit. Some native figure must have been responsible for putting Bodhidharma’s ideas into Chinese, and it is quite possible that those ideas were transformed somewhat, either consciously or unconsciously, for presentation to the Chinese readership. It is quite possible that Hui-k’o summarized Bodhidharma’s teachings for T’an-lin, who then compiled the text and added the preface, but this is, of course, pure speculation. What is known is that the EJSHL was distributed under Bodhidharma’s name during the second half of the seventh century. At that time it was already accompanied by a certain amount of miscellaneous material, some of which is translated here. The Tun-huang manuscripts of the EJSHL contain a great deal of such miscellaneous material, some of which must date from the early part and middle of the eighth century.

The following is a translation of the EJSHL and its preface by T’an-lin, plus two letters and a reply by Hui-k’o. Except for Hui-k’o’s reply,
all of this material has been taken from the Tun-huang manuscripts of the *EJSHL* and its appended miscellaneous material. I have used only that portion of the miscellaneous material that appears to be of arguably early vintage. The second part of the second letter translated here occurs both in the Tun-huang text and in the *HKSC*, where it is presented as having been written to Hui-k’o at the beginning of the T’ien-pao period (550-59) by one Layman Hsiang. Hui-k’o’s response to this letter is found only in the *HKSC*. It is not known whether the first letter in the Tun-huang manuscript was also addressed to Hui-k’o.\(^3\)

The earliest known title to this work is *Lueh pien ta-sheng ju-tao ssu-hsing, ti-tzu T’an-lin hsü* (*A Brief Exposition of the Mahāyāna [Teaching] of the Four Practices of Entering into Enlightenment, with Preface by the Disciple T’an-lin*). This title occurs in the *LCSTC* and, with the addition of Bodhidharma’s name at the beginning (*P’u-t’i-ta-mo lueh pien* . . .), in the thirtieth fascicle of the *CTL*. Actually, other titles were also in use for this text during the eighth century and earlier. The abbreviated title used, *Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices*, is that generally used by modern scholars.\(^4\)

2. *Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices*  
(*Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun, or EJSHL*)

Preface by the Disciple T’an-lin\(^5\)

The Dharma Master [Bodhidharma] was from a country in south India in the western region, the third son of a great brahmin king. He was naturally brilliant and understood everything he heard. His aspirations were for the path of the Mahāyāna, so he discarded the white [garb of a layman] and assumed the black [robes of a Buddhist monk] in order to transmit the sagely tradition. He effaced his mind in the serene and had a penetrating understanding of the affairs of the world. Wise in both the internal and external, his virtue exceeded the standard of the age. Feeling compassionate sorrow as a result of the decline of the True Teaching in this obscure corner [of the Buddhist world], he crossed the mountains and oceans to proselytize in the far-off land of the Han and Wei.

Those who could overcome [the preconceptions and obstacles within] their own minds did not fail to place their faith in [Bodhidharma], but those who grasped at appearances and held [incorrect] views reviled him. At the time Tao-yü and Hui-k’o were his only [students]. These two śramanas, having lofty aspirations that belied their youth and the good fortune to meet the Dharma Master, served him for several years. They reverentially inquired of the teaching and instilled in themselves the spirit of the master’s [teaching].

The Dharma Master responded to their innate sincerity by teaching them the True Path: “Such is the pacification of the mind, such is the generation of practice, such is accordance with convention, such are expedient means.
This is the teaching of the pacification of mind in the Mahāyāna—make certain [that it is understood] without error.” Such is the pacification of the mind—wall contemplation; such is the generation of practice—the four practices; such is accordance with convention—defense against calumnification; such are expedient means—the avoidance of attachment to those [means].

The above is a brief summary of the origins of the ideas expressed in the text that follows.

There are many ways of entering into enlightenment (ju-tao), but all of them may effectively be subsumed under two categories: the “entrance of principle” (li-ju) and the “entrance of practice” (hsing-ju).

The entrance of principle is to become enlightened to the Truth on the basis of the teaching. [One must have a] profound faith in [the fact that] one and the same True Nature is possessed of all sentient beings, both ordinary and enlightened, and that this [True Nature] is only covered up and made imperceptible [in the case of ordinary people] by false sense impressions. If one discards the false and takes refuge in the True, one resides frozen in “wall contemplation” (pi-kuan), [in which] self and other, ordinary person and sage, are one and the same; one resides fixedly without wavering, never again to be swayed by written teachings. To be thus mysteriously identified with the [True] Principle, to be without discrimination, serene and inactive: This is called the entrance of principle.

The entrance of practice refers to the “four practices” [listed below], which encompass all other practices. They are the “practice of the retribution of enmity,” the “practice of the acceptance of circumstances,” the “practice of the absence of craving,” and the “practice of accordance with the Dharma.”

What is the practice of the retribution of enmity? When the practitioner of Buddhist spiritual training experiences suffering, he should think to himself: “For innumerable eons I have wandered through the various states of existence, forsaking the fundamental (pen) for the derivative (mo), generating [in myself] a great deal of enmity and distaste and [bringing] an unlimited amount of injury and discord [upon others]. Although I have not committed any offense in this [lifetime, my present suffering constitutes] the fruition of my past crimes and bad karma, rather than anything bequeathed to me by any heavenly or nonhuman being. I shall accept it patiently and contentedly, completely without enmity or complaint.” The sûtra says: “Do not be saddened by the experience of suffering. Why? Because your mind (shih, “consciousness”) penetrates the fundamental [nature of things].”

When you react to events in this fashion (lit., “generate this [state of] mind”), you can be in accord with the [Absolute] Principle as you progress upon the path [toward enlightenment] through the experience of [the results of your past] enmity. Therefore, this is called the practice of the retribution of enmity.
The second is the practice of the acceptance of circumstances (yuan, "conditions"). Sentient beings have no [unchanging] self (wu-wo, anatman) and are entirely subject to the impact of their circumstances. Whether one experiences suffering or pleasure, both are generated from one's circumstances. If one experiences fame, fortune, and other forms of superior [karmic] retribution, [one should realize that this is] the result (kan, "response") of past causes. Although one may experience [such good fortune] now, when the circumstances [responsible for its present manifestation] are exhausted, it will disappear. How could one take joy in [good fortune]? Since success and failure depend on circumstances, the mind should remain unchanged. It should be unmoved even by the winds of good fortune, but mysteriously in accordance with the Tao (i.e., the Path, or enlightenment). Therefore, this is called the practice of the acceptance of circumstances.

The third is the practice of the absence of craving. The various kinds of covetousness and attachment that people experience in their never-ending ignorance are referred to as craving (ch'iu). The wise man is enlightened to the Truth, the [essential] principle of which is contrary to human convention. He pacifies his mind in inactivity (an-hsin wu-wei) and accepts whatever happens to him (lit., "[allows his] form to be transformed in accordance with fate"). [Understanding that] all existence is nonsubstantial, he is without desire. [The two sisters of good and bad fortune named] Merit and Darkness always travel together. The triple world, this home you are long accustomed to living in, is like a burning house! Suffering is an inescapable fact of corporeal existence—who could possibly [have a body and be at] peace? If you understand this, you will cease all [wrong] thinking and be without craving, [no matter which of the] various states of existence [you may experience]. The sutra says: "To have craving entails suffering; to be without craving means joy." Understand clearly that to be without craving is equivalent to the true practice of the Path.

The fourth is the practice of accordance with the Dharma. The [absolute] principle of essential purity (hsing-ching chih li) is called Dharma. According to this principle, all characteristics are nonsubstantial and there is no defilement and no attachment, no [distinction between] "this" and "that." The [Vimalakīrti] Sūtra says: "There are no sentient beings in this Dharma, because it transcends the defilements of 'sentient being.' There are no selves in this Dharma, because it transcends the defilements of 'self.' " If the wise man can accept and understand this principle, he should practice in accordance with the Dharma.

Since this Dharma is fundamentally without parsimony, he should practice [the perfection of] charity (dāna), giving of his body, life, and possessions without any regret in his mind. Thoroughly understanding the three nonsubstantialities [of recipient, donor, and gift], he neither swerves [from his course] nor becomes attached [to anything], but merely rids himself of his own defilements and aids in the salvation of other sentient beings—all without grasping at characteristics (i.e., without conceptualizing the existence of self and sentient beings, etc.). In this way he benefits himself as well
as others; he ornaments the path of enlightenment. Charity is [to be unter-
taken] as above; the other five [perfections are performed] in the same man-
ner. To eradicate wrong thoughts and practice the six perfections—but while
being without any "practice"—this is the practice of accordance with the
Dharma.

[Appended Material]
[The First Letter]

I have always revered the previous sage (i.e., the Buddha). I have exten-
sively cultivated all the practices, have always taken joy in the Pure Land,
and have valued the legacy of his teaching like a thirsty man in need of
water. There are many millions who realized the great enlightenment and
innumerable ones who attained the four fruits through their encounter with
Śākyamuni. I truly believed that heaven was a separate country and hell
another place and that, upon achieving enlightenment and attaining the
[ultimate] fruit, one's body became changed, one's form different. [Think-
ing thus, I] opened the scriptures seeking blessings and [sought to make the]
motivation of my practice pure. In a confused whirl of activity I practiced as
I might, thus passing many years with never a moment of rest.

Eventually, though, I sat upright in serenity and fixed my attention on my
mind. Having long cultivated false thoughts, however, I perceived forms on
the basis of my feelings (i.e., experienced hallucinations), the transforma-
tions of which seemed never-ending. Eventually I penetrated the Dharma
Nature (fa-hsing) and crudely cultivated Suchness (chen-ju), so that for the
first time I understood that there was nothing that did not exist within the
square inch [of my own mind]. The bright pearl penetrated brilliantly, mys-
teriously attaining the Profound Truth. From the Buddhas above to the
squirming insects below, there is nothing that is not identified according to
[the criteria of our own] minds [and that is not] a separate name of [our
own] false thoughts.

Therefore, I have poured my deepest feelings into the composition of a
modest verse on the expedient means of entering into enlightenment, which
I address to those of a common background and like inclinations. If you
have the time, please read this. If you practice seated meditation, you will
surely perceive the Fundamental Nature (pen-hsing).

If you can meld the mind and make it pure,
then [you will realize that] a split second of discriminative consciousness
is samsāra.
Mentation undertaken within [samsāra results in] the creation of wrong
livelihood.7
If you search for the Dharma with a calculating [mind], your karma will
not change.

[The Second Letter]

In its ever-increasing defilement, the mind is difficult to [bring to the]
ultimate. When the Sage heard the eight words [of the verse "All things are
impermanent; this life is samsāra” (?)), he instantly realized for the first time that his six years of asceticism had been wasted effort.

The world is universally entangled with demons who pointlessly argue and fight. They make incorrect interpretations [of Buddhism, by which they] teach sentient beings. They speak of remedies, but they have never cured a single illness.

Serene, serene—from the beginning there have fundamentally never existed any ascriptive views and [superficial] characteristics (?), so how can there be good and evil, false and true? Birth is also nonbirth, extinction also nonextinction. Motion is equivalent to nonmotion, meditation equivalent to nonmeditation.

[The following is represented by the HKSC as a letter from Layman Hsiang to Hui-k’o.]

Shadows are generated by forms, and echoes follow voices. Toying with shadows and belaboring their forms, [foolish practitioners] do not understand the identity of the two. Raising the voice to stop the echo, [such persons] do not understand that their voice is the basis of the echoes. Striving for nirvāṇa by eradicating the illusions is like eliminating forms and searching for shadows. Striving for Buddhahood by transcending [one’s status as a] sentient being is like silencing one’s voice and listening for an echo.

Know therefore that ignorance and enlightenment are identical, stupidity and wisdom not separate. [People] arbitrarily posit names where there are no names, and these names lead to the generation of [distinctions between] “this” and “not-this.” [They also] arbitrarily formulate principles [explaining this reality] where there are no principles, and these principles lead to the occurrence of disputation. The phantasmagorical transformations [of phenomenal reality] are not real, so who can say “this” and “not-this”? [All is] false and without reality, so what are “being” and “non-being”?

Not having been able to go and discuss [Buddhism with you], I have written these few phrases. [Even so,] who could [ever truly] discuss the mysterious principle!

[Hui-k’o’s Reply]

Your discussion of the True Dharma is completely accurate. There is ultimately no difference between it and the true and abstruse principles.

Originally deluded, one calls the mani-pearl* a potsherd. Suddenly one is awakened—and it is [recognized as] a pearl.

Ignorance and wisdom are identical, not different.

One should understand that the myriad dharmas are all “suchlike.” Having compassion for those who hold such discriminating views you have taken your brush to write this letter.

Contemplating one’s body and the Buddha [and seeing that they] are not different, why should one further seek for that remainderless state [of nirvāṇa]?
3. The Message of the Letters

Taken together, the two letters attached to the EJSHL describe the following three states of religious consciousness:

1. Mundane striving: The author of the first letter offers a long confession of his former addiction to traditional sorts of Buddhist religious activity—scriptural study, recitation, and the like—all of which were undertaken in order to bring him closer to enlightenment, which he perceived to be a total transformation of his entire being. The Buddha's six years of asceticism mentioned in the second letter are essentially identical in that they were a period of goal-oriented behavior predicated on ascriptive views about the nature of reality. Both letters elaborate on the implications of such fundamentally false conceptions and distinctions: descriptions of reality using inherently inaccurate and misleading names or definitions of things; dichotomies between good and evil, true and false, etc.; doctrinal disputes and destructive argumentation in general; and—most important of all—the deluded notion that one could attain nirvana by destroying one's illusions. In short, in this sort of consciousness one is fundamentally ignorant of the truths of sünyatā and the existence of the Buddha Nature within oneself.

2. Correct religious practice: In contrast to the attempt to make progress toward a goal, which typifies religious practice in the limited sense as described in the preceding paragraph, here one dispenses with all false dualism and fixes one's attention on the mind. The proper approach to practice is described only briefly in the first letter, but at least we know that a special form of seated meditation is implied. This practice has no stages or technical progressions; somehow one must achieve one's goal without positing any goal.

3. Realization: The onset of realization occurs all of a sudden. Hui-k'o's reply refers to a sudden switch from the limited consciousness of the normal, ignorant state to the expansive openness of enlightenment. The poem at the end of the first letter refers to "melding the mind and making it pure," i.e., to dissolving the mind's tendencies to false discrimination and conceptualization, which form a barrier to the realization of the absolute realm of sünyatā. We may infer that the historical Buddha instantly understood not only the vanity of his six years of asceticism, but also the identity of samsāra and nirvāna, the identity of the illusions and enlightenment. At that point his mind penetrated the fundamental reality of the universe and achieved a complete, unqualified identification with the timeless serenity of the absolute. According to the verse at
the end of the first letter, at the moment of enlightenment one realizes that samsāra is created by ordinary sentient beings during each and every moment of discriminative consciousness—the implication being that one thereby makes the decision to dispense with such discrimination in order to escape the suffering of samsāra.

The first and third of these states of religious consciousness are actually standard Buddhist fare; the second, in contrast, is distinctively Ch’ān. The earliest exponents of Ch’an were apparently devoted to a style of meditative practice—not very clearly defined in these letters—that somehow dispensed with all stages of progress and lesser sorts of self-improvement and went straight to the heart of the matter of human ignorance by focusing directly on the mind itself.

4. The Meaning of the Four Practices

Now, then, to the EJSHL itself. The basic distinction in this text, of course, is between the entrance of principle and the entrance of practice. The term ju (entrance) may be easily understood in terms of the compounds ju-tao, “to enter the Path” or “to enter into enlightenment,” and wu-ju, “to enter into a state of enlightenment.” The character li, which has been translated in this context as “principle,” refers to the ultimate reality or abstract principle underlying all phenomena. The entrance of principle, then, is the “entrance into enlightenment on the basis of the comprehension of the fundamental Truth about human reality?” It could just as well be translated as the “entrance of the absolute,” or, from another perspective, the “entrance of understanding.”

Hsing-ju has been translated as the “entrance of practice,” in the sense of spiritual practices aimed at the attainment of enlightenment. As we shall see, hsing refers not to contemplative practices per se, but to the entire spectrum of daily activity qua religious endeavor.9

For the sake of convenience, let us first consider the “four practices.” The practice of the retribution of enmity is to be undisturbed by unfavorable circumstances or suffering (k’u, duhkha) in one’s life in the realization that they are but the karmic retribution of all enmity and ill will expressed by oneself in the past. It is best to think of enmity as representative of the basic causes of suffering, i.e., the illusions or afflictions (fan-nao, klesa), which are themselves based on ignorance (wu-ming, avidyā). The choice of the term “enmity” (yuan) as the basic cause of one’s present plight is apparently occasioned by a compound found in the Tao-te ching.10 Although this practice is but the first and most rudimentary of the four, to successfully maintain the proper attitude in the
face of diversity is to be in complete accord with the Absolute Principle, i.e., the Dharma.

In the practice of the acceptance of circumstances, one is to remain unmoved by either good or bad fortune due to an awareness of one’s own lack of permanent existence (wu-wo, anâtman) and of the incessant changes that occur in one’s being and the conditions of one’s life. Where the first practice is applicable only in times of explicit personal suffering, here the sphere of relevance is widened to include both good and bad karmic rewards. Suffering and impermanence are perceived to be inherent even within the experience of good fortune. However, the basic attitude enjoined by this practice is no different from that of the previous one.11

The practice of the absence of craving is to be without attachment or desire for any thing or circumstance within one’s experience, whether favorable, unfavorable, or neutral. The word ch’iu has been translated here as “craving” in the sense of the Sanskrit word trṣnā, the concept of craving referred to in the second of the Four Noble Truths as the cause of all human suffering. Although this is not a standard equivalent for this Chinese character, the text states that “the various kinds of covetousness and attachment that people experience in their never-ending ignorance are referred to as ch’iu.”12 As in the case of the first practice, to accomplish this practice is to be in accord with the Absolute Principle, or the truth that is “contrary to human convention.”

The last of the four practices is to govern the entirety of one’s actions according to an understanding of the emptiness or nonsubstantiality of all things. The very first lines of this section define the Dharma of sānyatā as equivalent to the principle (li) referred to in the first of the two entrances. That principle transcends defilement, attachment, characteristics, and dualistic distinctions. The practice of accordance with the Dharma is defined according to the example of the perfection of charity. Just as this perfection requires that one perceive the emptiness or nonsubstantiality of recipient, donor, and gift, so does this Ch’an treatise require that one eliminate false thoughts and cultivate the six perfections without conceptualizing anything as a “practice.”

It should be obvious that the four practices form a very simple progression from the forbearance of suffering, through the rejection of craving, to a thorough realization of the nonsubstantiality of all things.13 Actually, the four practices do not represent a series of different modes of practice, but four progressively more profound expressions of one and the same mental attitude of nonattachment. The succession of the four practices is best understood as a didactic conceit, useful in the correct orientation of new students into the practical application of the doctrine
5. The Entrance of Principle

As stressed by previous commentators, the entrance of principle is undoubtedly the more important of the two entrances. Because of its importance, this part of Bodhidharma's treatise is offered here in outline form. The order of the last sentence is altered slightly for convenience of presentation:

1. The entrance of principle is to become enlightened to the Truth on the basis of the teaching.

2. [One must have a] profound faith [in the fact that]
   A. one and the same True Nature is possessed of all sentient beings, both ordinary and enlightened
   B. and that this [True Nature] is only covered up and made imperceptible [in the case of ordinary people] by false sense impressions.

3. If one discards the false and takes refuge in the True,
   A. one resides frozen in "wall contemplation," [in which] self and other, ordinary person and sage are one and the same;
   B. one resides fixedly without wavering, never again to be swayed by written teachings.

4. This is called the entrance of principle:
   A. to be mysteriously identified with the [True] Principle;
   B. to be without discrimination, serene and inactive.

Sentence 1 is obviously an introduction to the entrance of principle as a whole. The "teaching" referred to here is to be differentiated from the "written teachings" mentioned in 3B, which refers to a limited, conceptualized understanding of the Buddhist scriptures as presented by exegetes and doctrinal specialists. In this case the reference is to Bodhidharma's oral instructions or to the essential message of Buddhism per se—the fundamental truth of the scriptures as opposed to their verbal formulations. Sentences 2 and 3 constitute the main part of the passage, the first explaining the essential article of religious faith according to Ch'an and the second defining the natural consequences of that faith in one's individual religious training. The last sentence, number 4, represents the passage's conclusion.

Since sentences 1 and 4 obviously constitute introduction and conclusion to the entrance of principle as a whole, our main interest here is in sentences 2 and 3. The first is a straightforward statement of the idea of the Buddha Nature, the enlightened aspect or potentiality for achieving
buddhahood that is inherent within all sentient beings, regardless of their level of religious insight. The unavoidable corollary of the idea of the Buddha Nature is that its presence is obscured by human illusion, discriminative thinking, and emotional activity. For all but a very few living beings—the Buddhas and sages—the Buddha Nature does not immediately reveal itself to the introspective searcher. However often or insistently we are told that we bear the seed of enlightenment within, there is simply no plain indication that this is actually so.16

For practicing Buddhists such as the members of the earliest Ch’an lineage, the initial invisibility of the Buddha Nature leads to the following question: How can one change oneself so that one becomes able to perceive the Buddha Nature within? At this point the testimony of the letters appended to the *EJSHL* becomes relevant. What was needed was not some form of personal transformation that would destroy or render ineffective the illusions obscuring one’s view of the Buddha Nature and distinguishing one so utterly from the ranks of the enlightened. Rather, what was needed was the realization that no such transformation was required. By recognizing the unreal quality of one’s illusions and rejecting the temptation to tamper with them for the purpose of some preconceived notion of spiritual progress, one attained a state of perfect enlightenment. This attainment may in fact constitute a very important type of transformation, but it would not require the replacement of one’s own mundane personality with the transcendent identity of a buddha or celestial bodhisattva.

By means of the word *tan*, “only,” the *EJSHL* proper clearly indicates the relative importance of the Buddha Nature and the illusions and false thinking that obscure it. But this word is apt to be overlooked by the inattentive reader. Professor Yanagida writes:

In the present example, true spiritual practice, as well as the fundamental principle of Buddhism, is the profound conviction that all living beings possess the same one True Nature, whether they are enlightened or not. Sensory impressions are ultimately falsely arisen entities, false coverings. This is the meaning of the word “only.”

If one places excessive emphasis on the sensory impressions predicated by this word “only” and thinks of spiritual practice as the rejection of the false and the return to the True, then one fails to understand the entrance of principle. The True Nature is naturally clear and pure—it does not become so merely by virtue of the eradication of sensory impressions . . . If one reads carefully, this usage of “only” appears quite frequently in the texts of the early Ch’an School.17

In other words, the existence of an absolute or enlightened aspect within human beings is fundamentally more significant than the existence of illusions and false thoughts that obscure that enlightenment.
What does the EJSNL advocate as a response to this existential situation of a Buddha Nature obscured by a veil of human illusion? The first part of this response is the eminently simple concept indicated in sentence 2: profound faith. As is well known, in Buddhism faith is not an emotional commitment or outpouring of devotion, but rather an unswerving conviction, a total absence of even the slightest doubt about the nature of reality as described by the Buddhist teachings. The Chinese character for faith, hsin, connotes the acceptance or of reliance on something. In this case it is the complete acceptance of the existence of the Buddha Nature within the veil of illusions, or even the decision to rely on the existence of that Buddha Nature as the guiding principle of all one’s actions.

The adoption of this “profound faith” in the existence of the Buddha Nature marks the initiation of the uniquely Ch’an type of religious practice that is only imprecisely indicated by the letters discussed earlier. According to the EJSNL, faith leads on to abide in a state described as “frozen,” “fixed,” “unwavering,” and “without discrimination, serene and inactive.”

Where other Buddhist texts might describe the victory over human illusions in terms of cutting them off at the root, here we find described a position of invincible solidity in which one (a) realizes the identity of ordinary person and sage and (b) is never again swayed by written teachings. The term “written teachings” refers, of course, to the verbalized imitations of truth, rather than to the true teachings of Buddhism mentioned in sentence 1.

6. The Practice of “Wall Contemplation”

How did Bodhidharma and his followers develop the state of invincibility described in the previous section? Did they use some kind of yogic technique in which all the normal transformations of consciousness were intentionally brought to a stop? Did they somehow manage to paralyze their minds and at the same time achieve a realization of the ultimate truth of sunyata? Or is some other meaning of residing “frozen” and “fixed” implied here?

The crux of the entrance of principle is of course the troublesome term pi-kuan, or “wall contemplation.” This term is without precedent in prior texts and, as may be seen from the following list, subject to a number of interpretations by later Chinese authorities:

1. T’an-lin’s preface to the EJSNL refers to pi-kuan as Bodhidharma’s teaching of the “pacification of the mind” (an-hsin), which is one of the most common terms for spiritual endeavor and meditation practice in early Ch’an.
2. The HKSC states that “the achievements of [Bodhidharma’s] Ma-
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hayāna wall contemplation are the very highest,” but no specific definition is given.

3. The CFPC, the earliest of the Ch’an transmission histories, rejects the authenticity of “wall contemplation and the four practices” as Bodhidharma’s ultimate teachings. This position was repeated by a Sung Dynasty scholar of Ch’an, Ch’i-sung (1007–72).

4. The Hua-yen School’s Chih-yen (602–68) lists wall contemplation in a list of eighteen types of meditation suitable for use by beginners for the treatment of different dispositional problems or spiritual ills.

5. Tsung-mi refers to this term in two different ways. In his discussion of the teachings of the Northern School, he writes:

Bodhidharma taught people pacification of the mind through wall contemplation, in which externally one ceased discrimination and internally one made one’s mind free of ‘gasping’ (i.e., free of impediments and attachments?). When the mind is like a wall one can enter into enlightenment (ju-tao)—truly, is this not a method of meditation?

In another location Tsung-mi refers to wall contemplation as an allegory for Bodhidharma’s unverbalized teaching of mind and its essence of “knowing” (chih), a concept that Tsung-mi claimed was the quintessential aspect of the teachings of his own favorite, Shen-hui.

6. Huang-po Hsi-yun (d. 850) refers to Bodhidharma’s practice as one of physically facing a wall in meditation. The CTL states that Bodhidharma “always sat in silence facing the wall, so people called him the ‘wall-contemplating Brahmin.’ ”

7. A thirteenth century T’ien-t’ai work, the Shih-men cheng-t’ung (True Succession of the House of Sākya), defines a wall in this context as the “nonentrance of sensory data and the false.”

Modern interpretations of this term have been similarly diverse, if cautiously hesitant. Ui Hakuju’s only comment on the subject, for example, is his definition of pi-kuan as “pacification of the mind in which the mind is mysteriously united with tranquillity.” T’ang Yung-t’ung is only slightly more explicit, saying that “the mind is like a wall, forgetting words and extirpating conceptualization.” T’ang apparently understands the wall as a metaphor for unshakable solidity, rather than as a vertical surface dividing two regions of space. In addition, he interprets the compound pi-kuan as a verb with a preceding modifier (“to contemplate like a wall” or “wall-like contemplation”), rather than as an inverted verb-object (“to contemplate a wall”). The latter grammatical interpretation is implicit in the image of Bodhidharma “facing a wall” (mien-pi) in meditation, but this is clearly a later construction.

Professor Yanagida has offered two interpretations of the term pi-kuan that are categorically different from those just given. Although
they occur in separate contexts and contain assertions that are anything but conservative, their presentation together here will prove to be remarkably helpful in the understanding of the EJSHL as a whole:

It is a fact that Tao-hsuan characterized [Bodhidharma’s teaching] in comparison to those of [the Hīnayāna] Seng-ch’ou, writing that “the merits of Mahāyāna wall contemplation were the very highest.” It is to be expected that “wall contemplation” in itself constituted the Mahāyāna contemplation of nonsubstantiality . . . Actually, the metaphor of the wall had already appeared in the Tā chih-tu lun’s passage on the mindfulness of the body . . . It was a metaphor for the inanimate, the unconscious (mushin, or wu-hsin in Chinese).

In essence, pi-kuan means “the wall contemplates,” not “one contemplates a wall.” One becomes a wall and contemplates as such. What does one contemplate? One contemplates śūnyatā. One gazes intently at a vibrantly alive śūnyatā.22

The more controversial of these two interpretations is unquestionably the latter. Yanagida explicates it with reference to the figures painted on the walls of Chinese burial tumuli, figures that steadfastly view the ghastly scenes in front of them with complete detachment and aplomb. The passage occurs in a short summary of early Ch’an history aimed at a popular audience, a context that allowed for an unusually picturesque interpretation. Yanagida continues as follows:

In general, the caves at Yun-kang and Lung-men that were created from the Northern Wei onward had countless numbers of buddhas and bodhisattvas carved into all four walls. The eyes of the buddhas and bodhisattvas were also carved into the floors and ceilings. These stone images witnessed (nuru, using the Chinese character kuan, meaning “to see” or “to contemplate”) the history of the people that entered and left such caves.

When Bodhidharma first arrived in the Northern Wei, he presumably sat alone in meditation in such a cave. His was not a practice of “facing a wall,” but of becoming a wall and witnessing himself and the world. He saw the emptiness of history, he saw the truth of the identity of unenlightened person and sage. I believe that this was the origin of the word “wall contemplation.”

At the same time “wall contemplation” includes the idea of “turning back the brilliance in counterillumination” (ekō henshō, or hui-kuang fan-chao in Chinese), the wonderfully bright radiance of the setting sun. Or the inconceivable function of the mirror, which illuminates each and every thing in existence . . . It is well to point out that [such ideas] begin in the Ch’an of Bodhidharma along with this difficult yet strangely appealing expression, “wall contemplation.”

I suspect that it would be very difficult to defend the translation of pi-kuan as “the wall contemplates” before a hypothetical sixth-century audience of native Chinese speakers. Yet the line between “contemplat-
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The key phrase in this passage describes Bodhidharma’s practice “of becoming a wall and witnessing himself and the world.” At this point we must recall Yanagida’s earlier, less adventurous interpretation, in which he equates *pi-kuan* with the Mahāyāna contemplation of nonsubstantiality. According to these interpretations, *pi-kuan* involves two separate aspects, static and dynamic. These two aspects may be correlated with the two entrances of the *EJSHL*: The entrance of principle is to achieve and maintain a firm conviction of the immanence of the Buddha Nature within oneself and all other living beings, while the entrance of practice is to act at all times on the basis of a profound understanding of samsāra. Such a profound understanding is absolutely necessary for the enactment of the four practices. In order to overcome adversity, one must first perceive its impermanence. In order to help sentient beings, one must first comprehend the nature of their suffering. Whereas the firm conviction of the entrance of principle is represented within the practice of *pi-kuan* by the solidity of the wall, the dynamic capacity of understanding that underlies the four practices is embodied in the very notion of contemplation itself, the activity of “witnessing [one]self and the world.”

The reader may object that these static and dynamic aspects of religious practice are not both immediately apparent in the term *pi-kuan*. I cannot deny this. I will not claim that this analysis constitutes a definitive and unchallengeable interpretation of *pi-kuan* and the entrance of principle. However, it does provide a key to the comprehensive interpretation of early Ch’an religious doctrine. The very presence of both the static and dynamic aspects of religious practice in the *EJSHL* is, I believe, an important explanation for its significance in early Ch’an.

7. Bodhidharma’s Treatise and the Later Development of Ch’an Doctrine

One of the most important issues in the development of early Ch’an doctrine is the rejection of traditional meditation technique, with its emphasis on yogic concentration and gradual self-perfection, in favor of a sudden approach that was supposedly more open, spontaneous, and intuitive. Hu Shih, D. T. Suzuki, and others have described this as a transition from an intrinsically Indian style of practice to one that was just as uniquely and characteristically Chinese. Although I will refrain from commenting on such interpretations at present, I do think it is important to note that the tendency to reject traditional meditative technique occurred in non-Ch’an School contexts during the second half of
the sixth century. Note the following passages from the biographies of T’an-lun (d. 626) and Ching-lin (565–640), both of whom were associated with the She-lun School:

[T’an-lun’s teacher] counseled him: “If you fix your mind on the tip of your nose you will be able to achieve tranquillity.” [T’an]-lun said: “If I view the mind as capable of being fixed to the tip of my nose I will fundamentally see neither the characteristic of the mind nor what it is fixed upon.”

At a different time [T’an-lun’s master] informed him: “In sitting you must first learn to purify your clouded mentation. It is just like peeling an onion—you peel layer after layer and finally achieve purity (te ching).” [T’an]-lun said: “If I view it to be like an onion, then it can be peeled, but fundamentally there is no onion that can be peeled.”

Therefore, afterward [T’an-lun] ceased all reading of the sutras and worship of the Buddhas, but simply shut himself in a room and did not come out, fulfilling his spiritual ambition by simply transcending thoughts (li-nien) in all his activities.24

[Ching-lin] rejected the practice of lecturing in order to single-mindedly cultivate meditation. First, he practiced [the contemplation of physical] impurity and the [four] foundations of mindfulness. Then he became displeased at their petty complexities and [the way they] insisted on the cessation of human ratiocination. He turned to the practice of the various “contemplations of nonattainment” (chu wu-te-kuan). By transcending his thoughts in consciousness-only (li-nien wei-shih) he expanded his realization of the Truth. He comprehended every [such contemplation] that he undertook, practicing thus for ten years.25

The concepts of gradual spiritual progress and sudden enlightenment, so well known to modern readers, are not specifically mentioned in any of the primary sources introduced in this chapter. Nevertheless, it is clear that, in addition to the major dichotomy between scriptural study and the practice of meditation, a minor dichotomy also existed in late sixth- or early seventh-century Chinese Buddhism between two approaches to the practice of meditation itself. Although the methods of practice adopted by T’an-lun and Ching-Lin did involve seated meditation and predetermined contemplative techniques, they were considered to be fundamentally different from the progressive approach of conventional Indian meditation. Similarly, the letters attached to the EJSHL contain specific rejections of traditional Buddhist practices—the use of scriptural recitation, repentance rituals, and contemplative techniques aimed at the inculcation of positive religious emotions and the simultaneous elimination of incorrect views and prejudices. The EJSHL’s references to a frozen and fixed state of being and the absence of the normally dualistic functions of cognitive activity constitute an expression of the same ideal.
Other scholars have, of course, interpreted the references to a frozen or fixed state in terms of yogic styles of mental cultivation. This observation can only be accepted with some modification: The *EJSHL* does not contain any allusion to the cultivation of yoga, but only to a final state of attainment that is quite similar to the ultimate stage of yogic achievement. It is impossible to know how Bodhidharma had his students reach this state; one wonders if he used the "*samādhi* of the seal of the *Tathāgata*’s wisdom," à la Seng-fu, or the "contemplations of nonattainment," like Ching-lin.

Actually, the language of the *EJSHL* is so terse and uninformative that a definitive interpretation would be impossible. When considered solely by themselves, the records of Bodhidharma’s career and earliest impact are too scanty to yield any meaningful conclusions. The real value of these documents lies in their capacity to indicate general themes that govern the subsequent periods of early Ch’an history, and thereby help us understand a body of evidence that is both extensive and disorganized. In other words, the true teachings of the historical Bodhidharma cannot be deduced from the extant primary source material, but that material may be used as a key to the subsequent development of Ch’an thought.

With this understanding, I make the following observation: The static and dynamic motifs of Bodhidharma’s two entrances seem to anticipate the two major themes of early Ch’an thought considered in this study. The entrance of principle emphasizes recognition of the existence of the Buddha Nature within oneself, which is the primary concern of the East Mountain Teaching texts attributed to Tao-hsin and Hung-jen. The entrance of practice is concerned with the active expression of the Dharma in the perfected activities of everyday life, which is the primary concern of the Northern School doctrines of Shen-hsiu and others. Only after analyzing the doctrines of these two phases of Ch’an thought will we be able to understand the relationship between these two approaches, the full implications of their rejection of traditional meditative technique, and the true significance of the sudden-gradual dichotomy in early Ch’an.
CHAPTER VI

The Basic Doctrines of the East Mountain Teaching

1. Problems in the Study of the East Mountain Teaching

In Part One we saw that there was no clear line of demarcation between the period known as the East Mountain Teaching, i.e., the careers of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen, and that known as the Northern School, i.e., the careers of Shen-hsiu and his successors. Although they appear to be two separate phases of early Ch'an history, the former is known almost solely through the texts of the latter. The same is true of the religious doctrines of the two phases: No matter how hard we might try to reconstruct the actual doctrines of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen, their “East Mountain Teaching” can only be approached through texts produced and/or edited during the later “Northern School” phase.

There are only a very few datable clues to the teachings of Ch'an during the seventh century:

1. The HKSC refers to Tao-hsin’s teaching as the “expedient means of entering the Path” (ju-tao fang-pien) and depicts him as a devotee of the Perfection of Wisdom.26

2. The Chin-kang san-mei ching (Sūtra of the Adamantine Samādhi), a text probably written in Korea sometime between 645 and about 665, mentions both Bodhidharma’s two entrances and a practice of “maintaining the one and preserving the three” (shou-i ts’un-san). The latter is reminiscent of the doctrine of “maintaining the One without wavering” (shou-i pu i) attributed to Tao-hsin.27

3. There exists a Tun-huang manuscript of a text entitled Ta-mo ch’an-shih lun (Dhyāna Master [Bodhi]dharma’s Treatise), which might be taken as a guide to the teachings of early Ch’an. The text is probably relatively early, although its putative date of compilation or transcription, 681, is not reliable. Unfortunately, its contents do not lend themselves to precise dating.28
4. The composition of Shen-hsiu's *Kuan-hsin lun* (*Treatise on the Contemplation of the Mind*) may be assigned to the years 675–700. The introduction into the Ch' an tradition of Chih-i's *Ch'eng-hsin lun* (*Treatise on the Clarification of the Mind*) probably occurred during the same period.²⁹

5. Finally, the epitaph for Fa-ju (638–89) mentions such topics as the different types of *samādhi* practiced at Hung-jen's monastery, Fa-ju's "sudden entrance into the One Vehicle," his ability to remain "motionless in the True Realm and yet know the myriad forms," and, as discussed in Part One, the fact that the transmission of the teaching was done without words.³⁰

Unfortunately, these details are all too brief, too vague and/or difficult to interpret, and—in the case of those referring to Shen-hsiu and Fa-ju—too late to be of any real value.

Modern scholars generally explain the teachings of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen on the basis of two texts known chiefly from Tun-huang manuscripts. For Tao-hsin there exists a portion of the *LCSTC* that appears to be taken verbatim from a work called the *Ju-tao an-hsin yao fang-pien fa-men* (*Essentials of the Teaching of the Expedient Means of Entering the Path and Pacifying the Mind*; hereafter cited as *JTFM*). For Hung-jen, there exists the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* (*Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind*), which is known from a variety of sources. Since the *JTFM* teaches *shou-i*, or "maintaining the one," and the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* teaches *shou-hsin*, or "maintaining the mind," scholars have generally argued that the latter text and teaching were more advanced than the former.³¹

I do not believe that this interpretation is acceptable. The *JTFM* is known solely through the *LCSTC*. Judging by the absence of separate Tun-huang manuscripts—admittedly an argument made *ex silentio*—one would have to conclude that the *JTFM* did not circulate independently. Even more important, no other early Ch' an text quotes from it or even alludes to it. Although there are no specific indications that it was of late composition, it uses many of the same texts and even the same passages as other Northern School texts of the early eighth century.³² In addition, it addresses certain Taoist ideas and Pure Land practices that would have been of greater interest to an author working in the context of Buddhism in the two capitals in the early eighth century than to a retiring meditation specialist of the early seventh.³³

Finally, although the text's explanation of *shou-i* does seem to be less advanced in some ways than the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* 's concept of *shou-hsin*, the *JTFM* as a whole is a much more sophisticated, or at least a more complex, work. Although it would be misleading to suggest that
this greater internal complexity necessarily implies a later date of composition, some of the ideas contained in the treatise usually attributed to Tao-hsin are suggestive of the most advanced teachings of the Northern School.

A text attributed to Tao-hsin could well have been written after one attributed to Hung-ji. We know that the Hsiu-hsin yao lun was not written by Hung-ji himself, since the text itself admits that it was compiled by his students.14 Hung-ji was in many ways the most important figure of early Ch'án, in that he was the immediate spiritual forebear to many of the men who disseminated the teachings in Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. Therefore, it is not surprising that a text like the Hsiu-hsin yao lun would have been composed to represent the fundamentals of his teachings. The attribution of this text to Hung-ji thus has a retrospective validity: Its contents are not an exact record of his teachings, but they are at least representative of the most fundamental doctrines of early Ch'án, a “lowest common denominator” of Ch'an theory around the year 700.

The existence of a handful of separate versions of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun from Tun-huang and elsewhere indicates its general acceptance by the members of the early Ch'án School as teachings appropriate to the departed sage of East Mountain. After Hung-ji was thus equipped with a suitable literary statement, the attentions of the early Ch'án authors would have turned naturally to his predecessor, Tao-hsin. The process continued in this reverse fashion with the compilation of the Hsin-hsin ming (Inscription on Relying upon the Mind), which is falsely attributed to Seng-ts'an, Tao-hsin's supposed teacher.35

Although specific proof is lacking, I suspect that the JTFM was only written very shortly, no more than a decade or so, before it was noticed by Ching-chueh and quoted in his LCSTC of 713-16. This interpretation must be considered tentative, but the reader should at least grant that it would be improper to follow the conventional approach in constructing a theory for the chronological development of early Ch'an religious thought. This problem is not limited to these two works. In fact, it is extremely difficult to assign a definite date to any of the doctrinal developments of early Ch'an.

Having found a diachronic approach to the teachings of early Ch'an untenable, we must turn to a synchronic, thematic approach. Because of the retrospective validity of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun and, to a lesser extent, the JTFM, these two texts will be our primary source of information about the basic tenets of the East Mountain Teaching. The reader should keep in mind that the “East Mountain Teaching” defined in these pages does not refer to the teachings of Tao-hsin and Hung-ji, but rather to the most basic doctrines of the Ch'an School in the early eighth century in the vicinity of the two capitals.
2. Textual Information

The *Hsiu-hsin yao lun*, written as a dialogue between the master and an unnamed interrogator, may be divided into two parts of roughly equal length. The first, which includes sections A to M of the translation that follows, is a structured series of questions and answers. The second, sections N to V, contains fewer questions, longer doctrinal statements and descriptions of meditation practice, a greater amount of colloquial language, and numerous direct exhortations to vigorous practice.

Important points to notice while reading this text include the following:

1. the metaphor of the sun obscured by clouds that occurs in section D
2. emphasis on the importance of "maintaining [awareness of] the mind" throughout the text, and
3. the two types of meditation practice recommended in sections O and T

3. Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind (*Hsiu-hsin yao lun*)

A. A Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind, in one fascicle, [written by] Preceptor [Hung]-jen of Ch'i-chou [in order to] lead ordinary people to sagehood and to an understanding of the basic principle of emancipation.

B. If you do not take care of [this text], then all the [other] practitioners will be unable to see it. Please understand that in copying it, you should take care to make no mistakes or omissions, which might mislead those who follow.

C. The essence of cultivating the Path is to discern that one's own body (mind?) is inherently pure, [not subject to the laws of] generation and extinction, and without discrimination. Perfect and complete in its Self Nature, the Pure Mind is the fundamental teacher. [Meditating on it] is superior to reflecting on the Buddhas of the ten directions.

D. **Question**: How do you know that one's own mind is inherently pure?

**Answer**: The *Treatise on the [Sūtra of the] Ten Stages* (Shih-ti lun) says:

There is an adamantine Buddha Nature within the bodies of sentient beings. Like the sun, it is essentially bright, perfect, and complete.
Although vast and limitless, it is merely covered by the layered clouds of the five skandhas. Like a lamp inside a jar, its light cannot shine.

Further, to use the bright sun as a metaphor, it is as if the clouds and mists of this world were to arise together in [all] the eight directions, so that the world would become dark. How could the sun ever be extinguished?

[QUESTION: Without the sun being extinguished,] why would there be no light?

ANSWER: The sun’s light is not destroyed, but merely deflected by the clouds and mists. The pure mind possessed by all sentient beings is also like this, in simply being covered by the layered clouds of discriminative thinking, false thoughts, and ascriptive views. If one can just distinctly maintain [awareness of] the mind (shou-hsin) and not produce false thoughts, then the Dharma sun of nirvana will be naturally manifested. Therefore, it is known that one’s own mind is inherently pure.

E. QUESTION: How do you know that one’s own mind is inherently not subject to the laws of generation and extinction?

ANSWER: The Vimalakirti Sutra (Wei-mo ching) says: “Suchness (ju) is without generation; Suchness is without extinction.” The term “Suchness” refers to the suchlike Buddha Nature, the mind which is the source [of all dharmas] and pure in its Self Nature. Suchness is fundamentally existent and is not conditionally produced. [The Vimalakirti Sutra] also says: “Sentient beings all [embody] Suchness. The sages and wise men also [embody] Suchness.” “Sentient beings” means us (i.e., ordinary people), and “sages and wise men” means the Buddhas. Although the names and characteristics of [sentient beings and the Buddhas] are different, the essential reality of the Suchness contained within the bodies of each is identical and is not subject to the laws of generation and extinction. Hence [the sutra] says “all [embody] Suchness.” Therefore, it is known that one’s own mind is inherently not subject to the laws of generation and extinction.

F. QUESTION: Why do you call the mind the fundamental teacher?

ANSWER: The True Mind exists of itself and does not come from outside [oneself. As teacher] it does not even require any tuition fee! Nothing in all the three periods of time is more dear [to a person] than one’s mind. If you discern the Suchness [inherent in the mind] and maintain awareness of it, you will reach the other shore [of nirvana]. The deluded forsake it and fall into the three lower modes of existence (i.e., animals, hungry ghosts, and residents of the hells). Therefore, it is known that the Buddhas of the three periods of time take their own True Mind as teacher.
Hence the treatise says: "The existence of sentient beings is dependent on the waves of false consciousness, the essence of which is illusory."54 By clearly maintaining awareness of the mind, the false mind will not be activated (pu ch’i), and you will reach the state of birthlessness (i.e., nirvāṇa). Therefore, it is known that the mind is the fundamental teacher.

G. **Question:** Why is the mind of ordinary people superior to the mind of the Buddhas?55

**Answer:** You cannot escape birth and death by constantly reflecting on buddhas divorced from yourself,56 but you will reach the other shore of nirvāṇa by maintaining awareness of your own fundamental mind.57 Therefore, [the Buddha] says in the Diamond Sūtra (Chin-kang po-jo ching): "Anyone who views me in terms of form and seeks me by sound is practicing a heretic path and is unable to see the Tathāgata."58 Therefore, it is known that maintaining awareness of the True Mind is superior to reflecting on Buddhas divorced from oneself. In addition, the word "superior" is only used as a word of encouragement in the context of religious practice. In reality, the essence of the ultimate fruit [of nirvāṇa] is uniformly "same" (p’ing-teng) and without duality.

H. **Question:** If the true essence of sentient beings and the Buddhas is the same, then why is it that the Buddhas are not subject to the laws of generation and extinction, but receive incalculable pleasures and are autonomous (tzu-tsaï) and unhindered [in their activities], while we sentient beings have fallen into the realm of birth and death and are subject to various kinds of suffering?59

**Answer:** All the Buddhas of the ten directions are enlightened to the Dharma Nature and distinctly illuminate the mind that is the source [of all individual dharmas] (chao-liao hsin-yuan). They do not generate false thoughts, never fail in correct mindfulness (cheng-nien), and extinguish the illusion of personal possession.60 Because of this, they are not subject to birth and death. Since they are not subject to birth and death, they [have achieved] the ultimate state of serene extinction (i.e., nirvāṇa). Since they [have achieved] serene extinction, the myriad pleasures naturally accrue to them.

Sentient beings, [on the other hand,] are all deluded as to the True Nature and do not discern the fundamental mind. Because they cognize the various [dharmas] falsely,61 they do not cultivate correct mindfulness. Since they do not have correct mindfulness, thoughts of revulsion and attraction are activated [in them]. Because of [these thoughts of] revulsion and attraction, the vessel of the mind becomes defiled (lit., "broken and leaky"). Since the [vessel of] the mind is defiled, [sentient beings] are subject to birth and death. Because of birth and death, all the [various kinds of] suffering naturally appear.
The *Sūtra of Mind-king [Bodhisattva] (Hsin-wang ching)* says: "The suchlike Buddha Nature is concealed by knowledge based on the senses (*chih-chien*). [Sentient beings] are drowning in birth and death within the seas of the six consciousnesses and do not achieve emancipation."62

Make effort! If you can maintain awareness of the True Mind without generating false thoughts or the illusion of personal possession, then you will automatically be equal to the Buddhas.

I. **Question:** [You say that] the suchlike Dharma Nature [is embodied by both sentient beings and the Buddhas] identically and without duality. Therefore, if [one group] is deluded, both should be deluded. If [one group] is enlightened, both should be enlightened. Why are only the Buddhas enlightened, while sentient beings are deluded?

**Answer:** At this point we enter the inconceivable portion [of this teaching], which cannot be understood by the ordinary mind. One becomes enlightened by discerning the mind; one is deluded because of losing [awareness of the True] Nature. If the conditions [necessary for you to understand this] occur, then they occur63—it cannot be definitively explained. Simply rely on the ultimate truth64 and maintain awareness of your own True Mind.

Therefore, the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* says: "*[Dharmas] have no Self Nature and no Other Nature. Dharmas were fundamentally not generated [in the first place] and are not now extinguished."65 Enlightenment is to transcend the two extremes and enter into non-discriminating wisdom. If you understand this doctrine, then during all your activities66 you should simply maintain awareness of your fundamental Pure Mind. Do this constantly and fixedly, without generating false thoughts or the illusion of personal possession. Enlightenment will thus occur of itself.

If you ask a lot of questions, the number of doctrinal terms will become greater and greater. If you want to understand the essential point of Buddhism,67 then [be aware that] maintaining awareness of the mind is paramount. Maintaining awareness of the mind is the fundamental basis of nirvāṇa, the essential gateway for entering the path, the basic principle of the entire Buddhist canon,68 and the patriarch of all the Buddhas of past, present, and future.

J. **Question:** Why69 is maintaining awareness of the mind the fundamental basis of nirvāṇa?

**Answer:** The essence of what is called nirvāṇa is serene extinction. It is unconditioned and pleasant. When one's mind is True, false thoughts cease. When false thoughts cease, [the result is] correct mindfulness. Having correct mindfulness leads to the generation of the wisdom of serene illumination (i.e., the perfect knowledge or
illumination of all things without mental discrimination), which in turn means that one achieves total comprehension of the Dharma Nature. By comprehending the Dharma Nature one achieves nirvana. Therefore, maintaining awareness of the mind is the fundamental basis of nirvana.

K. **QUESTION**: Why is maintaining awareness of the mind the essential gateway for entering the path?

**ANSWER**: The Buddha teaches that even [actions as seemingly trivial as] raising the fingers of a single hand to draw an image of the Buddha can create merit as great as the sands of the River Ganges. However, this is just [his way of] enticing foolish sentient beings to create superior karmic conditions whereby they will see the Buddha and [become enlightened] in the future. If you wish to achieve buddhahood quickly in your own body, then do nothing except to maintain awareness of the True Mind.

The Buddhas of past, present, and future are incalculable and infinite [in number], and every single one of them achieved buddhahood by maintaining awareness of the True Mind. Therefore, the sutra says: "When one fixes the mind in a single location, there is nothing it cannot accomplish." Therefore, maintaining awareness of the True Mind is the essential [gateway] for entering the path.

L. **QUESTION**: Why is maintaining the True Mind the basic principle of the entire Buddhist canon?

**ANSWER**: Throughout the canon, the Tathagata preaches extensively about all the types of transgression and good fortune, causes and conditions, and rewards and retributions. He also draws upon all the various things [of this world]—mountains, rivers, the earth, plants, trees, etc.—to make innumerable metaphors. He also manifests innumerable supernormal powers and various kinds of transformations. All these are just the Buddha's way of teaching foolish sentient beings. Since they have various kinds of desires and a myriad of psychological differences, the Tathagata draws them into permanent bliss (i.e., nirvana) according to their mental tendencies.

Understand clearly that the Buddha Nature embodied within sentient beings is inherently pure, like a sun underlaid by clouds. By just distinctly maintaining awareness of the True Mind, the clouds of false thoughts will go away and the sun of wisdom will appear. Why make any further study of knowledge based on the senses, which [only] leads to the suffering of samsāra?

All concepts, as well as the affairs of the three periods of time, [should be understood according to] the metaphor of polishing a mirror: When the dust is gone the Nature naturally becomes manifest (chien-hsing). That which is learned by the ignorant mind is
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completely useless. True learning is that which is learned by the inactive (or unconditioned, wu-wei) mind, which never ceases correct mindfulness. Although this is called “true learning,” ultimately there is nothing to be learned. Why is this? Because the self and nirvāna are both nonsubstantial, they are neither different nor the same. Therefore, the essential principle of [the words] “nothing to be learned” is true.

One must maintain clear awareness of the True Mind without generating false thoughts or the illusion of personal possession. Therefore, the Nirvāna Sūtra (Nieh-p’an ching) says: “To understand that the Buddha does not [actually] preach the Dharma is called having sufficiently listened [to the Buddha’s preaching].” Therefore, maintaining awareness of the True Mind is the basic principle of the entire Buddhist canon.

**M. QUESTION**: Why is maintaining awareness of the mind the patriarch of all the Buddhas of past, present, and future?

**ANSWER**: All the Buddhas of past, present, and future are generated within [one’s own] consciousness. When you do not generate false thoughts, [the Buddhas] are generated within your consciousness. When your illusions of personal possession have been extinguished, [the Buddhas] are generated within your consciousness. You will only achieve buddhahood by maintaining awareness of the True Mind. Therefore, maintaining awareness of the mind is the patriarch of all the Buddhas of past, present, and future.

**N.** If one were to expand upon the four previous topics, how could one ever explain them completely? My only desire is that you discern the fundamental mind for yourselves. Therefore, I sincerely tell you: Make effort! Make effort! The thousand sūtras and ten thousand treatises say nothing other than that maintaining the True Mind is the essential [way to enlightenment]. Make effort!

I base [my teaching] on the Lotus Sūtra (Fa-hua ching), in which [the Buddha] says: “I have presented you with a great cart and a treasury of valuables, including bright jewels and wondrous medicines. Even so, you do not take them. What extreme suffering! Alas! Alas!” If you can cease generating false thoughts and the illusion of personal possession, then all the [various types of] merit will become perfect and complete. Do not try to search outside yourself, which [only] leads to the suffering of samsāra. Maintain the same state of mind in every moment of thought, in every phase of mental activity. Do not enjoy the present while planting the seeds of future suffering—[by doing so] you only deceive yourself and others and cannot escape from the realm of birth and death.

Make effort! Make effort! Although it may seem futile now, [your
present efforts] constitute the causes for your future [enlightenment]. Do not let time pass in vain while only wasting energy. The sutra says: "[Foolish sentient beings] will reside forever in hell as if pleasantly relaxing in a garden. There are no modes of existence worse than their present state." We sentient beings fit this description. Having no idea how horribly terrifying [this world really] is, we never have the least intention of leaving! How awful!

If you are just beginning to practice sitting meditation, then do so according to the Sutra of the Contemplation of Amitābha (Wuliang-shou kuan ching): Sit properly with the body erect, closing the eyes and mouth. Look straight ahead with the mind, visualizing a sun at an appropriate distance away. Maintain this image continuously without stopping. Regulate your breath so that it does not sound alternately coarse and fine, as this can make one sick.

If you sit [in meditation] at night, you may experience all kinds of good and bad psychological states; enter into any of the blue, yellow, red, and white samādhis; witness your own body producing light; observe the physical characteristics of the Tathāgata; or experience various [other] transformations. When you perceive [such things], concentrate the mind and do not become attached to them. They are all nonsubstantial manifestations of false thinking. The sutra says: "All the countries of the ten directions are [nonsubstantial,] like space." Also, "The triple realm is an empty apparition that is solely the creation of the individual mind." Do not worry if you cannot achieve concentration and do not experience the various psychological states. Just constantly maintain clear awareness of the True Mind in all your actions.

If you can stop generating false thoughts and the illusion of personal possession, [then you will realize that] all the myriad dharmas are nothing other than [manifestations of your] own mind. The Buddhas only preach extensively using numerous verbal teachings and metaphors because the mental tendencies of sentient beings differ, necessitating a variety of teachings. In actuality, the mind is the basic [subject] of the eighty-four thousand doctrines, the ranking of the three vehicles, and the definitions of the seventy-two [stages of] sages and wise men.

To be able to discern one's own inherent mind and improve [the ability to maintain awareness of it] with every moment of thought is equivalent to constantly making pious offerings to the entire Buddhist canon and to all the Buddhas in the ten directions of space, who are as numerous as the sands of the River Ganges. It is equivalent to constantly turning the wheel of the Dharma with every moment of thought.
He who comprehends the mind that is the source of all *dharmas* always understands everything. All his wishes are fulfilled and all his religious practices completed. He accomplishes all [that he sets out to do] and will not be reborn again [in the realm of samsāra]. If you can stop generating false thoughts and the illusion of personal possession and completely discard [your preoccupation with] the body, then you will certainly achieve birthlessness (i.e., nirvāṇa). How inconceivably [wonderful]!

Make effort! And do not be pretentious! It is difficult to get a chance to hear this essential teaching. Of those who have heard it, not more than one person in a number as great as the sands of the River Ganges is able to practice it. It would be rare for even one person in a million billion eons to practice it to perfection. Calm yourself with care, moderate any sensory activity, and attentively view the mind that is the source of all *dharmas*. Make it shine distinctly and purely all the time, without ever becoming blank.

**Question:** What is blankness of mind?

**Answer:** People who practice mental concentration may inhibit the True Mind within themselves by being dependent on sensory perceptions, coarse states of mind, and restricted breathing. Before achieving mental purity, [such people may undertake the] constant practices of concentrating the mind and viewing the mind. Although they do so during all their activities, [such people] cannot achieve [mental] clarity and purity, nor illumine that mind which is the source of all *dharmas*. This is called blankness [of mind.]

[People who possess such a] defiled mind cannot escape the great illness of birth and death. How much more pitiful are those who are completely ignorant of [the practice of] maintaining awareness of the mind! Such people are drowning in the seas of suffering that are concomitant with the realm of samsāra—when will they ever be able to escape?

Make effort! The sūtra says:

> If sentient beings are not completely sincere about seeking enlightenment, then not even all the Buddhas of the three periods of time will be able to do anything [for them, even if those Buddhas] are as numerous as the sands of the River Ganges.

The sūtra says: "Sentient beings discern the mind and cross over [to the other shore of enlightenment] by themselves. The Buddhas cannot make sentient beings cross over [to the other shore]." If the Buddhas were able to make sentient beings cross over [to the other shore of enlightenment], then why—the Buddhas of the past being as incalculable as the sands of the River Ganges—have we sentient beings
not yet achieved buddhahood? We are drowning in the seas of suffering simply because we are not completely sincere about seeking enlightenment.

Make effort! One cannot know the transgressions of one’s past, and repenting now is of no avail. Now, in this very lifetime, you have had an opportunity to hear [this teaching]. I have related it clearly; it would be well for you to understand what I say. Understand clearly that maintaining awareness of the mind is the highest way. You may be insincere about seeking the achievement of buddhahood and become receptive to the immeasurable pleasures and benefits [that accrue from religious training. You may] go so far as to ostentatiously follow worldly customs and crave [personal] fame and gain. [If you do so you will] eventually fall into hell and become subject to all kinds of suffering. What a plight! Make effort!

Q. One can have success with minimal exertion by merely donning tattered robes, eating coarse food, and clearly maintaining awareness of the mind. The unenlightened people of this world do not understand this truth and undergo great anguish in their ignorance. Hoping to achieve emancipation, they cultivate a broad range of superficial types of goodness—only to fall subject to the suffering concomitant with samsāra.

He who, in [mental] clarity, never ceases correct mindfulness while helping sentient beings cross over to the other shore of nirvāṇa is a bodhisattva of great power.97 I tell you this explicitly: Maintaining awareness of the mind is the ultimate. If you cannot bear suffering during this single present lifetime, you will be subject to misfortune for ten thousand eons to come. I ask you: Which case applies to you?

To remain unmoved by the blowing of the eight winds98 [of good and ill fortune] is to have a truly special mountain of treasure. If you want to realize the fruit [of nirvāṇa], then just respond to all the myriad different realms of your consciousness by activating transformations as numerous as the sands of the River Ganges. One’s discrimination [of each instant] is so skillful it seems to flow. Applying medicine to fit the disease, one is able to stop generating false thoughts and the illusion of personal possession. He who [can do this] has transcended the world and is truly a man of great stature.99 Ah, the unrestricted freedom of a Tathāgata—how could it ever be exhausted!

Having explained these things, I urge you in complete sincerity: Stop generating false thoughts and the illusion of personal possession!

R. QUESTION: What do you mean by the “illusion of personal possession”? 
Answer: When only slightly superior to someone else [in some way], one may think that this [superiority] is due to one's own achievement. To feel this way is to be sick even while in nirvana. The Nirvana Sutra says: "This is likened to the realm of space, which contains the myriad things. Space does not think to itself, I am doing this."\(^{101}\) This is a metaphor for the two teachings of [eradicating the] illness and practicing [the truth, i.e.,] the concept of extinguishing the illusion of personal possession and the "adamantine samādhi" (chin-kang san-mei).\(^{102}\)

Question: Even sincere\(^{103}\) practitioners who seek a perfect and permanent nirvana [may only seek] the crude and impermanent standards of goodness and fail to take pleasure in the Ultimate Truth. [Such people may] try to have their minds operate according to [Buddhist] doctrines before they have manifested that which is true, permanent, wondrous, and good (i.e., the Buddha Nature). This leads to the activation of discriminative thinking, which constitutes a defiled state of mind. They may try to fix the mind in the locus of non-being (wu-so).\(^{104}\) To do so is to be lodged in the darkness of ignorance and is not in accord with the [True] Principle.

They may grasp nonsubstantiality in an improper way, without trying to fix the mind [on a single object of contemplation] according to [Buddhist] doctrines. Although they have received a human body, theirs is the practice of animals. They lack the expedient means of meditation and wisdom and cannot clearly and brightly see the Buddha Nature. This is the predicament of religious practitioners [such as ourselves]. We beseech you to tell us the true teaching by which we can progress toward remainderless nirvana!

Answer: When you are completely in [possession of] the True Mind, the achievement of your ultimate wish [is assured].

Gently quiet your mind. I will teach you [how to do this] once again: Make your body and mind pure and peaceful, without any discriminative thinking at all. Sit properly with the body erect. Regulate the breath and concentrate the mind so it is not within you, not outside of you, and not in any intermediate location. Do this carefully and naturally. View your own consciousness tranquilly and attentively, so that you can see how it is always moving, like flowing water or a glittering\(^{105}\) mirage. After you have perceived this consciousness, simply continue to view it gently and naturally, without [the consciousness assuming any fixed position] inside or outside of yourself. Do this tranquilly and attentively, until its fluctuations dissolve into peaceful stability. This flowing consciousness will disappear like a gust of wind.\(^{106}\)

When this [flowing] consciousness disappears, [all one's illusions
will] disappear along with it, even the [extremely subtle] illusions of bodhisattvas of the tenth stage. When this consciousness and [false cognition of the] body have disappeared, one's mind becomes peacefully stable, simple, and pure. I cannot describe it any further. If you want to know more about it, then follow the “Chapter on the Adammantine Body” (Chin-kang shen p’in) of the Nirvāṇa Sūtra and the “Chapter on the Vision of Aksobhya Buddha” (Chien o-ch’u-fo p’in) of the Vimilakīrti Sūtra.107 Think about this carefully, for this is the truth.

T. Any person who can avoid losing [sight] of this mind during all his actions and in the face of the five desires and the eight winds [of good and ill fortune] has established his pure practice,108 done that which must be done, and will never again be born into the realm of birth and death. The five desires are [those that arise relative to] form, sound, smell, taste, and touch. The eight winds are success and failure; defamation and praise; honor and abuse; and suffering and pleasure.

While cultivating the Buddha Nature109 you must never worry about not achieving autonomous [mastery of the supernormal powers, etc.] in this lifetime. The sūtra says: “When there is no buddha in the world, then bodhisattvas who have [reached the ten] stages are unable to manifest the functioning [of enlightenment(?)].”110 You must become emancipated from this retribution body. The abilities of sentient beings [as governed by the factors of the] past differ in ways that cannot be understood. Those of superior [ability can achieve enlightenment] in an instant, while those of inferior [ability take] an incalculable number of eons. When you have the strength,111 generate the good roots of enlightenment according to [your own] nature (i.e., individual identity) as a sentient being, so that you benefit yourself and others and ornament the path of buddhahood.

You must completely [master] the four dependences112 and penetrate the true characteristic [of all things]. If you become dependent on words you will lose the True Principle (chen-tsung). All you monks who have left home (i.e., to become monks) and practice some other form of Buddhism—this is the [true meaning of] “leaving home.” “Leaving home” is to leave the home of birth and death. You will achieve success in the cultivation of the path when your [practice of] correct mindfulness is complete. To never fail in correct mindfulness—even when one's body is being torn apart or at the time of death—is to be a buddha.

U. My disciples have compiled this treatise113 [from my oral teachings], so that [the reader] may just use his True Mind to grasp the
meaning of its words. It is impossible to exhaustively substantiate [every detail] with preaching such as this. If [the teachings contained herein] contradict the Holy Truth, I repent and hope for the eradication [of that transgression]. If they correspond to the Holy Truth, I transfer [any merit that would result from this effort to all] sentient beings. I want everyone to discern their fundamental minds and achieve buddhahood at once. Those who are listening [now] should make effort, so that you can achieve buddhahood in the future. I now vow to help my followers to cross over [to the other shore of nirvāna].

V. Question: This treatise [teaches] from beginning to end that manifesting one's own mind represents enlightenment. [However, I] do not know whether this is a teaching of the fruit [of nirvāna] or one of practice.

Answer: The basic principle of this treatise is the manifestation of the One Vehicle. Its ultimate intention is to lead the unenlightened to emancipation, so that they can escape from the realm of birth and death themselves and eventually help others to cross over to the other shore of nirvāna. [This treatise] only speaks of benefiting oneself and does not explain how to benefit others. It should be categorized as a teaching of practice (hsing-men). Anyone who practices according to this text will achieve buddhahood immediately.

If I am deceiving you, I will fall into the eighteen hells in the future. I point to heaven and earth in making this vow: If [the teachings contained here] are not true, I will be eaten by tigers and wolves for lifetime after lifetime.

4. The Metaphor of the Sun and Clouds

The key to understanding the Hsiu-hsin yao lun is the metaphor of the sun obscured by clouds that occurs near the beginning of the text. Unfortunately, the origin of the passage containing this metaphor is obscure. The same passage is also found in Ching-chueh's LCSTC and Shen-hsiu's Kuan-hsin lun, but it is attributed in these texts to the Shih-ti ching, the Sūtra on the Ten Stages, rather than the Shih-ti [ching] lun, the treatise based on that sūtra. In fact, the passage occurs in neither. Since no scriptural precedent for this passage has ever been found, it seems best to assume that it derived from an unknown Chinese source of the late seventh century or earlier.

Nowhere does the use of this metaphor occur so prominently as in the beginning of I-hsing's commentary on the Ta-jih ching (Sūtra of the Great Vairocana [Buddha]), one of the most important scriptures of esoteric Buddhism. I-hsing, who was at one time a student of P'u-chi, opens
his commentary with an explanation of the name of the Buddha that occurs in the title of the sūtra:

The Sanskrit word *Vairocana* is another name for the sun, having the meaning of an omnipresent brilliance that eradicates darkness. The sun of this world, however, is governed by spatial limitations. It cannot illuminate inside [a building] the same as it can outside; it can brighten one place but not another. Also, its brilliance only occurs during the daytime and does not illuminate the night. The brilliance of the sun of the *Tathāgata’s* wisdom is not like this, in that it is a great illuminating brightness that extends to every location [in the universe]. There are no spatial [limitations of] interior and exterior or distinctions of day and night.

Also, as the sun travels [about] the world, the plants and trees are able to grow according to their natural allotments, so that the various tasks of this world achieve completion thereby. The brilliance of the sun of the *Tathāgata* illuminates the entire *dharma-dhātu*, [so that] it is able to foster, with absolute impartiality (*p’ing-teng*), the incalculable “good roots” of sentient beings. In addition, all the excellent mundane and supramundane activities are without exception achieved on the basis of [the sun of the *Tathāgata’s* wisdom].

Further, layered shadows can obscure the orb of the sun so that it is hidden, yet it is not destroyed. Violent winds can blow the clouds away so that the sun’s brilliance may be seen to illuminate, yet it is not only just born. The sun of the Mind of the Buddha (*fo-hsin chih jih*) [that is within us all] is also like this: Although it may be obstructed by the layered clouds of ignorance, the afflictions, and foolish disputation, it is never decreased [by such obstructions]. Even if one achieves the ultimate [experience of the] “*sama-dhi* of the true characteristic of all dharmas,” [in which] one’s perfect brilliance is unlimited, [the Mind of the Buddha within] is not increased [thereby].

Because of various factors such as these, the sun of this world cannot be taken as a metaphor [for the sun of the *Tathāgata’s* wisdom]. It is only by taking consideration of the small degree of resemblance and adding the word *great* that one can say: “*Mahāvairocana.*”

It is possible, of course, that I-hsing learned this metaphor from Śubhākarasimha, the esoteric Buddhist master under whom he studied the sūtra in question. However, the content and structure of the third paragraph of the statement just quoted, which discusses “layered shadows” (i.e., clouds), violent winds, and the ensuing appearance of the indestructible sun, are strikingly reminiscent of the corresponding *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* passage. Whatever its origin, I-hsing’s explanation of the name Vairocana utilizes the conceptual framework operant in the Ch’an School at exactly the same time.

The metaphor of the sun and clouds is used twice in the *LCSTC*, once in the entry on Gunabhadra, and again in that on Hui-k’o. In the latter
instance it appears essentially as it does in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun. In addition to minor variations of wording and the different attribution mentioned in the first paragraph of this section, Ching-chueh interpolates a passage from the Avatamsaka Sūtra on the Buddha Nature being as vast as space. He follows the metaphor of the sun and clouds with a list of several others: ice and water, a lamp in the wind, fire within wood, gold and gangue, and water and waves. The most interesting, for our purposes, is the following:

The Buddha Nature [exists in the] same sense as the sun and moon exist in the world (lit., "below heaven") and fire exists within wood. Within people, there is the Buddha Nature. It is also called the "lamp of the Buddha Nature" and the "mirror of nirvāṇa." Therefore, the great mirror of nirvāṇa is brighter than the sun and moon. Interior and exterior are perfect and pure, boundless and limitless.9

Ching-chueh’s reference to the mirror is particularly interesting in light of the famous Platform Sūtra verses. The other reference to the metaphor of the sun and clouds in Ching-chueh’s work occurs together with an allusion to the mirror that is even more apropos:

The great path (ta-tao, here probably equivalent to enlightenment) is fundamentally vast. Being perfect and pure it is fundamentally existent and is not attained through causes. It resembles the light of the sun, which is underlaid by clouds. When the clouds and mists disappear, the light of the sun appears of itself. What use is it to make any further study of discriminative knowledge, to range across the written and spoken words that only lead to the path of birth and death? He who transmits oral explanations of written texts as the path [to enlightenment] is only seeking personal fame and benefit, [thereby] harming self and others.

It is also like the polishing of a bronze mirror: When the dust is completely gone from the surface of the mirror, the mirror is naturally bright and pure. The Sūtra on the Nonactivity of All Dharmas (Chu-fa wu-hsing ching) says: "The Buddha does not achieve buddhahood, nor does he save sentient beings. [It is only due to] the excessive discrimination of sentient beings that [he is said to] achieve buddhahood and save sentient beings." If you do not become enlightened to this mind, you will never be certain [of its existence and function]. If you are enlightened to it, then [you will perceive] its illumination. The great function of causal generation being perfectly interpenetrating and without hindrance: This is called the "great cultivation of the path."110

At first glance, these references to the mirror seem to have exactly the same implication as in the Platform Sūtra verse attributed to Shen-hsiu. Certainly, the basic construction of the metaphor is the same: The mirror represents the fundamental mind or Buddha Nature; the dust represents the human ignorance that obscures one’s True Mind. Although Ching-
chueh's explicit injunction is to recognize the mind that lies beneath the obscuring dusts of the illusions, one suspects that he is also recommending that we work to rid ourselves of illusion just as one would rub dust from the surface of a mirror.

Not only is no such recommendation made in the LCSTC, but this metaphor is not used in the same way in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun and other East Mountain Teaching texts. True, the Hsiu-hsin yao lun does contain a reference to polishing a mirror clean of dust (see section L of the translation), but this reference is not used to exhort the student to strive for the vigorous removal of the "dust" of his own illusions. On the contrary, the implication is that the reflective or illuminative capacity of the mirror is a fundamental characteristic that is not really affected by the adventitious appearance of dust upon its surface.

Another East Mountain Teaching text, the Liao-hsing chü (Stanzas on the Comprehension of the Nature), puts it this way:

Although the [Pure] Nature is without darkness, it is obstructed by the clouds of false thoughts. It is like dust on a bright mirror—how can it possibly damage the [mirror's] essential brightness (ming-hsing, or "brightness nature")? Although it may be temporarily obstructed, rubbing will return the brightness. The brightness [of the mirror] is a fundamental brightness, not like something appended to it. The Dharma Nature is the same. 121

In other words, the brightness of the mirror and the existence of dust on its surface are of two fundamentally different levels of reality. The mirror is not really affected by the dust, which can be wiped off at any time. In the Hsiu-hsin yao lun the emphasis is placed on the sun, which is the symbolic equivalent of the mirror, rather than on the clouds or dusts of ignorance. The clouds that block our view of the sun do not destroy the sun; the winds that drive those clouds away do not thereby create the newly apparent sun. As Ching-chueh points out in the LCSTC, the Buddha actually neither becomes a buddha nor saves other beings—he only appears to do so to those who lack true understanding.

According to the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, the existence of the Buddha Nature or Fundamental Mind within all sentient beings is the single most important fact of our existence. True, that Buddha Nature may be rendered invisible or ineffective by ignorant views, dualistic conceptualization, and the karmic residue of past errors—but the important fact is that it is there. What is the appropriate religious response to this situation? Would it be to strive diligently for the annihilation of those obstacles of dualistic ignorance in order to strip away the "clouds" obscuring one's pristine internal "sun"?

No, the appropriate response is to focus on the sun rather than on one's illusions, to nurture the awareness of its existence in each and every
moment, no matter what one's particular activity or situation might be. This is the meaning of the term *shou-hsin*, to "maintain [awareness of] the mind."

5. *Shou-hsin and Meditation Practice in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun*

*Shou-hsin* literally means "to guard the mind," or, according to a more liberal interpretation, "to maintain constant, undiscriminating awareness of the absolute mind or Buddha Nature within oneself." The word *shou* means "to protect, maintain, or uphold" and is used in other Buddhist terms in the sense of maintaining the precepts, or moral purity in general. The term *shou-hsin*, in fact, is very similar to *shou-i*, "to guard the will" or "to guard the consciousness," which is used in very early Chinese translations in the sense of "mindfulness," an important concept in Buddhist meditation theory.122

In the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun*, *shou-hsin* does not mean to guard the mind against outside influences so much as to maintain it uppermost in one's thoughts, to refrain from ever forgetting about the cardinal importance of its existence, to make its presence the dominant standard by which one orders one's life. In the strictest sense, *shou-hsin* means to simply maintain continued possession of the Absolute Mind, but this possession is treated in cognitive terms: It is the awareness of the presence of that mind that is important. Eventually, one will experience the Buddha Nature directly when one's illusions disappear.

The metaphor of the sun and clouds and the use of the term *shou-hsin* combine to indicate a very gentle approach to spiritual practice: If one maintains awareness of the mind without having any false thoughts or illusions, then the "sun of nirvāṇa" will appear naturally. In other words, one's Buddha Nature will become manifested and one will be enlightened. The insistence on maintaining awareness of the mind rather than purposefully working for and achieving enlightenment amounts to an affirmation of the ultimate perfection of the human condition just as it is, without the necessity of any adjustment or alteration.

In spite of this gentle, all-affirming attitude, the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* is also outspoken about the need for vigorous effort in meditation. Hung-jen is frequently made to exhort his students to make effort, and enlightenment is clearly considered something to be energetically sought for and achieved, if not in this lifetime, then in the next. In the context of this treatise it is impossible to completely resolve this apparent contradiction between the passive acceptance of the ultimate perfection of the present human condition and the purposive striving for enlightenment. Quite possibly *shou-hsin* was intentionally designed to mitigate the general tendency of beginning students to grasp for an idealized and thus fundamentally misapprehended goal, i.e., the achievement of enlightenment.
Certainly, such considerations occur frequently in early Ch’an works. One important example from the letters attached to the EJSHL, which we discussed in the previous chapter, emphasize that the spiritual goal is not a personal transformation per se but the realization that no such transformation is required. In addition, the tension between the ultimate perfection of human existence and the need to strive diligently for self-realization is common throughout the entire Ch’an tradition. Although the Hsiu-hsin yao lun does not explicitly address this creative tension, the meditation techniques it suggests are in themselves functional paradigms of the importance of the Buddha Nature and the essential emptiness of the discriminative mind. Hence, the very type of practical striving advocated here is in itself an affirmation of perfection in the undisciplined human state.123

The first meditation technique recommended in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, the visualization of the golden orb of the sun, is obviously related to the metaphor discussed earlier. (See section O of the translation.) This technique, which is loosely based on the Pure Land tradition’s Sūtra of the Contemplation of Amitābha, is a simple concentration device for the beginning student similar to those common to all systems of Buddhist meditation and at the same time a translation of the abstract idea of shou-hsin and the metaphor of the sun into practical terms. That is, visualizing an image of the sun is a practical enactment of the state of enlightenment, in which the Buddha Nature has become and will remain constantly visible.

The second technique is simply to concentrate on the movement of one’s own discriminative mind. (See section S.) In effect, this is to concentrate on the clouds or dusts of ignorance rather than the pure brilliance of the sun or mirror, but the overall impact is very much the same as in the former technique. Here, too, the instruction is not to wrest that ignorance from one’s person, but merely to observe that ignorance until it ceases to function. In effect, this is to concentrate on one’s illusions until they dissolve into nonexistence. At the point at which one’s discriminative mind finally stops, one is said to have come into contact with the Absolute Mind. The meditator is not supposed to alter his practice of shou-hsin after achieving this contact, but rather to maintain it permanently while responding perfectly to the outside world. The difference between this new state of being and the previous, unenlightened state necessarily involves being in direct, undistorted contact with the outside world through the undeluded, Absolute Mind. Although this Absolute Mind is said to discriminate sense data, it does so perfectly and without any false conceptualization.124

The functioning of the enlightened mind is not discussed at length in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, which describes itself as devoted solely to the benefit of self rather than others. The functioning of the enlightened mind is
actually the province of the Northern School per se, but we are left to wonder just how much of the later methodology designed to explicate this issue was already in place by the time the Hsiu-hsin yao lun was written. As we shall see in the following section, the JTFM has more to say on this subject.

6. The Background of shou-i pu i or "Maintaining the One Without Wavering"

The most interesting subject discussed in the JTFM is shou-i pu i or "maintaining the One without wavering." Although the full four-character phrase is not found elsewhere, the term shou-i has a very long history in Chinese literature. Yoshioka Yoshitoyo has analyzed the rich background and significance of this term in the Chinese Taoist tradition, arguing that by the beginning of the fifth century the advocates of shou-i assumed the status of an independent faction and that by the beginning of the sixth century this faction had developed to the point that shou-i had become accepted as the central element of Taoist meditation practice.

The basis of the Taoist practice of shou-i is the emphasis on the "One" (i), which in the Tao-te ching is understood as the immediate derivative of the Tao itself and, in turn, the source of the myriad elements of phenomenal reality. The term shou-i is used in both the Tao-te ching and the Chuang-tzu, but it is in Ko Hung’s Pao-p’u tzu that it receives its most definitive early exposition. Here the "One" is regarded as the source of all things, including even the Tao itself, and the fundamental reason for all things being as they are. He who knows the One knows all; he who is ignorant of the One knows nothing.

The One is the source of all good fortune, as well as personal longevity, so that the Taoist scriptures teach the practice of "maintaining the One" (shou-i). The One is regarded as existing within the psychic centers of the body, i.e., the three “cinnabar fields” below the navel, below the heart, and behind the space between the eyes. If a practitioner could "maintain the One without tiring" (shou-i pu t’ai), the One would protect him from all danger.

Although some of the phrases that occur in Taoist texts are very similar to the shou-i pu i of the JTFM, the explanation of the Taoist practice of shou-i is couched in the highly symbolic language of internal alchemy, which does not translate readily into a Buddhist context. The following statement from a mid-fifth-century Taoist text, however, is unmistakably relevant to the development of Chinese Buddhism:

The śrāmanera students of the Hinayāna sit quietly and count their breaths. Reaching ten, they begin again, doing this all year long without forgetting it for a moment.
The Taoist priests (tao-shih), the students of the Mahāyāna, constantly think upon the image of the true god within the body, [including] its apparel and color. They lead it going and coming (tao-yin wang-lai), treating it as a divine ruler, without ceasing for a moment. Therefore, thoughts do not enter from outside, the Divine and True Being descends, and the mind is without [the confusion of] excess affairs. The Mahāyāna [way of] training is to accept the pneuma and maintain the One (shou-ch'i shou-i).\(^{130}\)

It is amusing to observe Taoists using the Buddhist terms “Hīnayāna” and “Mahāyāna” against Buddhism. For our purposes, the important implication is that the Ch’an School may have adopted use of the term shou-i because it represented an alternative to traditional Buddhist meditation technique that was somehow more compatible with the Chinese religious spirit. Indeed, the state in which “thoughts do not enter from the outside, the Divine and True Being descends, and the mind is without [the confusion of] excess affairs” could easily be transposed into a Buddhist idiom, with the Divine and True Being taken as an anthropomorphized Buddha Nature.

This interpretation is rendered even more plausible by the fact that another Taoist text, thought by Yoshioka to have been written around the year 700, emphasizes the importance of shou-i in much the same way that the Hsiu-hsin yao lun does shou-hsin, describing it as the one precept in which all others are subsumed. Not only are the terms “gradual” and “sudden” (chien and tun) mentioned, but the text recommends that one apply the precepts in one’s mind, “not activating any other thought” (pu-ch'i t'a nien).\(^{131}\) “Nonactivation” (pu-ch'i) was an important Northern Ch’an term at the same point in Chinese religious history.

At the very least, the use of the terms shou-i and shou-i pu i in the early Ch’an School represents the borrowing or imitation of attractive Taoist terminology. Beyond this, shou-i may have been adopted because of its specific meaning within the Taoist tradition. That is, shou-i represented the quintessential element of Taoist meditation practice, a general technique that was applicable in all situations and far superior to the myriad other techniques of more specific use and elaborate description. The precipitation of shou-i out of the mass of Taoist spiritual technology thus resembles the quest within Buddhism for the single most important and immediately relevant religious technique, a quest that was an important factor in the development of both Ch’an meditation and the Pure Land practice of the “mindfulness of the Buddha” (nien-fo).

It is also possible that the Taoist practice of shou-i represented a sort of generalized mindfulness of one’s internal harmony that appealed to the followers of early Ch’an. Thus the Buddhists overlooked the symbology of cinnabar fields and internal spirits and focused on the state achieved during the correct practice of shou-i, in which thoughts did not intrude on the harmonized mind. Although this interpretation seems reasonable,
there is unfortunately no specific evidence to indicate the degree to which the Buddhists were aware of and indebted to the previous accomplishments of their Taoist counterparts.

7. The Meaning of "Maintaining the One Without Wavering" in the JTFM

The JTFM claims that in the practice of shou-i pu i "the trainee is able to clearly see the Buddha Nature and quickly enter the gateway of meditation." The text describes this practice as follows:

A. First, taking the body as the fundamental [focus of one's attention], one should cultivate a detailed contemplation of the body. Also, the body is the amalgam of the four elements (i.e., earth, water, fire, and wind) and the five skandhas (form, feelings, perceptions, impulses, and consciousness). It is ultimately impermanent and will never achieve autonomy (tzu-tsai). Although it has not yet been destroyed, it is ultimately nonsubstantial. The Vimalakirti Sutra says: "The body is like a floating cloud—in an instant it disappears."

Further, one should constantly contemplate one's own body to be nonsubstantial and pure like a shadow, which can be seen but not grasped. Wisdom is generated from within the shadow. Being ultimately without location [of its own, wisdom] is unmoving and yet responds to things, inexhaustible in its transformations. It generates the six senses out of nonsubstantiality. The six senses are also nonsubstantial and serene, so one should realize that their six respective realms of sense perception are [illusory, like] dreams or phantasmatogoria.

When the eye sees something, there is no "thing" within the eye. When a mirror reflects a face, it may be perfectly distinct, but this is an image (lit., a "shadow of the form") manifested in space, and there is not any "thing" within the mirror. You should understand that a person's face does not enter into the mirror, nor does the mirror enter into the person's face. One should understand by this detailed consideration that mirror and face fundamentally do not exit or enter or go or come. This is the meaning of Tathāgata (ju-lai, "Thus-come One").

According to this analysis, within the eye and within the mirror there is a fundamental and constant [state] of nonsubstantiality and serenity. The illumination of the mirror and the illumination (i.e., perception) of the eye are identical. Therefore, [the eye] has been used as a comparison. The meaning of the nose, tongue, and other
senses is the same. Know that the eye is fundamentally nonsubstantial and that all visible form must be understood to be "other-form" (t'a-se). When the ear hears a sound, understand this to be an "other-sound.". When the nose smells a fragrance, understand this to be an "other-fragrance.". When the tongue distinguishes a taste, understand this to be an "other-taste.". When the mind apprehends a dharma, understand this to be an "other-dharma.". When the body experiences a feeling, understand this to be an "other-feeling".

B. To "maintain the One without wavering" is to concentrate on viewing a single thing with this eye of nonsubstantial purity, to be intent on this constantly and motionlessly, without interruption, day and night. When the mind tries to run away, bring it back quickly. Just as a line is tied to the foot of a bird to retrieve it if it tries to fly, you should view (k'an) [that thing] all day long, without cease. The mind will then become completely settled.

When studying archery, one first shoots at a large target, then a medium-sized one, then a small one then the bull's-eye, then a single hair, then one-hundredth of a hair. Then one shoots each arrow into the haft of the previous one, [each arrow] supported, haft by haft, without any of them falling. This is a metaphor for spiritual training, in which one fixes the mind [on a single object] thought after thought. Continuing this in successive moments of thought without any temporary [diversion], one's correct mindfulness is uninterrupted. One is correctly mindful of the immediate present.

Furthermore, if the mind activates (ch'i) its cognitive [functions] (chueh) in connection with some sense realm separate from itself, then contemplate the locus of that activation as ultimately nonactivating (pu-ch'i). When the mind is conditionally generated, it does not come from [anywhere within] the ten directions, nor does it go anywhere. When you can constantly contemplate [your own] ratiocination, discrimination, false consciousness, perceptions, random thoughts, and confused [states of] mind as nonactivated, then [your meditation] has attained gross stability. If you can stabilize the mind and be without further conditional mentation, you will be accordingly serene and concentrated and will also be able accordingly to put an end to [your present] afflictions and cease the production of new ones. This is called emancipation.

If you can view the mind's most subtle afflictions, agonized confusions, and dark introspections and can temporarily let go of them and gently stabilize [your mind] in a suitable fashion, your mind will naturally attain peace and purity(?). Only you must be valiant, as if you were saving your head from burning. You must not be lax! Make effort! Make effort!
C. When you are beginning to practice seated meditation and mind-viewing, you should sit alone in a single place. First, sit upright in correct posture, loosen your robe and your belt, and relax your body by massaging yourself seven or eight times. Force all the air out of your abdomen, so as to become like peace itself, simple and calm. By regulating the body and mind one can pacify the mind (hsin-shen). Therefore, being completely effaced in profound obscurity, one’s breathing becomes tranquil and the mind gradually regulated. One’s spirit (shen-tao) becomes clear and keen, one’s mind (hsin-ti) bright and pure. Observing distinctly, both interior and exterior are nonsubstantial and pure, so that the Mind Nature is quiescent. When it is quiescent, the mind of the sage will be manifest.

Although formless in nature, the virtuous fidelity [of the mind of the sage] is always present. The [functioning of the] abstruse numen cannot be exhausted and always maintains its brilliance: this is called the Buddha Nature. He who sees this Buddha Nature transcends birth and death forever and is referred to as a person who has escaped the world. Therefore, the *Vimalakirti Sutra* says: "With a sudden expansiveness one retrieves the Fundamental Mind." How true these words!

In contrast to the relatively straightforward manner in which different topics are introduced and discussed in the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun*, the *JTFM* is repetitive and occasionally confusing. It is much more willing than the other text to string together scriptural quotations (these have been largely excised from the passage introduced here), to make sophisticated allusions to the classics of Chinese secular and Buddhist literature, and even to state apparently self-contradictory positions. Finally, where the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* is devoted almost entirely to static images—the existence of the Buddha Nature, maintenance of the mind, etc.—the *JTFM* mixes both the static and dynamic. In particular, it exhibits a greater interest in the ongoing functioning of the enlightened mind than in the immanence of that mind within us all.

Simply put, in the *JTFM* "maintaining the One without wavering" refers to the practice of meditation on the nonsubstantiality of one’s body and the entirety of one’s sensory apparatus and experience. The explanation of this practice has two different components: a definition of the nonsubstantiality of body and mind and the instruction to use that fundamentally nonsubstantial mind to contemplate a selected object of meditation.

Later in the *LCSTC*, the parent text in which the *JTFM* is found, the practitioner is advised to "sit upright in correct position on a flat [place with an unobstructed view], relax the body and mind, and distantly view
the character ‘one’ (i, essentially a straight horizontal line) at the very edge of space.’¹⁴⁸ This symbolic visualization is of much the same kind as the visualization of the sun recommended in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun. In this case the practitioner is identifying himself with the unity of all things. Other passages in the text, however, imply that the “One” of “maintaining the One” is equivalent to nonsubstantiality and should not be grasped too insistently.¹⁴⁹

At any rate, the practical explanation of “maintaining the One without wavering” is that one is simply to contemplate every aspect of one’s mental and physical existence, focusing on each individual component with unswerving attention until one realizes its essential emptiness or nonsubstantiality. The interesting aspect of this regimen is, paradoxically, its apparent conventionality. Although further examination will reveal significant differences between this and traditional Buddhist meditation practice, the description given so far would apply equally well to the most basic of Mahāyāna techniques: the insight-oriented contemplation of the nonsubstantiality of the body.

Although this type of contemplation is the common property of virtually all schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism, its presentation here differs in at least two ways from that found in more traditional texts. First, no preparatory requirements, no moral prerequisites or preliminary exercises are given. Instead, one moves directly into the practice of contemplation. Second, the technique of “maintaining the One without wavering” is in itself completely without steps or gradations. One concentrates, understands, and is enlightened, all in one undifferentiated practice. These differences may appear to be of little consequence to modern readers, whose cultures generally emphasize instant gratification and success. But it is important to remember that the traditional practice of Buddhist meditation involved a highly articulated system of moral prerequisites and contemplative techniques. Hence these two differences represent fundamental distinctions from the traditional practice of Chinese Buddhist meditation.

The JTFM thus contains the first explicit statement of the sudden and direct approach that was to become the hallmark of Ch’an religious practice.¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the following passage indicates that this text had a complex attitude toward meditation:

Do not [practice] mindfulness of the Buddha, do not grasp the mind, do not view the mind, do not measure the mind, do not meditate, do not contemplate, and do not disrupt [the mind]. Just let it flow. Do not make it go and do not make it stay. Alone in a pure and ultimate location (i.e., the absolute), the mind will be naturally bright and pure.

Or you can view it clearly, and the mind will attain brightness and purity. The mind will be like a bright mirror. You can [do this for] a year, and the
mind will be even more bright and pure. Or you can do this for three or five years, and the mind will be even more bright and pure.\textsuperscript{151}

Obviously, the \textit{JTFM} makes allowance for both sudden apperception of the Buddha Nature and gradual improvement in the brightness and purity of the concentrated mind. As Tanaka Ryōshō has shown, the \textit{JTFM} actually allows for a number of alternative situations: One may achieve "bright purity" of mind either with or without undertaking the extended practice of "viewing the mind." One may also achieve enlightenment either solely through one's own efforts or, conversely, with the aid of a teacher's instruction.\textsuperscript{152} The point of these alternatives is that a true teacher must be able to understand which students are best suited for which approach and to teach them differently on the basis of that understanding. Differences of ability had long been recognized within Chinese Buddhism; P'u-chi is known to have said that enlightenment could occur either right away or only after several years of practice.\textsuperscript{153} The orientation of the \textit{JTFM} to teachers of meditation rather than to the students themselves highlights the increasing maturity of the Ch'an tradition.

\textbf{8. The Metaphor of the Mirror}

In the \textit{Hsiu-hsin yao lun} the practice of meditation necessarily involves one or both of two goals: (1) intimate contact or unification with the Buddha Nature and (2) realization of the ultimate nonexistence or lack of efficacy of the illusions. The text's emphasis on maintaining a constant focus on the fundamentally pure mind is an expression of the first of these two goals; the practice of watching the discriminating mind until it naturally comes to a stop may be correlated with the second.

The description of \textit{shou-i pu i} in the \textit{JTFM} cannot be completely explained on the basis of the dualistic paradigm of the sun and clouds or Buddha Nature and illusions. Here the primary emphasis is on the ongoing functioning of the enlightened mind. The text mentions the inexhaustible transformation undertaken by wisdom in response to things, the nonsubstantiality of the senses and sensory phenomena, and the ultimate serenity of the apparent activity of perception. It also discusses the activation and nonactivation (\textit{ch'i} and \textit{pu-ch'i}) of the mind's cognitive functions.\textsuperscript{154} The \textit{JTFM}, therefore, posits only one comprehensive goal, the consummation of both the static realm of the perception of the Buddha Nature and the dynamic realm of the perfection of ongoing perceptual processes. The most apt paradigm for such an achievement is the metaphor of the perfectly reflecting mirror.

The metaphor of the mirror is mentioned prominently in the passages discussed in the previous section, but its most explicit statement in early Ch'an literature actually occurs even earlier in the \textit{JTFM}:
Truly, the Tathāgata’s body of the Dharma Nature is pure, perfect, and complete. All forms (hsiang-lei) are manifested within it, even though that body of the Dharma Nature is without any mental activity. It is like a crystal mirror suspended in an elevated building: All the various objects are manifested within it, but the mirror is without any mind that can manifest them.\(^1\)

This is the basis for the \(JTFM\)’s statement that the illumination of the mirror and the illumination of the eye are identical.\(^2\) The sun and, of course, the mind itself could also be made members to this equation. In other words, this text does not emphasize simply the immanence of the Buddha Nature, but also the activation of that Buddha Nature; not merely the recognition of the Buddha Nature as the governing principle of one’s existence, but also the transformation of one’s own being into an unqualified expression of that Buddha Nature.

9. The Use of the Mirror in Early Ch’an Texts

References to the mirror occur frequently in early Ch’an texts. Some of these references, such as the \(Platform Sūtra\) anecdote introduced at the beginning of this study—if, for the time being, we accept the traditional interpretation—use the mirror in a fashion analogous to the metaphor of the sun and clouds discussed in conjunction with the \(Hsiu-hsin yao lun\). According to this usage, the “bright mirror” is equated with the constantly shining sun, and the dust that occurs on the mirror’s surface, obscuring its reflective capacity, corresponds to the “clouds and mists of the eight directions” that block the light of the sun. In other instances, however, references to the mirror or the images that appear on its surface are based on a more active image of the mirror’s functioning. In these instances the question of dust simply does not arise.

The mirror referred to in most Ch’an texts is an idealized version of the round metal mirrors so common in exhibitions of Chinese art (where emphasis is placed on the beautifully ornamented reverse sides rather than on the reflective surface). The difference between the real artifacts and the idealized prototype is indicated in the passage translated in the previous section, which mentions a “crystal mirror suspended in an elevated building.” In other words, this mirror is made out of a special substance that lacks the metallic distortion of most ancient Chinese mirrors. Even more important than its perfectly reflective substance, however, is the fact that this mirror is mounted in a very special location where all phenomenal reality is somehow reflected on its surface. The purpose of this idealized conception of the mirror should be immediately obvious: to make the mirror a fitting match for the mind of the Buddha, whom the Chinese regarded as omniscient.
Most of the references in early Ch’an texts to the metaphor of the mirror are rather brief. Considered individually, these references are sometimes so fragmentary as to be almost incomprehensible. Taken together, however, they describe a logical or metaphorical construct that is well integrated and comprehensible. The different aspects of this extended metaphor may be explained as follows:

The mirror functions constantly and with inherent perfection. It reflects any object that is placed before it, doing so immediately and without any distortion or fatigue. The mirror reflects images, but it does not become attached to them—when the object is no longer present, the image disappears. The images are essentially unreal, being neither part of the object nor part of the mirror. Most important, they neither interfere with each other nor exert any influence on the mirror.

In the background of this understanding of the mirror is, of course, the Yogācāra doctrine of the “great perfect mirror wisdom” (ta yuan-ching chih, corresponding to the Sanskrit ādarsa-jñāna). One of the four wisdoms possessed by enlightened beings and representing the transformation of what in unenlightened persons is the “storehouse consciousness” (ālaya-vijñāna), the “great perfect mirror wisdom” and the other three wisdoms are not unknown in Northern School literature. Nevertheless, most references to the mirror in the literature of this school are more general than this technical usage, referring to any perceptive function or the sage’s mind in general rather than to the enlightened equivalent of one of the eight vijñānas of Yogācāra philosophy.

The mirror as defined here is an apt metaphor for the mind of the sage, which is constantly functioning on behalf of sentient beings but at the same time essentially inactive. In addition, the images that appear on the surface of the mirror are used metaphorically to describe the illusoriness of phenomenal reality and the mutual noninterference or nonhindrance of its individual elements. One text describes the mirror and its images in parallel terms: “The bright mirror never thinks, ‘I can manifest images;’ the images never say, ‘I am generated from the mirror.’ ”

10. The Sun, the Mirror, and Bodhidharma’s Treatise

These, then, are the two most important metaphors of early Ch’an: the sun and clouds and the mirror and its images. They are only rarely explained or stated completely. Instead, texts tend, especially in the case of the mirror metaphor, to mention only one aspect of the metaphor in any given context. It seems best to approach these metaphors not as rigid devices of unchanging implication, but as conceptual matrices that provide logical frameworks for the expression of several different view-
points. Reference may be made to the unreality of the images on the mirror, for example, without any explicit mention of the mirror itself. In such fragmentary citations it is important to remember the full ramifications of the mirror as a conceptual model: The gradualistic interpretation of the *Platform Sutra* verses should not be applied indiscriminately.

It is significant that these two conceptual matrixes of early Ch’an doctrine may be correlated so easily with the “two entrances” of Bodhidharma’s *Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun*. The parallel between the “entrance of principle” and the metaphor of the sun and clouds is obvious and needs no discussion. Although the meditation practices of Bodhidharma and his immediate associates cannot be ascertained with any precision, the techniques outlined in the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* constitute a very simple yet sophisticated response to the religious dilemma implied by the paradigm of the immanent Buddha Nature and the adventitious obfuscation caused by the illusions.

Although the similarities between the “entrance of practice” and the metaphor of the mirror are not nearly so obvious, both emphasize the active expression of one’s enlightenment in the activities of daily life. The highest sense of the entrance of practice, the reader will recall, was the ability to undertake all activities in accord with the the principle of *śūnyātā*. One was to practice the perfection of charity, for example, without conceiving of the existence of recipient, donor, or gift. This approach is congruent with the mirror’s ability to reflect images without becoming attached to or affected by them.

I believe that it is possible to correlate the metaphor of the sun and clouds with the simpler doctrines of the East Mountain Teaching and that of the mirror with the more complex formulations of the Northern School. This distinction is, of course, a didactic conceit of only general validity. As we have seen with the *JTFM*, the ideas that underlie both of these metaphors can occur in one and the same text. The simpler East Mountain Teaching probably antedated the ideas of the Northern School, but we cannot reconstruct the dynamics of that philosophical evolution. Nevertheless, since there are only one or two explicit instances of later doctrinal elaboration on Bodhidharma’s two entrances, it is interesting that his treatise contains a primitive expression of the two most important logical constructs of early eighth-century Ch’an doctrine.
CHAPTER VII

Shen-hsiu and the Religious Philosophy of the Northern School

1. Introductory Remarks

Three works merit careful study in this chapter because of their relationship to Shen-hsiu and the development of Northern School religious thought. The first is the Kuan-hsin lun (Treatise on the Contemplation of the Mind), a text once thought to have been written by Bodhidharma, to whom it is attributed in some manuscripts. Evidence from a contemporary T’ang manual has established beyond question that it was written by Shen-hsiu.159

The Kuan-hsin lun is generally thought to have been compiled during Shen-hsiu’s period of residence at Yü-ch’üan ssu (i.e., during the last quarter of the seventh century), if only because Chih-i once lived at the same monastery and wrote a treatise by the same name. Although this argument is by no means definitive—the two treatises are not at all similar—the style and content of Shen-hsiu’s text suggests that it is earlier than the other two works to be studied in this chapter. That is, the Kuan-hsin lun includes both a foundation of East Mountain Teaching ideas and a rough intimation of the more complex religious ideal of the Northern School.

Because of the prolixity of the Kuan-hsin lun, I will not translate the entire text but will limit myself, in the following analysis, to the quotation of relevant passages. The second text to be discussed here, however, can only be appreciated on the basis of a close reading of its entire contents. This text is the Yuan-ming lun (Treatise on Perfect Illumination), whose title originally must have been something like Yuan-chiao fang-pien yao-chueh lun (Treatise on the Oral Determination of the Expedient Means of the Perfect Teaching).160

One Tun-huang manuscript attributes the Yuan-ming lun to Aśvagho­sa, the well-known author of the Buddhacarita (an early biography of the Buddha) and, supposedly, of the Awakening of Faith. This attribution is
obviously spurious, and I will argue in my analysis that the *Yuan-ming lun* was probably taken from a lecture or lectures by Shen-hsiu or another prominent Northern School figure, perhaps given to introduce a written treatise or commentary. The resulting transcription does not appear to have undergone much, if any, editing for presentation in written form. Not only does it contain the repetitions, inconsistencies, and obscure pronouncements typical of oral presentations, but also the original Tun-huang manuscripts suffer from numerous lacunae. (Most of these lacunae occur at the beginning of the text; the reader is asked to persevere.) In spite of these problems, this text is the most comprehensive statement of the teachings of the Northern School.

The third text to be included in this discussion is the *Wu fang-pien (Five Expedient Means).* This simplified title is used to refer to a handful of Tun-huang manuscripts that contain similar material but different titles: in particular, the *Ta-sheng wu-sheng fang-pien men (The Expedient Means of [Attaining] Birthlessness in the Mahāyāna)* and the *Ta-sheng wu fang-pien—pei-tsung (The Five Expedient Means of the Mahāyāna—Northern School).* (In the original, the last two characters of the latter title are slightly smaller in size than the preceding five, implying that they were added as a footnote for ease of identification.) Other manuscripts bear different, less relevant titles, and the various manuscripts differ markedly in content.161

The English version presented here is a composite of material drawn from the various *Wu fang-pien* manuscripts. I have tried to include as much material as possible from each of the five “expedient means” without reproducing too much meaningless or repetitive detail. This composite is thus potentially misleading, in that it (1) does not include all the available material, (2) organizes the material that is included in a more coherent fashion than any single manuscript, and (3) ignores the possibility of any significant textual development within the entire group of manuscripts. These potential objections have been overlooked due to limitations of space, for the sake of the reader’s convenience, and because of the lack of any generally accepted set of criteria for establishing the relative age of the various manuscripts.162

(For an explanation of the conventions of editing and annotation used in the following translations, please see Abbreviations and Conventions of Usage at the beginning of this study and note 224 to this part.)

2. *Treatise on Perfect Illumination (Yuan-ming lun)*

Chapter One: Elucidation of the Causes and Results of Mind and Form

Chapter Two: The Expedient Means of the Essential Teaching
Chapter Three: Elucidation of the Causes and Results of Cultivating the Path

Chapter Four: Explanation of the Reverse and Direct Contemplations of the Three Vehicles

Chapter Five: Distinguishing the Conditions of Heresy and Generating the Fundamental

Chapter Six: Explanation of the Causes and Results, the Correct and the False, and [the Remainder of the] Five Teachings of Entering the Path

Chapter Seven: The Manifestations of One's Own Mind

Chapter Eight: Distinguishing False Thoughts

Chapter Nine: Elucidation of the Essence of Sound

Chapter One: Elucidation of the Causes and Results of Mind and Form

A. When first entering the Path, one must understand mind and form. Mind and form each have two types: The first is the mind [and form] of generation and extinction (i.e., impermanence; sheng-mieh hsin) . . . . false thoughts. Prior to this (?), the noneradication of conditional mentation (yuan-lü) is called “false [thoughts]” . . . . is called the ability of true enlightenment. (?)

You do not approve of this doctrine? is called “generation and extinction.” If you perceive that the True Mind (chen-hsin) is originally without false thoughts, then you have attained the True Nature. You must constantly (?) be enlightened to [the fact that the mind of generation and extinction] is the mind of conditional transformations (yuan-ch'üan hsin) and that the mind is actually motionless. By accomplishing this understanding, one realizes (ming) that, whether walking, standing still, sitting, or lying down, one is constantly in. . . . This is called “emancipation of the mind” (hsin chieh-t’o).

B. “Form” means the body. From whence are the characteristics of the body generated? . . . . First, they are generated from the beginningless influences (chiün-hsi, or vāsanā) of false thoughts. Second, [they are generated] from the present causes and conditions of sensory reality (hsiang-wei, lit., smells and tastes). [As to] generation from the influences, those influences are the cause, and the body is the result. The influences (?) are the [cause of] the characteristic (?) of form. . . . If the influences were without characteristics, then the body would not be the characteristic of form. Why? If the cause were without characteristics, the result would likewise (?) [be without characteristics] . . . .
C. You do not approve of this doctrine? It is said [by some people] that the body is generated of its own Self Nature. If it arose through the influences of causes and conditions, then one would know it to be nonsubstantial. If the cause were nonsubstantial, then the result would also be nonsubstantial. Although the inference of its existence is dependent on sensory reality, there would not [really] be any body. Why is this? Form derives its sentience (ming) from sensory reality . . . . food and [drink].

Also, food does not [in itself constitute] form. Just as a person's food and drink are transformed into impurities (i.e., bodily wastes) and do not become form, the least bit of sensory reality. The sensory reality of causes and conditions become the sensory reality of physical form. If "being" (yu) materializes form, then the body is "being." Sensory reality is fundamentally nonsubstantial, [however, so] the body is also nonsubstantial. If "being" creates form, form is thus "being." If "nonbeing" (wu) creates form, then you should clearly understand that form is nonsubstantial.

If one contemplates (?) mind and form as nondual, their Fundamental Natures universally "same" (p'ing-teng), this is called Suchness (chen-ju). When you attain this teaching of nondual universal "sameness," you have comprehended mind and form.

CHAPTER TWO: THE EXPEDIENT MEANS OF THE ESSENTIAL TEACHING

A. There are many approaches to cultivation of the Path, which lead one differently to enlightenment. [To put it most succinctly,] there are three types of teaching: first, the "gradual teaching"; second, the "sudden teaching"; and third, the "perfect teaching."

You do not approve of this doctrine? Each [person] falsely grasps his own place, his disposition not matching the enlightenment of others. Each [person thus creates] errors and mistakes. If it matched their dispositions, the purport . . . . teachings, one can distinguish the gradual, sudden, and perfect, making them separate. If one does not understand, one says they are identical. I now [say] that they are not identical. One must verify this by asking: The enlightened are as numerous as grains of sand, so how could [their experiences] be identical?

B. I will now briefly enumerate the teachings for you, so that you will understand them to be separate. What is the gradual teaching? The understanding of ignorant people is completely dependent on the scriptures. Although the scriptures are without error, they must be understood according to one's disposition, which does not necessarily match the enlightenment of other people.

There are three types of dispositions: . . . . spiritual compatriot.
According to this understanding, those who contemplate the body and mind as neither internal nor external and who achieve [understanding of the doctrine of] anatman (?) are Hinayānists. Realizing that dispositions are either Mahāyānist or Hīnayānist, [such people] claim that their understanding represents a Mahāyāna contemplation.

There are also those . . . . who understand that the realms [of sensory reality] (ching-chieh) are all the product of one’s own mind of false thoughts. If one is without false thoughts, [they feel,] then ultimately [there are no (?)] realms. When performing this contemplation, there are no limits of before and after. [Although] they do not reside in nirvāṇa, [such people] become attached to this understanding and claim that this is an understanding (?) of the sudden teaching. This is [actually] the gradual teaching, not the sudden.

C. What is the sudden teaching? The sudden teaching is to realize the locus [of origin (?)] of physical characteristics and the essence of the mind (shen-hsiang hsin-t’i). Physical characteristics are originally generated from the mind of false thoughts. Those false thoughts are originally without [essence].

[QUESTION: If the mind is] said to be without essence, how can it be the fundamental source (pen) of the body?

ANSWER: The mind is without essence. It is also not the fundamental source of the body. Why is this? The mind does not know its own location, nor does it know the generation of the body. If the mind knew its own location, then it would be able to generate itself (?) from physical characteristics. Since the mind does not know its own location and does not know the locations of its going and coming, neither does it know from what location it accepts (shou) the body’s . . . . is generated from what location.

If the body and mind knew each other, it could be said that the body is generated from the mind. The mind could also say that it generates the body. Since the body and mind do not know each other and do not know the locations of their coming and going, then how could they generate each other? According to this understanding, whose body is the body? Whose mind is the mind? Also, if the mind does not know its own location, how can it be the fundamental source of the body?

[If] body and mind do not know each other, then they are fundamentally unable to generate each other. Why is this? The “maddening” of the eye by [hallucinations of] flowers in mid-air . . . . the body is not the body. Understand that the eye is nonsubstantial. Because it makes being out of nonsubstantiality, being is also non-substantial. Therefore, to say that the eye . . . . makes the mind [out of] nonsubstantiality, the mind is also nonsubstantial.
It is like making a vessel out of clay. The vessel is also [clay]. 
. . . . If the vessel were not clay, the body and mind would be “being.”183 If you now realize that there really are no three periods of time, then afterwards this. . . . The so-called wise men and sages and [bodhisattvas of the ten] stages are all said [by me] to have been created out of nonsubstantiality. Within nonsubstantiality there is no arising and extinction [of things] (ch‘i-mieh). Therefore, it is said [to be nonsubstantial (?)]. To achieve this understanding is called enlightenment. The mountains, forests, earth, sun, moon, stars, planets, and sentient beings . . . . emptiness, waves [upon the (?)] Dharma Nature. Therefore, this is called sudden. The contemplation of anātman is therefore different.

D. I have now explained the gradual [and sudden types of] enlightenment. What about the perfect? The principle of the perfect teaching cannot be understood by foolish, ordinary people. There are ten meanings to the [perfect teaching]. What are these ten?

First, one must understand the realms of sentient beings (chung-sheng chieh).

Second, one must understand the worlds (shih-chieh).

Third, one must understand the meaning of the dharmadhātu (fa-chieh i).

Fourth, one must understand the nature of the dharmadhātu (fa-chieh hsing).

Fifth, one must [understand] the five oceans (wu hai).184

Sixth, one must understand the meaning of . . . .

Seventh, one must understand the essence of the realms of sentient beings (chung-sheng chieh t‘i).

Eighth, one must understand the essence of the worlds (shih-chieh t‘i).

Ninth, one must understand the essence (?) of the dharmadhātu (fa-chieh t‘i [?]).185

[Tenth, one must understand186] the essence of the expedient means of the Buddhas (chu-fo fang-pien t‘i).

E. These ten teachings are not identical. He who distinctly comprehends [each one of] them understands the perfect teaching. . . . In the sudden teaching, the power of meditation (ting-li) is great, but the function of samādhi (san-mei yung) is slight. In the perfect [teaching], the function of samādhi is great. Probably, those who do not [understand the perfect teaching (?)] cannot be said to have “comprehended the meaning” (liao-i), even though they possess the two teachings of meditation and practice (ting-hsing erh men). Such people are fools and cannot . . . . not true. They mislead themselves and later mislead others.

This doctrine is from the Lotus Sūtra, [in which] the Buddha repri-
manded students of the Path for [failing to] discern the meaning of the perfect teaching. I (yü) will now explain the terms of it for you in minute detail. I will also impart its essence and cause your practices [to have] a basis. (?)

F. What are the realms of sentient beings? There are three types of realms of sentient beings. What are these three? [The first is] the characteristic of sentient beings. . . . The second is that transmigration through the three periods of time is also the characteristic of sentient beings. The third is that the sensory realms (ching) are also the characteristic of sentient beings. These characteristics take the Dharma Nature as their essence.

The Mind Nature of sentient beings originally has (?) the characteristics of the five skandhas. It arises originally from causes and conditions. When an individual sense impression (ch'en [?]) is conjoined [with sense organ and consciousness (?)] it has no Self Nature. When conditions have not yet conjoined [as above], fundamentally . . . . These causes and conditions originally take the Dharma Nature as their essence. Therefore, the realms of sentient beings all arise on the basis of the Dharma, all on the basis. . . . “being.” The realms of sentient beings are originally the pneuma of nirvāna (nieh-p’an chih ch’i).

G. [QUESTIONS]: If they arise on the basis of nirvāna, then are . . . . essence?

ANSWER: If they are the pneuma of nirvāna, how can one continue to say sentient . . . . when together, this is also neither the realm of sentient beings, nor not the realm of sentient beings; neither the realm of nirvāna, nor not the realm of nirvāna. Therefore, it is said that there is no distinction between them. Therefore, which is the [realm of] sentient beings, and which is the [realm of] nirvāna? Therefore, I say it is neither sudden nor gradual and call it the “perfectly [accomplished].”

In the teaching of the perfectly accomplished (yuan-ch’eng chih fa) there ultimately is no sentient being who eradicates his afflictions (fan-nao, or kleśa). If one is deluded as to nirvāna, one appears as a sentient being and possesses afflictions. If there are afflictions, then there is consciousness and the [distinction of] interior and exterior. If there are interior and exterior, there is disputation.

H. To say that the mind is within [the body] is the teaching of a fool. If it were within, it would be impermanent and equivalent to the afflictions and birth-and-death. It would also be [like a] monkey. It would also be the laxity of men and gods, as well as fear. There being a past, there would be a future, there would be a present, there would be samsāra.
If there were samsāra, this would not be the Buddha Nature. The essence of the Buddha Nature is without generation and without extinction, neither transitory nor permanent, not going and not coming. [Within the Buddha Nature] there are no three periods of time, not past, not future, [not present]. Only True Suchness (ju-ju shih-chi) can be called the Buddha Nature—how could generation and extinction be the [Buddha] Nature?

I. I (yü) have achieved this understanding on the basis of the sūtras and meditation (ching-wen chi ch’an-kuan): To be equivalent to space, which permeates the dharmadhātu, is the True Nature (chen-shih hsing). [To say] that the mind is exterior [to the body] is an elementary teaching (ch’u-chiao). It is called exterior because of enlightenment to the mind of the dharmadhātu. If it is equivalent to space, then it fills up the interior of one’s [physical] form, so how could form and mind obstruct [each other]? Mind and form are non-obstructing, so how could they not penetrate space? They are the function of the dharmadhātu.

J. [Let me give the] interpretation of the “worlds of sentient beings” within the perfect teaching (yuan-tsung). The perfect teaching is based on the explanation (fan) of the “realms of sentient beings.” According to this understanding [of Buddhism] . . . . realms of sentient beings. . . . . Each sentient being is a single world. A great sentient being is a great world, and a small sentient being is a [small world. These worlds] are each different according to the allotted energies [of individual sentient beings].

It is like the [domain of a] king, the boundaries of which may be more than ten thousand li on all four sides. The boundaries of the provinces are within the boundaries of the king’s [domain]. The boundaries of the counties are within the boundaries of the provinces. The boundaries of the towns are within the boundaries of the counties. The boundaries of the villages are within the boundaries of the towns. The boundaries of the houses are within the boundaries of the villages. The boundaries of the rooms are within the boundaries of the houses.

According to this contemplation (kuan, i.e., this analysis), from the [domain of the] king [on down], they are each contained within each other, each attaining the function of a [separate] world. On the basis of this understanding, [the realms of] men and gods and all sentient beings are variously dependent on each other, each attaining [a state of existence] according to one’s natural allotment and without mutual interference.

K. QUESTION: What is the essence of these worlds, which are in the same locations, such that they do not obstruct each other?
Answer: The essence of the Great World is originally Vairocana Buddha (*Lü-she-na fo*), the ingenious expedient means of the Bodhisattvas, the strength of their vows of great compassion, and *samādhi* [itself]. *Samādhi* takes space as its essence. Because space is without obstruction, it can generate the wisdom of unobstructed *dharma-dhātus*. Because the wisdom of the *dharma-dhātus* is unobstructed, it can generate the wisdom of un[obstructed] *samādhi*. Because *samādhi* is unobstructed, it can generate Vairocana Buddha, whose unobstructed and limitless body is offered to all sentient beings as the basis of their existence, so that their worlds are fundamentally unobstructed. Therefore, [it is said that the worlds] are unobstructed.

The human body is also a domain on which sentient beings rely. Why? Because within each human [body] there are eighty thousand worms, and within each of these are various small worms. Each depending on the other to form its own world, each [of these worms] may be said to be a world. According to this understanding, all these are worlds—where else could the worlds of sentient beings occur?

L. All this is ultimately nonsubstantial: There are no sentient beings. If one searches for the essence [of the entire system] in one's contemplation, it is all originally the “water of the Dharma” (*fa-shui*). The separations of the flow of this water form the [various] worlds, the worlds all being the “water of the Dharma.” According to this understanding, they are neither the worlds of sentient being nor not the worlds of sentient beings. They are not worlds and not not worlds. When one achieves this contemplation, one is said to have penetrated the “meaning of the worlds.”

Chapter Three: Elucidation of the Causes and Results of Cultivating [the Path]

A. Those who cultivate the Path must understand its causes and results. If they do not understand these, they will fall into heretical views like a big, stupid fish. Therefore, one must clearly understand the causes and results [of the Path].

A critic said: The preceding portion of this *Treatise on the Oral Determination of the Essential [Teaching] (Yao-chueh lun)* defined (*li*, lit., “to posit”) the “worlds,” each [sentient being] being a world [unto himself]. This definition was not complete—will it not be [completed] here? The essences of sentient beings and the . . . . . [essences] of the Buddhas are nonsubstantial.

[The critic continued]: As defined in the preceding text, the essences of sentient beings, the essence of the *dharma-dhātu*, and the essence of the expedient means of the Buddhas—all these take space as their essence. Because it is space, they must be without essence.
Therefore, know [that someone might take] the ascriptive view of a stupid and lowly person [in saying as follows]: “Space, having no cause, would have a result without a cause. How could this result possibly occur? According [to this interpretation], who is the creator of space? If space had a creator, then the myriad dharmas would have cause and result. If . . . . . space had no creator, then the myriad dharmas would be without cause and without result.”

On the basis of this, the Dhyāna Master has (i.e., “you have”) defined “essence” in such a way that someone might generate doubts [and such an] unwarranted criticism. I only beseech the Dhyāna Master to have great compassion and to eradicate these doubts and help us gain emancipation.

B. Answer: Such doubts are eminently worthy of hesitation (i.e., consideration). [I] always have the compassion to try to eradicate the doubts of sentient beings and will therefore explain [the answer to] this criticism for you. This essence has no fundamental (pen) and no derivative (mo). There actually is no cause and no result. Why is this? [This statement] is based solely on the [Perfection of] Wisdom Sūtra (Po-jo ching), which says:

Cause is also nonsubstantial, result is also nonsubstantial, practicing is also nonsubstantial, not-practicing is also nonsubstantial, and not-not-practicing is also nonsubstantial. To explain this in its entirety, the Buddha is also nonsubstantial, the Dharma is also nonsubstantial, the Samgha is also nonsubstantial, and even the sages are also nonsubstantial.198

On the basis of these lines from the sūtra, the preceding criticism [is answered] as follows: Although each individual sentient being has existed from beginningless time within a body of physical form, smells, and tastes, this [body] is not generated through unconditioned transformation (wu-wei hua). If it were generated by unconditioned transformation, then [it could be born] of a lotus flower rather than [actual human] parents. Because sentient beings are born of parents, one knows clearly that the beginningless influences have completely “perfumed”199 that body. If the afflictions are not eradicated, the influences have not been exhausted.

In the foregoing explanation of the meaning of the essence of the dharmadhātu it was always held that [sentient beings] depended on buddhas other [than themselves] and the text of the [Perfection of] Wisdom in attaining enlightenment, not that they made effort and attained enlightenment on their own. If they made effort and attained enlightenment [on their own], their bodies would be like dead ashes, without the blood [of life]. Even if they had blood it
would be the color of snow. Since [sentient beings] are not this way, one should clearly know that one who does not believe in cause and result is replete with afflictions.

C. [QUESTION]: At that time another person with a criticism bowed himself in elegant humility and, believing profoundly in cause and result, asked: What is the cause? What is the result?

ANSWER: One should reside in meditation and wisdom after having achieved the contemplation of nonsubstantiality (chu ch'an pan-jo k'ung-kuan ch'eng-chiu). Not residing in being and nonbeing, the body and mind are universally "same," like space. Never quitting during walking, standing still, sitting, and lying down, [one should] save beings whenever possible (sui-yuan, lit., in accordance with conditions).200 Saving the weak and helping the downfallen, having pity for the poor and love for the aged, one should think on the suffering of sentient beings within the three lower modes of existence and the difficulties of the poor among humankind. One should always act tirelessly to save them, [even to the point of] discarding one's own life.

One should always undertake such practices while in meditation, for the duration of three great immeasurable [eons].201 One's vows must always be made on behalf of sentient beings rather than for oneself. One must complete these vows, not as if they are one's own vows. Such practices are called the cause.

QUESTION: What is the result?

ANSWER: The result does not transcend (i.e., is no different from) the cause. Merely reside in wisdom; do not reside in the conditioned. Therefore, in the salvation of sentient beings, never think of [your task] as finished. Just practice this practice without any period of limitation or completion. In laying down one's life to save beings, do not generate the [false] thought of self and other. Why? The samādhi of nonsubstantial meditation (k'ung-ch'an san-mei) is without any practice [that distinguishes] self and other. It is not something that bodhisattvas enter [in a preconceived fashion]. In your long eons of difficult effort, do not get any mistaken ideas! Always practice this practice without positing any thought of having completed it.

If you practice like this, the beginningless influences will be automatically extinguished. There is only the practice of nonsubstantiality (k'ung-hsing). Therefore, the performance of this practice, in which the influences are all extinguished and one does not reside in [the dualism of] "other" and "self," is provisionally called the result. The result occurs automatically when the practices are fulfilled, hence the names "cause" and "result."

When the result is completely [attained], one's wisdom also fills space, one's practice also fills space, one's body also fills space, one's
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[buddha] realm and nirmānakāya also fill space. Although they are [said to be] equivalent to space, they are no different from space.

D. If one generates such a body on the basis of nonsubstantiality, then that body is also nonsubstantial. If one generates such a practice on the basis of nonsubstantiality, that practice is also nonsubstantial. One's buddha realm and expedient means are also as space. Why? Because the dharmadhātu arises fundamentally on the basis of space, it is no different from space.

It is like waves on water. Fundamentally, the waves arise on the basis of the water. The waves actually are water and the water no different from its waves; likewise the nirmānakāya. If [both] principle and practice (li-hsing) are realized, it is called cause and result. Therefore, it is called cause and result.

E. [QUESTION]: If it is called cause and result before the influences are extinguished, how can it be called cause and result after they are extinguished?

[ANSWER]: There are no cause and result. Why? There is only the practice of nonsubstantiality and the salvation of beings, but no additional intention whatsoever. It is called result because it is like an apparition, etc. [The term] “result” is used in speaking to practitioners—the principle of this cannot be understood with the ordinary person’s way of thinking or by reading a text.

You must make effort for many a day, dispensing with conventional toils and sitting quietly in meditation (ching-iso ssu-wei). You cannot understand the principle of this through an [insight] into a text [gained] during recitation. There is no mutual relationship [between that kind of insight and the realization referred to here]. This is an understanding [based on something] other than one’s own efforts. This is a practice [based on something] other than one’s own practice. By meditating thus you will avoid such errors.

Chapter Four: Explanation of the Reverse and Direct Contemplations of the Three Vehicles

A. If you want to understand the differences between the three vehicles, then you must realize that their causes and conditions (yin-yuan) are not the same. First, there is the direct contemplation (shun-kuan) of the four elements; second, the reverse contemplation (ni-kuan) of the four elements. Both reverse and direct [methods of contemplation can result in a] complete attainment of the principle; [practicing either one allows you to be] equivalent to space and realize the fruit of arhatship. Direct contemplation leads you directly to the fruit of arhatship. Reverse contemplation leads you through the four fruits of sagehood to the fruit of arhatship.

There are also reverse and direct [contemplations] within the con-
templation of causality. Although equal to space, [those who succeeded in this contemplation] were said to have realized [the state of] pratyekabuddha. By this we can infer that the people of that day did not understand the doctrine [propounded here. People call] everything the Mahāyāna (i.e., the great vehicle), no matter what the size [of the vehicle] or the proximity [to the ultimate goal]. But [these doctrines] are actually not the Mahāyāna, but all the Hinayāna (i.e., the small vehicle).

When a Hinayānist undergoes conversion [to the Mahāyāna and decides to] enter the path of the bodhisattva, he hopes that there are "influences" stored within his eighth consciousness (i.e., the alaya-vijñāna) that will generate that path of the bodhisattva [for him], as well as [enable him to] practice the six perfections. (?) When an ordinary person encounters the skilfully handled expedient means of a spiritual compatriot and, through the thirty-seven requisites of enlightenment,²⁰⁷ practices the six perfections, he practices long on the basis of some teaching and achieves the enlightenment of a bodhisattva and the fruit of buddhahood.

Further, there are different [methods of] teaching, such as first explaining the cause and only afterwards the practice of the path of the bodhisattva. With the converted Hinayānist mentioned earlier and the ordinary person who enters the Path, the cause is explained first and afterwards the result. Within this teaching, the person who has long planted the roots of goodness achieves an enlightenment that is different from that of the ordinary person. But by lengthy practice of the path of the bodhisattva, both achieve entrance [into enlightenment].

B. QUESTION: I do not understand the [cases of the] converted Hinayānist and the ordinary person who enters the Path. I do not know on the basis of which practice someone practices long the [path of the] bodhisattva. I wonder if his long practice of the [path of the] bodhisattva is the practice of the six perfections?

ANSWER: He may either practice or not practice [anything]. Therefore, within the nonpractice of compassion he must practice the six perfections, enter into samādhi, and enter the teaching of the dharma-dhatu.²⁰⁸ Within these practices he cannot manifest the six perfections. If you wish to understand the teaching of the dharma-dhatu, you must first understand the meaning of the "worlds." If you do not understand the worlds, then you will have no basis for entering the teaching of the dharma-dhatu. Therefore, you must first understand the worlds.²⁰⁹

C. QUESTION: What is the meaning of the worlds?

ANSWER: A single sentient being is a single world. A great sentient being is a great world and a small sentient being is a small world.
Chapter Five: Distinguishing the Conditions of Heresy and Generating the Fundamental

A. Direct contemplation of the four elements is for ordinary persons of great ability who have long planted the roots of goodness and are of excellent intelligence. The Buddha preaches the teaching of causality for them, revealing to them the principle of nonsubstantiality. It is on this basis that direct contemplation is preached.

Reverse contemplation is for ordinary people who are stupid and unable. They cannot see the mysterious teaching, but only forms, smells, tastes, and tangible objects, to which they become incorrectly attached. It is for this [kind of] ordinary person that reverse contemplation is preached. If there were no gifted and unable persons, there actually would be no preaching of reverse and direct contemplation. This is doubly true for the very stupid.

The ordinary person's reverse contemplation traces sounds, smells, tastes, and tangible objects to their most minute entities (wei-ch'en, or paramāṇu), then traces that to nonsubstantiality. Generating (ch'i) neither form nor mind but grasping at [the status of] bodhisattva, they achieve the fruit of arhatship.

The ungifted person attains results (= fruits) such as this, but the reverse contemplation of the gifted person is different. He successively contemplates sounds, smells, tastes, and tangible objects, but rather than tracing them to their most minute entities, he [realizes them to be] manifestations of his own mind's false thoughts.

B. Question: What are these manifestations of the false thoughts of one's own mind?

Answer: All sentient beings have six senses. What are they? They are the eighth consciousness' senses of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind.

[Question]: Where do they come from? [To say] that they occur of themselves would be a heretical view and not Buddhism. But if they do not occur of themselves, then they must have some location from which they come. They must come from somewhere, but from where?

Answer: They do not occur of themselves, but all come from somewhere. They all come from within the ālaya-vijñāna. The ālaya-vijñāna is like the earth and the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind are like the seedlings of the various plants. If there were no earth, on what would the plants and trees grow? The seeds of the plants and trees are all maintained by the earth, without the exception of [a single] seed. The eye, ear, nose, and tongue are the pneuma of the ālaya-vijñāna.

In its Fundamental Nature the ālaya-vijñāna has no form, but the
senses and the body do. Nowadays people do not perceive that the ālaya-vijñāna is their fundamental source (pen), but say that their parents gave birth to them. This is to falsely perform the contemplation of the physical body, tracing [its components] to their most minute entities and eventually to nonsubstantiality, falsely grasping the fruit of arhatship. If one knows that fundamentally the body is generated on the basis of the ālaya-vijñāna, then there are no eye, ear, nose, and tongue.

How does one know that the consciousness is originally without form and materiality? There are only the "four resemblances." What are the four resemblances? The four resemblances are the resemblance of sense organs, the resemblance of sense data, the resemblance of a self, and the resemblance of a consciousness. Searching within each of these resemblances [will show] that there fundamentally is no consciousness, no sense organ, etc.—they are all images within the ālaya-vijñāna.

The ālaya-vijñāna is in its Fundamental Nature without generation and extinction, so one must dispense with the ascriptive view of the existence of senses. Why? Because fundamentally there are no senses, because they are all objective aspects (hsiang-fen) of the seeds within the fundamental consciousness. As objective aspects of the fundamental consciousness, they lack the fundamental [reality] of eye, ear, nose, and tongue. Within that consciousness there is no material such as senses and consciousnesses, only the resemblance thereof. The essence of these resemblances is nonsubstantial; in tracing their [origins in meditation, they] extend into nothingness. It is only that [people] do not perceive the fundamental consciousness, but say that the eye, ear, nose, and tongue are generated of themselves.

In its essence this fundamental consciousness has only these resemblances, but is without materiality. Being without materiality, [the senses, etc.] are said to be images of one’s own mind. [Since these resemblances are] images of one’s own mind, how can there be a self? If there is no self, who grasps the fruit (= the result, i.e., enlightenment)? If there is no grasping of the fruit, then [one’s understanding] differs from that of the ungifted ordinary people who trace the four elements into emptiness (or space) and grasp the fruit.

C. **Question:** What is the error in grasping for the fruit?

**Answer:** Grasping for the fruit implies the error of [positing a] self. If an arhat enters samādhi, he is like a corpse, or like dead ashes. After a thousand eons he comes out of samādhi again, and after coming out of samādhi he is just like an ordinary person, with
the same [sorts of mistaken] discrimination. This discrimination—where does consciousness come from again? A consciousness is generated, and one should clearly understand that it was maintained by the fundamental consciousness. Therefore, when he comes out of that samādhi, he will not have eradicated any of his afflictions at all. Such a catastrophe (i.e., the great amount of time spent without spiritual advantage) occurs because of this error, merely because he does not see that his body is an image of the fundamental consciousness.

If one realizes that the body is an image of the fundamental consciousness, then one must neither eradicate the afflictions nor realize nirvāṇa. By not eradicating the afflictions one transcends the [mistaken concept of a] self. Because of this anātman, who is there to grasp nirvāṇa? It is only that one’s “influences” are not yet exhausted. The bodhisattva knows within himself that his influences are not yet exhausted.

D. One should remember [the plight of] sentient beings [in general], who are replete with limitless fetters, and generate great compassion. Because of this there is this teaching of the practice of the bodhisattva. Although one generates the practice of the bodhisattva, this is different from the practice of the ordinary person, [which is based on the] ascriptive view of a self. The nirmānakāya and sambhogakāya generated through this [teaching] are generated on behalf of ordinary people. They do not exist of themselves. If they existed of themselves, this would [imply a concept of the] self. Because they are generated on behalf of ordinary people, they do not exist of themselves. If they existed of themselves, this would [imply that they are] generated on behalf of ordinary people. They do not exist of themselves. If they existed of themselves, this would [imply a concept of the] self. Because they are generated on behalf of ordinary people, this transcends [the notion of a] self.

Chapter Six: Explanation of the Causes and Results, the Correct and the False, and [the Remainder of the] Five Teachings of Entering the Path

A. All those who undertake cultivation of the path must first learn of cause and result; second, must learn the two teachings of false and correct; third, must generate their practice on the basis of understanding; fourth, must constantly contemplate without cease; and fifth, must know the profundity or shallowness of their own stage of practice. These five teachings are cultivated by all the Buddhas of the three periods of time. They are not now preached [by me] alone.

B. First, the clarification of cause and result: You must realize that the opinions of ordinary people as to [the identity of] religious per-
sons are [based on] conventional understanding and are thus devoid [of truth]. Those who do not understand this will often lose the path. If you understand this, then contemplate your own body from head to foot to see if you have the extraordinary marks [of a buddha]. If you live with lesser people and think of yourself as the best; if you live with people [in general] and have a standing in the marketplace; if you are an official; or if people look at you thinking that you are beautiful: know that in previous lives you cultivated forbearance and restraint from anger, and that you also decorated Buddhist statues and fulfilled all the precepts, thus achieving this [favorable] result.

If you contemplate this body from head to foot [and discover that] there is nothing at which to be looked; that people do not admire you; that you have no standing in the marketplace; that when you walk by, no one notices you, and when you sit, no one thinks you are beautiful; that your clothing does not cover your body and you have neither enough to eat, nor clothing, nor transportation: then you should know that in previous lives you did not practice forbearance but were filled with stinginess and craving and have never had good fortune. According to this contemplation, you should be deeply [ashamed] and realize your own inadequacies. You must plant [the seeds of] good fortune. This is called cause and result.

Second, you must understand the two teachings of false and correct. The rationales used by ordinary people [as the bases of their morality] may be profound or shallow. There are those who maintain the five precepts without transgression and think that the religious merit [accruing thereby] is complete, hoping to be equal to the Buddhas. Such people, of whom there are not simply one [or two], do not go on to seek the untainted noble path. This is called “false.” [Such people] are not disciples of the Buddha.

If you understand this you will realize the correct path. If you wish to realize the correct path, then you must first understand the fundamentals of the mind and second understand form. Why? Ordinary people do not attain the noble path because [they do not realize] that sentient beings are all amalgams of mind and form. They only escape their fetters by understanding this [here and] now. Therefore, you must understand the origin (yuan).

There are two types of the mind’s fundamentals. The first is the mind of truth (chen-shih hsin). The second is the mind of false thoughts (wang-hsiang hsin). The generation and extinction of ordinary people is based completely on the [mind of] false thoughts and has nothing to do with the [mind of] truth. You must understand the [mind of] false thoughts [here and] now. Ordinary people, in their stupidity, cannot comprehend the [mind of] false thoughts, but claim
that mind to be real. [The mind] which is contemplated (i.e., understood) by the wise is originally without essence. If you understand, you will know its essencelessness.

D. If you wish to understand the correct and the false, then sit upright in meditation, contemplating the activity of your [mind of] false thoughts. Whether from near or far, the objects of your concentration all arrive (i.e., occur) as conditions [of your mental being]. Although we say “arrive as conditions,” they actually do not “arrive.” Therefore, [by practicing meditation] you will understand that they do not arrive.

It is truly because of not contemplating the false and true [aspects of the mind] that one says the mind is existent (yu, i.e., a part of being). If you contemplate the mind during its “going,” then [you will realize that] if the mind were “going,” the body would die. If it were “going” it would have to be conjoined with a previous [moment of] sense data. Why should [the mind] only have things of the past as its conditions and not know any new things?

If you understand this, then realize clearly that [conditions] do not arrive at one’s focus of concentration. The things of the past cease because things of the past cease. Being [ultimately] without realms [of perception], the realms [of perception] are false. How can the so-called “conditions” be anything but false? Know hereby that this is the false.

E. It is also incorrect to say that the mind is within the abdomen. Why? If it were in the abdomen, it would know each and every affair of the five organs. Since it is completely ignorant [of these matters], this shows that the mind is not located within [the abdomen]. Since it is not located within, then there is no self, no “going” to external sense data, no self and other. Since self and other are nonsubstantial, the mind is said to be without [the distinctions of] “this” and “that.” Therefore, this is called the “mind emancipated” (hsin chieh-t’o). Why? Because of not residing in the two extremes [of exterior and interior]. When performing this contemplation, the mind is serene and like space. This is called “to comprehend the mind” (liao hsin).

F. In contemplating form, form is also of two kinds. The first is external form. The second is internal form. The mountains, rivers, and earth are external form; the five skandhas and four elements are internal form.

In the initial contemplation of the external four elements, the mountains, rivers, and earth which are the support of all the myriad beings, this earth is called “earth” because it is a thickly layered collection of the most minute particles [of matter]. But before those minute particles collected [to form the earth], they were fundamen-
tally nonsubstantial. Only in response to the force of sentient beings’ karma do these minute particles form from space. If that force of karma of sentient beings did not exist, those minute particles would also be nonsubstantial (k’ung, i.e., nonexistent). Even when collected all together [as the earth], they are still minute particles. Why? If you examine the earth you will get particles, not the earth itself. There is no earth that transcends (li) those particles. Realize, therefore, that prior to the aggregation of those minute particles, the earth is fundamentally nonsubstantial.

If the earth is nonsubstantial, realize also that the minute particles are nonsubstantial. Why? Space is without [any Self] Nature and [yet] generates the minute particles. The particles are without [any Self] Nature and [yet] generate the earth. If you [go from] space to earth in your contemplation \(^{216}\) [you will see that] the minute particles [which form the basis of material reality] are fundamentally nonsubstantial. When performing this contemplation, you will clearly learn that the five skandhas and four elements are similarly [only] empty names.

As to the explanation of internal form, the generation of the internal four elements of the body is completely dependent on the external four elements. Since the external four elements are nonsubstantial, so are the internal ones. Why? People live on food, and food and clothing are generated from the earth. The earth is nonsubstantial, so food and clothing are also nonexistent. Since food and clothing are nonexistent, how could internal form exist (\(\text{li, lit., “be posited”}\))? Since internal form does not exist, it is obviously nonsubstantial.

Contemplation of the mind [reveals that it is] neither internal nor external. Form is also the same. That mind and form are neither internal nor external is called “serene” (chi). Serene, with nothing existing, it is therefore called nirvāna. This understanding is called “correct” (chēng, as in the eightfold path). It distantly transcends mistaken views and is also called the correct view, also called correct meditation, and also called correct action. Also, this teaching is called the correct teaching. All the Buddhas of the three periods of time attain the other shore [of nirvāna] on the basis of this teaching, which is called the correct path.

G. [Third], although you may be able to achieve this understanding, you must practice on the basis of it or else enter a heretical path or the class [of persons with] false ascriptive views. If you [decide to] practice on the basis of this understanding, [you must accept the fact that] the “perfuming” of the ordinary person’s illusions is not [just] a present-day [affair, but] has been accumulating since beginningless time and so cannot be exhausted suddenly, in an instant.
Also, if you achieve enlightenment according to this understand­
ing [you must remain] constantly aware of your present situation and 
ot let the illusions of ignorance arise again. This is called the “prac­
tice of the cause” (yin-hsing). When the “influences” and illusions 
are all exhausted, you must not allow them to be conjoined again to 
the realms and data of sensory experience: Only then is this called 
“completely eradicated.”

H. One who knows within oneself that [the illusions] are not yet 
exhausted must constantly [maintain] the illumination of contempla­
tion (kuan-hsing chueh-chao) and [like] a bodhisattva practice the six 
perfections, extending the benefits of compassion everywhere, being 
direct with oneself and circumspect with others, allowing sufficiency 
to others and insufficiency for oneself. Why? In the previous con­
templation [it was seen that] mind and form are nonsubstantial and 
without self, thus being equivalent to space. If space possessed form, 
then would not form have a self? Since the self is nonsubstantial, 
who would have whom? Since space is without self, then one must 
practice the compassion of nonsubstantiality (wu-cheng tz’u). If one 
does not do so, then principle and practice (li-hsing) will be mutu­
ally contradictory. This would not be the practice of the bodhisattva. 
Therefore, I say to generate practice on the basis of one’s under­
standing.

I. Fourth, you must contemplate constantly, without interruption. If 
you do not accomplish (i.e., make effort in) [both] principle and 
practice (pu tso li-hsing), then your associated contemplation will 
probably [suffer from] errors. Therefore, you must contemplate 
constantly, without interruption.

J. Fifth, understanding your stage of practice means that you should 
not immediately claim, on the basis of this interpretation [of Bud­
dhism], that you are equal to a buddha, with whom you do not share 
the same realms [of existence]. The first of the stages are the wise 
men who cultivate faith, not persons of the ultimate [goal]. I point 
this out because, if you do not know your own stage [of progress], 
you will certainly commit the blasphemy [that Buddhism preaches] 
no cause and result.

Chapter Seven: The Manifestations of One’s Own Mind

A. According to the Lankāvatāra Sūtra, all the dharmas are estab­
lished [on the basis of] the principle of the self-enlightened sagely 
wisdom and are all the manifestations of one’s own mind. In 
explaining this idea, it is not false to say that the mountains, rivers, 
earth, and even one’s own body are all [the manifestations of] one’s 
own mind.

I have discussed [the fact that] the body is made up of the four ele-
ments and is a response (kan) to the [external] four elements. Why are there not five elements making up the world? And with regard to the four disks upon which [the world] rests, why are there not five disks? What advantage is there in this?

The commentary says: "These actually are manifestations of one's own mind. This is not mistaken." Know, therefore, that [all dharmas] are manifested by one's own mind. I have discussed the four elements of the body because within the body there are four kinds of false thoughts. The response to these [four kinds of false thoughts molds] the four elements [into] a body, and hence there are not five elements, [but only four].

Why? The element earth exists as [part of] the body in response to the internal false thought of heaviness. The element water exists as [part of] the body in response to the internal false thought of wetness. The element fire exists as [part of] the body in response to the internal false thought of burning. The element wind exists as [part of] the body in response to the internal false thought of blowing. Therefore, it is known that these are all the manifestations of one's own mind.

B. QUESTION: The body may be understood [this way] without error, but how do you know that the mountains, rivers, and earth are [all the manifestations of] one’s own mind?

ANSWER: They too depend on the internal mind. Why? The mountains, rivers, and earth are not level in response to the false thought of elevation. The earth is 360,000 li thick and is called the earth disk. Beneath the earth is water, also 360,000 li thick. This is called the water disk and is just under the earth disk. Beneath the water disk there is a great fire, which is also 360,000 li thick. [As with the] above, it is just under the water disk. Under this great fire [disk] is a wind disk, which is also 360,000 li thick. The four disks connect with each other above and below so that the earth exists [on top]. This is called the "world" (shih-chieh).

Underneath the wind disk is empty space with nothing in it. Why? There are only four disks, not five or six. This is because the inner mind of sentient beings has four kinds of false thoughts. The earth disk exists in response to the internal false thought of heaviness. The water disk exists in response to the false thought of wetness. The fire disk exists in response to the false thought of burning. The wind disk exists in response to the false thought of blowing. According to this meditation, the entire [world system] is a manifestation of one's own mind. There is not a single dharma outside of the mind.

C. At this time a person asked: The innumerable dharmas of this world are based solely on one's failure to be enlightened. The various dharmas are [manifestations of] the mind. According to this expla-
nation (yin-yuan), if there is doubt, then the various dharmas appear. They are existent [and then] nonexistent. This explanation thus implies the blasphemy of “being” and “nonbeing.” Because it eradicates the various dharmas, it [also] generates the blasphemy of disputation.

[Answer]: If you understand the responses of the mind, [the dharmas] are all one’s own mind. Originally there are no dharmas. If there were dharmas then you could say “being” and “nonbeing,” but since the dharmas originally are one’s own mind and do not exist, how can there be any error? By this understanding one escapes the blasphemies relevant to the various dharmas.

D. Question: The mountains, rivers, and earth are inanimate, whereas humans are animate. How can one say that all the inanimate realms are [manifestations of the human] mind? It is very difficult to believe this.

Answer: It is like a husband and wife, both witless fools and argumentative toward each other, who were making liquor on which to get drunk. When the liquor had finished fermenting the husband went to look at it and, seeing his own reflection in the clear liquid, became angry and hit his wife. The wife [demanded] an explanation, [saying]: “What have I done?” The husband then said: “Why are you hiding another man in the [liquor] urn?” The wife did not believe him and looked in the urn herself. Seeing her own reflection, she became very angry herself and said to her husband: “Why did you hide a woman in the urn without telling me?” Then, not understanding that it was their own reflections, they began hitting each other—hitting each other with deadly intent.

When the entire village came to stop them and asked what it was all about, they explained as above. When the person who broke up the quarrel explained [about the reflections], they still did not believe, so he took the husband and wife to the urn to look at the reflections. They saw the reflections of three people, but still did not believe: “If these are reflections [of us] they should be outside of the urn [just as we are]. Why are they within the urn?” The arbitrator said: “If they are not your reflections, then you two and I are all in that urn together!”

[The arbitrator then said to the wife]: “You see [the reflections of] three people. You should realize that that is your husband’s reflection.” At that, the wife got even angrier and said: “There’s a man bringing him a woman!” and began hitting [her husband] again and would not stop. In the end they never could believe that those were their own reflections.

E. Ordinary people are like this [in not realizing] that the mountains, rivers, and earth, sun, moon, and stars are all manifestations of the
karma of their own minds, all reflected images of their own minds. Why do ordinary people not call [all this] the product of the mind and never believe? It is like the husband and wife who fought over their reflected likenesses and never believed that those [likenesses] were their own images.

The actual reflections within the urn are a metaphor for the mountains, rivers, and earth’s being manifestations of one’s own mind. If they were not manifestations of one’s own mind, then when you see lightning and it vibrates through space and when you hear the thunder, you should realize that the sound is nonsubstantial. Further, when you see carriages on the earth, although they vibrate the earth and make a sound, you should realize that without space there would be no sound. The sound itself is also nonsubstantial. According to this understanding, all the dharmas are all [identical with] space.

Originally, there are no dharmas. It is only that ordinary people, whose false thoughts are not exhausted, see the mountains, rivers, and earth. If those false thoughts were exhausted, they would never see them. The Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, whose activities are unobstructed, do not see the mountains, rivers, and earth because their false thoughts have been exhausted. [Therefore], you should realize that the myriad dharmas are all manifestations of the karma of the mind.

CHAPTER NINE: ELUCIDATION OF THE ESSENCE OF SOUND

A. As for sound, the understanding of sound by people nowadays as something perceived by the ear is greatly mistaken. To say that sound arrives at the ear is also greatly mistaken.

**QUESTION:** How should one understand this so as to be in agreement with Buddhism?

**[ANSWER]:** If you wish to understand the true source of sound you must first understand the conditions (yuan) and essence of sound.

**QUESTION:** What are the conditions and essence [of sound]?

**ANSWER:** The bell clapper and the human effort [of striking the bell] are conditions. The spaces inside and outside the bell are its essence. In producing the sound, the essence (i.e., those spaces) sounds, not the bell.

**QUESTION:** The essence, [space,] is located everywhere. Why does [the sound] only extend ten li and not one hundred li?

**ANSWER:** The conditions may be either small or great. Although the sound does not extend through space, it is like the greatest of earthquakes, which shakes everything: Does the earth [really] flow [as it seems to]? (?) If you think about it, although the earth vibrates, it never flows. Thus it is motionless, and sound is likewise: Although
conditioned by the striking of lightning, space vibrates and makes a sound, but it does not flow [anywhere itself]. Not flowing, it is motionless. It is thus not generated and not extinguished.

B. As to the doctrines of the five oceans and ten wisdoms, these are the foundation of the great practice of all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. If you do not appreciate the doctrines of the five oceans and ten wisdoms, then you will have no way to understand the perfect teaching.

What is this perfect teaching? The perfect teaching is that sentient beings are the Buddhas and the Buddhas are sentient beings. They have always been so, not just through their present enlightenment. This is not the same as the [idea of the] bodhisattva in the three vehicles. Further, to explain the idea of the perfect teaching, [I would say that] this is not the realm of sentient beings and also not the realm of nirvāṇa.

3. The Five Expedient Means (Wu fang-pien)

INTRODUCTION

A. Number One: Comprehensive Explanation of the Essence of Buddhahood
   Number Two: Opening the Gates of Wisdom and Sagacity
   Number Three: Manifesting the Inconceivable Dharma
   Number Four: Elucidation of the True Nature of the Dharmas
   Number Five: The Naturally Unobstructed Path of Emancipation

B. Each kneel with palms together. I will now have you recite the Four Great Vows:
   * I vow to save the innumerable sentient beings.
   * I vow to eradicate the limitless afflictions.
   * I vow to master the infinite teachings.
   * I vow to realize the unsurpassable enlightenment of buddhahood.

Next request the Buddhas of the ten directions to be your preceptors.
Next request the Bodhisattvas and Buddhas of the three periods of time [to be your witnesses (?)].

Next I will ask about the five capabilities. First, can you reject all bad associates from now until the time of your enlightenment?
   * I can.

Second, can you become close to spiritual compatriots?
   * I can.
Third, can you maintain the precepts without transgression even in the face of death?

I can.

Fourth, can you read the Mahāyāna scriptures and inquire of their profound meaning?

I can.

Fifth, can you [strive] to the extent of your own power to save sentient beings from their suffering?

I can.

Next, each must say his own name and repent his transgressions, saying:

I now profoundly repent with all my heart all the karma of body, speech, and mind, and the ten evil transgressions [committed by me] during past, future, and present. I hope that my transgressions will be eradicated, never to occur again.

The obstacles of the five major transgressions [should be repeated] according to the above.

It is likened to a bright pearl submerged in muddy water, the water becoming clear through the pearl's power. The virtuous efficacy of the Buddha Nature is also like this, the muddy water of the illusions being completely clarified [thereby]. Since you have finished your repentances, your three types of action (i.e., body, speech, and mind) are pure like pure lapis lazuli. The brightness [of your purity] penetrating within and without, you are now ready to take the Pure Precepts.

[To maintain] the Bodhisattva Precepts is to maintain the precepts of the mind, because the Buddha Nature is the "nature of the precepts" (chieh-hsing). To activate the mind (ch'i) for the briefest instant is to go counter to the Buddha Nature, to break the Bodhisattva Precepts.²²² (This [subject] is to be explained thrice.)

Next each of you should sit in lotus postion. (II.Int.2:167)

C. QUESTION: O disciples of the Buddha, your minds are peaceful and motionless. What is it that is called purity?²²⁶ Disciples of the Buddha, the Tathāgatas have a great expedient means for entrance into the Path (or into enlightenment). In one instant you can purify your mind and suddenly transcend to the stage of buddhahood.

The preceptor strikes the wooden [signal board, and everyone] contemplates the Buddha (nien-fo) for a time.

The preceptor says: All [phenomenal] characteristics are uniformly imperceptible. Therefore, the Diamond Sūtra (Chin-kang ching) says: "All that has characteristics is completely false."²²⁷ To view the mind as pure is called "to purify the mind-ground." Do not constrict the body and mind and unfold the body and mind—view afar in
expansive release. View with universal "sameness" (*p'ing-teng*). Exhaust space with your viewing.

The preceptor asks: What do you see (lit., what thing do you see)?

The disciple(s) answer: *I do not see a single thing.*

Preceptor: Viewing purity, view minutely. Use the eye of the Pure Mind to view afar without limit, without restriction.228 View without obstruction.

The preceptor asks: What do you see?

**ANSWER:** *I do not see a single thing.* (II.Int.3:168)

D. View afar to the front, not residing in the myriad sensory realms, holding the body upright and just illuminating, making the true essence of reality229 distinct and clear.

View afar to the rear, not residing in the myriad sensory realms, holding the body upright and just illuminating, making the true essence of reality distinct and clear.

View afar to both sides, not residing in the myriad sensory realms, holding the body upright and just illuminating, making the true essence of reality distinct and clear.

View afar facing upwards, not residing in the myriad sensory realms, holding the body upright and just illuminating, making the true essence of reality distinct and clear.

View afar facing downwards, not residing in the myriad sensory realms, holding the body upright and just illuminating, making the true essence of reality distinct and clear.

View in the ten directions all at once, not residing in the myriad sensory realms, holding the body upright and just illuminating, making the true essence of reality distinct and clear.

View energetically during unrest, not residing in the myriad sensory realms, holding the body upright and just illuminating, making the true essence of reality distinct and clear.

View minutely during calm, not residing in the myriad sensory realms, holding the body upright and just illuminating, making the true essence of reality distinct and clear.

View identically whether walking or standing still, not residing in the myriad sensory realms, holding the body upright and just illuminating, making the true essence of reality distinct and clear.

View identically whether sitting or lying down, not residing in the myriad sensory realms, holding the body upright and just illuminating, making the true essence of reality distinct and clear. (IIIA.Int.1:190)

E. **QUESTION:** When viewing, what things do you view?

[**ANSWER**]: *Viewing, viewing, no thing is viewed.*

[**QUESTION**]: Who views?
[Answer]: The enlightened mind (chueh-hsin) views. 

Penetratingly viewing the realms of the ten directions, in purity there is not a single thing. Constantly viewing and in accord with the locus of nonbeing (wu-so), this is to be equivalent to a buddha. Viewing with expansive openness, one views without fixation. Peaceful and vast without limit, its untaintedness is the path of bodhi (p’u-t’i lu). The mind serene and enlightenment distinct, the body’s serenity is the bodhi tree (p’u-t’i shu). The four tempters have no place of entry, so one’s great enlightenment is perfect and complete, transcending perceptual subject and object. (IIIA.Int.2:190)

(Number One: Comprehensive Explanation of the Essence of Buddhahood)

A. The attainment of the transcendence of thoughts in body and mind: Not perceiving the mind, the mind is suchlike, and the mind attains emancipation. Not perceiving the body, form is suchlike, and the body attains emancipation. Function like this forever, without interruption. Like space, without a single thing, pure and without characteristics.

Never let there by any interruption; from now on forever transcend [all] obstacles. The eye being pure, the eye transcends obstacles. The ear being pure, the ear transcends obstacles. In this fashion, [all] six sense organs being pure, the six sense organs transcend obstacles. All [of them] are without hindrance and equivalent to emancipation. To not perceive any characteristics of the six sense organs, which are pure and have no characteristics, [and to maintain this] constantly and without interruption: this is to be a buddha.

[Question]: What is a buddha?

[Answer]: The mind of a buddha is pure, transcending being and transcending nonbeing. With body and mind not “activating,” always maintain the True Mind (shen-hsin pu ch’i, ch’ang shou chen-hsin).

[Question]: What is suchness?

[Answer]: If the mind does not activate, the mind is suchlike. If form does not activate, form is suchlike. Since the mind is suchlike the mind is emancipated. Since form is suchlike form is emancipated. Since mind and form both transcend [thoughts], there is not a single thing. This is the great bodhi tree. (II.Int.5:169)

B. “Buddha” (fo) is a Sanskrit word from the western country; here it is translated as “enlightenment” (chueh).

[Question]: Where does enlightenment occur?

[Answer]: Enlightenment occurs within the mind.

[Question]: Where is the mind?
[Answer]: The mind is within the body.

[Question]: Where is the body?

[Answer]: The body occurs within false thoughts (i.e., it is a misconception with no true reality). (IIIA.1.1:191)

C. "Buddha" is a Sanskrit word from the western country; here it is translated as "enlightenment." [The Awakening of Faith says]:

The meaning of "enlightenment" is that the essence of the mind transcends thoughts. The characteristic of the transcendence of thoughts is equivalent to the realm of space, which pervades everywhere. The One Characteristic of the dharmadhātu is the universally same dharmakāya of the Tathāgata. Inherent enlightenment is preached in relation to the dharmakāya.

[The same treatise also says]:

Being enlightened to the initial activation of the mind, the mind is without the characteristic of initialness. Distantly transcending the most subtle of thoughts, one comprehensively perceives the Mind Nature. The constant maintenance (chu, lit., residence) of this [Mind] Nature is called the ultimate enlightenment.237 (II.1.3:170)

D. "Buddha" is a Sanskrit word from the western country; here it is translated as "enlightenment." "The meaning of 'enlightenment' is that the essence of the mind transcends thoughts." "To transcend thoughts" is the meaning of "buddha," the meaning of "enlightenment."

Briefly, there are three senses to the meaning of "buddha." They are also called the "expedient means of the mind" (hsin fang-pien).

[Question]: What are these three meanings?

[Answer]: Enlightenment of self, enlightenment of others, and complete enlightenment (tzu-chueh chueh-t'a chueh-man). The transcendence of mind is enlightenment of self, with no dependence (yuan) on the five senses. The transcendence of form is enlightenment of others, with no dependence on the five types of sensory data. The transcendence of both mind and form is to have one's practice of enlightenment perfect and complete (chueh-hsing yuan-man) and is equivalent to the universally "same" dharmakāya of a Tathāgata. (II.1.4:170)

E. "The characteristic of the transcendence of thoughts is equivalent to the realm of space, which pervades everywhere."

[Question]: What is "equivalent to the realm of space, which pervades everywhere"? What is pervading and not pervading? (II.1.5:170)

[Answer]: Space is without generation and extinction, and the
transcendence of thoughts is also without generation and extinction. Space is a characterless unconditionality, and the transcendence of thoughts is also a characterless unconditionality. Space neither increases nor decreases, and the transcendence of thoughts neither increases nor decreases. Space is without mind, and the transcendence of thoughts is without mind. Because it is without mind, it pervades everywhere. If there are thoughts, there is no pervading; if thoughts are transcended, there is pervading. (IIIA.1.3:192)

F. As to the “One Characteristic of the dharmadhātu,” that which the consciousness (i, presumably manas) knows is the dharmadhātu, the eighteen realms. The eye sees and the consciousness knows, and when thoughts are activated and many ideas generated, there is obstruction and no penetration. This is a defiled dharmadhātu, the realm of a sentient being.

When the eye sees, the consciousness knows, and thoughts are transcended, then there is no obstruction. This is a pure dharmadhātu, the realm of a buddha. The “One Characteristic” is without characteristics; there being no characteristics of unity or duality, this is the True Characteristic. The True Characteristic is equivalent to the “One Characteristic of the dharmadhātu.”238 (IIIA.1.4:192)

G. [QUESTION]: What is a “realm of a buddha”?

[ANSWER]: As to the “One Characteristic of the dharmadhātu,” that which the consciousness knows are dharmas, the dharmadhātu. The eyes see forms, the ears hear sounds, the nose perceives smells, the tongue knows tastes, the body perceives tactile sensations, and the consciousness knows dharmas. The consciousness knows all the other five types of dharmas. If the mind activates in coordination with its conditions, this is equivalent to a defiled dharmadhātu, the realm of an [unenlightened] sentient being. If one does not activate the mind in coordination with its conditions, this is equivalent to a pure dharmadhātu, the realm of a buddha, the “One Characteristic of the dharmadhātu.”

There are two [kinds of] eighteen realms, one defiled and one pure. First [I will explain the] defiled [dharmadhātu] and then the pure. The eyes see forms and the consciousness knows this in coordination with its conditions. The eyes and the other five senses depend on sensory data. If defilement is activated in these five locations (ch'ū, i.e., the five senses), then all locations are defiled (i.e., consciousness included). If all locations are included, this is a defiled dharmadhātu, the realm of a sentient being. (II.1.8:171)

QUESTION: What is a pure dharmadhātu?

[ANSWER]: A pure dharmadhātu is to be within the transcendence of thoughts and for the eyes to see forms without discriminating.
One thus attains emancipation of the eyes (lit., at the eye location). The other four [senses] are the same. If the five locations are emancipated, then all locations are emancipated. If all the locations are emancipated, then all the locations are pure. This is equivalent to a pure dharmadhātu, the realm of a buddha.239 (II.1.9:171)

H. The interpretation of "inherent enlightenment" (pen-chueh) and "temporal enlightenment" (shih-chueh):

The transcendence of thoughts is called "inherent enlightenment" —the absolute Buddha Nature.

The transcendence of form is called "temporal enlightenment"—phenomenal Buddha Nature.

The transcendence of both form and mind, with Nature and characteristics perfectly melded and absolute and phenomena both interpenetrating without hindrance, is called the comprehensive consumption of the three meanings of enlightenment. (The primary interpretation of the meaning [of this expedient means is related to] enlightenment. The secondary interpretation is related to the absolute and phenomena.) (I.1.7:163)

[The Awakening of Faith says]:

"Being enlightened to the initial activation of the mind, the mind is without the characteristic of 'initialness.' Distantly transcending the most subtle of thoughts, one comprehensively perceives the Mind Nature. The constant maintenance of this [Mind] Nature is called the ultimate enlightenment":

This is called the dharmakāya buddha.

To know the fundamental motionlessness of the six senses, one's enlightenment becoming suddenly perfect, its brilliance illuminating everywhere: This is called the sambhogakāya buddha.

To perfectly illuminate in [all] ten directions, one's sensory realms unhindered and autonomous (tzu-tsai) because the mind has transcended thoughts: This is called the nirmānakāya buddha.

Pure and without a single thing: This is called the dharmakāya buddha.

Enlightened comprehension bright and distinct: This is the sambhogakāya buddha.

Perceptive capacities autonomous: This is the nirmānakāya buddha.

The three bodies (i.e., the trikāya) are of one and the same essence. They are one, yet different, and incorporate, yet do not incorporate, each other. (IIIA.1.5:192ctd.)

I. [QUESTION]: What is the dharmakāya buddha?

[ANSWER]: To cultivate morality, meditation, and wisdom while in
the causal [stage] (i.e., while still nominally unenlightened), to destroy the thick and layered obstacles of ignorance within oneself (lit., “within the body”), and to create [out of this] the great refulgence of wisdom and sagacity (chih-hui): This is the dharma-kāya buddha. (II.1.13:171)

J. **QUESTION:** What is “essence”? What is “function”?

**Answer:** The transcendence of thought is the essence, and the perceptive faculties (chien-wen chueh-chih) are the function. Serenity (chi) is the essence, and illumination (chao) is the function. “Serene but always functioning; functioning but always serene.” Serene but always functioning—this is the absolute (li) corresponding to phenomena (shih). Functioning but always serene—this is phenomena corresponding to the absolute. Serene yet always functioning—this is form corresponding to nonsubstantiality. Functioning yet always serene—this is nonsubstantiality corresponding to form.

“Serenely illuminating, illuminating serenity.” Serenely illuminating is to activate the characteristics on the basis of the Nature. Illuminating serenity is to have all the characteristics revert to the Nature. Serene illumination is the nondifferentiation of form from nonsubstantiality. Illuminating serenity is the nondifferentiation of nonsubstantiality from form.

Serenity is unfolding; illumination is constriction (lit., “rolling up”). Unfolded, it expands throughout the dharmadhātu. Constricted, it is incorporated in the tip of a hair. Its expression [outward] and incorporation [inward] distinct, the divine function is autonomous. (III.A.1.6:192)

K. **QUESTION:** Body and mind being nonsubstantial, who expresses and who incorporates?

**Answer:** Body and mind being nonsubstantial, for there to be no expression and incorporation is to be united with the unconditioned (wu-wei). Opening up the unconditioned, one attains the True Characteristic. Body and mind being nonsubstantial, well does one “convert” (hui-hsiang, or parināma, usually “to convert [one’s own merit to the benefit of others]”). One converts one’s enlightenment (?) to realize the true, permanent bliss. One is forever without attachment in relationship to the sensory realms.

The dependences of defiled and pure are the two dharmas of body and mind: To have thoughts is the dependence on illusions as infinite as the sands of the River Ganges; to transcend thoughts is the dependence on merit as infinite as the sands of the River Ganges. (III.A.1.7:193)

L. If one transcends the mind, craving is not activated. If one tran-
scends form, anger is not generated. If one transcends both, stupid­
ity is not manifested.

Transcendence of the mind is escape from the realm of desire. Transcendence of form is escape from the realm of form. Transcen­
dence of both is escape from the realm of formlessness. (I.1.7: 193ctd.)

M. Interpretation of craving, anger, and stupidity. Explanation: The meaning of enlightenment is that the essence of the mind transcends thoughts. Transcending the characteristic of craving, it is equivalent to the realm of space, which pervades everywhere. This is called enlightenment of self. Transcending the characteristic of anger, it is equivalent to the realm of space, which pervades everywhere. This is called enlightenment of others. Transcending the characteristic of stupidity, it is equivalent to the realm of space, which pervades every­where. The single characteristic of the dharmadhātu is the universally “same” dharmakāya of the Tathāgata. This is called complete enlightenment. (I.1.8:164)

Interpretation of the meaning of the three realms: The meaning of enlightenment is that the essence of the mind transcends desires. The characteristic of the transcendence of the realm of desire is equivalent to the realm of space, which pervades everywhere. This is enlightenment of self. The characteristic of the transcendence of the realm of form is as above. This is called enlightenment of others.) The characteristic of the transcendence of the realm of formlessness is as above. This is called complete enlightenment.) (I.1.9:164)

Interpretation of the three emancipations: Transcending the mind is to enter the emancipation of nonsubstantiality. Transcending form is to enter the characterless emancipation. Transcending both is to enter the emancipation of wishlessness. (I.1.10:164)

Interpretation of the three Self Natures: Transcending the mind, the Self Nature of false thoughts is not activated. Transcending form, the Self Nature of conditionality is not activated. Transcend­
ing both is the Self Nature of the perfectly accomplished. (I.1.12:164)

Further, there are secondary interpretations of the three [meanings of] enlightenment, eradicating the three poisons, escaping the three realms, entering the gates of the three emancipations, transcending the three natures, attaining the two [types of] anātman, realizing the three [types of] birth (?), manifesting the three virtues, and complete­
ing the three bodies.

(The primary meaning and secondary interpretation of terms of
the first expedient means are now completed. This has been called the Comprehensive Explanation of the Essence of Buddhahood.) This has been called "comprehensive explanation" because everything has been interpreted according to the transcendence of mind and the transcendence of form. (I.1.18:165)

Number Two: [Opening the Gates of Wisdom and Sagacity]

A. The preceptor strikes the wooden [signal-board] and asks: Do you hear the sound?

[Answer]: We hear.

[Question]: What is this "hearing" like?

[Answer]: Hearing is motionless.

[Question]: What is the transcendence of thoughts?

[Answer]: The transcendence of thoughts is motionless.246

This motionlessness is to develop the expedient means of sagacity (hui fang-pien) out of meditation (ting). This is to open the gate of sagacity. Hearing is sagacity. This expedient means can not only develop sagacity, but also make one's meditation correct. [To achieve this motionlessness] is to open the gate of wisdom, to attain wisdom (chih). This is called the opening of the gates of wisdom and sagacity.

If you do not achieve [mastery] of this expedient means, your correct meditation will decline into incorrect meditation, you will become attached to the "taste of dhyāna" (i.e., addicted to trance states), and you will fall into a Hinayānist nirvāna. If you do achieve [mastery] of this expedient means, you will attain the "perfect serenity" (i.e., nirvāna) through your correct meditation. This is the "great nirvāna."

The function of wisdom is knowing (chih); the function of sagacity is perception (chien). This is called the opening of the knowing and perception of a buddha. Knowing and perception are bodhi.247 (II.2.1:172)

[Question]: What is motionless?

[Answer]: The mind is motionless. The motionlessness of the mind is meditation, is wisdom, is the absolute (li).248 The motionlessness of the ears is form, is phenomena (shih), is sagacity. [To achieve] this motionlessness is to develop the expedient means of sagacity out of meditation, the opening of the gate of sagacity. (II.2.2:173)

[Question]: What is the gate of sagacity?

[Answer]: The ear is the gate of sagacity.

[Question]: How is the gate of sagacity opened?

[Answer]: For the ear to be motionless when hearing sounds is to open the gate of sagacity.
[**Question**]: What is sagacity?

**Answer**: Hearing is sagacity. The five senses are all the gates of sagacity. (II.2.3:173)

[This expedient means] can not only develop sagacity, but also make one's meditation correct. This is to open the gate of wisdom.

**Question**: What is the gate of wisdom?

**Answer**: The consciousness is the gate of wisdom.

**Question**: How is the gate of wisdom opened?

**Answer**: For the consciousness to be motionless [when knowing the dharmas] is to open the gate of wisdom.

**Question**: How is this?

**Answer**: One achieves wisdom by transforming knowing into wisdom.

This is called opening the gates of wisdom and sagacity. I have now finished [explaining] for you the opening of the gates of wisdom and sagacity. (II.2.4:174)

B. [The Lotus Sutra says]: “Having the power to save sentient beings.” The body, hands and feet [included], is serenely peaceful and motionless. (II.2.5:174)

**Question**: What are sentient beings? What is power?

**Answer**: Motionlessness is power. False thoughts are sentient beings. For the body and mind to be motionless is called “to save sentient beings.” (IIIA.2.2:194)

**Question**: What is motionlessness?

**Answer**: The blowing of the eight winds is motionless.

**Question**: What are the eight winds?

**Answer**: Success and failure, defamation and praise, honor and abuse, and suffering and pleasure.

**Question**: How many of these are unfavorable, and how many are favorable?

**Answer**: Four are unfavorable and four are favorable. Failure, defamation, abuse, and suffering are unfavorable; success, praise, honor, and pleasure are favorable. The mind of the bodhisattva is unmoving during [both] unfavorable and favorable [winds]. (IIIA.2.3:194)

C. **Question**: How many types of people can open the gates of wisdom and sagacity?

**Answer**: There are three types of people.

**Question**: Who are they?

**Answer**: Ordinary people, Hinayānists, and bodhisattvas. Ordinary people hear when there is a sound, but when there is no sound or when a sound stops they do not hear. Hinayānists never hear,
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[bOTH] whether there is a sound or no sound and when a sound stops. Bodhisattvas always hear, [both] whether there is a sound or no sound and when a sound stops.\(^{232}\) (II.2.7:174)

**Question:** Bodhisattvas should be able to hear when there is a sound, but how can they hear when there is no sound?

**Answer:** Because the essence of their hearing is constant. (IIIA.2.4:194ctd.)

**Question:** What is the essence of hearing?

**Answer:** Motionlessness is the essence of hearing. Hearing is like the surface of a mirror, which illuminates when there is a form [in front of it] and also when there is no form. Therefore, [the bodhisattva] hears when there is a sound and also hears when there is no sound. (IIIA.2.5:194)

**D.** **Question:** If these three types of people uniformly open the same gates of wisdom and sagacity, why do the Hīnayānists become attached to the taste of dhyāna and fall into a Hīnayānist nirvāṇa?

**Answer:** This is because of the manner in which] the Hīnayānists open the gate of sagacity. This sagacity must be realized as the sagacity of hearing in relation to the ears. Because they now hear what they did not hear before, [the Hīnayānists] hear and generate joy in their minds. Joy is motion. Fearing motion, they grasp at motionlessness, extinguish the six consciousnesses, and realize a nirvāṇa of empty serenity. Whether there is a sound or there is no sound and when a sound stops, [since they are in this state,] they never hear. Thus they become attached to the taste of dhyāna and fall into a Hīnayānist nirvāṇa.

When bodhisattvas open the gate of sagacity [they realize that] hearing is sagacity. This sagacity must be realized as the sagacity of hearing in relation to the ears, [and so they] know that the six senses are fundamentally motionless. They always hear, [both] whether there is a sound or no sound and when a sound stops. Their spiritual practice is always in accord with motionlessness. By the attainment of [the mastery of] this expedient means, their correct meditation is equivalent to the attainment of “perfect serenity.” This is the “great nirvāṇa.” (II.2.8:175)

**E.** The Nirvāṇa Sūtra (Nieh-p’an ching) says: “Not hearing and hearing, not hearing and not hearing, hearing and hearing.”\(^{233}\)

**Question:** What is “not hearing and hearing”?

**Answer:** Hearing what one has not heard before is “not hearing and hearing.”

**Question:** What is “not hearing and not hearing”?

**Answer:** After hearing, [the Hīnayānist] generates joy in his mind. Joy is motion. Fearing motion, he grasps at motionlessness,
extinguishes the six consciousnesses, and realizes a nirvāṇa of empty serenity. He is “not hearing and not hearing,” [both] whether there is a sound or no sound and when a sound stops. This is “not hearing and not hearing.”

[QUESTION]: What is “hearing and not hearing”?

[ANSWER]: The Hinayānist hears when he comes out of meditation, but within meditation he does not hear. The Hinayānist has no sagacity when he is in meditation—he cannot preach the Dharma and cannot save sentient beings. When he comes out of meditation, he preaches the Dharma in an unconcentrated state of mind. This absence of the nurturing moisture of the water of meditation is called “meditation that is dry of sagacity.” This is “hearing and not hearing.”

[QUESTION]: What is “hearing and hearing”?

[ANSWER]: Ordinary people have “hearing and hearing” and bodhisattvas have “hearing and hearing.” The “hearing and hearing” of the ordinary person is motion, motion in coordination with sensory data. The “hearing and hearing” of the bodhisattva is motionless, with no coordination with sensory data. The “softened refulgence” is not “coordinated with sensory data” (ho-kuang pu t'ung ch' en). 254 (11.2.9:175)

F. QUESTION: What is motionlessness?

ANSWER: Motionlessness is the opening of the [gates of wisdom and sagacity].

QUESTION: Who can open the gates of wisdom and sagacity?

ANSWER: The spiritual compatriot can open the gates of wisdom and sagacity. Because of the words of the spiritual compatriot, one is enlightened to the motionlessness of the six senses. This is the “external” spiritual compatriot.

[QUESTION]: Who are the “internal” spiritual compatriots?

ANSWER: Wisdom and sagacity are the “internal” spiritual compatriots.

[QUESTION]: What are wisdom and sagacity?

ANSWER: Knowing is wisdom; perception 255 is sagacity. One transforms the consciousness to create wisdom and comprehends perception (or sensory consciousness) to create sagacity. These are called the “internal” spiritual compatriots. (IIIA.2.7:195)

G. [QUESTION]: What is bodhi?

[ANSWER]: “Bodhi” is a Sanskrit word from the western country. Here it is translated “knowing and perception” (chih-chien). Knowing and perception are the function of wisdom and sagacity. Bodhi is the function of nirvāṇa. Knowing and perception are the function, wisdom and sagacity the essence. Bodhi is the function, nirvāṇa
the essence. *(Essence and function [have now been] clarified.)* (II.2.15:177)

H. The sutra says: "Bodhi cannot be attained with the body and mind. Extinction is bodhi, since all characteristics are extinguished."\(^{256}\)

**QUESTION:** Why is it that this "cannot be attained with the body and mind"?

**ANSWER:** Since the mind is motionless and thoughts are transcended and not activated, bodhi cannot be attained by the mind. Since form is motionless and thoughts are transcended and not activated, bodhi cannot be attained by form. Body and mind both being motionless is equivalent to "extinction is bodhi, since all characteristics are extinguished." Also, the transcendence of both body and mind is equivalent to perfect and complete bodhi. (II.2.16:177)

I. **QUESTION:** [The sutra says:] "Noncorrespondence (pu-hui) is bodhi, because the āyatanas (ju, i.e., the sense organs and sense data) do not correspond [with each other]."\(^{257}\) Is this nonattainment in body and mind?

**ANSWER:** The six senses being motionless, the āyatanas do not correspond [with each other]. This is equivalent to perfect and complete bodhi. Also, the senses and sense data being undefiled, all the "locations" (ch’u, also equivalent to āyatana) are noncorresponding. (II.2.17:177)

**QUESTION:** Further, what about [the sutra’s line] "The impediments are bodhi, because they impede the desires"?\(^{258}\)

**ANSWER:** The six senses being motionless, the desires are not generated. This is equivalent to perfect and complete bodhi. (II.2.18:177)

J. **QUESTION:** [What are] motion and motionlessness?

**[ANSWER]:** If one perceives that there is motion, then this is motion. If one perceives that there is motionlessness, then this is also motion. To not perceive motion and not perceive motionlessness is true motionlessness.

**[QUESTION]:** Can one enter into this state?

**[ANSWER]:** If one perceives entry, then this is motion. If one perceives nonentry, then this is also motion. To not enter and not not enter is true motionlessness.

Hīnayānists perceive motionlessness external to the mind, activate thought, and grasp that motionlessness, rendering the five senses and six consciousnesses inactive. This is the annihilatory motionlessness of the Hīnayānists. Bodhisattvas know the fundamental motionlessness of the six senses, their internal illumination being distinct and external functions autonomous. This is the true and constant motionlessness of the Mahāyāna. (III.A.2.9:196)
[QUESTION]: What do “internal illumination being distinct” and “external functions autonomous” mean?

ANSWER: Fundamental wisdom (ken-pen chih) is “internal illumination being distinct.” Successive wisdom (hou-te chih) is “external functions autonomous.”

[QUESTION]: What are fundamental wisdom and successive wisdom?

ANSWER: Because one first realizes the characteristic of the transcendence of the body and mind, this is fundamental wisdom. The autonomous [quality of] knowing and perception and the nondefilement [associated with the enlightened state] are successive wisdom. The first realization of the fundamental . . . . . if realization [of the transcendence of body and mind] were not first, then knowing and perception would be completely defiled. Know clearly that the autonomous [spontaneity of] knowing and perception is attained after that realization and is called successive wisdom.

When the mind does not activate on the basis of the eye’s perception of form, this is fundamental wisdom. The autonomous [spontaneity of] perception is successive wisdom. When the mind does not activate on the basis of the ear’s hearing of sounds, this is fundamental wisdom. The autonomous [spontaneity of] hearing is successive wisdom. The nose, tongue, body, and consciousness are also the same. With the fundamental and successive [wisdoms], the locations (ch’u) are distinct, the locations are emancipated. The senses do not activate, and the realizations are pure. When successive moments of mental [existence] are nonactivating, the senses are sagely (sheng).

([The above is] the primary interpretation [of the second expedient means.]) (IIIA.2.10:196)

K. [The Lotus Sūtra says]:

Located in the world, like space, like a lotus blossom that does not touch the water, with mind pure and transcending [the distinctions of “this” and] “that,” I bow my head in obeisance to the unsurpassed Honored One.

“Located in the world”: What is this? The mind is the locus (ch’u); the five skandhas are the world. The mind is located within the five skandhas.

“Like space”: Space is the mind. The mind is thus wisdom.

“Like a lotus blossom”: The lotus blossom is form. Form is thus sagacity.

[“With mind pure and transcending (the distinctions of ‘this’ and) ‘that’ ”]: Wisdom and sagacity pure and transcending that [set of] five senses—this is to transcend “that.”
“Bow [my head]”: This is respect.
“Obeisance”: This is accordance (shun).

To always practice in accordance with wisdom and sagacity: This is the “unsurpassed Honored One.”\(^{261}\) (II.2.27:180)

_Sūtra of the Lotus Blossom of the Wondrous Dharma (Miao-fa lien-hua ching)_:

What is the Wondrous Dharma? The mind is the Wondrous Dharma. The mind is thus wisdom. Form is thus sagacity. This is a sūtra of wisdom and sagacity.\(^{262}\)

_Sūtra of the Flower Garland of the Great and Vast Buddha (Ta fang-kuang fo hua-yen ching)_:

Great and Vast is the mind. Flower Garland is form. The mind is thus wisdom. Form is thus sagacity. This is a sūtra of wisdom and sagacity.

_Diamond Sūtra (Chin-kang ching)_:

Metal (chin) is the mind. Hard (kang) is form. The mind is thus wisdom. Form is thus sagacity. This is a sūtra of wisdom and sagacity. (II.2.28:181)

_Lotus Blossom of the Wondrous Dharma:_ What is the Wondrous Dharma? Meditation and sagacity (ting-hui, usually translated as meditation and wisdom) are the Wondrous Dharma. The “lotus blossom” is a metaphor. It is as if meditation and sagacity exist in the world but are not defiled by the world. Clearly understand that meditation and sagacity are the Wondrous Dharma. The lotus blossom is located in water but is not defiled by the water. The autonomous functioning of knowing and perception is [likewise] not defiled by the six sense objects. Just as the lotus blossom opens and releases its fragrance and is enjoyed by men and gods, so does the use of this metaphor cause those who have not yet attained meditation and sagacity [now] to attain meditation and sagacity.\(^{263}\) (II.2.29:181)

_[The Lotus Sūtra says]:_

At that time, the World-honored One preached the Mahāyāna sūtra’s teaching of the bodhisattva and the thoughts (men, i.e., mindfulness) maintained by the Buddha. Having completed the preaching of this sūtra, he sat in lotus position and entered the _samādhi_ of the locus of incalculable meanings (wu-liang i ch’u san-mei), with body and mind motionless.\(^{264}\)

_[QUESTION]: What is the [teaching of] the Mahāyāna sūtra? _ANSWER:_ Wisdom and sagacity are the teaching of the Mahāyāna sūtra.

“Bodhisattva”: The Dharmas of wisdom and sagacity.
“Thoughts maintained by the Buddha”: To maintain the original transcendence of thoughts.\(^{265}\)
“Having completed the preaching of this sūtra, he sat in lotus position”: Expressing the motionlessness of body and mind.
“Entered the samādhi of the locus of incalculable meanings”: If there is mind, then there is calculation. If there is no mind (wu-hsin), there is no calculation.

Sam- (san): This is “correct.”

-adhi (mei): This is “mind.” To practice with a correct mind and enter266 (i.e., to be enlightened to) the meaning of the one True Characteristic—this is called “entered the samādhi of the locus of incalculable meanings, with body and mind motionless.” (IIIA.2.20:200)

[The Lotus Sūtra says]:

Then the World-Honored One arose peacefully from his samādhi and said to Śāriputra: “The wisdom and sagacity of the Buddhas is profound and incalculable”267

QUESTION: What is it for wisdom and sagacity to be “profound and incalculable”?

[ANSWER]: The Tathagata’s ocean of wisdom is bottomless: This is called “profound.” His sagacity can transcend the six types of sense data: Therefore it is called “incalculable.”

This “gate” of wisdom and sagacity is difficult to understand and difficult to enter. All the śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas (i.e., the Hinayānists) are unable to recognize it.

The minds of Hinayānists possess [the characteristics of] generation and extinction: [This is] “difficult to understand.” The minds of śrāvakas possess attachment and motion: [This is] “difficult to enter.” The bodhisattva is without attachment and without motion and can easily understand and easily enter.

[The Lotus Sūtra says that] the five classes of śrāvakas268 “cannot comprehend the wisdom of the Buddha. Exhaustively thinking and calculating about it, they still cannot understand it.”269

QUESTION: Why can they not understand?

ANSWER: They cannot understand because they have minds of desire (ssu-ch’iu hsin).270

[QUESTION]: How can they become able to understand?

[ANSWER]: They will be able to understand when they are without minds of desire.

QUESTION: What should one do with desire?

ANSWER: One should transform desire within the mind (fi) into wisdom. (II.2.33:182)

L. Dāna-pāramitā is a Sanskrit word. Here it is translated as [“perfection of] charity.” [To practice] charity oneself and perceive another’s lack of charity is to have contempt of others. In the Supreme Teaching, one neither perceives charity nor perceives the lack of charity. When the two characteristics are equal (i.e., when both char-
ity and noncharity go unperceived), contempt will not arise. On the basis of such dāna one can transcend excessive contemptuousness. This is called "excellent dāna-pāramitā."271

Śīla-pāramitā is a Sanskrit word. Here it is translated as ["perfection of] morality" . . . (II.2.35:183)

[Number Three: Manifesting the Inconceivable Dharma]

A. [In the Vimalakīrti Sūtra] Vimalakīrti says: "Verily, Śāriputra, the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas possess an emancipation that is called inconceivable and inexpressible (pu k’o ssu-i.)"272

Question: What is "inconceivable and inexpressible" (pu-ssu pu-i)?

Answer: The mind does not conceive and the mouth does not express. When the mind does not conceive, the mind is suchlike, the mind transcends fetters, the mind attains emancipation. When the mouth does not express, form is suchlike, form transcends fetters, form attains emancipation. For mind and form both to transcend fetters is called the "inconceivable and inexpressible emancipation." (II.2.1:185)

“At that time Śāriputra”:273 The beginner.

“Saw that in this space (k’ung)”: [The beginner’s] locus of intentionality.

“There were no seats”: The emptiness of the dharmas.

“Generating this thought”: The beginner is deluded as to the principle of nonsubstantiality.

“Thinking ‘Where will the congregation of bodhisattvas and great disciples sit?’ ”: The dharmas being nonsubstantial, by what can one achieve buddhahood?

“Vimalakīrti: The essence of purity (ching-t’i).

“Śāriputra”: The beginner. The essence of purity illuminates the beginner (or the initial [activation of the] mind).274

“When you have come for the Dharma, why are you seeking seats?”: Conceivability and inconceivability275 manifested together.

“I have come for the Dharma, not for a seat. If one seeks the Dharma, one cannot desire [even] life.”: Truly, this is the moment of the correspondence of inconceivability, when no life is manifest. No feelings, perceptions, impulses, or consciousness are manifest. No Buddha, Dharma, and Samgha are manifest. No suffering, accumulation, extinction, and path276 are manifest. No nirvāṇa is manifest. No grasping is manifest. No attachment is manifest. (IIIA.3.2:204)

B. “Vimalakīrti said: ‘Well come, Mañjuśrī!’277
“Vimalakīrti”: The essence of purity.
“Mañjuśrī”: Wondrous sagacity.

When the essence of purity and wondrous sagacity correspond, the mind does not activate. This is “well,” this is meditation.

Consciousness is not generated. This is “come,” this is sagacity. Therefore it is said, “Well come!”

“Characterized by noncoming, yet coming.”

“Characterized by noncoming”: The mind not activating, this is meditation.

“Yet coming”: The [sensory] consciousnesses not being generated, this is sagacity.

“Characterized by nonseeing, yet seeing.”

“Characterized by nonseeing”: The mind not activating, this is meditation.

“Yet seeing”: The consciousnesses not being generated, this is sagacity.

Therefore, Mañjuśrī’s wondrous sagacity is sagacity developed out of meditation. *From the inner, facing the outer*—this is the *teaching of serene illumination*.

“Mañjuśrī said: ‘O Layman’: When wondrous sagacity and the essence of purity correspond.

“If you complete coming (i.e., come all the way to your destination), do not come anymore; if you complete going, do not go anymore.”

“If you complete coming”: The consciousnesses not being generated, this is sagacity.

“Do not come anymore”: The mind not being activated, this is meditation.

“If you complete going”: The consciousnesses not being generated, this is sagacity.

“Do not go anymore”: The mind not being activated, this is meditation.

Therefore, Mañjuśrī’s wondrous sagacity develops meditation out of sagacity. *From the outer, facing the inner—this is the teaching of illuminative serenity*. Why? The previous instant introduces the succeeding instant.

“Coming, without any point of departure; going, with no destination.”

“Coming”: The consciousnesses not being generated, this is sagacity.

“Without any point of departure”: The mind not being activated, this is meditation.
“Going”: The consciousnesses not being generated, this is sagacity.

“Without any destination”: The mind not being activated, this is meditation.

“Visible”: The consciousnesses not being generated, this is sagacity.

“And again not visible”: The mind not being activated, this is meditation. *This is when serene illumination and illuminative serenity correspond.*

C. QUESTION: What is meditation? What is sagacity?

[Answer]: Not to “eye” (i.e. not to conceptualize the existence of the eye) is meditation, yet to “eye” (i.e., to allow the eye to function) is sagacity. Not to “ear” is meditation, yet to “ear” is sagacity. Nose, tongue, body, and mind; forms, sounds, smells, tastes, tangible objects, and *dharmas*; knowing and perception—all are understood as above.

Not to “eye” is sagacity, yet to “eye” is meditation. Not to “ear” is sagacity, yet to “ear” is meditation. Nose, tongue, body, and mind; forms, sounds, smells, tastes, tangible objects, and *dharmas*; knowing and perception—all are understood as above. (IV.4.3-2:224)

QUESTION: What is meditation? What is sagacity?

[Answer]: The nonactivation of mind is meditation; the non-generation of the consciousnesses is sagacity.

Transcendence of the Self Natures is meditation; transcendence of the realm of desire is sagacity.

The Ultimate Truth is meditation; the provisional truth is sagacity.

Great wisdom is meditation; great compassion is sagacity.

The Absolute (*li*) is meditation; phenomenality (*shih*) is sagacity.

The Unconditioned (*wu-wei*) is meditation; the conditioned (*yu-wei*) is sagacity.

Benefit of self (*tzu-li*) is meditation; benefit of others (*li-t’a*) is sagacity.

Nirvāṇa is meditation; samsāra is sagacity.

The transcendence of transgression is meditation; the maintenance of the *dharmas* is sagacity. (IV.4.3-3:224)

D. [The *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* says]:

If a bodhisattva resides in this emancipation, he can insert the broad top of Mount Sumeru into a mustard seed without any enlargement or contraction, and the original characteristics of Sumeru, the king of mountains, will be as they were before (i.e., the size of the mountain will be unchanged).
QUESTION: How can Mount Sumeru be inserted into a mustard seed without any enlargement or contraction?

Answer: Sumeru is form, and the mustard seed is also form. When the mind does not conceive (pu-ssu), the mind is suchlike. Sumeru and the mustard seed are both "form being suchlike" (se-ju). Having exactly the same characteristic(s), they are "without any enlargement or contraction, and the original characteristics of Sumeru, the king of mountains, will be as they were before." It is only those who cross [to the other shore of nirvana] who perceive Mount Sumeru to be inserted into the mustard seed without any enlargement or contraction.

[QUESTION]: What about "the original characteristics of Sumeru, the king of mountains, will be as they were before"?

Answer: Sumeru does not contract, and the mustard seed is not enlarged. There being no enlargement or contraction, this is called "the original characteristics of Sumeru, the king of mountains, will be as they were before." (II.3.2:186)

[QUESTION]: "If a bodhisattva resides in this emancipation, he can insert the broad top of Mount Sumeru into a mustard seed without any enlargement or contraction": What is the meaning of this?

Answer: If there is conceiving, then there is thought. If there is thought, then there is obstruction. If there is obstruction, then there is impediment. If there is no conceiving, then there is no thought. If there is no thought, then there is no falsity. If there is no falsity, then there is no obstruction. If there is no obstruction, then there is no impediment. If there is no impediment, then there is emancipation. With no conceiving and no nonconceiving, no thought and no nonthought, Sumeru is originally nonsubstantial and the mustard seed is originally without impediment, [so that] the eye of sagacity distinctly sees the two enter into each other without any obstruction. If there is no conceiving and no thought and the characteristics of the two [objects] are identical, then this is "inconceivable." (IIIB.32:219)

Yet the four heavenly kings and the gods of the [Heaven of the] Thirty-three are unaware of the entrance [of Sumeru, on which they reside, into the mustard seed], nor were any sentient beings [below] inconvenienced.

QUESTION: Where do the four heavenly kings live?

Answer: They live on Mount Sumeru.281

[QUESTION]: Why are they unaware of [the entrance of Sumeru into the mustard seed]?

Answer: Because they possess conceiving and expressing, they are unaware of it.

[QUESTION]: How can they become aware of it?
[Answer]: If they are without conceiving, they will become aware of it.

[Question]: Who are those who have crossed [over to the other shore]?

[Answer]: Being without conceiving and expressing, they have crossed over (i.e., transcended) conceiving and expressing.

[Question]: What about “see Sumeru enter into the mustard seed”?

[Answer]: If the mind does not conceive, then one does not see the characteristics of size in Sumeru and the mustard seed. One also does not see entrance, nor does one see nonentrance. To perform this kind of seeing is called “true seeing” (chen chien).

If there is no conceiving, then there are no characteristics. If there are no characteristics, then there is no “entrance” and no “nonentrance.” Being afraid of this, śrāvakas eradicate [all] mental calculation. śrāvakas are not yet enlightened, so that they see the characteristics of size of Sumeru and the mustard seed. When śrāvakas are enlightened, they see that Sumeru and the mustard seed are in their original nature nonsubstantial, so how can the two “enter” or “not enter”? This is to see Sumeru within the mustard seed, which is called “residing in the inconceivable emancipation.” (II.3.3:186)

[Number Four: Elucidation of the True Nature of the Dharmas]

A. The Sūtra of [the God] Ssu-i (Ssu-i ching) says: “The god Ssu-i said to Tsung-ming Bodhisattva: ‘What is the True Nature (chenghsing) of the dharmas?’ Tsung-ming said: ‘Transcending the Self Natures and transcending the realm of desire are the True Nature of the dharmas.’”

Question: What are the Self Natures? What is the realm of desire?

Answer: When the mind activates knowing and perception, the five skandhas each have Self Natures. When the consciousness (shih, or vijñāna) is conditioned by the eye’s seeing, this is the realm of desire. When the consciousness is conditioned by the ear’s sounds, the nose’s smells, the tongue’s tastes, and the body’s tactile sensations, this is the realm of desire. If the mind does not activate, it is constantly without characteristics and is pure. This is the True Nature of the dharmas.

Question: What is it to transcend the Self Natures and transcend the Realm of Desire?

[Answer]: Preceptor [Bodhi]dharma’s Explanation (Tā-mo ho-shang chieh) says: “For the mind not to activate is to transcend the Self Natures. For the consciousness not to be generated is to transcend the Realm of Desire. For both mind and consciousness not to
activate is the True Nature of the dharmas. Just as when a river’s
great flow is exhausted, waves no longer arise (ch’i, lit., “are activa-
ted”), so when the mind and consciousness (i-shih, or mano-vijñāna)
are extinguished, the various types of [sensory (?)] consciousness
(shih) are not generated.”\textsuperscript{285} (IV.4.2:222)

[Number Five: The Naturally Unobstructed Path of Emancipation]

A. Within the dharmas that are without characteristics, there is no
differentiation and no discrimination. Because the mind is without
discrimination, all the dharmas are without differentiation. There is
no difference between long and short, self and other, ordinary per-
sion and sage, samsāra and nirvāna, emancipation and bondage, inti-
mate and remote, suffering and pleasure, reverse and direct, the
three periods of time, stupidity and wisdom—all these are without
differentiation. [This is to] comprehend the path of the undifferen-
tiated, natural, unhindered emancipation.

All the unhindered persons escape samsāra by one path. It is nei-
ther [for a] long nor a short [time] that the emancipated person prac-
tices.\textsuperscript{286} (IV.5.1:228)

B. Question: What is the path of nonhindrance? What is the path of
emancipation? What is the path of nonabiding?

Answer: When the senses do not hinder the sense data, and sense
data is transcended, this is the path of nonhindrance. When sense
data does not hinder the senses, and the senses transcend defile-
ments, this is the path of emancipation. Transcending sense data and
transcending defilement, this is the path of nonabiding . . .

Equivalent to the mind, not the mind, and not not the mind—this
is the path of nonhindrance. Equivalent to the body, not the body,
and not not the body—this is the path of emancipation. Equivalent
to the sense realms, not the sense realms, and not not the sense
realms—this is the path of nonabiding. (IV.5.2:228)

C. Utilizing the mind (yung-hsin) but not postulating (li, the usage
here being tantamount to generating) mind or mental states (hsin
hsin-so) and contemplating neither sense realms nor the absolute—
this is the dharmakāya buddha.

The [enlightened] perception\textsuperscript{287} of contemplation being serene and
motionless, able to be born in the Land of Motionlessness—this is the
sambhogakāya buddha.

Knowing and perceiving unhindered, born out of the dharmakāya
—this is the nirmānakāya buddha.

The dharmakāya has a frozen permanence\textsuperscript{288} (ch’ang, elsewhere
rendered as constant), the sambhogakāya has a continuous perma-
nence, and the nirmānakāya has an uninterrupted permanence. The
three permanences are one, the one permanence is threefold, neither threefold nor unitary, neither permanent nor impermanent. Frozen, continuous, and uninterrupted—these are the three permanences. (IV.5.3:230)

[QUESTION]: Why is there one [permanence]?
[ANSWER]: Because the essence of permanence is unitary.

[QUESTION]: What is the one permanence that is threefold?
[ANSWER]: The essence of permanence is the Tathāgata's great samādhi. From this great samādhi is manifested inherent enlightenment. From inherent enlightenment is developed brilliant sagacity. From brilliant sagacity is realized the immediate present (i.e., phenomenal reality). This is the one permanence that is threefold.

[QUESTION]: What is the one permanence that is threefold?
[ANSWER]: The essence of permanence is the Tathāgata's great samādhi. From this great samādhi is manifested inherent enlightenment. From inherent enlightenment is developed brilliant sagacity. From brilliant sagacity is realized the immediate present (i.e., phenomenal reality). This is the one permanence that is threefold.

[QUESTION]: What is the neither threefold nor unitary?
[ANSWER]: Not mind, not body, and not the sense realms—these are not threefold. Being not imperceptible is the not unitary. The not unitary is true nonsubstantiality (chen-k'ung).

[QUESTION]: What is the neither permanent nor impermanent?
[ANSWER]: The nonextinction of the nature(s ?) is the impermanent. The extinguished natures’ perfect melding [into the myriad dharmas (?)] is the non-impermanent. The non-impermanent is wondrous being (miao-yu).

When the eye sees form and the mind is not activated—this is true nonsubstantiality. When form does not defile the sense organ and vision is autonomous—this is wondrous being. (IV.5.4:230)

D. When one enters meditation (cheng-shou) in the eye, form arises out of (i.e., leaves the state of) samādhi. This indicates the inconceivability of the nature of form, which [ordinary] humans and gods cannot know.289 ... Ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind are understood as above. (IV.5.6:231)

E. The great path of the unconditioned is level—it is only that practitioners either traverse it or not. If you desire the fruit of buddhahood, then make effort in illuminating: Investigate your sense organs, penetrate their substance! Cultivate minutely!

Cultivate, cultivate, cultivate (yen-yen-yen).
Mysterious, mysterious, mysterious (hsuan-hsuan-hsuan).
Wondrous, wondrous, wondrous (miao-miao-miao).

There are no middle and no extremes. If you do not cultivate in this lifetime, you will not reappear [from the lower modes of existence (?)] for an [entire] eon. (IV.5.10:232)

[CONCLUSION]

A. QUESTION: Why should one study these expedient means?
ANSWER: In order to achieve buddhahood.
**Question:** By what means can one achieve buddhahood?

**Answer:** One achieves buddhahood with the Essence of the Pure Mind.

**Question:** What is the Essence of the Pure Mind?

**Answer:** The Essence of the Pure Mind is like a bright mirror. Although it has forever manifested a myriad images, it never has become attached [to any of them]. If you now wish to discern this Essence of the Pure Mind, then study these expedient means. (IV.Con.1:232)

**Question:** What is the Essence of the Pure Mind?

**Answer:** The Enlightenment Nature (chueh-hsing) is the Essence of the Pure Mind. Since one has formerly not been enlightened, the mind has commanded (shih) enlightenment. After becoming enlightened, enlightenment commands the mind. Therefore, command [the mind so that it] views the limits [of space]. Facing forward and facing backward, above and below and in the ten directions, in quiet and confusion, light and dark, during walking, standing still, sitting, and lying down—in all cases, view. Therefore, you should understand that enlightenment is the master (chu) and the mind is the servant (shih).

Therefore, to study these expedient means of commanding the mind, to penetratingly view the worlds of the ten directions, and to be without defilement—this is the path of bodhi (p'u-t'í lu). (IV.Con.2:232)

**B. The Buddha is the path of bodhi. Nonabiding is the seed of bodhi. The serenity of mind is the cause of bodhi. Subjugation of demons is the power of bodhi. The transcendence of subject and object is the progress of bodhi. The transcendence of samsāra is the benefit of bodhi. Enlightenment (chueh) is the master of bodhi. That which is equivalent to space is the essence of bodhi. Serene yet constantly functioning—this is the function of bodhi. The samādhi of the unconditioned True Characteristic—this is the realization of bodhi. (IV.Con.3–1:233)**

Without the cause, the seed will not develop. Without the condition, the cause will not mature. Without the power, the condition will not grow. Without progress, the power will not harden. Without benefit, the progress will not become valiant. Without the master, the benefit will not be collected. Without the Path, the master will not get exclusive [control]. Without the essence, the Path will not penetrate [to enlightenment]. Without the function, the essence will not be bright. Without realization, the function will not be autonomous. (IV.Con.3–2:233)

**C. The five teachings are:**
First, Comprehensive Explanation of the Essence of Buddhahood; also called the Teaching of the Transcendence of Thoughts
Second, Opening the Gates of Wisdom and Sagacity; also called the Teaching of Motionlessness
Third, the Teaching of Manifesting the Inconceivable [Dharma]
Fourth, the Teaching of the Elucidation of the True Nature of the Dharmas
Fifth, the Naturally Unobstructed Path of Emancipation (IV.Con.6:235)

4. Shen-hsiu and the Teachings of the Northern School

The texts just introduced display much greater internal complexity, in both doctrinal and stylistic terms, than those presented in previous chapters. Rather than immediately grappling with the many different ideas, metaphors, and formulae contained in the Yuan-ming lun and the Wu fang-pien, I would prefer to begin with some observations about the background of these two important but difficult texts. To be specific, let me show how the appreciation of Shen-hsiu’s career developed in Part One can be of help in the understanding of the doctrines of the Northern School.

We know that Shen-hsiu was the most important figure of the Northern School. What predictions about the substance and contour of his teachings can be made from our knowledge of the historical situation at the end of the seventh and very beginning of the eighth centuries? How might his teachings have contributed to some of the events that occurred after his death, i.e., P’u-chi’s apparent hubris, Shen-hui’s virulent anti-Northern School campaign, the attitudes and fabrications of the Platform Sūtra and the LTFPC, and the eventual demise of the Northern School? Obviously, these developments were not solely the result of Shen-hsiu’s religious philosophy, but we must consider how that philosophy helped make them possible. Our knowledge of Shen-hsiu’s success at court at the beginning of the eighth century is enough to yield several inferences about his teachings, even before we consider the doctrinal evidence per se.

No doubt, Shen-hsiu’s teachings were true to his own conception of the East Mountain Teaching of Hung-jen and Tao-hsin. More important for this inquiry, his teachings must have conformed to certain guidelines to have gained acceptance at the court of Empress Wu. On the one hand, they must have avoided any hint of the qualities that caused the suppression of the Teaching of the Three Stages (san-chien chiao), which was perceived as a challenge to the moral and economic authority of the imperial state. On the other hand, Shen-hsiu must have displayed
enough intellectual sophistication and conformity with the traditional perception of Buddhism to satisfy the highly literate members of the court.

Next, while meeting these basic requirements, Shen-hsiu’s teachings must also have been original enough to inspire real interest and, in their own way, must have been superior to the other theories that had been presented to the court in previous years. Judging from the historical record, Shen-hsiu and his associates attempted to surround themselves with a certain mystique, an aura of supernaturalism—or, at least, this is how some of their contemporaries tended to view them. In view of the discussion of “questions about things” in Part One, Chapter V, Sections 14 and 15, and in view of Shen-hsiu’s identity as the “verifier of the Ch’ an meaning,” it seems fair to suggest that Shen-hsiu attempted to bolster or at least match this public image in his style of teaching.

In addition, even while appearing innovative to Empress Wu and her courtiers and remaining true to his memory of the East Mountain Teaching, Shen-hsiu’s teachings must have incorporated some flaw or flaws that made possible the criticisms of Shen-hui and the misrepresentations of the Platform Sūtra. Actually, these hypothetical flaws may not have occurred in Shen-hsiu’s teachings, but only in those of P’u-chi and Hsiang-mo Tsang, who bore the brunt of Shen-hui’s attacks. Nevertheless, these two students of Shen-hsiu may have only inherited and exaggerated weak points latent in their master’s doctrines and style of practice.

Finally, Shen-hsiu’s teachings must have somehow contributed to the development of Ch’ an as a unique approach to the practice of Buddhism, independent of the “doctrinal” approach of the earlier and more conventional schools. Even though the Northern School was severely criticized by Shen-hui, that monk’s innovations would have been impossible without the foundation laid by the Northern School. It is important to remember that the historical importance of the Northern School does not depend on the accuracy or inaccuracy of Shen-hui’s criticisms, which do not address the most important contributions of the Northern School to the subsequent development of Ch’ an.

According to the criteria just stated, Shen-hsiu’s teachings would have to have been conventional yet original, orthodox yet iconoclastic, inspired yet flawed—an impossible list of mutually contradictory stipulations, it would seem. In fact, however, even though his teachings may have been complex or variable according to the text or teaching situation, all these conditions are satisfied by one didactic technique of the Northern School: the extensive use of metaphor or “expedient means” (fang-pien) in order to radically redefine the teachings of Buddhism. This technique is also referred to as “contemplative analysis” (kuan-hsin shih).
The Use of Extended Metaphor in the Writings of the Northern School

The use of metaphor is no doubt universal within the literature of human civilizations. Certainly, the texts of both Indian and Chinese Buddhism are filled with numerous instances of this technique. Some, such as Nāgasena’s analysis of the composition of a cart and the Lotus Sūtra’s image of the burning house, are among the best remembered passages of Buddhist literature. Hence, the mere use of metaphor, even its extensive use, is not noteworthy. Rather, it is the way in which the device is used in Northern School texts that deserves our attention.

Just as in other Buddhist contexts, the members of the Northern School considered their metaphors to be teaching devices. Although there is no single passage to prove the point, they apparently considered metaphors and other formulaic usages such as those found in the Kuan-hsin lun and the Wu fang-pien to be part of their arsenal of expedient means. (Meditation techniques and various elements of intimate, personal interaction were also subsumed under this term.293) An important part of the Northern School’s mission was to proselytize new members, which required written explanations of the school’s teachings. Although converts were no doubt welcomed from among those with little or no prior experience in Buddhism, much of the energy of early Ch’an seems to have been directed at convincing other Buddhists (or at least those with some knowledge of Buddhism) that the Northern School approach to the religion was the most, or even the only, authentic one. This task required that the Northern School trace its doctrine back to the scriptures and prove that is was the highest teaching of the Buddha. Since their message was in many ways at variance with the letter and spirit of Indian Buddhism, the members of the early Ch’an School often had not only to cite the scriptures, but also to reinterpret them to fit their own purposes. As is said in the Yuan-ming lun, the sūtras could not be incorrect, but one had to understand their true meaning.294

The metaphors found in Northern School texts are thus not quite the same as those found in earlier Buddhist scriptures. The metaphors of the sun and clouds and the mirror notwithstanding, most are intended not merely to explain some aspect of Buddhism to the listener or reader, but to redefine some component of traditional Buddhist philosophy into a statement of Northern School doctrine. In a word, the Northern School used the device of metaphor to transform all of Buddhism into an allegory for the practice of the “contemplation of the mind.”

The Kuan-hsin lun is a very good example of this basic function of the Northern School’s use of metaphor. This text does not say very much
about the techniques and guidelines of mental contemplation itself. Nor is it a very well integrated text: The doctrinal statement at the beginning (see Section 8 of this chapter) is not complete in itself, and its relationship to the extensive set of metaphors that follows is not clearly indicated. Even the implications of those metaphors themselves are not always clear. For example, on the basis of this text alone, one cannot tell whether Shen-hsiu was in favor of a traditional configuration of Buddhist practice, including maintenance of the precepts, and so on, or whether he had something else in mind.\textsuperscript{295}

In fact, the point of the \textit{Kuan-hsin lun} was not to explain the complete ramifications of the "contemplation of the mind," only to point out that such practice was the very crux of the Buddhist religion. Thus literal readings of standard Buddhist technical terms and scriptural passages are rejected as the superficial understanding of the unenlightened, in favor of interpretations that relate solely to contemplation.

The following is a summary of the metaphors used in the \textit{Kuan-hsin lun}:

1. The six consciousnesses associated with the different human sensory capabilities are defined as "six bandits" that cause attachment to different sensory phenomena, the creation of evil actions, and the obfuscation of Suchness.

2. The three poisons of craving, anger, and stupidity are correlated with the realms of desire, form, and formlessness, respectively. Light and heavy excesses of craving, etc., also determine one's rebirth into one of the six modes of existence, i.e., human, god, animal, and so on.

3. The three immeasurable eons during which a future Buddha strives for enlightenment are redefined as the three poisons. Eradication of those three poisons is thus the passage of the three immeasurable eons, or transcendence of infinite numbers of illusions.

4. The bodhisattva's practice of the three groups of pure precepts and the six perfections are explained as the suppression of the three poisons and purification of the six senses.

5. The "three \textit{t'ou} and six \textit{sheng}\textsuperscript{296} of milk that the historical Buddha drank before attaining enlightenment does not refer to the defiled product of this world, but to the "milk of the pure dharma of Suchness." It refers, in fact, to the three groups of pure precepts and the six perfections. In addition, the cow that produced this milk was actually Vairocana Buddha himself, who out of great compassion causes the precepts and perfections to flow out of his \textit{dharma-k\'aya} like milk from a cow.

6. The religious activities enjoined in the scriptures are reinterpreted as follows:

   A. Temple repair: The Chinese transliteration for \textit{samgha-\textit{\textbar}r\textbar}ma is
defined as a "pure ground," so that the eradication of the three poisons, etc., is equivalent to the repair or "cultivation" of such a monastery.

B. Casting and painting of images: The Buddha was not interested in the creation of mundane images but was instructing the true practitioner to "make his body a forge, the Dharma its fire, and wisdom the craftsman." The three groups of pure precepts and the six perfections become the mold for casting, within the practitioner's own body, the Buddha Nature of Suchness.

C. Burning of incense: The incense referred to here is that of the true, unconditioned Dharma, which "perfumes" the tainted and evil karma of ignorance and causes it to disappear.

D. Offering of flowers: The Buddha is said never to have advocated the injury of live flowers, but refers in the scriptures to the "flowers of merit" imbued with the essence of Suchness. Such flowers are permanent and never wilt.

E. Burning of memorial lamps: The explanation of this metaphor, which is structurally similar to that of the casting of images, will be given in English translation in Section 1 of the Conclusion.

F. Circumnambulation of stupas: The body is equated with the stūpa, and circumnambulation is defined as the ceaseless circulation of wisdom throughout the body and mind.

G. Holding of vegetarian feasts: Through the manipulation of Chinese homographs, the phrase "to hold vegetarian feasts" is interpreted as the ability to make the body and mind equally regulated and unconfused.

H. Obeisance: Through the manipulation of transitive and intransitive equivalents of the Chinese characters involved, obeisance is defined as the suppression of errors.

7. A short scriptural passage extolling the virtues of bathing is introduced and reinterpreted as "burning the fire of wisdom to heat the water of the pure precepts and bathe the Dharma Nature of Suchness within one's body." The seven dharmas of the bath are given as follows:

A. Clean water: Just as clean water (ching-shui) washes away the dusts of this world, so do the pure precepts clean away the defilements of ignorance.

B. Fire: The fire that heats the bath water is actually wisdom, with which one contemplates or examines one's internal and external being.

C. Soap powder: The soap powder used to clean away dirt is actually the ability of discrimination by which one can ferret out the sources of evil within oneself.

D. Toothpicks: The "sticks of willow" used to eradicate mouth odor are nothing less that the Truth, by which one puts an end to false speech.
E. Pure ashes: The ashes or powdered incense rubbed on the body after bathing are endeavor (*vīrya*), by which one puts an end to doubt-laden ratiocination.

F. Oil: Rather than softening one’s skin, the oil referred to here is meant to soften dispositional stiffness, or bad habits.

G. Underwear: The clothing worn in the bath is actually the sense of shame that inhibits evil actions.

8. The practice of “mindfulness of the Buddha” (*nien-fo*) in order to seek the Pure Land is redefined as the contemplation of mind and body. The empty recitation of the Buddha’s name is specifically and emphatically rejected.

The *Kuan-hsin lun* concludes as follows:

Therefore, know that the types of merit cultivated by the sages of the past were explained not as external [activities], but only [with respect to] the mind. The mind is the fountainhead of all goodness; the mind is the lord of the myriad evils. The permanence and joy of nirvāṇa is born of [one’s own] mind; the samsāra of the triple realm also arises from the mind.

The mind is the gateway to the transcendence of this world; the mind is the ford to emancipation. How could one who knows the gateway worry about the difficulty of success? How could one who recognizes the ford be saddened about not having attained [the other shore]?

My own view is that [Buddhists] nowadays are shallow of understanding and only know the virtue of formalistic effort. They waste a lot of money and inflict injury on the countryside in their incorrect [manner of] constructing images and stūpas. They waste human labor in piling up wood and earth and in painting [their monasteries] blue and green. They expend all their mental and physical energy [in this pursuit], destroying themselves and misleading others. Having no understanding of the shamefulness [of their actions], how could they ever be enlightened? . . .

If you can only concentrate the mind and illuminate your inner [being], then, with the enlightened contemplation constantly brilliant, you will extirpate the three poisons and block out the six bandits. [The three poisons will thus be] forever dissolved and [the six bandits] will never attack again. Every one of the infinite number of merits, the various ornamentations, and the innumerable doctrines will be naturally fulfilled, [including the] transcendence of the unenlightened state and realization of the state of sage. It does not take long to witness this; enlightenment is in the instant. Why worry about your white hair (i.e., about your age)?

6. **Northern School Metaphors as “Contemplative Analysis”**

Although it is not used in the early Ch’an texts themselves, modern scholars sometimes use the term “contemplative analysis” (*kuan-hsin shih*, or *kanjin-shaku* in Japanese) to refer to the occasionally bizarre
formulations of the Northern School. This term originally derives from Chih-i’s four criteria for commenting on the *Lotus Sūtra*. The first three of these criteria concern the relationship between the Buddha and his audience, the doctrinal implications of a given line or term, and the alternative interpretations based on either the ultimate Mahāyāna doctrines or the more limited Hinayāna. Contemplative analysis, the fourth of Chih-i’s categories, is to approach each line of scripture as a function or component of the “contemplation of the principle of the True Characteristic of the One Mind.” For example, Chih-i interprets the term “Vaiśāli” not as a place name, but as a metaphor for one’s own mind.

The term contemplative analysis is thus quite appropriate for Shen-hsiu, who is known to have expounded on the “Ch’ an meaning” of different scriptures. Shen-hsiu may well have based his method of scriptural reinterpretation on some form of meditative intuition, but the practice of contemplative analysis seems to have involved something more than pure religious inspiration. To understand the importance of such additional factors, we will have to investigate the diversity and background of this didactic technique.

In addition to the numerous metaphors used in the *Kuan-hsin lun*, the *Wu fang-pien* contains many examples of contemplative analysis. This text frequently adverts to the definition of the Buddha as the Enlightened One in its formula “buddha is enlightenment.” Through the economy of the Chinese language, the idea of enlightened *person* can be forgotten in favor of “enlightenment of self, enlightenment of other.” The last part of the second expedient means includes redefinitions of the titles of several sūtras that can only be understood as forced, artificial readings. Finally, the phrase-by-phrase commentary on the *Lotus* and *Vimalakīrti* sutras in the second and third expedient means (see sections K and A–C, respectively) interprets these texts according to typical Northern School parameters, but in a way that clearly superimposes new meaning.

In addition to these examples, another early Ch’an text deserves mention for the many metaphors and other unusual usages it contains. This is a commentary to the *Fo-shuo fa-chü ching* (*Sūtra of the Stanzas of the Dharma Preached by the Buddha*). This sūtra was written in medieval China but takes the translation name of a much older work: the *Dhammapada*, a famous and oft-translated collection of Pali verses on the ascetic path. The *Fo-shuo fa-chü ching* is an interesting text in its own right, quite readable in comparison to other Buddhist texts and eloquent in its dramatic expression of the teachings of Buddhism closest to the hearts of students of Ch’an. However, it is the commentary on this text that is relevant here.

Actually, two commentaries on the *Fo-shuo fa-chü ching* are known to modern scholarship, both through the Tun-huang collections. One of
these (Pelliot manuscript no. 2325) is a straightforward commentary devoid of any particular importance in the present context. The second (Pelliot manuscript no. 2192) was abstracted from the great bulk of still poorly indexed Tun-huang materials by Tanaka Ryōshō. The commentary discovered by Tanaka is quite long (some 1500 lines) and contains a large amount of material not directly related to the sūtra itself. Internal evidence suggests that this commentary derives from roughly the same period of Northern School development as the *Wu fang-pien.*

The following are only a few of the metaphoric constructions of the Tanaka commentary, chosen for their similarity to other examples of Northern School contemplative analysis:

1. Concerning the explanation of the character *ching* ("sūtra") in the title of the *Fo-shuo fa-chü ching*, a character that also means "the warp of a fabric," the commentary suggests:

   The body of the *skandhas* is the loom, the six senses are the warp, the six consciousnesses are the woof, the six types of sense data are the shuttle, the mental states of grasping and rejecting are the thread (?), and the conditionalties of craving are the weave. With these, each sentient being weaves his own karma of rebirth in hell or heaven. (3:20/70)

2. Distinctions are made between the "exterior," or conventional, and the "interior," or intuited, definitions of terms. For example, the exterior definition of *upāsikā* is a laywoman who maintains the five precepts, etc., but the interior definition is "the sun of understanding blocked off (i.e., from outside influences [?]), the six types of sense data purified, and the attachments of craving transcended." (8:20/222) Similarly, the interior definition of a heavenly dragon (*t’ien-lung*) is given as follows:

   "Heaven" means "to purify." Disporting the mind in elevated purity and subjugating the poisons of craving, anger, [and stupidity], the dragon does not create [ordinary] rain [but rather] the rain of wisdom, which rains upon the fields of the mind so that the Dharma will grow. (8:23/225)

3. Two definitions are given for the term *ch’u-chia*, "to leave home [to become a monk]." "Superficial leaving home" is the conventional meaning of the term, whereas "mental leaving home" (*hsin ch’u-chia*) is to leave the home of the five *skandhas*, six consciousness, and eighteen realms. In form one may be a monk or a layperson, but one’s practice is without preparation, without virtue, without advantage, and without benefit. With sensory realms and wisdom both destroyed and that destruction then destroyed, one leaves discrimination. Phenomena and principle (*shih-li*) both being purified, this is called the "essential monk." This is the unconditioned leaving of home. (9:27/269)
4. A definition of nirvāṇa, which in Chinese is transliterated as nieh-p’ān, is given as follows:

Nieh is extinction (= death). P’ān is generation (= birth). Extinguishing but not extinguishing is called nieh. Not generating in generation is called p’ān. Therefore, nieh but not dying, p’ān but not being born, birth-and-death (i.e., samsāra) and nirvāṇa serenely identical. (22:9/641)

5. On the standard Mahāyāna metaphor of an echo in an empty valley, the commentary suggests that the human form is the object of reference: “The skull is like the mountain, and the ears are empty, like the valley.” (22:18/650) It goes on to say that the sounds that resonate within the head are fundamentally nonsubstantial, like those in a mountain valley.

6. A long list of metaphors for a spiritual compatriot, or kalyāṇamitra, is given. Many of these are quite conventional, i.e., to consider one’s teacher as one’s parents, one’s eyes, one’s feet, a ladder, or food, etc. The analogy that a spiritual compatriot is like fire, however, is made by saying that the six types of sense data are the fuel, the six consciousnesses the fire, and six perfections the flame. Similarly, in the analogy of the spiritual compatriot as a bow and arrow, meditation is the bow, wisdom is the arrow, and illumination of the mind is the action of shooting the arrow. (26:12/755)

7. The commentary defines the ten precepts in the context of a reference to a bodhisattva killing his “father,” ignorance. For the sake of brevity, I will list only the first four:

If the slightest bit of mind is generated, to illuminate and extinguish it is called “murder.” To secretly practice the path without other people knowing about it is called “theft.” To make good use of expedient means to penetrate the enlightenment of buddhahood is called “licentiousness.” To use metaphors in preaching the Dharma, causing spiritual benefit for sentient beings is called “lying.” (40:22/1184)

8. The six perfections are correlated individually with the six modes of existence (gods, humans, asuras, etc.), the performance of each perfection blocking off one avenue of possible rebirth. (42:21/1244)

A close examination of the metaphors given in the Fo-shuo fa-chü ching commentary reveals certain differences of implication from those given in Shen-hsiu’s Kuan-hsin lun. Generally speaking, the commentary is much more inclined to use an apophatic rendering, emphasizing the fact that all instructions pertaining to religious practice must be performed without breaking the more fundamental injunction against conceptualized and willfully undertaken activity. The Kuan-hsin lun, in contrast, states its interpretations more emphatically and without such frequent remonstrations against false conceptualization.
In spite of the typological similarity of their metaphoric usages, the two texts do not contain identical or even overlapping sets of metaphors. At one point the commentary declines even to consider the three immeasurable eons of the Buddha’s practice on the grounds that such a concept was the expression of the gradual teaching. Since the redefinition of the three immeasurable eons appears prominently in the Kuan-hsin lun, it is clear that the process of making such metaphors was more important than any dogmatic attachment to the metaphors themselves.

7. Possible Antecedents to the Use of Contemplative Analysis in the Northern School

To understand the full dimensions of the process whereby the metaphors of Northern School contemplative analysis were generated, it is necessary to turn our attention to one of the oldest texts of Chinese Buddhism, the An-pan shou-i ching (Sūtra on the Mindfulness of Breathing). This archaic document is listed as the work of the translator An Shih-kao, but a substantial amount of commentary is also included in the extant version of the text. What is interesting at present is the type of effort made to explain the subject of the text. The following, which must derive from the commentator’s interpolations rather than the original translation, are only some of the correspondences given in this text and in its preface by K’ang Seng-hui:

1. An is “body”; pan is “breath.” (An-pan is a transliteration of ānāpāna, or “breathing.”) Shou-i (lit., “guarding the consciousness”) is “enlightenment” (tao, also “the Path”). Shou is “to prohibit” as well as “not to break the precepts.” . . . I is the “consciousness of breathing,” and also “enlightenment” (tao).

2. An is “to be born,” and pan is “to be extinguished (i.e., to die).” I is “causes and conditions.” Shou is “enlightenment.”

3. An is “to count,” and pan is “to follow.” Shou-i is “to stop” (chih).

4. An is “to be mindful of enlightenment,” and pan is “to release one’s fetters.” Shou-i is “not to fall into transgression.”

5. An is “to escape transgression,” and pan is “not to enter into transgression.” Shou-i is “enlightenment.”

6. An-pan shou-i means “to guide the consciousness to the attainment of the unconditioned (wu-wei).”

7. An is “being,” and pan is “nonbeing.” By being mindful of neither being nor nonbeing, one’s consciousness practices in accord with enlightenment in response to the meditation of nonsubstantiality.

8. Of the six facets of the mindfulness of breathing, counting the breaths is the earth, following the breaths is the yoke, contemplating the breaths is the seed, reverting to pure mindfulness is the rain, and purify-
ing the consciousness is the furrow (*hang*, also pronounced *hsing*, meaning "practice").

Many more such schema are posed in the *An-pan shou-i ching*, a good number of which are more faithful to the actual meanings of the terms involved. Nevertheless, the most apparently unreasonable of the lot are the most interesting, since they point to what may be an archetypal Chinese intellectual process. That is, such seemingly arbitrary correlations are actually a by-product of the Chinese attempt to understand this new religion from the West and are evidence of efforts to experimentally apply this new message to standard, preexistent themes of Chinese thought.

There are other indications of similar sorts of experimentation, the most famous of which is the practice of *ko-i*, or "matching the meanings." The exact dimensions of this practice are unclear, but it somehow involved the correlation of native and foreign terms and lists of terms, possibly in a style similar to the examples given earlier from Northern School texts and the *An-pan shou-i ching*. Better documented is the practice of correlating the five Buddhist precepts with the five cardinal virtues of Confucianism. Although Michihata Ryōshū and Kenneth Ch’en both refer to these correlations as evidence of the sinification of the imported religion, it is also valid to observe that they were more basically a means by which the foreign religion could be understood by those already steeped in Chinese culture. In other words, the apparently arbitrary use of category correlation, extended metaphor, and the interpretation of compound Chinese terms by breaking them down into their individual characters are standard concomitants of the Chinese effort to understand and assimilate new and different ideas.

Although the dimensions of this phenomenon are still quite vague—the systematization of the five elements (*wu hsing*) by the Han philosopher Tung Chung-shu and Chih-i’s "ten such-likes" (*shih ju-shih*) might also be considered related sorts of conceptual manipulation and wordplay—the task at hand is to determine the significance of such correlations and extended metaphors in the context of the Northern School.

My tentative conclusion is the following: Similar to the examples given from the *An-pan shou-i ching*, the use of contemplative analysis in the Northern School represents a manifestation of Ch’an’s struggle to understand and express its own message. This is true not only of the more outlandish examples—for instance, the explication of the standard metaphor of a sound within an empty valley with reference to the skull as a mountain and the ears as its valleys—but also of the abundance of more reasonable doctrinal formulations that occur in early Ch’an texts.

Even from the limited sample of materials translated here, the reader
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should be struck by the fact that so many such formulations are posited and then forgotten almost at once. The very number of these quickly forgotten doctrinal statements implies that the Ch’an School was forced to hammer away again and again at the bulwark of traditional “doctrinal” Buddhism, stating and restating different facets of its own message in terms that were increasingly appropriate as time went on. It was impossible at the very first to step completely outside the boundaries of traditional Buddhist expression—the followers of Ch’an would not have known what to say that would have been understood and at the same time considered legitimately Buddhist. No, at the beginning it was necessary to infiltrate and erode that bulwark from within, as it were, transforming the entire realm of discourse of the current Buddhist establishment, with its emphasis on intellectual effort, material offerings, and so on, into an expression of the teaching of meditation.

Shen-hsiu’s role in this effort was of paramount importance, for it was he who digested the sum of traditional Buddhist studies and developed a unique explanation for individual spiritual endeavor. Shen-hsiu’s approach was at once the rationalization of a new style of religious practice and a unique and reasonable interpretation of the original intent of Buddhism. Thus his teachings could very well have been both traditionalistic and innovative at the same time.

8. The Construction of Shen-hsiu’s Thought

The Kuan-hsin lun must be the initial focus of any discussion of the construction of Shen-hsiu’s thought. This is the only text unquestionably written by him, and it may have been composed before his move to Lo-yang at the very beginning of the eighth century. The opening lines of this text read as follows:

**Question:** If a person wanted to seek the enlightenment of buddhahood, what would be the most quintessential dharma he could cultivate?

**Answer:** Only the single dharma of contemplating the mind, which completely encompasses all practices, [may be called] the most quintessential.

**Question:** How can one dharma encompass all practices?

**Answer:** Of [all] the myriad dharmas, the mind is the fundamental one. All the various dharmas are simply the product of the mind. If one can comprehend the mind, then the myriad practices will all be accomplished. It is like the branches, flowers, and fruit of a large tree, all of which depend on the roots for their existence. If the tree is cut down and the roots done away with [the branches, flowers, and fruit] will definitely die.

If one’s spiritual cultivation [aims at] comprehension of the mind, then success will occur easily and with little effort. Spiritual cultivation [not aimed at] comprehension of the mind means wasted effort and no benefit.
Therefore, know that all good and evil derives completely from one's own mind. To seek somewhere else outside of the mind [and have any success]—this is an utter impossibility.

**QUESTION:** How can contemplation of the mind be referred to as "comprehensive"?

**ANSWER:** When a great bodhisattva practices the profound perfection of wisdom he comprehends that the four elements and the five skandhas are fundamentally nonsubstantial and without self. He comprehensively sees that his own mind has two types of different functions (ch'i-yung). What are these two? The first is the Pure Mind (ching-hsin). The second is the defiled mind (jan-hsin).

The Pure Mind is the mind of untainted Suchness (wu-lou chen-ju). The defiled mind is the mind of tainted ignorance. These two types of mental dharmas are both naturally and fundamentally existent—although they are provisionally conjoined, they do not generate each other. The Pure Mind always desires the causes of goodness, whereas the defiled mind always thinks of evil actions. One who is himself enlightened to Suchness is unaffected by defilements and is called a sage. [Such a one] is eventually able to distantly transcend suffering and to realize the joy of nirvāna. One who acts in accord with the defiled is subject to its attachments and obscurations and is called an ordinary person. [Such a one] sinks helplessly within the triple realm and is subject to various kinds of suffering. Why is this? Because the defiled mind obstructs the essence of Suchness.  

The similarity between the *Kuan-hsin lun* and the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* should be obvious. Just as the text attributed to Hung-jen touts shou-hsin, or "maintaining [awareness of] the mind," as the ultimate Buddhist endeavor, here kuan-hsin, or "contemplation of the mind," is represented as the "most quintessential dharma to be cultivated, the one dharma that encompasses all Buddhist practices." Shen-hsiu's text actually goes one step beyond the other by claiming that success in kuan-hsin is not merely tantamount to the achievement of buddhahood, but actually equivalent to the performance of all Buddhist practices. As Shen-hsiu says later on in the text, "Every single one of the infinite number of merits, the various ornamentations and innumerable doctrines, will be naturally fulfilled."  

Another similarity to the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* is the citation of the spurious passage from the *Shih-ti ching* (Sutra on the Ten Stages) describing the metaphor of the sun and clouds. (See the discussion of this passage in Chapter VI, Section 4.) The *Kuan-hsin lun*, however, does not attempt to advocate anything like shou-hsin, the unique approach to meditation that combines a gentle and energetic style of practice with symbolically sophisticated techniques. There are actually two differences between the *Kuan-hsin lun* and the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* on this subject: (1) Shen-hsiu's text is less explicit on the actual techniques for "contemplating the mind," and (2) it emphasizes the penetration of the fundamental unreal-
ity or nonsubstantiality of the defiled mind and its attendant illusions rather than the nurturing of the Buddha Nature within oneself.

In addition, two points are stated very clearly in the Kuan-hsin lun that are not made in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun. First, the practice of the contemplation of the mind is to be maintained constantly, during all one's activities. The text reads:

Further, “spiritual practice throughout the six periods of time” (i.e., the entire day) means to constantly practice the enlightenment of buddhahood all the time within the six senses. “Buddha” means “enlightenment” (chueh). Thus to cultivate the various practices of enlightenment (chueh-hsing) by regulating the six senses and making them pure, doing this without ceasing at all times during all activities, is called “spiritual practice throughout the six periods of time.”

Second, the actual achievement of enlightenment occurs instantaneously. The treatise does use language that refers to the control or subjugation of the ignorant aspects of mind, but close reading indicates that such control does not refer to the suppression or restriction of sensory activity per se. “To purify the six sense organs” means “to first subjugate the six bandits.” Those bandits represent not the functions of sensory perception, but the impact of avidyā, or ignorance, on the senses. Nor is one enjoined to progressively rid oneself of an ever-greater proportion of one's defilements or illusions. On the contrary, control of the defilements occurs suddenly and all-at-once, when the defiled mind is eradicated.

Shen-hsiu's appreciation of the instantaneous nature of ultimate realization and his emphasis on the constancy of practice are neatly expressed in the following two statements from the conclusion of the Kuan-hsin lun:

How could one who knows the gateway worry about the difficulty of success? How could one who recognizes the ford be saddened about not having attained [the other shore]?

It does not take long to witness this (i.e., to realize sagehood); enlightenment is in the instant. Why worry about your white hair (i.e., about your age)?

These themes, then, will form the nucleus of our discussion of Northern School doctrine: the positing of defiled and pure aspects of mind, dedication to the penetration of the nonexistence or nonsubstantiality of the defiled mind and its illusions, the emphasis on constancy of practice, and the recognition of the suddenness of enlightenment.

9. The Identity of the Yuan-ming lun

The Yuan-ming lun is a provocative work. Its major intent is conventional Mahāyāna Buddhism—to convince its audience to train in such a
way that they ensure their own enlightenment and the salvation of others. Although the general orientation of the text is beyond reproach, some of the specific declarations made are strikingly unconventional. The important ontological role played by the entity space is unparalleled in Buddhist literature, to the extent that the author felt the need to include an explicit refutation of a hypothetical accusation of heresy. In addition, the description of the world system as comprised of four disks of equal size contrasts with the orthodox system of three disks of decreasing thickness and different diameters.315 (See Chapter Two, Section K; Chapter Three, Sections A, C, and D; and Chapter Seven, Section B, of the translation.)

It would be unfair to simply reject these peculiarities as heretical deviations from traditional Buddhist dogma. Instead, they should be approached as creative speculation combining native Chinese themes with ideas from several traditions of Buddhist doctrine. Together with the traces of Hua-yen, Mādhyamika, and Yogācāra doctrines that can be detected in this text, the peculiarities mentioned in the previous paragraph can only add to our appreciation of the manner in which one medi­eval Chinese Buddhist, very possibly Shen-hsiu, rationalized his own religious practice.

I have suggested that the Yuan-ming lun contains Shen-hsiu's teachings. In the absence of a colophon or any citation in other sources, the attribution of this text must be inferred on the basis of the following points:

1. The Yuan-ming lun occurs at the very beginning of an extremely important anthology of East Mountain Teaching/Northern School material that also includes the Hsiu-hsin yao lun and CFPC.316 Hence, the author of this work was almost certainly a member of the Northern School.

2. Not only is the author or speaker of this text referred to as a dhyāna master, he is addressed with a measure of respect unequalled in any early Ch'an text. (See Chapter Three, Sections A and C.) If the text is the transcription of an oral presentation, as I suspect, the speaker was clearly an eminent figure rather than an anonymous ideologue.

3. The author/speaker justifies his theories by stating that they are based on his reading of the scriptures and his experience in meditation, a position identical to that known to have been held by Shen-hsiu. (See Chapter Two, Section I.)

4. Although most of the subject matter of the Yuan-ming lun differs from that of the Kuan-hsin lun—a fact that has little bearing because of the incredible fluidity of early Ch'an doctrinal formulations in general—the two texts are alike in positing pure and defiled aspects of the mind and in emphasizing the importance of constancy in religious practice.317
5. Similarly, in spite of the stylistic differences between this work and the *Wu fang-pien*, both contain comparable and possibly related expressions, such as those concerning space, the nature of the apprehension of sound, and the defiled and purified realms of ordinary and enlightened beings.\(^{318}\)

Whether or not the *Yuan-ming lun* was transcribed directly from a lecture by Shen-hsiu, P’u-chi, or some other prominent Northern School figure, this text can legitimately be approached as a potential link between the *Wu fang-pien* and the other, earlier works of the East Mountain Teaching and the Northern School.\(^{319}\)

### 10. The Gradual, Sudden, and Perfect Teachings in the *Yuan-ming lun*

One of the first surprises of the *Yuan-ming lun* is the discussion of the gradual, sudden, and perfect teachings that occurs very close to the beginning of the text. As far as I know, this is the only early Ch’an work to discuss these three teachings conjointly. As such, it is an important precursor to Shen-hui’s use of the terms “sudden” and “gradual.” More to the point, it is a potential indicator of the relationship between the doctrines of the Northern School and contemporary religious thought, particularly that of the Hua-yen School, which also posited definitions of these three teachings in its *p’an-chiao*, or “doctrinal classification” theories.\(^{320}\)

Unfortunately, because of the severely damaged state of the *Yuan-ming lun* manuscript, the statements concerning these teachings cannot be completely deciphered. The general argument runs as follows:

1. The gradual, sudden, and perfect teachings are all different. Those who claim that they are identical do not understand them.

2. The gradual teaching seems to be limited to the doctrine of *anātman*, a basically Hinayāna idea that its proponents mistakenly claim to be Mahāyānist in nature. (Presumably, this includes the doctrine of *anātman* as applied to individual dharmas, rather than to living beings only.)

3. Some people, it is alleged, believe that the sudden teaching is based on the idea that the realms of human sensory perception are the product of false thoughts, so that when one is without false thoughts one also rids oneself of the realms. The *Yuan-ming lun* treats this understanding as too facile and superficial.

4. The real sudden teaching is to achieve an understanding of “physical characteristics and the essence of the mind” (*shen-hsiang hsin-t’i*). Although this phrase seems to imply that the body is a superficial manifestation and the mind a more fundamental basis of human existence, the
text devotes quite a few lines to the refutation of this interpretation. Its ultimate resolution of the issue is that neither mind nor body can be adequately described as dependent on the other. Instead, both are nonsubstantial. Rather than the extirpation of false thoughts, then, the sudden teaching may be described as the comprehension of nonsubstantiality.

No explicit attempt is made to distinguish this correct interpretation of the sudden teaching from the more advanced perfect teaching. The latter is circumscribed by a list of ten meanings, the adumbration of which takes up the balance of the text. The fact that not all ten are explicitly defined is a measure of the informal, unedited nature of the text as it now stands.

11. Constant Practice and the Perfect Teaching

To understand the perfect teaching, we must thus understand the balance of the Yuan-ming lun. Perhaps it will be easiest to begin with the conventional aspect of the text's basic message, which has already been mentioned. The following is a concise statement of the text's fundamental position on religious practice, immediately recognizable as a faithful expression of the bodhisattva ideal:

One should reside in meditation and wisdom after having achieved the contemplation of nonsubstantiality. Not residing in being and nonbeing, the body and mind are universally "same," like space. Never quitting during walking, standing still, sitting, and lying down, [one should] save sentient beings whenever possible. Saving the weak and helping the downfallen, having pity for the poor and love for the aged, one should think on the suffering of sentient beings within the three lower modes of existence and the difficulties of the poor among humankind. One should always act tirelessly to save them, [even to the point of] discarding one's own life.

One should always undertake such practice while in meditation, for the duration of three great immeasurable [eons].

Other passages in the Yuan-ming lun indicate that this description of the unflagging meditator and tireless benefactor of other living beings is predicated on the same vision of the essential emptiness or nonsubstantiality of all things as in traditional Mahāyāna writings. References to this concept occur throughout the text: the denial of the existence of sentient beings in Chapter Two, Section L; the ascription of nonsubstantiality to cause and result in Chapter Three, Sections B and E, in the latter of which the term "practice of nonsubstantiality" (k'ung-hsing) is used (similar terms occur scattered throughout the text); and the reference to "nonpracticing" in Chapter Four, Section B. Even the prescriptions for
actual meditation practice that occur in Chapter Six, Sections D and F, are in fact methods for realizing the essential nonsubstantiality of all things.

This emphasis on nonsubstantiality may have something to do with the emphasis on performing the ultimate practice right here and now, in this lifetime, as soon as one hears and understands it. That is, since there actually are no illusions to be purified, all that is necessary is to realize this fact, cease discriminating in the manner of ordinary, unenlightened people, and initiate the practice of the bodhisattva as indicated in the text. The *Yuan-ming lun* does posit certain stages of practice, which we will discuss presently, but its main purpose is to induce its audience to begin meditation practice, achieve this transformation, and continue on with the continuous activity of the bodhisattva. Its fundamental purpose is thus identical to that of the *Kuan-hsin lun*.

In the *Yuan-ming lun* the immediate goal is to achieve a transformation of one's "world" from that of a "small" sentient being to that of a "great" one. This transformation, the sudden experience of which is intimated in the *Kuan-hsin lun*, could be accomplished simply by putting an end to all one's false discrimination. This transformation differs from that indicated in the false definition of the sudden teaching given in point 3, Section 10 of this chapter in that the realms of perception are not destroyed, but transformed into a different form of reality. (Of course, ultimately neither false thoughts, the realms of perception, nor the great or small worlds of sentient beings can be said to exist in an ultimate sense.)

This transformation may be simply described, perhaps, but its accomplishment was no doubt a difficult task for real practitioners with real problems. It is thus not surprising that the *Yuan-ming lun* calls for energetic effort both before and after the moment of realization. Actually, here and in all other Northern School texts the emphasis is placed so thoroughly on the problems of initiating and continuing practice that the actual moment of realization—if such a single moment can be said to exist—is almost completely ignored. Like the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun*, this text refrains from using the promise of enlightenment as a reward to motivate its readers.

12. The Reverse and Direct Contemplations in the Yuan-ming lun

The *Yuan-ming lun* is not particularly detailed on the subject of meditation practice. Nevertheless, it does make definite statements about two contrasting approaches to meditation, which it calls the "reverse" and "direct" forms of contemplation (*ni-kuan* and *shun-kuan*).

Reverse contemplation is defined in terms reminiscent of the *Ch'eng-shih lun* (Treatise on the Completion of Truth), a text popular during the
Six Dynasties period. This text eventually fell out of favor after being criticized for its reductionist definition of śūnyatā, i.e., for analyzing phenomenal reality into ever-smaller conglomerations of particles until at last the very smallest of them dissolved into nothingness. This method was thought to be distinctly inferior to the Madhyamika approach, which used a dialectical method that was not concerned with the size of the particles or their conglomerates but was based instead on the analysis of the origin, transformation, and disappearance of the particles themselves. It is unlikely that the Yuan-ming lun argues directly against the Ch’eng-shih lun. The argument against reverse contemplation may have been borrowed from some Chinese Madhyamika source that made reference to the other text, but in the Yuan-ming lun these criticisms are directed at all traditional forms of Buddhist meditation. In general, traditional Buddhist meditation theory required the practitioner to trace each object of his contemplation back to its individual constituents. This technique requires a certain amount of analysis by the meditator, not to mention the restricted view (to borrow the early Ch’an sense of values) that the emptiness of reality can be understood only by comprehending its multiplicity and the lack of ontological integrity of any of its most basic components.

The discussion of the gradual teaching, in which the doctrinal distinctions normally thought to be Mahāyānist in nature are relegated to the province of Hinayāna Buddhism, may have some bearing here. That is, the analysis of reality into its component parts, no matter how minute, only yields a Hinayānist understanding similar to that indicated, for example, in Nāgasena’s analysis of the cart in the Milindapanha. Such a pluralistic understanding of reality, implicitly if not explicitly, still grants real existence to the components of the cart or to the most minute particles of phenomenal existence.

Direct contemplation avoids this problem completely by rejecting any suggestion that reality need be so atomized as a preliminary to understanding. Instead, nonsubstantiality is to be apprehended on the basis of a very simple analysis of human cognitive behavior: that perceptions do not actually come to the mind when they occur or go anywhere when they disappear, that the mind itself cannot be fixed in any one location, and that the mind is actually without the distinctions of “this” and “that.” In one passage, the text suggests that the student could appreciate the emptiness or nonsubstantiality of all reality by contemplating the derivation from space of the infinite minute particles that comprise that reality. Although this stipulation of the role of space is exceptional in Buddhist philosophy, it is clear that the nonsubstantiality of phenomenal reality is based on the essential nonsubstantiality of its component dharmas, not
merely because of the transitory nature of the combinations of those dharmas. (See Chapter Six of the translation.)

Although direct contemplation is not described with any particular eloquence in the Yuan-ming lun, the underlying idea of that practice is clearly stated: Contemplation of one's own cognitive existence at any given time was sufficient grounds to prove to oneself the truth of non-substantiality. No painstaking feats of yogic concentration and mental analysis were required, only the immediate apprehension of the underlying reality of each facet of one's normal existence. (As if this were a simple matter!)

13. Shen-hsiu’s Instructions on Meditation

The following passage, found in the miscellaneous material attributed to Shen-hsiu in the anthology of East Mountain Teaching/Northern School material mentioned earlier, is much more explicit than the Yuan-ming lun on the practice of meditation:

If you wish to cultivate contemplation, you must proceed first from the contemplation of the external. Why is this necessary? Because the external sensory realms constitute the causes and conditions of the generated mind, the locus of the activated illusions. Also, because ordinary people are so crude and shallow in determination, they generally have difficulty proceeding to the profound and excellent region [of the absolute, separate from sensory input]. Therefore, one enters the profound and excellent region by first undertaking contemplation of the external.

[In this contemplation] one must understand that the various dharmas are fundamentally and in their essential nature universally “same” and without any distinctive characteristics. The various dharmas exist only as a phantasмагorical creation of the beginningless perfumings. They have no real essence. According to this principle of the dharmas’ universal “sameness” and phantasмагorical creation through causes and conditions, [the dharmas] are fundamentally nonexistent and without birth and death, positive and negative, long and short. They are only the illusions of beginningless ignorance.

Through noncomprehension of this principle, one perceives people and dharmas where there are no people and dharmas, one falsely perceives being and nonbeing where there are no being and nonbeing. One falsely generates attachment, grasping at people and grasping at dharmas, creating various kinds of karma and circulating through the six modes of existence. These individuals and dharmas, birth and death, and being and nonbeing are only the false mind. Outside of this [false] mind not a single dharma can be apprehended (te).

Understanding this principle, one must simply follow each and every [object upon which the] mind is conditioned, investigating it intimately. Know that there is only this mind and no external realms. Perform this
investigation purely and attentively, always keeping the mind focused (yuan, "conditioned") on this principle of the empty falsity [of all dharmas].

When you can maintain the mind [on this subject] for some time, then you must "countercontemplate" (chieh-kuan, i.e., turn around and contemplate) this false mind [itself]. Whether it is existent or nonexistent, [whether it is generated or] extinguished, [the discriminatory mind] is ultimately not apprehendable, [no matter how one may attempt] various methods of searching for it. The mind of the future is still in the future, the mind of the past is in the past, and the mind of the present is not maintained [beyond the immediate moment]. Also, because [every] two [states of] mind are dissimilar, when one realizes the generation of [one state of] mind, one does not realize the extinction [of another state of] mind (?).

In discussing the generation of the mind, one must postulate causes and conditions. Since it is only through the accumulation of causes and conditions that the mind is generated, if those causes and conditions did not accumulate, how could there be any "generation"? This "generation" is "nongeneration" (wu-sheng, "birthless," a synonym for nirvāṇa) and this "extinction" is "nonextinction." [Therefore,] one must countercontemplate this mind.

**Question:** This mind being the mind of wisdom, the enlightened mind, why must one contemplate it?

**Answer:** Although this mind is the mind of wisdom, the enlightened mind, it is because of the flowing capacities (liu-lei) of the mind that there is generation and extinction and the nonannihilation of the characteristics of the sensory realms.

**Question:** Does not this style of contemplation imply a subject and an object of contemplation (i.e., an inherent duality)?

**Answer:** What I am here calling countercontemplation is only to be constantly mindful of the contemplating mind's countercontemplation of itself —there is no subject and object. [Just as] a knife cannot cut itself and a finger cannot point at itself, the mind cannot contemplate itself [dualistically]. When there is no contemplation (i.e., when you are just trying to imagine what this practice might be like), subject and object of contemplation exist, but in actual countercontemplation there are no subject and object of contemplation. This [practice] transcends words and characteristics, the path of words being eradicated and the locus of mental activity extinguished.125

**Question:** Does not the mind enter [a state of] blankness (wu-chi) [through this practice]?326

**Answer:** During [this practice the Buddha] Nature develops of itself and becomes increasingly bright and vast. How could this be blankness? What was referred to earlier as the "entrance into the profound and excellent region"327 is a contemplation in which subject and object are both purified (i.e., rendered nonsubstantial, hence nonexistent) and which cannot be interpreted either in words or with the active mind. As just stated, the more profound and vast [one's realization of the Buddha Nature], the greater and brighter [one's contemplation] becomes.
One who hears this and decides to cultivate enlightenment according to this principle [must realize that this point] cannot be attained through effort. How can it be reached? When the [true] practitioner hears this, he cultivates this realization through meditation.\textsuperscript{328}

As Shen-hsiu's longest statement on the practice of meditation, this passage is interesting for a number of reasons. First, he counsels the student to begin with "external" subjects of concentration, i.e., sensory impressions of the external world. This approach is justified on the dual bases of the role played by such external sensory realms in the operation of the unenlightened mind and the lack of aptitude and determination of most meditators. Northern School literature, especially the \textit{Wu fang-pien}, abounds in dualistic formulations. (Indeed, the writings of virtually all phases of Ch'an use the statement and resolution of dualities as a basic technique of religious expression.) When we discuss the \textit{Wu fang-pien} in the following sections, it will be interesting to recall that Shen-hsiu defends at least this one dualism of interior and exterior on such practical grounds—and that he uses it to lead to the transcendence of subject and object.

Second, although it is fair to label Shen-hsiu's teaching of meditation as gradualistic because it requires some effort and a progression from external to internal objects of contemplation, this gradualism is mitigated by the very nature of the contemplation itself. One's object of contemplation changes, but never the goal of that contemplation. From beginning to end, the point is to comprehend the nonsubstantiality of one's object of concentration. There are no preliminary exercises required and, indeed, no specific instructions on exactly how śūnyatā might best be apprehended. Even the distinction between internal and external objects of concentration would be eliminated, at least in theory, were one to recall the \textit{Yuan-ming lun}'s position that external reality is solely a manifestation of the mind. Effectively, the mind can do nothing else but contemplate itself—either directly or through the intermediary of its own manifestations.

The explicit stipulation that countercontemplation represents a form of practice lacking the subject-object dichotomy is tantamount to the position that in such a meditative state one achieves contact or identity with the ultimate, undifferentiated state of mind. Earlier, in our discussion of the \textit{Yuan-ming lun}, it was necessary to postulate a specific moment of enlightenment, the instant in which the meditator first transformed himself by the eradication of all his illusions. In the present case the first achievement of counterillumination would have to constitute such a moment—although Shen-hsiu himself is silent on the issue.

Third, the only explicit mention of gradual improvement refers to a
point after the initiation of counterillumination, when one's "[Buddha] Nature develops of itself and becomes increasingly bright and vast." This is a very pregnant assertion, in that it provides a link that joins this passage to the *LCSTC*, the *Yuan-ming lun*, and the *Wu fang-pien*. The *LCSTC*, including the portions of the *JTFM* contained in it, frequently refers to the increasingly "bright and pure" (*ming-ching*) state of the meditator's mind. More significantly, the notion that the meditator's mind becomes somehow increasingly expansive in a spatial sense is distinctly reminiscent of the *Yuan-ming lun*. That text, as we have just seen, is emphatic about the importance of space as the creative substrate of all reality, suggests that the contemplation of the role of space be a part of the aspirant's meditation practice, and even outlines a system of interpenetrating "worlds" of great and small sentient beings. The significance of these positive references to space and expansive states of mind will become crystal clear when we consider passages from the *Wu fang-pien* that refer to meditation practices designed to either simulate or generate such states of mind.

14. The Construction of the Wu fang-pien

The *Wu fang-pien* (*Five Expedient Means*) has long been one of the most perplexing of all the early Ch'an works discovered at Tun-huang. In addition to the many textual problems alluded to in the first section of this chapter, the style of expression used in this text is very difficult to understand. This style is unique in the annals of Ch'an literature, even in the annals of Chinese religious literature as a whole—a distinction that is not necessarily to the credit of either the *Wu fang-pien* or the Northern School. Some parts of the text are clear and concise, but the bulk of it is devoted to the reproduction of endless variations on a small number of paradigmatic formulae. The repetitiveness of this material, together with the absence of any clear indication of how these formulae are to be interpreted, leads to conflicting impressions of banality and impenetrability.

My own conjecture is that the *Wu fang-pien* was primarily a teachers' manual not meant for general circulation among students. Evidence for this view consists of the presence of initiation or ordination rituals at the beginning of the text and the frequent use of abbreviation throughout. Unfortunately, this hypothesis does not immediately bring us any closer to the understanding of the contents of the text. Even after several decades of scholarship on early Ch'an, many aspects of the *Wu fang-pien* still elude our comprehension.

Although the five different "expedient means" of the *Wu fang-pien* are clearly enumerated at the beginning and again at the end of the translation
given earlier in this chapter, it will be convenient to repeat them here along with the titles of the scriptures on which they are said to depend:

1. Comprehensive Explanation of the Essence of Buddhahood, or Teaching of the Transcendence of Thoughts: *Awakening of Faith*

2. Opening the Gates of Wisdom and Sagacity, or the Teaching of Motionlessness: *Lotus Sūtra*

3. Manifesting the Inconceivable Dharma: *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*

4. Elucidation of the True Nature of the Dharmas: *Sūtra of [the God] Ssu-i*

5. Naturally Unobstructed Path of Emancipation, or Teaching of the Comprehension of Nondifferentiation: *Avatamsaka Sūtra*  

This arrangement of scriptures is reminiscent of the fivefold classifications of the *p' an-chiao* ("dividing the doctrine") tradition. In spite of this superficial similarity, nothing in the *Wu fang-pien* itself indicates that the five expedient means are arranged in any kind of hierarchical progression. Indeed, even a quick perusal of the text reveals that the *Lotus* and *Vimalakīrti Sūtras* are not necessarily the sole bases of the second and third expedient means, respectively. More important, even though the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* holds the distinction of occurring at the final and presumably highest position in such an inferred hierarchy, the *Awakening of Faith* is actually related in the most integral fashion to the construction and message of the text. According to the normal standards of the *p' an-chiao* tradition, the *Awakening of Faith* would normally be considered less important than the other four texts (at least, less important than the *Avatamsaka*) because it stands at the very beginning of the *Wu fang-pien* and because it alone is a treatise rather than a sūtra.

We will pay close attention only to the first two expedient means. The third expedient means is merely an interesting application of the paradigms of the first two on lines from the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*, and the fourth and fifth expedient means are represented so incompletely in the extant manuscripts, as well as in Tsung-mi's resume of the text, that very little can be said about them.

15. The First Expedient Means and the Awakening of Faith

In order to understand the *Wu fang-pien* we must first consider at least part of the theoretical basis of the *Awakening of Faith*. As explained in an excellent modern commentary by Hirakawa Akira, this text espouses a certain kind of idealism, the "mind-only" (*yuishin*, or *wei-hsin* in Chinese) theory, the fundamental orientation of which is different from the better-known "consciousness-only" (*yuishiki*, *wei-shih*, or *vijñānti-mātra* in Sanskrit) theory.
Whereas the consciousness-only theory begins with an analysis of the nature of human sensory perception and mental activity, from which it draws conclusions about human ignorance and the chain of events necessary for emancipation, the mind-only theory assumes the simultaneous existence of innate wisdom and ignorance and proceeds by analyzing the ramifications of the relationship between the two. The consciousness-only theory thus devotes a great deal of attention to the identity and interaction of the various components of human cognitive reality, i.e., the sense organs or sensory capabilities, sense data or objects of sensation, and the associated types of consciousness. Although the fundamental assumptions of the two theories are radically different, the mind-only theory of the *Awakening of Faith* in large part adopts the terminology and definitions of the consciousness-only theory, which was systematized long before this treatise appeared.

In the *Awakening of Faith* the wisdom that is innate within us all is referred to variously as Suchness (*chen-ju*), the mind that is pure in its Self Nature (*tzu-hsing ch’ing-ching hsin*), the *tathāgata-garbha* (*ju-lai tsang*), and enlightenment (*chueh*). The variety of names exists because of the differing ways in which the same entity may be approached. As Hirakawa explains these different terms:

> Even though Suchness does not transcend the mind, because it is the Suchness of the mind, it is described as the nature of true reality. That is, the theoretical aspect prevails in this usage. In other words, the true reality that pervades the entire universe has been expressed in the context of the mind-only theory as the Suchness of the mind.

> In contrast to this, the “mind that is pure in its Self Nature” may be described as the personification of Suchness. It is Suchness manifested as man. Because the Suchness of the mind is the fundamental nature of the mind, it is grasped in this instance in the context of the individual human being. In a religious sense it is quite natural that this should be the case . . .

> The point is that the fundamental nature of the mind is equivalent to the changeless nature of true reality. To say “Suchness” is to emphasize the aspect of principle (*li*), whereas to say “mind” emphasizes that of wisdom (*chih*). At the very least, it would be difficult to understand mind solely as principle. Because of this, the position of the *Awakening of Faith* may be understood as one of the nonduality of principle and wisdom. Principle is not simply principle, but necessarily becomes active as wisdom.

> Because wisdom is the manifestation of the principle, it cannot be thought of other than as corresponding perfectly to true reality. Therefore, wisdom is equivalent to enlightenment, the wisdom of the Buddha, and the *dharma-kāya* or the *Tathāgata*. The idea that principle becomes active as wisdom is an important characteristic of the *Awakening of Faith*.335

Ignorance is understood within the *Awakening of Faith* as the tendency to mental dichotomization, i.e., the distinction between subject
and object or between self and other. Any moment of thought, as long as it involves such preconceived dualities, is a moment of ignorance. At one point the treatise declares that “suddenly, thoughts arise” (or, to conform with the usage throughout this paper, “suddenly, thoughts are activated” [hu-juan nien ch’i]). This is not meant to imply that an individual’s ignorance may be said to have begun at a particular point in time. Rather, the term “suddenly” is used to indicate that no reason can be given for the existence of ignorance, which is referred to as beginningless. The whole thrust of the mind-only theory rests on the logically (but not temporally) prior existence of ignorance, for it is on this basis that one’s entire realm of existence is manifested.

Because of the conjoint inherence of wisdom and ignorance, the *Awakening of Faith* is constrained to posit two different types of enlightenment. The first is “inherent enlightenment” (pen-chueh), which, as the term implies, is equivalent to the wisdom immanent within us all. This type of enlightenment exerts a constantly beneficial influence, inspiring its possessor to good works and propelling him up the spiritual ladder toward enlightenment. Because inherent enlightenment is neither fully functional nor apparent in ordinary people, the *Awakening of Faith* also posits “temporal enlightenment” (shih-chueh). Only through spiritual self-cultivation can one approach and finally achieve the actual experience of realization, or temporal enlightenment. At the very highest level of achievement, i.e., buddhahood, these two types of enlightenment become identical. At lower stages of progress, however, one’s level of understanding may be described as either enlightenment or nonenlightenment, depending on the perspective.

Having presented some of the basic ideas of the *Awakening of Faith*, I can now introduce the passage from which the *Wu fang-pien* draws its own material. The lines actually quoted in the Northern School work are italicized in the translation that follows:

>The meaning of “enlightenment” is that the essence of the mind transcends thoughts. The characteristic of the transcendence of thoughts is equivalent to the realm of space, which pervades everywhere. The single characteristic of the dharmadhatu is the universally “same” dharmakāya of the Tathāgata. “Inherent enlightenment” is preached in relation to this dharmakāya.

Why is this? The meaning of inherent enlightenment is explained in juxtaposition to that of temporal enlightenment, so that temporal enlightenment is identical to inherent enlightenment. Because temporal enlightenment is based on inherent enlightenment and because nonenlightenment exists, temporal enlightenment is explained on the basis of that nonenlightenment.

Further, to be enlightened to the Mind Source (i.e., the mind that is the source of all illusions) is called ultimate enlightenment. When one is not
enlightened to the Mind Source, one has not [achieved] ultimate enlightenment.

What does this mean?

[1] An ordinary person may realize the evil activated by a previous thought, become able to calm subsequent thoughts, and make them refrain from the activation of [such evil]. Even though this is called enlightenment, this [achievement is only] based on the nonenlightenment [of the previous thought].

[2] As with the contemplative wisdom of Hīnayānists, when bodhisattvas who have only just generated the intention [to achieve buddhahood] are enlightened to the differentiation of [successive moments of] thought, their thoughts are without the characteristic of differentiation. Because they have eliminated the characteristic of the grasping of gross discrimination, this is called facsimile enlightenment.

[3] When bodhisattvas of the dharmakūya are enlightened to the abiding of thoughts, their thoughts are without the characteristic of abiding. Because they have transcended the characteristic of discrimination and gross thoughts, this is called partial enlightenment.

[4] Bodhisattvas who have completed the [ten] stages fulfill the expedient means and, in a single moment of correspondence, are enlightened to the initial activation of the mind, their minds being without the characteristic of initialness. Distantly transcending the most subtle of thoughts, they attain perception of the Mind Nature. When the mind [is in a state of] constant abiding, this is called the ultimate enlightenment.

For this reason, the sūtra says: “If a sentient being can contemplate nonthought (wu-nien), then this constitutes the wisdom that approaches buddhahood.”

Also, to refer to the “knowledge of the characteristic of initialness” even when the activation of the mind is without any characteristic of initialness that can be known is to refer to nonthought.

Therefore, sentient beings in general are not referred to as enlightened. Because they have [experienced] a succession of thoughts since the beginning[lessness of time] and have never been able to transcend thoughts, this is called beginningless ignorance. If they can achieve nonthought, then they will know the mind’s characteristics of generation, abiding, differentiation, and extinction—because these are equivalent to nonthought.

However, there actually is no differentiation of temporal enlightenment [as in the fourfold classification just given], because the four characteristics [of generation, abiding, etc.] all exist at once and are not independent. They are fundamentally equivalent; [these four constitute] one identical enlightenment.337

The heart of this passage is the set of four different types of temporal enlightenment achieved by different classes of practitioners. These four are correlated in reverse order with the four stages in the life of an individual dhāraṇa, the smallest unit of phenomenal reality in traditional Buddhist philosophy. These four stages are the generation, abiding,
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... decay (here described by the character i, meaning “differentiation”), and extinction. It is significant that the Wu fang-pien focuses solely on the stage of generation, which is correlated with the achievement of the highest level of enlightenment. As indicated earlier, the “initial activation of the mind” refers not to any temporal occurrence, but rather to the logical origin of ignorance, the root cause of the mind’s innumerable cognitive aberrations.

Although in the simplest sense the practitioner perceives the crux of his own ignorance and thereby casts off that ignorance to achieve his own enlightenment, the various terms used by the Awakening of Faith have intriguing ramifications. Since it is axiomatic that to completely understand the problem of ignorance is to achieve emancipation from that ignorance, when the practitioner recognizes the initial activation of the mind, there no longer is any activation of the mind. He is then said to have “transcended thoughts” (li-nien) and to have entered the “realm of the transcendence of thoughts” (li-nien ching-chieh) or, simply, “non-thought” (wu-nien). The term li-nien can refer both to the action of transcending thoughts and, like wu-nien, to the subsequent state in which thoughts have been transcended. Similarly, wu-nien refers both to the moment at which this achievement occurs (because that single moment of thought is absolutely without anything to which it might be compared) and to the fundamental mind or enlightenment itself, which is like an ocean with no waves.

At the moment of the transcendence of thoughts, the practitioner’s mental processes become entirely devoid of the subject-object dichotomy. Those processes become pure realization (cheng) or pure enlightenment. At the complete achievement of temporal enlightenment, the practitioner has gained complete unity with the inherent enlightenment within himself and has completely banished the taint of ignorance from his entire being.

It should hardly need mentioning that the most fundamental assumptions of the Awakening of Faith are identical to those of Northern School doctrine. The importance of the “nonactivation” of the mind among meditation specialists in the early eighth century has already been documented, and the description of the “transcendence of thoughts” as equivalent to the omnipresence of space corresponds very closely to the peculiar emphasis on space in the Yuan-ming lun. Clearly, the use of the terms li-nien and wu-nien in the Awakening of Faith should be considered the starting point for an understanding of their use in the Wu fang-pien and other early Ch’an texts. In particular, Shen-hui’s polemical distinction between these two terms may be seen to be unwarranted, an observation already made by the Hua-yen School figure Ch’eng-kuan.
16. The Unique Aspects of the First Expedient Means

In contrast to the pure and defiled aspects of mind posited in the Kuan-hsin lun and the Yuan-ming lun, the most prominent dyad in the first expedient means of the Wu fang-pien is that of mind and body. There are numerous passages in which first the mind, then the body, and finally both mind and body together achieve the transcendence of thoughts, or emancipation, or enlightenment. It would be useful if we had some information about the origin of this fundamental pattern of Northern School doctrine; unfortunately, the evidence I have been able to unearth is scanty and all too inconclusive. The only passages in early Ch'an literature that give any hint of the ideas contained in the Wu fang-pien's dualism of mind and body are as follows:

To know that the mind is without mind is constant samādhi. To comprehend that form is without form is to roam constantly in the locus of wisdom (hui-ch'ü).

[The meaning of] "buddha" is "enlightenment." To be enlightened to the nonsubstantiality of all dharmas, to be enlightened oneself and to enlighten others—this is called "buddha."

Enlightened to the internal and external, with comprehension unhindered, and with no going and no coming—this is called Tathāgata (i.e., the Thus-come One).

To know that the mind is without mind is for the mind to be constantly serene. To know that the realms [of perception] are without realms is for the realms to be equivalent to nonsubstantiality.342

These two brief passages come from a short work circulated with the Hsiu-hsin yao lun and other East Mountain Teaching material under the title Ch'eng-hsin lun (Treatise on the Clarification of the Mind). Sekiguchi Shindai has shown that this text was originally a letter written by Chih-i, and it seems likely that Shen-hsiu discovered Chih-i's letter during his quarter century of residence at Yü-ch'üan ssu.343

The significant aspects of these passages are (1) their explanation of the word "buddha" as enlightenment, and especially as the enlightenment of self and others, and (2) their tendency to refer to the pairs mind and body or mind and the sensory realms in extremely similar, if not identical, ways. Both of these aspects are reminiscent of the Wu fang-pien.

The most difficult and intriguing facet of the Wu fang-pien dualism is the occurrence of statements to the effect that form, the body, or the sensory realms could "transcend thoughts" and become emancipated. The only precedents to such an idea that I have been able to find also occur in the works of Chih-i:
Because the realm is wondrous, wisdom is also wondrous.344

Wisdom, which contemplates, illuminates yet is constantly serene and is called “mindfulness” (nien). The realm that is contemplated is serene yet constantly illuminative and is called “foundation” (ch‘u). If the realm is serene, wisdom is also serene. If wisdom illuminates, the realm also illuminates . . . The suchlike realm is equivalent to the suchlike wisdom. Wisdom is the realm. When speaking of wisdom and the locus of wisdom (chih-ch‘u, i.e., mindfulness and the foundation), both are called prajñā.345

Actually, the import of these brief passages is different from that of the rhetorical paradigm of the Wu fang-pien. Here the point is that perfect wisdom can only have a similarly perfect object, that in such a state of perfect wisdom there can be no distinction between subject and object or between the function and realm of wisdom. (A similar point regarding the Awakening of Faith is made by Hirakawa, as quoted earlier.)

In the Wu fang-pien, however, the apparent implication (please do not overlook the word “apparent”) of the pattern in question is that the body is enlightened in the same sense as, but independently of, the mind. Whereas Chih-i refers to the indivisibility of the enlightened mind and its objects, thus destroying any vestige of dualism, the Wu fang-pien seems to be doing just the opposite by positing the independent enlightenment of mind and body.

The theoretical possibility we are faced with is that the body might be able to achieve enlightenment without the prior or accompanying enlightenment of the mind. Although the Wu fang-pien never considers this possibility explicitly, the implications of this apparent doctrine are so problematic that we must search elsewhere within the text for corroboration or amendment. This leads us to the second expedient means.

17. The Second Expedient Means

The major thrust of the second expedient means is to divide the compound chih-hui, normally translated as “wisdom,” into its individual members chih and hui, each of which is then correlated with a different type of understanding. I have arbitrarily rendered chih as “wisdom” and hui as “sagacity.” Several pairs of correlations are made in this part of the Wu fang-pien. These may be summarized as follows:

1. The function of wisdom is knowing (chih), whereas that of sagacity is perception (chien or, later in the text, shih). Since “knowing and perception” (chih-chien) is given as a translation of bodhi, it is also said that wisdom and sagacity are nirvāna, or the “essence” (t‘i), whereas knowing and perception are bodhi or the “function” (yung).
2. Wisdom is the motionlessness of the mind, whereas sagacity is the motionlessness of the senses. Similarly, the mind is the gate of wisdom and the senses are the gate of sagacity.

3. Wisdom—presumably, the object of wisdom—is the absolute (li), whereas sagacity—or its object—is phenomenality (shih).

4. Wisdom is the consciousness transformed, whereas sagacity is perception made comprehensive. These two are referred to as one’s "internal spiritual compatriots."

5. Although the terms "wisdom" and "sagacity" are not explicitly mentioned in the discussion of fundamental wisdom and successive wisdom, these pairs could easily be correlated.

6. Finally, some of the passages in subsequent portions of the *Wu fang-pien* refer to "meditation" (ting) and "sagacity" (hui), a pair usually rendered "meditation and wisdom" in Buddhist writings. The use of "meditation" and "sagacity" in these passages is indistinguishable from that of "wisdom" and "sagacity" earlier in the text. The later usage is continued in the third expedient means.

As with the dualism of mind and body, the origins of this inclination to split chih-hui into chih and hui are obscure. I have been able to find only three earlier passages of possible relevance. The first occurs in the *Hui-yin san-mei ching*, which we have already discussed briefly in relation to Bodhidharma's student Seng-fu. One of this text's verses contains references to the "gate of sagacity" (hui-men) and the "stage of wisdom" (chih-ti). Unfortunately, the distinction between these two is not clear, nor is it maintained in the other Chinese translations of the same scripture.

The second relevant passage occurs in the writings of the Mâdhyamika scholar Chi-tsang, whose discussion of the various Chinese translations for *prajñâ* and *jñâna* contains the sentence: "The illumination of non-substantiality is sagacity (hui); the reflection of being is wisdom (chih)." The same distinction is repeated more than once, with slightly different nuances. Therefore, the logical basis of the *Wu fang-pien*'s dichotomized usage of chih and hui existed during Chi-tsang's time, even though it was stated in a manner exactly opposite to that of the *Wu fang-pien*. Other sources of the same general period are in accord with Chi-tsang rather than the *Wu fang-pien*.

Although it does not specifically mention the terms chih and hui, the following passage from the commentary on the *Fo-shuo fa-chü ching* found by Professor Tanaka is very helpful in the understanding of these terms:

Further, the Pavilion of the Superior Treasury in the Palace of the Sun and Moon refers to the pavilion [in the] palace on Mount Lankâ where [the
Buddha] preached the Dharma. The names “Superior Treasury” and “Sun and Moon” use the ideas of compassionate explanation to form a metaphor for the body and mind of the sage who has achieved enlightenment and attained the dharmakāya.

When one realizes the dharmakāya, the body is like space: vast, omnipresent, containing within itself a hundred billion suns and moons. Within it thrive all the four types of living beings, as numerous as the sands of the River Ganges. There is no being not penetrated by it and no dark [corner] not illumined by it. Therefore, it is called the Palace of the Sun and Moon.

“Pavilion of the Superior Treasury” refers to the realization of Suchness by the mind of the sage. [The sage’s mind] illuminates the triple realm with the wisdom of a mirror suspended on high, which reflects the myriad dharmas as if storing [precious] jewels. The “superior teaching” is inexhaustible; it is given to all [living beings so that they might] transcend birth and death. It is as if a ruler residing on high were administering it to the masses below. Therefore, the sūtra says, “in the Pavilion of the Superior Treasury in the Palace of the Sun and Moon.” (5:7/149)

Here the subjects being discussed are the body and mind of the true sage, but note how similar the explanation is to that of chih and hui, or wisdom and sagacity, in the Wu fang-pien. The sage’s body is infinite in dimension and permeates all things and all living beings. In essence, the body of such an enlightened individual is the dharmakāya itself. The mind is described as being like a “mirror suspended on high,” which illuminates the entire cosmos. Body and mind are not completely separable: There is nowhere that is not penetrated or illumined by the body, whereas the mind incorporates the myriad dharmas. In addition, the superior teaching, which is the source of both the body and the mind and the key to the transcendence of birth and death, is described as being given to, i.e., possessed by, all sentient beings. In other words, this is the Buddha Nature that is immanent within us all.

The dyads of the body and mind in the Tanaka commentary and of wisdom and sagacity in the Wu fang-pien bear an essential similarity. Although the former begins with the body as absolute, rather than with the wisdom that knows that absolute, this difference is not significant. There is of necessity a perfect correspondence between absolute reality and pure wisdom, as has been pointed out in quotations from Hirakawa and Chih-i in Sections 15 and 16 of this chapter. The second member of each dyad is defined as the ability to comprehend all phenomenal reality without any distortion or imperfection whatsoever. In other words, these two dyads are variations on those venerable mainstays of Chinese philosophy, li and shih, or the “absolute” and “phenomenality,” and t’i and yung or “essence” and “function.” In fact, chih and hui are correlated in the Wu fang-pien with each of these pairs.

The implicit correlation of the transcendence of thoughts in the mind with chih and the transcendence of thoughts in the body or in form with
hui requires an unusual interpretation of the terms shen, "body," and se, "form." That is, we must infer that these do not refer merely to the physical corpus, but to that corpus plus all the sensory capacities that are the concomitants of sentient existence. Although no explicit proof of this interpretation occurs in the Wu fang-pien, this is the only interpretation that allows us to understand the transcendence of thoughts vis-à-vis the body in a way that relates to the spiritual experience of the practitioner. This interpretation is also the only one of which I am aware that fits with the passage from the Fo-shuo fa-chü ching commentary introduced earlier in this section.348

We must remember that a body able to transcend thoughts does not belong to just any sentient being, but rather to an enlightened person, a buddha. The body of such a being is not merely physical, but possesses the extraordinary capabilities of the nirmânakâya and the supercorporeal realities of the sambhogakâya. Although most of the formulae of the Wu fang-pien seem to be designed to make the grandiose terminology of Indian Buddhism more approachable, the very use of that terminology lends a greater significance to the apparent simplicity of terminology such as the transcendence of thoughts. That is, the Wu fang-pien is saying not only, "To become a buddha is as easy as this," but also, "By doing this you will actually become a buddha, with all that that entails."

The proof of this may be found in the text's descriptions of and statements concerning meditation practice. These descriptions and statements occur, for the most part, in the context of the ceremonial material found in the introduction and conclusion of the composite text.

18. Descriptions of Meditation Practice in the Wu fang-pien

The first question of interest in this phase of our discussion is the attitude of the Northern School authors toward the necessity of moral training as a prerequisite to meditation practice. The Northern School has a reputation in modern studies for being closely associated with Vinaya School centers, and several of its works imply an advocacy of strict maintenance of the precepts. At one point the Wu fang-pien advocates that the precepts should be maintained without transgression "even in the face of death."349 Certainly, there is no indication that the members of the Northern School ever advocated anything like the institutionalized rejection of monastic convention espoused by the Chung-ching ssu faction of Ch’an in Szechwan.350

Nevertheless, the fundamental purpose of the ceremony found at the beginning of the Wu fang-pien was not to start the student off on a long career of purificatory exercises, but rather to justify the wholesale avoidance of such endeavors. Several different types of vows are included in
this ceremony—the four great vows, the three refuges, the five capabili-
ties, and the repentence of past transgressions—but all of these take up
just a few lines of text and could easily have been accomplished in a half
hour or so. When we recall the rejection of scriptural recitation and other
forms of superficial religious practice in the Kuan-hsin lun, the Yuan-
ing lun, and other texts, we must admit that this is a general character-
istic of the Northern School's teachings.

After an interesting redefinition of morality as the maintenance of the
Buddha Nature by the "nonactivation" of the mind, the text instructs the
students in attendance to sit in lotus position, with legs crossed and each
foot resting on the opposite thigh, and engage in a period of nien-fo, or
"mindfulness of the Buddha."

The Chinese scholar Yin-shun has equated this reference to nien-fo
with the Pure Land practice of contemplating the Buddha Amitabha—an
equation that cannot be categorically denied. Some of Hung-jen's disci-
iples were known Pure Land specialists, and the CFPC admits—and criti-
cizes—the use of nien-fo by later patriarchs of Ch'an. Nevertheless, the
Kuan-hsin lun specifically rejects the empty recitation of the Buddha's
name, and it is difficult to believe that the practice of nien-fo in Ch'an
would not have been redefined to accord with the particular religious
outlook of the School.351 Therefore, rather than adverting to some other
source, I will define the type of meditation referred to here according to
the lines immediately following in the Wu fang-pien itself.

These lines are emphatic on the importance of "viewing afar." The stu-
dent is instructed to view in all directions during all his activities and in
all situations, doing so with unremitting energy and concentration. This
description should immediately remind the reader of the Yuan-ming lun,
in which space is defined as the basis of all reality and in which the
"worlds" of sentient being are described as either great or small, depend-
ing on their level of enlightenment. We can only wonder whether the
"viewing afar" exercises of the Wu fang-pien represent instructions for
the achievement of such expansive states of existence.

Although no reference is made in the Yuan-ming lun to such "mind-
expanding" exercises, the plausibility of this hypothesis is supported by
further analysis of the context and description of the Wu fang-pien exer-
cises themselves. First, it is the Pure Mind, the enlightened mind, that
does the viewing. This is evident from the very crucial passage contained
in the conclusion to the Wu fang-pien, in which the enlightened state is
that in which enlightenment (chueh) is in control of the mind, rather than
vice versa. In the introduction to the Wu fang-pien, that which views is
referred to as the "eye of the Pure Mind." In the text discussed briefly in
Part One, Chapter IV, Section 8 under the title Gathering of Twelve
Departed Masters, Shen-hsiu is quoted as saying: "In the locus of purity,
view purity *(ching-ch’u k’an-ching).*”352 “Locus of purity” is an unusual term that must refer to the mind itself, the Pure Mind. The mind that “views afar” is the essentially pure Fundamental Mind, which is equivalent to the Buddha Nature, or inherent enlightenment.

Second, although that which is viewed is all reality, the practitioner does not perceive any objects whatsoever. This is explicitly stated in the teacher-student dialogues that occur in the introduction and just before the exposition of the second expedient means. The student sees “not a single thing.” Obviously, the intent is that he should see without discrimination, just as the bodhisattva operates in the world without ever conceptualizing the reality of his own existence, other beings, or his efforts of salvific assistance. That the doctrine of *sunyata*, which is the basis of the bodhisattva’s practice, is important here is indicated by the line from the *Diamond Sūtra*: “All that which has characteristics is completely false.” The same emphasis on nonsubstantiality occurs throughout the *Yuan-ming lun*.

The conjunction of the ideas of purity and nonsubstantiality, or emptiness, is in itself noteworthy. Professor Iriya Yoshitaka has shown that these two concepts were closely identified in medieval Chinese Buddhist texts. He has demonstrated that the Chinese conception of emptiness was based on the image of an empty sky, and that of purity was based on the notion of a state so clean that all objects had been completely removed—much as in an empty sky. Since most of Professor Iriya’s examples are drawn from the Chinese translations of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* and the works of Ch’an figures such as Shen-hui and Huang-po Hsi-yüan, it seems entirely reasonable to extend his conclusions to the texts of the Northern School.353 Therefore, the failure to see—or, rather, the restraint from seeing—any object whatsoever means not only to perceive the nonsubstantial nature of reality, but also to perceive the ultimate purity of that reality.

As indicated by the slogan “in the locus of purity, view purity,” the true meaning of the Northern School practice of viewing afar or viewing purity is thus fundamentally different from the traditional interpretation, according to which the school is criticized for positing a distinction between purity and impurity and favoring one over the other. This misinterpretation may be a natural consequence of the terminology used by the Northern School, but the original source of the misinterpretation, Shen-hui, was certainly not above intentional distortion.

19. Meditation in the Northern School

It is not immediately apparent how the practices of viewing afar and viewing purity relate to the *Wu fang-pien*'s characteristically binomial
formulae of the mind and body transcending thoughts. One possibility is that viewing afar represents not the stages in which mind and body transcend thoughts individually, but the third stage, in which both body and mind achieve that state of transcendence together. Although this interpretation would provide some meaning to this otherwise redundant third stage, I can find no evidence in the text to support it. Also, the stages of the meditation techniques described by Shen-hsiu (see Section 13 of this chapter) cannot be correlated with the bipartite or tripartite formulae of the Wu fang-pien.

The second possibility, which I favor, is to accept as real the incongruity between the Wu fang-pien’s doctrinal expressions and its practical injunctions, to ponder the reasons for this lack of consistency, and to weigh the significance of viewing afar in terms of other Northern School texts and ideas. From this perspective, it is significant that viewing afar is described without any intimation of stages or levels of practice. The denial of any need for moral or practical prerequisites to spiritual practice is a frequent theme of early Ch'an texts, viz., the definition of shou-i pu i, or “maintaining the One without wavering,” in the JTFM. The same theme is also expressed in the opening ceremony of the Wu fang-pien.

The practice of viewing afar appears to be the highest meditation practice of the Northern School. In this one exercise—or, rather, this one state of being—are subsumed all of the most important themes of early Ch’an doctrine:

1. Just as in the “entrance of principle” of Bodhidharma’s EJSHL and the Hsiu-hsin yao lun’s practice of shou-hsin, the practice of viewing afar assumes complete realization of the presence of the Buddha Nature or Pure Mind within oneself.

2. As with the EJSHL’s entrance of practice and the underlying philosophy of the Yuan-ming lun, viewing afar is based on a full awareness of the truth of nonsubstantiality, as indicated by the fact that the practitioner sees “not a single thing.”

3. Although not mentioned prominently in the Wu fang-pien, the ability to maintain a state of “nonactivation” (pu-ch’i) of mind allows the practitioner to avoid the discriminative perception of “things.”

4. Viewing afar is described in terms of the perfectly reflecting mirror suspended on high, which reveals its images without distortion or attachment.

This last item, the metaphor of the mirror, constitutes the most appropriate paradigm for this Northern School practice. The mirror’s innate ability to reflect is itself equivalent to the Buddha Nature or the Pure
Mind. Like the sun shining on high, the mirror can be obscured by the
dusts of the illusions, but this detail is not relevant here. Rather, the illu­sions and the elements of phenomenal reality are the mirror’s natural objects of reflection, which are seen to be nonsubstantial. Just as the passive reality of the presence of the Buddha Nature is assumed but not emphasized, the more dynamic paradigm of the mirror demands that the dusts of the illusions be recognized as nonsubstantial, unreal, and ultimately ineffectual.

The mirror’s wonderful ability to reflect images without distortion and attachment is based on its ability to refrain from the activation of mind—it reflects automatically, spontaneously, without ever generating its own preferences or desires. In the terminology of the Wu fang-pien, when it reflects an image, it realizes that image to be an “other-image.” Like space, which is the basis for the creation of all reality, it does not think, “I have created this reflection; this reflection is mine.” The images, in their turn, appear on the surface of the mirror in perfect congruence with the phantasmagorical nature of phenomenal reality as we perceive it.

Finally, it is useful to consider the implications of the mirror metaphor vis-à-vis the Wu fang-pien’s unusual conception of the mind and body. In and of itself, the mirror is a purely cognitive entity. It reflects images perfectly and automatically, but it does not interact with them. One of the most important themes of both the Yuan-ming lun and the Wu fang-pien, however, is that true Buddhist practice should include constant activity on behalf of other sentient beings. At one point the Wu fang-pien redefines “sentient beings” as false thoughts, and the ability of the body and mind to be motionless is identified as the salvation of “sentient beings.” Is it possible that the Wu fang-pien reduces the function of salvation to a puerile equivalent for self-benefit? I think not.

The mirror’s reflective surface represents the perfectly functioning mind of the sage. I would suggest that, at this level of sophistication, the reality that the mirror reflects is like the practitioner’s body. His wisdom is perfect and unconditioned, and, as we have seen, the object of his wisdom must also be perfect and unconditioned.

The passage quoted in Section 17 from the commentary to the Fo-shuo fa-chü ching described the sage’s body as equivalent to the dharmakāya, and we concluded that the usage of “body” and “form” in the Wu fang-pien included both the physical corpus and all human sensory functions. The concept of “sentient being” is therefore a false thought, a mistaken example of discriminative thinking, whereas the reality of “sentient being” is nonsubstantial. Each sentient being is actually a part of the whole, a part of the practitioner’s own expanded being.

Although a significant gap still exists between the epistemological
frame of reference of the mirror and the need for salvific activity on the part of the enlightened practitioner, the primary characteristics of each are the same: constancy of application, spontaneity and infallibility of response, and the lack of assumed dualities and individualized intentions. As it turns out, these qualities were probably those originally implied by “Shen-hsiu’s” mind-verse in the Platform Sūtra, rather than the doctrine of gradual enlightenment. Let us return to the problem of the Platform Sūtra verses in the Conclusion to this study.
the Hsiu-hsin yao lun are mentioned in the notes to the translation of that work in Part Two, Chapter II. Also see the discussion in Section 4 of the same chapter. The material mentioned in items 3–8 occurs in the sections of the LCSTC devoted to the individuals involved.

237. On the relationship between the Hsiu-hsin yao lun and the LCSTC, see Yanagida’s Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 79–82.

238. See Yanagida, Shoki no zenshī, 1, pp. 122, 140–41, 287–88, and 312–13, or T85.1284c, 1285b, 1289c–90a, and 1290b–c.

239. See Sekiguchi, Daruma no kenkyū, pp. 335–43, and Yanagida, Yaburu mono, p. 236.


241. This is a major thesis of ibid., pp. 181–209. Also see McRae, “The Ox-head School,” pp. 189–91 and passim.

242. For example, although the LTFPC includes a prominent reference to Shen-hui’s sermon at Hua-t’ai in order to bolster its own specious claims to the succession from Hui-neng, it omits any mention of the fact that the sermon in question was delivered as an attack on the Northern School. See Yanagida, Shoki no zenshī, 2, pp. 154–55, or T51.185b–c.

243. The epitaphs by Yen and Tu are listed in n. 171. See p. 15b of the former. One anecdote involving I-fu is included in the T’ai-p’ing kuang chi, fascicle 97, 2:645–46.

244. See the epitaph by Li Hua in the CTW, fascicle 320, pp. 4b–8a. Fa-yun’s biography is summarized in Ui, pp. 298–99.

245. See the epitaph, also by Li Hua, CTW, fascicle 319, p. 12b. On the following page of the epitaph (13c), Hui-chen is quoted as teaching that one should be “without practice [as such] but never ceasing. Transcending mind, form is pure. When both are pure, they have been transcended. With transcendance comes birthlessness (i.e., nirvana) . . .” These ideas are reminiscent of the Wu fang-pien, which makes the passages quoted from this epitaph even more significant.

246. On Hsuan-lang, see the epitaph by Li Hua, CTW, fascicle 320, pp. 1a–4b. Obviously, it is quite possible that the primary reason prototypic encounter dialogue material found its way into these three epitaphs may have been their common authorship. On Fa-ch’in, see the discussion of his biography in McRae, “The Ox-head School,” pp. 191–95.

PART TWO

1. Suzuki felt that Bodhidharma wrote the EJSHL and its miscellaneous appended material; the Chueh-kuan lun of the Ox-head School and the closely related Wu-hsin lun; and Shen-hsiu’s Kuan-hsin lun. On the accretions to the EJSHL, see his Kökan Shōshitsu issho oyobi kaisetsu (Osaka: Ataka Bukkyō bunko, 1936), pp. 10 and 14. Suzuki is very explicit about accepting all traditional material at face value, except where there is definite evidence of misrepresentation. For his views on the other works mentioned, see his studies in the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, 2:108–41, 161–87, and 209–10, plus suppl. vol. 1:576–89. For more accurate attributions and other useful textual information, see Yanagida’s “Zenseki kaidai,” pp. 454–57, and the sources listed there.
2. Okimoto discusses certain Tibetan translations of some of this miscellaneous material in his “Chibetto-yaku Ninyū shigyō ron ni tsuite,” Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, 24, no. 2 (1976): 999–992 (sic). Jorgensen, The Earliest Text of Ch'an, contains an annotated translation and study of the entire manuscript version of the EJSHL and the miscellaneous material that accompanies it. See pp. 248–49 for an English rendering of the Tibetan translation of the EJSHL proper. On pp. 379–80, Jorgensen argues that the entire manuscript of the “long scroll” was compiled by the end of the seventh century, probably by 645. On pp. 380–89, he discusses the authorship of the text and concludes that T’an-lin was probably the compiler. Although Jorgensen skilfully counters earlier suggestions by Sekiguchi and Nakagawa as to the provenance of the text, his own conclusions are based on circumstantial evidence and are far more specific than is justified. I see no reason why the compilation of the “long scroll” did not take place over a period of time extending well into the eighth century.

3. There has been considerable disagreement over the years about the authorship of this miscellaneous material. Some have considered the section translated here under the provisional title “Second Letter” to be the preface to some longer work—perhaps the subsequent portion of the Tun-huang manuscript—rather than simply to the brief verse included here. I do not believe there is any conclusive argument for attributing different portions of the manuscript to Bodhidarma, Hui-k’o, or other early figures. For the present purposes, I have followed the usage in Yanagida’s Daruma no goroku. For a convenient review of the positions taken by different scholars, see Tanaka Ryōshō, “Shigyōron chōkansu to Bodaidaruma-ron,” Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, 14, no. 1 (1965): 217–20. Cf. Jorgensen, pp. 381–84. For the portions of the translation here taken from the HKSC, see T50.552b–c.

4. See the CTL, T51.458b–c. Yanagida, Daruma no goroku, pp. 15–21, contains a discussion of the details of manuscripts, titles, and textual history, plus a list of important secondary studies.

5. The title and reference to the preface by T’an-lin do not occur in the Tun-huang manuscript, but are added by Yanagida on the basis of the LCSTC. See his Shoki no zenshi, 1, pp. 127–32. I have omitted the customary annotation for the balance of this translation in deference to Yanagida’s Daruma no goroku, pp. 27–31 and 36–47. My interpretation of the text does not differ substantially from Yanagida’s.

6. These are the four stages of attainment in the Hinayāna, beginning with the “stream-winner” and culminating with the arhat.

7. This is a reference to the fifth member of the Noble Eightfold Path.

8. A mawz-pearl is a wish-giving gem. The allusion here is to something that is valuable but not recognized as such. In other contexts, the ability of Inherent Enlightenment to cleanse away the spiritual impurities of its possessor is described as the hypothetical ability of a pearl to clarify the water in which it is submerged.

9. Suzuki offers the following translations for these terms: “entrance by reason” or “entrance by higher intuition,” and “entrance by conduct” or “entrance by practical living.” See his Manual of Zen Buddhism (New York: Grove Press, 1960), p. 73.

10. See Daruma no goroku, p. 41, or the Tao-te ching, 63, and the Lun-yü, 14.
11. Many years later Huang-po Hsi-yun (d. 850) was to say something quite reminiscent of this practice: “Just utilize your old karma according to the consequences of your conditions (sui-yuan), and don’t make any new transgressions.” Huang-po’s student Lin-chi I-hsuan alludes to both this and the following practice when he says: “Utilize your old karma according to the consequences of your conditions, spontaneously (jen-yun) putting on your clothing, walking when you want to walk, sitting when you want to sit, without ever activating (ch’i) a single moment’s desire (ch’iu) for enlightenment.” See Yanagida’s Zen shisô, p. 55.

12. The Bukkyôgaku jiten, Taya Raishun et al., eds. (Kyoto: Hôzôkan, 1955), p. 87, has a good definition of ch’iu as “seeking after something without cease.” Nakamura’s Bukkyôgô daijiten does not give trôsna as an equivalent for the single character ch’iu, but note the compound ai-ch’iu (aigu in Japanese), which is given as such on 1:15c.

13. See n. 332 for another comment on the internal structure of the EJSHL.

Yanagida has suggested that the four practices may constitute a reinterpretation of the four foundations of mindfulness along Mahayânist lines, specifically those of the Perfection of Wisdom. This possibility is interesting in view of the importance of the four foundations in the thought and practice of Seng-ch’ou, a contemporary of Bodhidharma and Hui-k’o. The correspondences would be developed as follows:

A. Mindfulness of the body: The first practice of the EJSHL is based on the direct, personal experience of suffering. It would not be too extreme to suggest that such suffering was primarily physical—i.e., lack of food, water, and shelter, as well as various forms of vilification and abuse by others.

B. Mindfulness of feelings: Rather than just emotional responses, this refers to any impression or perception experienced (shou) by one’s physical/sensory apparatus, including the mind. The second practice refers to all good and bad eventualities.

C. Mindfulness of the mind: Craving, the subject of the third practice, is the single most important obstacle to a perfectly functioning mind and, at the same time, the quintessential feature of the unenlightened mind.

D. Mindfulness of dharmas: Whereas the feelings of the second foundation of Mindfulness refer to all sensory and emotive impressions, “dharmas” refers here to all the fundamental building blocks of an individual sentient being’s physical and psychological existence: sensory capabilities, feelings, perceptions, memories, physical form, etc. This is entirely different from the definition of Dharma (fa) used in the fourth practice. One could argue that the fourth practice describes the ability to act in accord with the Dharma of sûnyatâ with respect to all dharmas, but this interpretation is somewhat forced.

14. This idea is similar to the Lankavatâra Sûtra’s concept of tsung-t’ung, or “penetration of the truth,” i.e., the true inner understanding of the ultimate message of the scriptures, as opposed to shuo-t’ung, or “penetration of the preaching,” a conceptualized understanding of the words and formulae of the text and nothing more. See Yanagida’s Shoki Zenshu shisho, p. 52, for the importance of this idea in the Northern School, and his Zen shisô, pp. 17–18, for its relevance here. The term tsung-t’ung occurs in Section C of the CFPC.
15. The HKSC version reads simply: "To be mysteriously identified with the Tao (= enlightenment?), serene and inactive, is called the entrance of principle."


17. "Hokushûzen no shisô," Zenbunka Kenkyûjo kiyô, 6 (1974): 71-72. The word tan occurs again, with a similar meaning, in the fourth practice.

18. On the subject of faith, note Tanaka's observation that a pair of terms related to this concept in the EJSYL also occur in esoteric Buddhist texts translated into Chinese in the early eighth century. As Tanaka himself admits, the inverted temporal sequence mitigates against any conclusion concerning Bodhidharma's identity in terms of Indian religious developments, but perhaps there is some relationship between the Ch'an and esoteric traditions in China. The two terms are shen-hsin ("profound faith") and hsin-chieh ("accept and understand"), occurring in the first entrance and the fourth practice, respectively. Similar usages occur in the Ch'ên-men ching and Sheng-chou tu. See Tanaka's "Daruma-zen ni okeru shin ni tsuite," Shûkyô kenkyû, 38, no. 2 (1965): 84-85.

Another speculative suggestion that should be introduced here is T'ang Yung-t'ung's opinion that the language of the EJSYL is reminiscent of the Upanisads, specifically, the Mandûkya Upanisad and commentary by Gaudapâda. I cannot accept the accuracy of this comparison. See T'ang's Fo-chiao shih, p. 791. T'ang also wrote in a letter to Hu Shih, his teacher, that Bodhidharma's treatise resembled Brahmanist and Upanisadic writings. Hu's reply includes the suggestion that the Lankâvatâra Sûtra, on which Bodhidharma supposedly based his teachings, was a product of Buddhism's spread to South India and its admixture with non-Buddhist elements. T'ang's letter and Hu's reply were written in July 1928. See the Ko Teki zengaku an, pp. 235 and 239.

While these specific speculations are now clearly obsolete, one can still wonder whether non-Buddhist thought had any influence on the EJSYL. It is possible that sentences 3A-B of the entrance of principle may be taken to describe a type of meditation very much like the "cessation of the transformations of consciousness" that constitutes the classical definition of yoga (yogaś citta vr̥tti nirodāh) In addition, the distinction between the two entrances could be interpreted to resemble the distinction between jñāna and karma yoga.

19. Most of the citations listed here are discussed in Yanagida, Shoki Zenshû shisho, pp. 423-29. For no. 2, see T50.596c. For no. 3, see Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, p. 356, or section F of the translation in Appendix A, and T51.743c (mentioned by Ui, 1:14). For no. 4, see Chih-yen's K'ung-mu chang, T45.559a-b. For no. 5, see T48.403c and 405b and Kamata, Zengen shosenshû tojo, pp. 116 and 141. For no. 6, see T48.387a and Iriya Yoshitaka, Denshin hôyô—Enryôroku, Zen no goroku, no. 8 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobô, 1969), p. 135. (Professor Iriya comments on p. 147 that mien-pi does not necessarily mean physically sitting before a wall.) For the CTL reference, see T51.219b. For no. 7, see Z2B, 3, 454a (H130:907a).


21. T'ang, pp. 784-85. Other scholars who discuss "wall contemplation" are Lû Ch'êng, Masunaga Reihô, Suzuki Kakuzen, Takamine Ryôshû, and John

Takamine’s brief comments, which refer to the Chin-kang san-mei ching and the writings of Li T‘ung-hsuan, occur in his Kegon to Zen to no tsūro (Nara: Nanto Bukkyō kenkyūkai, 1956), pp. 11–12. Note that Takamine also published an earlier version of this study under the same title in Nihon Bukkyō gakkai nempo, 18 (1952): 39–58. See pp. 49–52.

Jorgensen’s rambling comments on “wall contemplation” include an interesting reference to a line in Ssu-ma Ch‘ien’s Shih-chi about “looking from on top of a wall” (ts‘ung pi-shang kuan), which Jorgensen glosses as “to be an onlooker, to be uninfluenced by what is going on around you.” See Jorgensen, p. 196, and the biography of Hsiang Yu in the Shih-chi. The implication is that Bodhidharma’s wall contemplation might involve a similar sense of detachment from the world. Even more significant, Jorgensen, p. 194, cites an “adamantine wall samādhi” in the Sui-tzu-i san-mei, which is attributed to Hui-ssu. According to this text, when Śāriputra was once in the samādhi in question, a demon hit him so hard with a club that the reverberations were felt in all the worlds and times. Śāriputra, however, was unaware of the blow, and after coming out of samādhi knew only that the skin on the top of his head felt a bit unusual. (Z1, 98, 350d-51a [H98.700b-1a]) The power of this samādhi is reminiscent of the frozen solidity referred to elsewhere in the EJSFL.

22. The first of the passages introduced here is from “Shoki Zenshū to shikan shisos,” pp. 261–62. The second passage, as well as that given just below, is from Zen shisō, pp. 29–30.

23. Hu understood the history of early Ch‘an as a transition from an essentially Indian level of complexity to the intrinsically simple approach that suited the Chinese so much better. See his “Development of Zen Buddhism in China,” Chinese Social and Political Science Review, 15, no. 4 (1932): 475–505, reprinted in the Ko Teki zengaku an, 722–691 (sic). Suzuki was more inclined to believe that the heart of Zen (to use the Japanese pronunciation which he preferred) was shared by Indian Buddhism and even other non-Buddhist religious systems, but that the mode of expression changed according to variations in time and place.

24. *T50.598a-b*, introduced in Yagi, "Ryōgashū kö," p. 61. T'an-lun was born no later than 547, and the events described here took place after he became thirteen. Yagi suggests that T'an-lun's teacher was Ching-tuan (543-606), a successor to Ratnamati and Seng-shih. (He is identified here only as *Dhyāna* Master Tuan.)

25. *T50.590a*. The experiences described here probably occurred in or before 595.

In addition to the evidence introduced here regarding T'an-lun and Ching-lin, it is instructive to consider Chih-i's comments regarding two teachings held by "northern dhyāna masters." One of these, the tenth of his three southern and seven northern *p'an-chiao* schema, is that there is "only One Vehicle, not two and not three. With one sound is the Dharma preached; according to the identity (of the listener) is it understood differently." (*T33.801b*) This "teaching of the one sound" (*i-yin chiao*) is directly opposed to the orthodox Ti-lun School position regarding the three vehicles. (See Óchó, *Hokugi Bukkyō no kenkyū*, pp. 41-42.) Since Hui-k'o is said to have learned the One Vehicle from Bodhidharma, it might be possible to associate this teaching directly with these early Ch'an figures. Unfortunately, Chih-i's rebuttal of this teaching yields no further information about it. (*T33.805a-b*)

The ninth of the three southern and seven northern schema, which is also attributed to northern dhyāna masters, elucidates two types of Mahāyāna teachings, the "Mahāyāna with characteristics" (*yu-hsiang ta-sheng*) and the "Mahāyāna without characteristics" (*wu-hsiang ta-sheng*). The former teaches the progression of the bodhisattva through the ten stages, whereas the latter holds that "the True Dharma is without graduated distinctions [and that] all sentient beings constitute the characteristic of nirvāṇa." This teaching is said to be based on the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* and the *Sūtra of the Questions* of Ssu-i [Bodhisattva] (Ssu-i ching). (Also *T33.801b*) Yagi, "Ryōgashu kö," p. 52, shows that the "Mahāyāna without characteristics" is also based in part on the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* and introduces evidence from Chih-i's writings to the effect that this teaching was basically no different from the doctrine of sudden enlightenment expounded by Tao-sheng in the fifth century. That is, since the True Characteristic of the *dharma-kāya* is without characteristics and undifferentiated, realization thereof occurs completely and all at once, in a sudden flash, without admitting to any stages of partial realization.

Yagi, pp. 53-54, also observes that Tao-hsuan's *HKSC* essay on exegetes refers pejoratively to those who studied the *Lankāvatāra* and *Abhidharma* literature, broke the precepts, became attached to eating and drinking, and "took false knowledge as true understanding and confused consciousness to be perfect wisdom." (*T50.549b*) Yagi feels that this last phrase is reflective of the northern dhyāna masters mentioned by Chih-i; I suspect that Yagi interprets such behavior as an antecedent to the eccentricity and iconoclasm of later Ch'an masters. Unfortunately, there is no direct proof that any of this evidence relates directly to the members of the early Ch'an School.
27. T9.369c and 370a. See the discussion of shou-i ts'un-san and shou-i pu i in Chapter VI, Section 2 of this part.
28. This treatise was introduced by Sekiguchi in his Daruma daishi no kenkyū, pp. 49-81. A transcription of the text may be found on pp. 463-68 of that work. Sekiguchi accepts the date 681, then makes the incredible assertion that the text may actually be a valid work of Bodhidharma's. My own reaction is that, even if this were one of the texts referred to in the LCSTC and CFPC as circulating under Bodhidharma's name, as Sekiguchi suggests, that would not be enough to prove the accuracy of such an attribution.

I also find Sekiguchi's interpretation of the relationship between this text and the EJSHEL unconvincing. (See pp. 69-81.) The text seems much more closely related to the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, since it contains the phrase shou pen-ching hsin, "maintain the originally pure mind." (Sekiguchi, p. 465.) Shou-hsin is without question the most distinctive slogan of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun. (See section I of the translation in Section 3 of this chapter for the four-character version of this slogan.) The treatise in question also contains other phrases and topics of discussion similar to those found in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun and Northern School works in general, but I cannot discern any criteria for determining the exact provenance of the text.

29. Sekiguchi, Daruma daishi no kenkyū, pp. 246-70, analyzes the relationship between the Ch'eng-hsin lun and ideas generally attributed to Tao-hsin. I believe it is much more likely that Shen-hsiu discovered this work during his quarter century of residence at Yü-ch'üan ssu, the monastery of its author Chih-i, rather than that Tao-hsin found it during his brief stay at a former residence of a sometime student of Chih-i's. (See Sekiguchi, pp. 272-73.) An alternate title for this work is Cheng-hsin lun (Treatise on the Realization of the Mind).

30. See the text in Yanagida, Shoki Zenshū shisho, pp. 487-89, and Part One, Chapter IV, Section 9.

31. See the following two sections of this chapter for textual information and an English translation of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun. For the JTFM, see Sections 6, 7, and 8. The position that there is a developmental relationship between shou-i and shou-hsin and/or the texts in which they are explained is held by Sekiguchi, Zenshū shisōshi, p. 85; Yin-shun, Chung-kuo Ch'AN-tsung chih, p. 80; Suzuki, "Zen shisōshi kenkyū, dai-ni—Daruma kara Enō ni itaru," Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1968), 272; Masunaga, "Zen shisō no Chūgokuteki keitai," p. 794; and Yanagida, "Chūgoku Zenshū shi," Zen no rekishi—Chūgoku, Köza Zen, no. 3, Suzuki Daisetsu and Nishitani Keiji, eds. (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1967), pp. 26-27. (Both Suzuki and Masunaga devote closer attention to the practice of "viewing a single thing" [k'an i-wu] than to shou-i and shou-hsin.)

32. See Yanagida Seizan, Shoki no zenshi, 1, pp. 213 and 263-64, or T85.1287c and 1289b.
33. See Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, 1, pp. 263-64, or T85.1289b.
34. See section V of the translation.
35. It is impossible to determine the exact date of compilation of the Inscript-
tion on Relying on the Mind. Yanagida, Shokt Zenshū shisho, p. 266 n. 17, lists
the early ninth century works in which it first appears or is mentioned.

36. The Shinsen zenseki mokuroku compiled by the Komazawa University
Library (Tokyo: Komazawa toshokan, 1962) contains detailed information about
the various editions of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun under the headings Ichijō kenjishin
ron (I-sheng hsien tzu-hsin lun in Chinese; p. 6a), Saijōjirōn (Tsui-shang sheng
lun; p. 139a), and Shushin yōron (Hsiu-hsin yao lun; p. 173a). Also see Tanaka
Ryōshō's useful guide to Tun-huang materials pertaining to Ch'an, "Tonkō Zen-
shū shiryō bunrui mokuroku shoko," Komazawa Daigaku kenkyū kiyō, 29
(March 1971): 11–16, and Yanagida's "Zenseki kaidai," p. 455. The following
summary combines information from all three of these sources.

The Hsiu-hsin yao lun was published in Korea in 1570 under the title
Choesangsung'non (Tsui-shang sheng lun in Chinese, or The Treatise on the
Supreme Vehicle). This was republished several times, one edition of which (first
printed in Japan in 1716) is reprinted in Z2A, 1, 415a–17b (H110:829a–33b) and
T48.377a–79b. It is also included in the Sōmnun ch'waryo printed in Korea in
1907, an anthology often used by Japanese scholars earlier in this century (the
Japanese pronunciation is Zemmon satsuyō). One of these earlier scholars was
Nukariya Kaiten, who argued that the Tsui-shang sheng lun did not represent
Hung-jen's true teachings. See his Zengaku shishōshi, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Genkōsha,
1923) 371–74. The discovery of this text and other Ch'an-related materials among
the Tun-huang manuscripts has rendered Nukariya's position obsolete, even
though some of his observations about the text itself are still valid.

The first notice of any of the Tun-huang manuscripts of the Hsiu-hsin yao
lun was apparently that in Ch'en Yuan's Tun-huang chieh-yü lu (6 vols.;
Peking: Kuo-li Chung-yang Yen-chiu-yuan li-shih yii-yen yen-chiu-so, 1931), in
which it is listed as manuscript chou-04. Because the beginning of this Peking
manuscript was damaged, Ch'en used the title I-sheng hsien tzu-hsin lun (Trea-
tise on the One Vehicle of Manifesting One's Own Mind). This title is based
on material at the end of the treatise itself. (See section W; also note the alter-
nate titles occurring at the ends of certain manuscripts mentioned in n. 103.)
The identity and significance of this Peking manuscript were confirmed by
Suzuki during his visit to Peking in 1934. He published a collotype facsimile
of this manuscript in his Tonkō shutsudo Shōshitsu issho (Osaka: Ataka
Bukkyō bunko, 1935) and a printed edition in his Kōkan Shōshitsu issho oyobi
kaisetsu, pp. 41–55.

In the meantime Tokushi Yūshō announced the existence of the Hsiu-hsin yao
lun among the Tun-huang manuscripts in the possession of the library of
Ryūkoku University in Kyoto. See his "Shōshitsu rokumonshū ni tsuite,"
Ryūkoku gakuhō, 309 (June 1934): 316–18. Suzuki published synoptic transcrip-
tions of the Korean, Peking (edited and augmented on the basis of the Korean
text), and Ryūkoku manuscripts in his Kōkan Shōshitsu issho oyobi kaisetsu, pp.
41–52. In 1938 Suzuki visited England, where he discovered three additional
manuscripts in the Stein collection (S2669, S3558, and S4064). Around 1941 he
edited these three manuscripts together with the Korean and Peking versions, the
result of which was published in 1951 in his Zen shisōshi kenkyū, dai-ni. This is
contained in the *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, 2:303-309. According to a note on p. 270 of this volume, Suzuki does not seem to have used the Ryōkoku manuscript for this edition. He also failed to distinguish between the three Stein manuscripts, referring to them all as the "original text" (*gembon*).

All the other known manuscripts of the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun*, i.e., S6159, P3559, P3434, and P3777, were discovered by Yanagida Seizan on the basis of information in various catalogues and through an examination of microfilm copies of the British collections. Tanaka, p. 11, also notes the existence of a Tun-huang manuscript of this text in Leningrad, unavailable to Western scholars.

At present there are nine different manuscripts and one printed of this text: P3434, P3559, P3777; S2669, S3558, S4064, S6159; Peking chou-04; Ryukoku University Library No. 122 (the *Kammon daijō hōron* manuscript); and the printed Korean edition. S6159 is fragmentary, being incomplete at both beginning and end, and has not been consulted in the course of this study. Since Suzuki's editions suffer from problems of inaccuracy and because they were done without knowledge of some of the most important manuscripts, I have compiled a new edition for the purposes of this study. Fortunately, I have had access to Professor Yanagida's handwritten synoptic transcription of all the extant versions of the text, which I have double-checked against photocopies of the original manuscripts. There are significant differences between some of the different versions of the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun*. The Korean text has obviously been edited to make certain passages more readable and the terminology a little more positive and complex. This editing, as well as the retitling of the text, probably occurred in China—an inference based on the similar, if less extensive, editing of P3559. The other manuscripts contain numerous minor differences but resemble each other in using consistently simpler terminology than P3559 and the Korean version.

The textual environment of the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* in P3559 is also quite different from that in the other unprinted manuscripts. This extremely important manuscript includes the following material:

A. The *Yuan-ming lun*, which will be presented in translation in Chapter VII

B. A brief statement on Ch'an that is heavily laden with Yogācāra and *tathāgata-garbha* theory terminology

C. The *Hsu-hsin yao lun* itself

D. Some 55 lines of miscellaneous material preceded by the heading *Hsiu ho-shang chuan (Transmission of Preceptor [Shen]-hsiu)*, part of which will be introduced in translation in Chapter VII, Section 13

E. The *Ch'üan fa-pao chi (CFPC)*, already discussed in Part One, Chapter IV, Sections 10 and 11, and presented in translation in the Appendix

F. The *Ch'ou ch'an-shih i (The Intention [Mind ?] of Dhyāna Master [Seng]-ch'ou)*, an interesting text in spite of the obvious falsity of its attribution to Seng-ch'ou

G. The *Ch'ou ch'an-shih yao-fang (The Prescription of Dhyāna Master [Seng]-ch'ou)*, also spurious

H. The *Ta-sheng hsin-hsing lun (Treatise on the Practice of Mind in the Mahāyāna)*, also supposedly by Seng-ch'ou
I. A verse by P'u-chi (different from that contained in Suzuki's *Shōshitsu issho*)

J. A few lines of miscellaneous material

K. The *Chin-kang wu li (Five Obeisances of the Vajra)* by Preceptor Yao, an unknown figure

L. Some fifty lines of miscellaneous "contemplative analysis" material (see Chapter III, Section 6 for a definition of this term) related to the recitation of the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra*

Although some of the individual works just listed are represented in other Tun-huang manuscripts, i.e., items B, C, E, and K, this is the only manuscript to contain two or more, let alone all of them. The reverse side of this manuscript was copied in 751, the obverse probably in the same year or shortly thereafter. (See n. 160.) For a discussion of the manuscript as a whole, see Yanagida Seizan, "Den'hobōki to sono sakusha—Perio 3559-gō bunsho o meguru Hokushūzen kenkyū no sakki, jo no ichi," *Zengaku kenkyū*, 53 (July 1963): 45–71. Jan Yün-hua, "Seng-ch'ou's Method of Dhyanā," Lai and Lancaster, eds., *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, pp. 51–63, accepts the attributions of works F, G, and H to Seng-ch'ou. I consider them spurious because of (1) the absence of any reference to them with regard to Seng-ch'ou, (2) the lack of any obvious relationship with what little is known about Seng-ch'ou's meditation practice, and, conversely, (3) the clear relationship between the content of these works and other doctrines of the early Ch'an. P3559 (more accurately, P3664/P3559; see n. 160) represents an anthology of East Mountain Teaching/Northern School works, in which the legendary figure of Seng-ch'ou was used in name only.

In contrast to the composition of P3559, seven different manuscripts contain some or all of the following works, always in the same order:

A. The *Ssu hung shih-yuan (The Four Great Vows)*, apparently first used by Chih-i

B. The *Tā-mo ch'ān-shih kuan-men (Dhyanā Master [Bodhi]dharma's Teaching of Contemplation)*, which describes seven different types of meditation (see Sekiguchi, *Daruma daishi no kenkyū*, pp. 295–316)

C. An essay provisionally entitled by Suzuki the *Fa-hsing lun (Treatise on the Dharma Nature)*, which manifests probable influence by Shen-hui (see the *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, 2:444–45)

D. The *Liào-hsing chü (Stanzas on Comprehending the Nature)*, which will be quoted in Section 4 of this chapter (see the *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, 2:450–52, but note that Suzuki was unaware of P3777 and another Peking manuscript to contain this work, sheng 生-67)

E. The *Ch'êng-hsin lun (Treatise on the Clarification of the Mind)*, which was written by Chih-i but transmitted within the Ch'an tradition, rather than the T'ien-t'ai School (see the *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, 2:443–44, and Sekiguchi, *Daruma daishi no kenkyū*, pp. 246–94)

F. Two mantras for warding off sleepiness and entering into *samādhi* (attributed to the esoteric Buddhist master Subhākarasimha, who arrived in Ch’ang-an in 716) plus a line from the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*

G. The *Hsiu-hsin yao lun*
H. Some "contemplative analysis" material provisionally titled *San-pao wenta* (*Dialogues on the Three Jewels*) and reproduced in the *Suzuki Daisetsu zen-shū*, 2:445–46

I. Shen-hsiu's *Kuan-hsin lun* (*Treatise on the Contemplation of the Mind*), which will be discussed in Chapter VII, Sections 5–8.

Excluding S2583 and the Peking manuscript *sheng*-67, which contain only the single items B and D, respectively, the contents of each manuscript are as follows:

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For detailed information regarding the contents and physical descriptions of the various manuscripts, see Nakata Banzen, "Tonkō bunken no saikentō—toku ni Kōnin no Shushin yoron ni tsuite," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, 17, no. 2 (1969): 714–17. The Ryūkoku Library manuscript is in Tibetan booklet form, but all the others are conventional Chinese rolls. S2669 actually begins with some irrelevant material on military strategy and warfare. Finally, P3434 bears cyclical characters corresponding to the year 893 on its reverse side, which could represent its approximate date of transcription.

The only modern translation of the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* other than the one presented here is an English rendition by W. Pachow in "A Buddhist Discourse on Meditation from Tun-huang," *University of Ceylon Review*, 21, no. 1 (1963): 47–62, reprinted in his *Chinese Buddhism: Aspects of Interaction and Reinterpretation* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1980), pp. 35–54. Pachow's translation is generally quite accurate, but it suffers from a tendency to interpret the text in terms of Sri Lankan Buddhism, a small number of questionable English constructions, and a complete lack of annotation. In addition, it was based on only one manuscript, S4046, with some reference to S2669 and S3558. I have consulted Pachow's translation frequently in the compilation of the one presented here, but I have been influenced more strongly by the recommendations of Professor Yanagida, with whom I had the privilege of discussing this text during several private meetings in Kyoto in 1976–77.

The edited text found at the end of this book has been compiled with reference to all the manuscripts and printed versions discussed here. Textual variants have been recorded in the notes only when absolutely necessary. A bold dot has been placed in the text to mark the location of any such variants; specification of the length of the phrase involved has been done in Chinese and is inclusive of the character so marked.
37. Huang-mei hsien, Hupeh.

38. The Ryukoku manuscript has only the last five characters of this title, which is presumably due to an error of transcription. Other titles for the text were mentioned in n. 36. Some of these occur at the end of the text, as mentioned in n. 115.

39. The phrasing of this section is a bit jumbled and repetitive. This is also true of other sections of the text, especially the questions. The term hu-ching (lit. "to protect purity," i.e., "to take care of") also occurs in the Ch’an-men ching (Sutra of Ch’an) and the poetry of Han-shan. See Yanagida’s "Zemmonkyō ni tsuite," Tsukamoto hakase juju kinen Bukkyō shigaku ronshū (Tokyo: Tsukamoto hakase juju kinen kai, 1961), p. 880, and Iritani Sensuke and Matsumura Takashi, Kanzanshi, Zen no goroku, no. 13 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1970), p. 11.

40. Both the immediate context and the overall intent of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun imply that the word shen, “body,” is a mistake for hsin, “mind.” Nevertheless, all versions have the former, including the long passage based on this and the succeeding sections of the text quoted in the Tsung-ching lu, 748.588b. The same substitution of shen for hsin may be found on occasion in other early Ch’an documents and may represent more than an error of transcription.

41. The Chinese for “[not subject to the laws of] generation and extinction” is simply pu sheng pu mieh. Hereafter this phrase will be translated without brackets.

42. This passage does not occur in any of the Chinese translations of the Sūtra and Treatise on the Ten Stages, or in the section of the Avatamsaka Sūtra corresponding to the former. See Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, 1, p. 152. The passage does occur in Shen-hsiu’s Kuan-hsin lun (see the analysis in the next section of this chapter); the TCL (in part; 748.858b); and, implicitly, at the end of the Tun-huang manuscript of a commentary (Zi, 41, 206a [H41:424b]) on the Heart Sūtra attributed to Hui-ching (578-645). This last would be the earliest known appearance of the passage in question, but it may have been added by a later copyist. The passage in question is not integrally related to the commentary itself. In addition, the authorship of the commentary is in itself problematic, since Hsuan-tsang only translated the very short sūtra in question some four years after Hui-ching’s death. See Mochizuki, 5:4266a.

The passage in question also occurs in the LCSTC, Shoki no zensi, 1, p. 146, or 785.185c. The following textual evidence implies that the LCSTC is quoting the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, rather than vice versa:

A. The LCSTC adds explicated material throughout, including a supporting quotation from the Avatamsaka Sūtra. This line from the Avatamsaka Sūtra does not occur in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, but Ching-chueh quotes it in his commentary on the Heart Sūtra. See Yanagida, Shoki Zenshi shisho, p. 609.

B. The LCSTC substitutes the more explicit “How could the sun’s light achieve brightness and purity?” for the the Hsiu-hsin yao lun’s short and ambiguous “How could the sun ever be extinguished?” Because of multiple meanings of the character lan 燮, the Hsiu-hsin yao lun question could also be read “How could the sun ever shine [through the clouds]?” This reading is acceptable, but the LCSTC makes the question more explicit. In addition, the LCSTC removes
the phrase “the answer says” (ta yueh), which occurs in the other text without the necessary “the question says” (wen yueh). (See section D, of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun.)

C. The LCSTC uses the term ming-ching (“bright and pure”) in the rhetorical question just cited and two other times in this section. This term is used nine other times in the LCSTC (five of these are in the JTFM attributed to Tao-hsin), but not once in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun.

D. The LCSTC adds the phrase “sitting quietly and purely” (mo-jan ching-tso), which, as Yanagida notes in Shoki no zenshi, I, pp. 152–53, is one of Ching-chueh’s special points of emphasis.

E. Finally, shortly after this passage in the LCSTC occur a few lines that are also found in section O of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun.

43. Section F has a similar phrase, shen-chung chen-ju (“Suchness within the bodies [of sentient beings and Buddhas]”).

44. See Yanagida’s comments on the significance of this usage, which are introduced in Chapter V, Section 5.

45. The original manuscripts all have the character chi ḫ, “namely,” which has been amended to lang ḫ, “bright,” on the suggestion of Professor Iriya Yoshi-taka.

46. The concept expressed here is identical to that in the metaphor used to describe the meaning of the “untainted” (wu-jan) in the Ta-sheng fa-chieh wu ch’a-pieh lun. See Ui Hakuju, Hōshōron kenkyū (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1979), p. 396, and Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, p. 154.

47. Hereafter shou-hsin is translated without the aid of brackets.

48. See the term “sun of wisdom” (hui-jih) in section L.


50. The locus classicus for the term hsin-yuan is the Awakening of Faith, where it refers to the mind as the source of illusion and hence of all dharmas. More specifically, it is the point at which ignorance begins to operate within one’s tathāgata-garbha, when the tathāgata-garbha switches from being the one Pure Mind to the mind of illusion. The infinite dharmas that comprise phenomenal reality are said to “exist” solely on the basis of the ignorant mind—the Pure Mind is nondiscriminating and thus does not recognize their existence. The transformation that occurs within the tathāgata-garbha is not a temporally definable event but is only an expedient explanation of the present state of being of ordinary, unenlightened people. See Hirakawa Akira, Daijō kishin ron, Butten kōza, no. 22 (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan sha, 1973), p. 109. The Hsiu-hsin yao lun seems at times to confuse this first arising of the ignorant mind with the Pure Mind that constitutes the Buddha Nature.
51. Also T14.542b.

52. Shu-hsiu originally referred to dried meat offered to a teacher upon one's first application for instruction. It is thus an application or matriculation fee, but I have rendered it as “tuition fee” in order to make the passage more readable.

53. The True Mind is so named because it is part of the perfect realm of the absolute, or Suchness.

54. Unidentified. Śīksānanda’s translation of the Awakening of Faith contains a vaguely similar line, as has been pointed out to me in a personal communication by Tokiwa Gishin of Hanazono College. See T32.585b, lines 7–8. However, the two passages are not similar enough to be used as evidence that the Hsü-hsin yao tun was written after Śīksānanda’s translation, which was done in 695.

55. This section is obviously directed against the Pure Land practice of nien-fo (“mindfulness of the Buddha”). The term nien-fo is used in the Wu fang-pien (Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, vol. 3 [Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1968], 168, and section Intro.:C of the translation in Chapter VII, Section 3) and in the Ta-mo ch’an-shih kuan-men (T85.1270c). The Kuan-hsin yun emphasizes the importance of actual contemplation, rather than the mere oral recitation of the Buddha’s name. See T85.1273a.

56. Similar usages of the word t'a (“other”) occur in a translation by Chu Fa-hu (d. ca. 308), T12.149c, and in Chih-i’s Fa-hua hsuan-i, T33.766c. Also see the JTFM in Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, I, p. 226, or T85.1288b.


58. T8.752a.

59. This question has interrogative particles at both beginning and end. Similar redundancies occur in sections B and I. The compound sheng-ssu has been translated as either “birth and death” or “samsāra.”

60. Cheng-nien (“correct mindfulness”) is the seventh member of the Noble Eightfold Path. The formula “to not generate false thoughts and extinguish the illusion of personal possession” (wang-nien pu sheng wo-so-hsin mieh) occurs nine times in this text. Except where the two phrases thereof are separated by a third phrase, it has been translated simply as “to not generate false thoughts or the illusion of personal possession.” The translation of wo-so-hsin is based on the Ta chih-tu tun: “The self (wo) is the basis of all illusions. First one becomes attached to [the belief that] the five skandhas constitute the self. Then one becomes attached to external things as one’s possessions (wo-so).” (T25.295a.) Wo-so-hsin is thus the belief that things external to the self belong to the self, a sort of compounded ignorance. This usage occurs in the Wu-liang-shou ching and the Chin-kang san-mei ching, T9.373b. See the definition in section R of the translation.

61. Literally, “having various false conditions” (chung-chung wang-yuan).
62. This probably refers to a sūtra of Chinese authorship listed as the Hsin-wang p'u-sa shuo t'ou-to ching (Sūtra on Austerities Preached by the Bodhisattva [Named] Mind-king). See the K'ai-yuan shih-chiao lu, T55.677b. Shen-hui quotes from what is presumably the same text in his Wen-ta tsa ch'eng-i. See the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, 3:285. The only other known reference to the Hsin-wang ching is a quotation from it in Tsung-mi's commentary to a portion of the Avatamsaka Sūtra, the Hua-yen ching hsing-yuan p'in shu-ch'ao, Z2, 7, 409d (H7:818b).

63. Literally, if the conditions are "conjoined" or "coincide" (ho).

64. Because of the verbal usage of hsin here, I have translated it as "to rely on." The idea here is related to that of "faith" or "conviction," another meaning for the same character, since one must first accept the reality of the Fundamental Mind and then make a firm commitment to depend on its guidance at all times. In a private conversation, Professor Yanagida pointed out to me that in the compound hsin-hsin, the character in question has a meaning very similar to chen, "true," and should be translated along the lines of "perfected." Hsin-hsin, a term which occurs at the beginning of the answer in section S, refers to the enlightened state of mind that constitutes the actualization of the ultimate within one's own person. Hence the famous work attributed to Seng-ts'an, the Hsin-hsin ming, should be rendered as either Inscription on Relying on the Mind or Inscription on the Perfected Mind.

65. T14.540b. The wording of the original is slightly different.

66. Literally, during "walking, standing still, sitting, and lying down" (hsing-chu-tso-wo).

67. A paraphrase of a lengthy section of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun beginning with this line occurs in the TCL, T48.426a, where it is attributed to a "former worthy." The same work also includes this line in its description of Hung-jen's teachings, T48.940a.

68. Literally, the "twelve divisions of the canon" (shih-erh pu ching). The emphasis is not on the fact that the scriptures are traditionally divided into twelve sections, but on the fact that shou-hsin is the basic teaching of all the scriptures. The same term occurs in sections L and O.

69. Many of the questions in this text contain the word chih, "to know," and should be translated as "How is it known that . . . ?" or "How do you know that . . . ?" This is almost always matched with ku chih, "Therefore, it is known that . . . ," at the end of the answer that follows. This pattern has been translated faithfully so far but will now be dropped for reasons of simplicity. As in this section, the logic of the text's argumentation is often more apparent than real. See n. 45 to Part One.

70. The logical series of A implies B, B implies C, and so on, has been abbreviated somewhat. Similar abbreviations occur in the original manuscripts.

71. See the Lotus Sūtra, T79.9a. The impact of the doctrine of expedient means contained in this important scripture is very strong in this and the following sections. The phraseology here has been modified somewhat in the process of translation.

72. The point of seeing the Buddha is to be able to receive his teachings directly rather than through the secondhand authority of written scriptures and later
teachers. The advantage of the Pure Land teachings, which were quite popular at this time, was that they enable devotees to be reborn in a situation where they can hear the Buddha's teachings directly and become enlightened more easily than while alive. This line could also be understood as "to see one's own identity as a Buddha."

73. In Ch'an texts the term *wu-wei* often has the connotation of "not doing anything." This depends on context, of course, as the term can also mean "inactive," in the Taoist sense, or "unconditioned." See section L of the translation.

74. A very similar statement occurs in the LCSTC, in which the Buddhas achieve enlightenment through "seated meditation" (*tso-ch'an*). See Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi*, I, p. 143, or T85.1285c.

75. See the *I-chiao ching* (*Sūtra of the Bequeathed Teaching*), T12.1111a, where the exact wording is a little different. The original manuscripts of the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* differ on which character to use as the verb, "to fix" or "to regulate." All the three variants, *chih* 義, *cheng* 稱, and *chih* 善, have the same meaning in this situation: to seize control of the mind and subdue its hyperactive tendencies. As Yanagida points out in *Shoki no zenshi*, I, p. 245, this line is quoted very frequently in Ch'an texts.

76. The word *men* ("gate" or "doctrine") is absent from the original at this point but has been added on the basis of usages in section I and the question in section K.

77. The phrase *shan ho ta-ti*, "mountains, rivers, and the great earth," occurs here as a single unit for the first time in any Ch'an text. Also see the *Wu fang-pien*, *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshu*, 3:220 (IIIB.38).


79. The LCSTC contains a passage that is clearly an exegesis of this part of the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun*. See Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi*, I, p. 112, or T85.1284b. The original manuscripts differ on the last part of this line. Suzuki, who believed firmly that *chien-hsing*, "to see the [Buddha] Nature," was an innovation of Hui-neng's, has suggested that P3559 maintains an older and more reliable reading with its *tzu-jan ming hsien*, "naturally the brightness is manifested." The Korean text has the similar *ming tzu-jan hsien*. However, if one takes the character *chu* 居, "to reside," in S2669 as a mistake for *hsing* 性, "nature," then fully six out of eight texts containing this section have the compound *chien-hsing*. Even P3559 and the Korean edition have this compound in other sections, the latter even including it in a part of section O where it does not belong. Hence it can hardly be said that either of these texts was unaware of this compound or avoided it on principle. In fact, the concept of seeing or manifesting one's Buddha Nature is a central thesis of the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun*.

80. The same compound, *fa-t'i*, "Dharma-essence," occurs near the end of section E, where it is rendered "essential reality."

81. The original is slightly different. See T12.520b.

82. The rest of this section is problematic. At one point the original manuscripts (excluding the Korean edition) have *hsin* 心, "mind," where they should have
sheng 生, "to generate." The Korean edition is considerably simplified at this point, while P3559 omits two characters, resulting in its own unique but quite acceptable reading: "When you do not generate false thoughts, [the Buddhas] are generated within your consciousness and the illusion of personal possession is extinguished. Within this consciousness (i.e., within the Buddha Nature ?) one should first maintain awareness of the True Mind. You will achieve buddhahood upon doing so."

83. See a similar statement in section O. The phrase ch'ien ching wan lun occurs with roughly the same usage in the Chin-kang san-mei ching, T9.367a; the Tun-wu yao-men, Hirano, p. 99; and the TCL, T48.943ab. The Chin-kang san-mei ching passage is quoted in the Chu-ching yao ch'ao, T85.1196b.

84. This passage does not occur as such in the Lotus Sūtra. See T9.12bff for the general context.

85. This logic embodies the assumption of gradualism, or at least of the need for religious effort prior to the sudden experience of enlightenment.

86. This passage is from the Lotus, T9.15c-16a. The original is slightly different. The same passage is also used in the Lin-chi lu, where it is interpreted as an expression of enlightenment. That is, the enlightened person has the fortitude to exist in hell without any discomfort at all. See Yanagida Seizan, Rinzai-roku, Butten kōza, no. 30 (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan sha, 1972), p. 135, or T47.500a.

87. Similar phrases occur in Chih-i's Hsw-hsi chih-kuan tso-ch'an fa-yao, T46.465c and 466c. Also see the JTFM, Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, 1, pp. 248 and 255, or T85.1288c and 1289a.

88. The description of meditation that follows here is noticeably different from that contained in the sūtra itself. There the contemplation on the setting sun, which is the first of sixteen different techniques, is described in part as follows:

Sit upright facing the West and clearly contemplate the sun. Keep the mind still and think of it singlemindedly. Visualize the sun as it is about to set, in the form of a hanging drum. Having done so, you should become able to see it brightly, whether your eyes are open or closed . . . (T12.342a)

The reader has no doubt noticed that very few of the scriptural citations in the Hsiu-hsin yao lun follow their respective originals precisely.

89. Similar material occurs in the Tun-wu chen-tsung chin-kang po-jo hsin-hsing ta pi-an fa-men yao-chueh (hereafter abbreviated as Tun-wu chen-tsung yao-chueh), which is a product of the Northern School. See Ueyama Daishun, "Chibetto-yaku Tongo shinshōyōketsu no kenkyū," p. 99.

90. The first of these lines resembles a passage in the Avatamsaka Sūtra, T9.395a, while the second is taken, with slight changes in wording, from the Awakening of Faith. See Hirakawa, p. 170, or T32.577b.

91. This could also be read "to all the scriptures [preached by] all the Buddhas in the ten directions of space."

92. The preceding statements about those who "comprehend the mind" occur, with one phrase omitted, in the LCSTC, Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, 1, p. 146, and T85.1285c. The last phrase may also be found in the Tun-wu yao-men. See Hirano, p. 89.
93. The text has tsao-ta, “to make great.” A similar compound, tsao-tz’u, occurs in the Korean edition and in the JTFM, Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, 1, p. 241, and T85.1288c. Another related term, tsao-tso, occurs in the Lin-chi lu, Yanagida, Rinzairoku, p. 92. See Yanagida’s explanation on the same page.

94. A similar passage occurs in the JTFM, Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, 1, p. 146, or T85.1285c.

95. The term wu-chi (avyākṛta in Sanskrit) is used in Abhidharma and other types of Buddhist literature to refer to states of mind that have neither good nor bad influence on one’s subsequent condition. In Ch’an texts it refers to a dull state of trance or mental stupor, as the section that follows describes.

96. The source of this citation and the one that follows is unknown. They occur together, without attribution, in the same passage of the LCSTC already mentioned in n. 94. As Yanagida observes (Shoki no zenshi, 1, p. 157), the term ching-ch’eng, “sincerity,” probably occurs on the basis of influence from T’an-lin’s preface to the EJSHL, where it is used in reference to Hui-k’o. It also occurs with reference to Hui-k’o in the LCSTC, p. 128, or T85.1285a. The topic of the second scriptural quotation is also discussed in the Tun-wu yao-men, Hirano, p. 99.

97. This name appears in the Tun-wu yao-men, Hirano, p. 11.

98. The eight winds are listed in section T below. They also occur in the Wu fang-pien, Suzuki Daisetsu zenshu, 3:174 and 194, and section II:B of the translation in Chapter VII, Section 3. Also see the Tun-wu yao-men, Hirano, p. 11.

99. See the Tun-wu yao-men, Hirano, p. 11. The fact that this one section of the Tun-wu yao-men contains three items also found in this section of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun (see the previous two notes) cannot be coincidental. The same section of this supposedly Southern School text also contains the four characters wang-mien pu sheng, “to not generate false thoughts,” one of the catchword phrases of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun. See n. 59.

100. “Hung-jen” tends to use wu in reference to himself alone and wo in reference to himself and people in general.

101. The most similar line in the Nirvana Sutra refers not to space but to bodhisattvas. See T12.520b.

102. It might be better to revise this passage to read “the two teachings of meditation and practice” (ting-hsing erh men) or “the two teachings of principle and practice” (li-hsing erh men). Although I have chosen to avoid such editorial intervention, by any reading this passage implies a recognition of the two teachings referred to here as the East Mountain Teaching and the Northern School. See n. 217.

103. Chih, “utmost,” has been taken as an error for chih, “ambition.” The same substitution occurs in the second question of section S.

104. The two characters wu-ch’u are used as a compound in the Tun-wu chen-tsung yao-chueh, where they figure prominently in the explanation of a famous line from the Diamond Sutra. See Ueyama, p. 96 (P2799, lines 22–23).

105. One of the textual variants, yeh-yeh, means “to be in constant motion.” See the Lien-mien tzu-tien, Fu Ting-i, ed. (Taipei: Taiwan Chung-hua shu-chü, 1969), 3:2187.

106. Similar descriptions of meditation occur in the Wo-lun ch’an-shih k’an-fa
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(Dhyāna Master Wo-lun’s Method of Contemplation) and the JT FM. For the former, see the Suzuki Daizetsu zenshū, 2:452; for the latter, see Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, 1, p. 249, or T85.1288c-89a.

107. See T12.382c-84c and T14.554c-55c. The Nirvāna Sūtra chapter mentions Aksobhya Buddha and contains some material on morality vaguely reminiscent of that in the Vimalakīrti Sūtra chapter, but it is difficult to imagine why they should be cited together here. The latter is quoted in the Tun-wu yao-men, Hirano, p. 18.

108. The Sanskrit term brahmaçarya refers to the practice of transcending desires and maintaining the precepts. It is also translated as ching-hsing.

109. The compound mo-lien, “to polish and train,” hence, “to cultivate,” also occurs in section O. It is very suggestive of the concept of polishing dust and tarnish off of a mirror, but the immediate context here does not imply the removal of the dusts of illusion (the five desires and the eight winds of good and ill fortune), but development of the ability to remain unaffected by them even in their presence. Like the lotus blossom, which rises unsullied out of the mud, the bodhisattva is supposed to operate within this world without being defiled by it. “Cultivating the Buddha Nature” is synonymous with “cultivating the mind,” as in the title of this treatise.

110. The sūtra has not been identified. The precise meaning and extent of the quotation are uncertain.

111. There is a vernacular usage, te-li, “to receive the benefit” of someone else’s advice, teaching, or efforts. Following this, “Hung-jen” would be saying: “Now that you have had the good fortune to hear this teaching . . .” See Iriya Yoshitaka, Hō koji no goroku, Zen no goroku, no. 7 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1973), p. 68.

112. The dictionaries list four different sets of “four dependences” (ssu i), but the reference here is probably to the “four dependences of the Dharma” (fa ssu i) mentioned without explication in the Ta chih-tu lun, T25.195b. These are the dependences on (1) the Dharma rather than on people, (2) sūtras that contain the complete Buddhist teaching rather than only a portion thereof, (3) ideas rather than words, and (4) wisdom rather than knowledge. See Ui Hakuju, Bukkyō jiten (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1938), p. 393.

113. The inference that Hung-jen had nothing to do with the compilation of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun has been mentioned in Section 1 of this chapter. Possibly, the treatise referred to here is not the entire Hsiu-hsin yao lun, but only the essay-like first part. According to this interpretation, Hung-jen’s disciples wrote sections C through M on the basis of his previous teachings and presented the result to him for his personal comments and additions, which are recorded in sections N through W. If this interpretation were correct—and I am not at all certain that it is—then the present text would resemble the Tun-huang version of the EJSHL in being composed of a preconceived doctrinal statement and the records of oral comments on that statement. The Hsiu-hsin yao lun differs in only recording the comments of one individual, more like a traditional recorded sayings text.

114. This appears at first glance to be an admission that “Hung-jen” was not concerned with helping others. It seems better to assume that such endeavors were simply left uncovered in this one text. The avoidance of this topic is one of
the characteristics that distinguish the East Mountain Teaching from the Northern School. The *Wu fang-pien* never mentions “benefit of self” without also referring to “benefit of others,” and the *JTFM* is directed not only at students but also at the teachers of Ch'an.

115. This could also be read, “If you do not believe me, you will be eaten . . .” P3559 punctuates after the character wo, “1,” which implies that its Tun-huang reader followed this reading. The Ryûkoku manuscript has che, “one who . . .”, instead of wo, also indicating the variant reading. However, the *Tun-wu yao-men* contains a much more explicit version of the same passage that substantiates the reading followed in the translation, a reading that makes better sense as Hung-jen's own vow. See Hirano, p. 117.

Immediately following the text as given here, P3559 includes an eighty-character passage attributed to Shen-hsiu. This passage is reproduced in Yanagida's "Den' hōbōki to sono sakusha," p. 48, and translated in part in Chapter VII, Section 13. This is followed by an alternate title for the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun: Tao fan ch'i sheng hsin-chueh* (Oral Determination of the Mind that Leads Ordinary People to Sagehood).

P3777 concludes by listing a totally obscure year period and copyist's name; S2669 and the Ryûkoku manuscript repeat the title as found in section A, excluding only Hung-jen's name and place of residence. S4064 and the Peking manuscript have no closing title, and the other Tun-huang manuscripts lack the end of the text itself, including the title. The Korean version has a postscript the mentions some of the persons involved in the text's printing and dissemination. See T48.379b.

116. See n. 42. The inference that this passage and its metaphorical construction derived from a late seventh-century Chinese source is mine, but I believe this represents Professor Yanagida's position as well. 117. T39.579a, recapitulated briefly on p. 746c-47a.

118. T39.579b contains the *Diamond Sutra* line ying *wu-so-chu erh sheng ch'i hsìn* (the *Taishō* edition of I-hsing's work has . . . *erh chu ch'i hsìn*). This line is most often associated with Hui-neng but was first noticed within the Ch'an School in the *Tun-wu chen-tsung yao-chueh*, written in 712. See the text in Ueyama, p. 96. I-hsing's commentary must be placed at the very end of his life, since it was apparently edited immediately after his death by two other monks. Therefore, it was written well after the *Hsiu-hsin yao tun*. See Mochizuki, 4:3376b. Finally, the specific imagery of floating clouds blocking off the sun occurs in Chinese texts of the Han Dynasty and before. See the first poem in Sui Shu-shen, ed., *Ku-shih shih-chiu shou chi-shih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1955), p. 2.


120. See *Shoki no zenshi*, 1, p. 112, or T85.1284b. On the *Chu-fa wu-hsing ching*, see Yanagida's note in *Daruma no goroku*, p. 79.


122. The most prominent example of the use of *shou-i*, “guarding the will,” in the sense of Buddhist mindfulness is the *An-pan shou-i ching*. The subject of this
work is ānāpāna-smṛti, the mindfulness of breathing. See T15.163a-73a. In view of the assertions made in the Conclusion, Section 6, it is also relevant that Ching-ying Hui-yuan uses the term shou-hsin in his definition of samatha. See his Tāsheng i-chang, T44.665c, as cited in Fukushima, “Jōyōji Eon no shikan kenkyū,” p. 6.

123. As mentioned in n. 50, the Hsu-hsin yao lun seems at times to confuse the “mind source” (hsin-yuan), the primary function of delusory consciousness responsible for the appearance of the myriad dharmas, with the “pure mind” (ching-hsin), or Buddha Nature. Thus, even more than in other texts like the Kuan-hsin lun that posit a sharp dichotomy between the pure and defiled aspects of mind, in the Hsu-hsin yao lun the importance of the Buddha Nature and the emptiness of the discriminative mind are only two sides of the same coin.

124. See section R, which briefly describes the ability to “respond to all the myriad different realms of . . . consciousness by activating transformations as numerous as the sands of the River Ganges.”

125. One of the oldest occurrences of the term in reference to Buddhism is in a memorial submitted in the year 166 to Emperor Huan of the Han Dynasty by Hsiang K’ai. The relevant passage is translated in E. Zürcher, The Buddhist Conquest of China (2 vols.; Leiden, Belgium: E. J. Brill, 1959), p. 37. On p. 333 n. 104, Zürcher glosses shou-i as a “Taoist technical expression which in archaic Buddhist translations is sometimes used to render samādhi,” citing Maspero and T’ang Yung-t’ung. On p. 435 n. 96, Zürcher further suggests that shou-i was also used in early translations as an equivalent for dhyāna and notes its probable derivation from lines in the Tao-te ching and Chuang-tzu. (See n. 127 to this Part.) Shou-i also occurs in the Chinese translation of the Dhammapāda, i.e., the Fa-chü ching, as well as in other early translations and the T’ai-p’ing ching. See T’ang, pp. 110–11. Other such citations are listed and commented on in Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, 1, pp. 234-35. Finally, for the background of shou-i in Taoist literature, see Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, “Bukkyō no zenpō to Dōkyō no shuichi,” Chisan gakuhō, 27-28 (November 1964): 109-25.

126. See Yoshioka, pp. 119-20.
127. See the Tao-te ching, 10 and 42, and the Chuang-tzu, 11 (twice).
129. See the descriptions of shou-i pu t’ai (“maintaining the one without tiring”) in the Pao-p’u tzu and shou-i pu shih or (“maintaining the one without losing [it]”) quoted in Yoshioka, p. 114.
130. See Yoshioka, p. 116.
131. Ibid., p. 124.
133. T14.539b.
134. This is an excellent example of the type of equivalence discussed in Iriya Yoshitaka’s “Kū to jō,” Fukui hakase juju kinen toyo bunka ronshū (Tokyo:
Waseda University Press, 1969), pp. 97-106. In the following lines of this passage, it is difficult to distinguish the idea of empty space from that of nonsubstantiality.

135. See the Pan-chou san-mei ching, T13.899b and 905c.

136. See section G of the Hsu-hsin yao lun and n. 56. Chappell, p. 115, translates t’A as “objectified,” which accurately indicates the importance of the subject-object dualism here.

137. The use of archery practice as a metaphor for meditation occurs in many texts, but Yanagida suggests that the specific language of hitting successively smaller targets was an innovation of the JTFM. See his note in Shoki no zenshi, 1, pp. 246-47.

138. The term “discrimination” here represents chueh-kuan, or vicāra, the ability of the mind to discriminate and understand anything. “Perceptions” is a translation of ssu-hsiang, which has a meaning quite different from that in modern Chinese usage. In archaic Chinese Buddhist terminology it refers to the third of the five skandhas, samjñā, which takes as its object the second skandha, vedanā or “feelings.” See Yanagida’s note, Shoki no zenshi, 1, p. 254, and his article “‘Shiso’ to iu go o megutte,” Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, 8, no. 1 (1960): 206-11.

139. According to Kamata, Zengen shosenshū tojo, p. 74, the term yuan-lü hsin, “the mind of conditional mentation,” refers to the mind’s activity of sensory and conceptual discrimination. Kamata points out that the Yogācāra tradition used the term to refer to all eight viññānas and that the term yuan-lü was derived from the compounds p’ān-yuan and ssu-lü.

140. The first part of this sentence is only a tentative translation of the Chinese.

141. My impression is that “Tao-hsin” uses the term “single place” (i-ch’u) in a more profound sense than simply a single physical location. Rather, he is referring to a state of mind that is existentially solitary in its purity. Earlier in the text there occurs the line “alone in a pure and ultimate location” (tu i ch’ing-ching chiu-ch’u). See Shoki no zenshi, 1, p. 205, or T85.1287b.

142. Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, 1, p. 256, translates this as “to sway the upper body back and forth seven or eight times,” which is in accord with contemporary practice in Ch’an and Zen meditation halls. The original text reads an-ma, for which Nakamura, 1:27a, gives the Sanskrit equivalents paripīdāna and prapīdāna and the definitions “to press everywhere” and “to massage the hands and feet.”

143. The English phrase “completely effaced in profound obscurity” is an interpretive paraphrase of the four characters yao-yao ming-ming, which refer to a realm of mysterious darkness with which the meditator becomes united. The term yao-ming is found in the Tao-te ching, 21, and the Chuang-ting, 11. It also occurs in Seng-chao’s Nieh-p’an wu ming lun, T45.157b.

144. Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, 1, p. 258, equates the otherwise unknown term lien-hsin, “to regulate the mind,” with shou-hsin, “to maintain the mind,” and she-hsin, “to concentrate the mind.”

145. The conjunction of the terms for nonsubstantiality and purity is reminiscent of Iriya’s argument cited in n. 134.

146. The “mind of the sage” (sheng-hsin) is a term associated with Seng-chao.
See his Po-jo wu chih tun, T45.154b. The term chih-chieh, "virtuous fidelity," is apparently used in order to represent the purity and constancy of influence of the Buddha Nature within sentient beings. The sentence regarding the functioning of the "abstruse numen" (yü-ling) is based loosely on Seng-chao's Nieh-p'an wu ming lun, T45.157c. I have followed the translation in Jōron kenkyū, Tsukamoto Zenryū, ed. (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1972), p. 61. See Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, 1, p. 258.

147. T14.541a. The term huo-jan refers to the sudden experience of a very expansive, unimpeded state of consciousness. My own interpretation is that it resembles the overwhelming feeling one experiences on reaching the top of a tower, when after a long climb one is suddenly able to see great distances all around. The phrase quoted here occurs in sections 19 and 30 of the Platform Sūtra. See Yampolsky, pp. 141 and 151.

148. Shoki no zenshi, 1, p. 287, or T85.1289c.

149. For a discussion of these remarks, which constitute criticism of Taoist positions, see Kamata Shigeo, "Shoki Zenshū no rōsō hihan," Shūgaku kenkyū, 10 (March 1968): 58-64.

150. It is significant that the JTFM, and early Ch'an in general, arrives at its sudden teaching by identifying itself with the most profound understanding of conventional Mahāyāna Buddhism and simply omitting the traditional preconditions to that understanding.

151. Shoki no zenshi, 1, p. 205, or T85.1287b.


153. P'u-ch'i's epitaph contains an interesting quotation of his teachings, which is relevant to the topic at hand and to other issues to be introduced later:

By concentrating the mind on a single locus, one ceases thinking about the myriad conditions. One may achieve penetration in an instant, or one may gradually achieve realization over [a period of] months and years—[but in either case] one illumines the essence of buddhahood (fo-t'i). This [teaching] has been transmitted to me: Point directly at the dharmakūya. Maintain your mindfulness naturally, like filling a vessel with drops of water or walking on frost or ice. By doing so one will be able to "open the gate" of expedient means. By directly indicating its precious characteristic, one enters deeply into the original treasury. By comprehending the pure cause, one's ears and eyes are no longer sense organs; sound and form are not sensory realms . . . (CTW, fascicle 362, pp. 6b-7a)

154. Pu-ch'i is an important term within Northern School doctrine. See the occurrence of ch'i in the Wu fang-pien, section Intro:B, and n. 340.

155. Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, 1, p. 199, or T85.1287b.

156. Yanagida, Shoki no zenshi, 1, p. 226, or T85.1288b.

157. See the Ta-sheng k'ai-hsin hsi-en-hsing tun-wu chen-tsung lun (hereafter abbreviated Chen-tsung lun), Suzuki Daìsetsu zenshū, 3:327. The same text, pp. 326-27, discusses the four wisdoms of Yogācāra philosophy, which culminate in the wisdom likened to a great mirror.

158. The most explicit example of the influence of the EJSYL of which I am
aware occurs in the Ta-sheng hsin-hsing lun attributed to Seng-ch’ou in the Tun-huang manuscript P3559. (See n. 36 above for discussion of the occurrence of this text in P3559.) Near the beginning of this text (678/29:3) occurs the statement that one “first enters the ‘gate’ of principle from the outside, and second activates the ‘gate’ of function from principle” (i ts’ung wai ju li-men, erh ts’ung li ch’i yung-men). The ideas expressed in this sentence, and the terminology with which they are expressed, constitute a link between the EJSHL and the doctrines of Shen-hsiu and the Northern School, as discussed in Chapter VII. (See Section 13 in particular.)

159. The Kuan-hsin lun is represented in quite a few manuscripts: seven from Tun-huang (S646, S2595, S5532, P2460, P2657, P4646, and another at the Ryūkoku University Library); a Korean printed edition in the same anthology mentioned earlier regarding the Hsiu-hsin yao lun (see n. 36); two manuscripts at the Kanazawa Bunko, which were copied in 1201 and 1252 (the latter was apparently copied from the former); and a Japanese printed version contained in the Shōshitsu rokumonshū (Anthology of Six Texts from Bodhidharma’s Cave). In Korean and Japanese printed versions the text occurs under the name P’o-hsiang lun (Treatise on the Destruction of Characteristics). (See T48.366c–69c.)

The Kuan-hsin lun was one of seven Ch’an-related texts discovered by Yabuki Keiki in the Stein collection in London and displayed in Japan in 1917. (See n. 161.) In 1932 Kamio Isshun published an article showing that the version contained in the Korean and Japanese editions, which attributed the text to Bodhidharma, was actually a work of Shen-hsiu’s known as the Kuan-hsin lun. His evidence came from Hui-lin’s (750–820) I-ch’ieh ching yin-i, a non-Ch’an School and thus a relatively reliable source first compiled in 788 and put in its final form in 806 or 807. See Kamio’s “Kanjinron shikō,” Shūkyō kenkyū, n.s. 2, no. 5 (1932): 98–104. This article was an important stimulus to the modern study of early Ch’an.

In 1934 Tokushi Yūshō published an analysis of the entire Shōshitsu rokumonshū that expanded on Kamio’s findings. This was his “Shōshitsu rokumonshū ni tsuite;” see especially pp. 221–28. Also in 1934, D. T. Suzuki published a collated edition of all four manuscripts known at the time: S2595 (Suzuki used the printed edition in 785.1270c–73b, a less-than-reliable source); the Kanazawa Bunko manuscripts, which he edited as one; and the printed Korean and Japanese editions. In 1936 Suzuki republished this collated edition in his Kökan Shōshitsu issho oyobi kaisetsu, adding the Ryukoku Library manuscript. See the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, suppl. vol. 1:576–645, for this final edition, and p. 647 for bibliographical information supplied by Furuta Shōkin.


160. The most comprehensive discussion of this work to date is Tanaka Ryōshō’s “Tonkōbon Emmydron ni tsuite,” Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, 18, no. 1 (1969): 204–7. As Tanaka notes, the earliest known reference to this text is
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in Ch'en Yuan's catalogue of Tun-huang materials remaining in China, the *Tun-huang chieh-yü lu*, 5:441b, which contains a brief description of Peking manuscript *fu* 存-6. Kanda Kiichirō's "Den' hôbōki no kanchitsu ni tsuite," Sekisui sensei kakōju kinen ronsan (Tokyo: Sekisui sensei kakōju kinen kai, 1942), pp. 145-52 (plus 8 double plates of the manuscript), was the first article to describe the opening section of P3559, in which the text in question is found. Unfortunately, the first part of this manuscript was then unknown. This led Kanda to misconstrue the title *Yuan-ming lun* as referring to the immediately following 45 lines of text, rather than to the preceding 217. Kanda noted the existence of the Peking manuscript and P3664, but he must not have seen the latter of these himself; his listing of the chapter titles of the text includes only those that occur in P3559. From the contents of the opposite side of P3664, we now know it to be the beginning of P3559. Since the opposite side of P3018, the continuation of P3559, bears the date 751, this is the *terminus ad quem* for all the material in these three manuscripts. See Tanaka, p. 207. Incidentally, P3018 is one of the manuscripts containing a portion of the miscellaneous material attached to the *EJSHL*. It bears the title *P'u-t'i-ta-mo lun* (Treatise of Bodhidharma). Yanagida's *Daruma no goroku*, p. 15, indicates that P3018 is only a partial record of this material.

Yanagida's important "Den'hôbôki to sono sakusha," pp. 47-48, summarizes Kanda's analysis—including the error regarding the application of the title *Yuan-ming lun*—and adds the suggestion that the material in question was written by some Northern School figure. Yanagida also mentions the existence and presumed wartime destruction of a manuscript owned by Ishii Mitsuo (Sekisui), the existence of which was mentioned previously by Suzuki in his comments on the *Chueh-kuan lun*, an Ox-head School text occurring in the same manuscript. (Suzuki's observation occurs in his and Furuta Shōkin's edition of the *Chuehkuan lun*, i.e., *Zekkanron* [Kyoto: Kōbundō, 1935], a rare volume which I have not been able to consult. This reference is drawn from Yanagida, p. 47.) Yanagida laments the loss of the Ishii manuscript, since it might have included the eighth chapter of the text, which is inexplicably missing in P3559. As it turns out, the Ishii manuscript is still in existence, but it too lacks this chapter.

Tanaka's article mentioned at the beginning of this note corrects the error concerning the application of the title *Yuan-ming lun* and summarizes all known bibliographic information about the text. Tanaka's new findings were made possible by his examination of a newly discovered manuscript, S6184. This manuscript is only a few lines in length, but it includes the title and some of the chapter headings of the text. Tanaka also notes that the Peking manuscript contains the same title and headings, differing only in the addition of an attribution to Aśvaghosa. (The Chinese reads *Ma-ming p'u-sa tsao.* P3664, as mentioned earlier, consists of the opening section of P3559 and also includes the same title and chapter headings, although without any attribution of authorship. The evidence of these three manuscripts was enough to show conclusively that the title *Yuan-ming lun* refers to the nine-chaptered treatise, rather than the forty-five lines following that title in P3559.

Finally, Okabe Kazuo's very brief resume of these matters, "Emmydrorn," in *Tonkō Butten to Zen*, Shinohara Toshio and Tanaka Ryōshō, eds., Kōza Tonkō, no. 8 (Tokyo: Daitō shuppan sha, 1980), pp. 344-49, includes the information
that the Ishii manuscript is now at the Tōyō Bunko in Tokyo. It is apparently not available in microfilm or published form, or even for inspection on a regular basis. Nevertheless, Okabe reports that Tanaka was able to see it in a special viewing in July 1973. At this time Tanaka observed the title for the eighth chapter and the fine print annotation “included in the above two chapters” (i-shang erh-p’ in t’ung-shuo). Evidently, the Yuan-ming lun contains no independent eighth chapter.

The translation below is based solely on P3664 and P3559. (See n. 189 for the juncture between the two.) The former, which I have transcribed from photocopies of the microfilm, is difficult to read because of shoddy calligraphy and the extremely poor condition of the manuscript. For P3559 I have had the benefit of Professor Yanagida’s transcription (mentioned already in n. 36), which I have checked against the photocopies of the microfilm. Obviously, the Ishii manuscript would have been of use in this study, but it is apparently not available. However, since this manuscript is apparently limited to the titles for Chapters Eight and Nine, the text of Chapter Nine, the title Yuan-ming tun, and the forty-five lines that also follow the Yuan-ming tun in P3559, the loss is probably not that significant. (See Tanaka, pp. 204-5.) In the same sense, the Peking manuscript would also have been useful, but apparently only the first half of it (120 lines) is devoted to this treatise, the latter half being an abbreviated transcription of the Awakening of Faith. Even these 120 lines might not have been that useful, since they apparently abbreviate the P3664/P3559 version throughout. (The combined length of this version is 277 lines.) Also, 84 lines of the Peking manuscript are said to be damaged, although the extent of this damage and its distribution throughout the manuscript is unclear. Therefore, the inability to consult the Peking and Ishii manuscripts has been only a minor impediment to the preparation of the English translation.

My reconstruction of the original title of the text is based on material found in the text itself. See the reference to a topic of discussion in the “Yao-chueh tun above” found in Chapter Three. The topic actually occurs in the earlier part of the text. The term yuan-ming does not occur in the text, unlike terms such as the yuan-chiao fang-pien in the reconstructed title.

See n. 163 for remarks concerning my edition of the Chinese text, which is found at the end of this book.

161. The Wu fang-pien was one of the very first set of Tun-huang manuscripts, Ch’an material included, to be published in Japan. In May 1917 an exhibit of “rotograph” reproductions was held at Shūkyō University (now Taishō University) in Tokyo. The organizer of this exhibit, Yabuki Keiki, had examined the collection in London the previous summer and had selected a total of 132 items for display. Among these were six Ch’an texts, plus a seventh whose relationship to Ch’an tradition was yet to become known:

C-16: Ta-sheng wu-sheng fang-pien men (three plates)
C-17: Kuan-hsin lun (one plate)
C-18: Lun (one plate)
C-19: Ta-sheng pei-tsung lun (one plate)
C-23: O-mi-t’o tsan-wen, P’u-t’i-ta-mo ch’an-shih kuan-men
C-24: Ch'eng-hsin lun
A-7: Ch'an-yao ching, Ch'an-men ching ping hsü

The numbers given are from Yabuki’s original catalogue, the Shutain-shi [=Stein] shūshō Tonkō chihō-shatsu ko shahon Butten rotogurafu kaisetsu mokuroku (Tokyo: Shūkyō Daigaku, 1917). I have used Chinese transliterations for convenience.

Yabuki must have felt that the first work listed was particularly important, since he included three plates of it in his exhibit, or about four feet five inches of the original manuscript. Although Yabuki defined the text only as a Ch’an dialogue, he did point out that the manuscript (S2503) included a “poem in praise of Ch’an” (Tsan ch’an-men shih), a thirteen-character colophon, and the Ta-sheng wu-sheng fang-pien men itself. (The plates were taken from this last work.) The poem and colophon are printed at 785.1291c-93a; the other text occurs at 785.1273b–78a. (A brief concordance to Wu fang-pien texts is given at the end of this note.)

Of the other texts displayed in 1917, the second was Shen-hsiu’s treatise (Yabuki knew only that it was not Chih-i’s work of the same name); the third was a portion of the material appended to the EJSL (S2715) rediscovered in 1936 by D. T. Suzuki; the fourth was a brief homiletic that may be found at 785.1281c–82b; the fifth was identical to a text later to become better known through a manuscript owned by the Ryukoku University Library (see item B in n. 36); the sixth was eventually to be recognized by Sekiguchi Shindai as a product of T’ien-t’ai Chih-i (see n. 29); and, finally, the seventh has come to be recognized as having been written by members of the early Ch’an School. For the last work, see Yanagida, “Zemmonkyō ni tsuite,” Tsukamoto hakase juju kinen Bukkyō shigaku ronshū (Tokyo: Tsukamoto hakase juju kinen kai, 1961), pp. 869–82.

For reasons unknown, Yabuki only included two of the seven items (C-17 and C-23) in his Meisa yoin (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1930). The contents of this work derived from his second sojourn in London in 1922–23, when he was apparently unable to reexamine some of the manuscripts he had seen before. Yanagida, who has been my source for most of the information given here, suggests that the problem may have been a lack of manuscript numbers in 1916. He also speculates that the manuscripts printed in the Taishō tripitaka were based on plates sent to Japan after Yabuki’s 1922–23 visit. Yabuki’s commentary on the work just mentioned, the Meisa yoin kaisetsu, was published in 1933, also by Iwanami. Thus he was able to include references to text in vol. 85 of the Taishō canon, which had appeared the year before. See Yanagida’s “Tonkō no zenseki to Yabuki Keiki (1),” Sanzō, 54 (April 1972): 1–4.

In 1936 Kuno Hōryū discovered two new manuscripts of the Wu fang-pien in Paris: P2058, entitled Ta-sheng wu fang-pien—pei-tsung and (at the end) Pei-tsung wu fang-pien men, which Kuno describes as very clearly written but incomplete; and P2270, which he deemed complete but was very pale and difficult to read. At least the second of these two manuscripts was written by a well-known copyist named San-chieh ssu Tao-chen. Kuno made various comments on the content of the Wu fang-pien manuscripts and included a printed edition at the end of his article “Ryūdōsei ni tomu Tōdai no Zenshū tenseki—Tonkō shutsudo

Ui Hakujū included editions or reprints of some of the manuscripts of the Wu fang-pien at the end of the first volume of his Zenshūshi kenkyū, which was also published in 1939. The Ta-sheng pei-tsung lun (Ui’s text no. 5, pp. 447-48) was taken directly from T85.1281-82a and reflects the minor errors of that edition of S2581. (Ui and the Taishō editors included only about half of the contents of the manuscript. I have not used it here, since it has little or no relationship to the Wu fang-pien.) The Ta-sheng wu-sheng fang-pien men (no. 6, pp. 449-67) was apparently based on a comparative study of T85.1273b-78a and S2503, since Ui occasionally indicates misprints in the former. Nevertheless, my own comparison with photocopies of the Tun-huang manuscript indicates numerous errors remaining in Ui’s text. Ui’s edition of the Ta-sheng wu-sheng fang-pien—pei-tsung (no. 7, pp. 468-510) was based on plates of the Pelliot collection manuscripts borrowed from Kuno. The untitled work published along with the Ta-sheng wu-sheng fang-pien—pei-tsung (no. 8, also pp. 468-510) was based on hitherto unpublished plates of S2503 acquired from Yabuki. Although Ui’s decision to print edited synoptic versions of the Pelliot and Stein collection manuscripts was an important innovation, his work is not free from error. (I have cross-checked only the manuscripts from London.) Finally, the untitled work on pp. 511-15 (his no. 9) occurs at T85.1291c-93c under the title Tsan ch‘an-men shih, but Ui notes that this title refers only to the poem found at the end of this textual unit. Ui apparently used the Taishō edition. (See his bibliographic comments on pp. 424-27.)

The last major contributor to the textual understanding of the Wu fang-pien was D. T. Suzuki, whose comments and editions were published posthumously in the third volume of his complete works. The actual work of editing was done sometime prior to June 1949. (See Furuta Shōkin’s note, Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, 3:562.) Suzuki focused on the three most important manuscripts of the Wu fang-pien material: S2503, P2058, and P2270. From these manuscripts he isolated the following texts:

I (pp. 161-67): from S2503, plates 15-17, equivalent to Ui’s untitled text no. 9, pp. 511-15, and the Tsan ch‘an-men shih, T85.1291c-92c. Suzuki omits the poem from which the Taishō title derives.

II (pp. 167-89): from S2503, plates 18-28, entitled Ta-sheng wu-sheng fang-pien men, equivalent to Ui’s text no. 6, pp. 449-67, and T85.1273b-78a

IIIA (pp. 190-212): based initially on P2058 and (from p. 199) on P2270 and equivalent to Kuno’s text and Ui’s text no. 7, pp. 468-510, with the exception noted in the following

IIIB (pp. 213-20): based on P2270 and equivalent to pp. 132.10-136.10 of Kuno’s text and pp. 498.2-509.13 of Ui’s text no. 7

IV (pp. 220-35): based once again on S2503, plates 9-14, and equivalent to Ui’s text no. 8, pp. 468-510

With the exception of his hypothesis that the fourth of his texts was the latest of the Wu fang-pien material (as discussed in the following note), Suzuki offers no rationale for his isolation of these texts from the three manuscripts in ques-
tion. Certainly, we must question the validity of the removal of some three thousand characters just before the final headings and title of text IIIA to create an independent text IIIB. In spite of these reservations, I have used Suzuki’s editions because they are more accurate, more comprehensive, and more widely available than any other source. (I have spot-checked Suzuki’s texts against the photographs of S2503 and found them generally accurate.) See n. 224.

162. The order of texts in vol. 3 of the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū was apparently intended to reflect the internal development of the Wu fang-pien. Suzuki felt that the pinnacle of the Wu fang-pien’s philosophy was related to the Avatamsaka Sūtra, which is more apparent in his text no. IV. See p. 152. In private conversations in May 1974, Professor Yanagida suggested to me that Suzuki’s text no. I, although shorter and more fragmentary, may have been the last of the group because of its use of the word t’ung 通, “penetration” or “interpretation.” See Takeda Tadashi’s “Daijō gohōben no shohon no seiritsu ni tsuite,” Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū 19, no. 1 (1960): 262–66, for a statement on the difficulties of establishing developmental relationships between the various manuscripts. Takeda feels that the Wu fang-pien existed in basic form during Shen-hsiu’s life and that any variations or additions occurred within twenty years or so after his death.

163. P3559 lacks the character tao in its title for this chapter, but it occurs in P3664 and S6184. It is unfortunate that Tanaka did not list the titles as given in the Peking manuscript. (See p. 206 of the article mentioned in n. 131.)

The nature of the Yuan-ming lun manuscripts has necessitated editorial conventions somewhat different from those used in the case of the Hsiu-hsin yao lun. Except where absolutely necessary I have not indicated obvious errors of orthography. Common Buddhist abbreviations, such as those for bodhisattva and nirvāṇa, have been converted to standard forms. Typesetting has required the use of conventional forms rather than the cursive forms commonly used in Tun-huang manuscripts. Punctuation has been added roughly in keeping with that in the original. Lacunae at the top or bottom of the line have been marked consistently with three boxes, whereas those occurring mid-line have been marked by one or more boxes in proportion to the size of the hiatus. P3664 is sixty-one lines in length; line numbering begins again at 1 for P3559.

164. This title is partially obscured in P3664 and is therefore taken from the body of the treatise in P3559. It could be understood as “Distinguishing Heresy and Thereby Generating the Fundamental.”

165. Here P3664 lacks the character tao. The translation is based in part on the contents of the chapter in question.

166. The compound translated here as “manifestations” is hsien-liang.

167. This title occurs only in the Ishii manuscript and P3664 and is partially obscured in both. The chapter itself does not occur in any of the extant manuscripts. See n. 131.

168. Elsewhere in this paper the term ju-tao has been translated as “entering into enlightenment,” but in this text it has the meaning of “first undertaking spiritual practice.”

169. The character ming is used in at least two ways in this text. Here and in lines 72 and 82 (both Chapter Four), for example, it occurs with the unambigu-
ous meaning of "to understand." In line 46 (Chapter Two), it is used with the meaning of "to explain." For an example of its use which could be interpreted in either way, see the very end of Chapter Four and n. 209.

170. Throughout this translation, words may be enclosed in brackets for either of two reasons. They may represent added material necessary for presentation in English, or they may indicate my reconstruction of the text where damage to the manuscript has resulted in lacunae. Five periods are used to indicate these lacunae, which almost always occur at the top and bottom of the lines in question.

171. See n. 139.

172. This phrase occurs several times in this text, with the connotation "What do you think about that?" At the very end of the text it is used in a longer construction with the meaning "If you do not appreciate" (i.e., "understand"). Prior to this phrase (line 7/1:7 of the Chinese manuscript) occur four extraneous characters, one of them of indecipherable form.

173. This term occurs again in Chapter Six (line 74 of the manuscript). It is also reminiscent of passages in the Wu fang-pien, which refer to the emancipation of the mind and then the body.

174. The text has hsiang 心, "thoughts," a copyist's error for hsiang 心, "characteristics." Such mistakes are very common throughout this and other Tun-huang manuscripts, including the line below that reads, "If the influences were without characteristics . . ." There the character for "thoughts" or false conceptualization occurs, rather than that for "characteristics." The two characters differ only by the presence or absence of one four-stroke element. I will not annotate such errors of transcription in the pages that follow.

175. The character is ch'i, "to arise"; "to generate," or "activate." In some Northern School contexts the idea of pu-ch'i, "nonactivation," is very important; see n. 340. Since this particular connotation is absent in the present text, I have translated the character ch'i variously according to context.

176. The phrase is jo yu shih se, the meaning of the third character apparently being "to invest with materiality." See n. 199.

177. The character missing here is probably tso, "to make." Compare P3559, line 99.

178. I find the wording of this line to be incomprehensible, including that part of the line corresponding to the previous sentence of the translation. I have tried to capture the general import.

179. The word "verify" is a tentative translation of shih, normally meaning "real" or "truly." I have taken it in a transitive sense. Unfortunately, the character in the manuscript is itself unclear. The Chinese for "numerous as grains of sand" is also problematic, being kao ch' en sha chieh shu. The first character, as it is, refers to a river in Shensi Province. This would be an interesting touch, if it were intentional. A more conventional phrasing would have been simply wei-ch'en shu.

180. This translation is tentative because of the obscurity of the second character, but it fits the context. See line 44 of the Chinese manuscript.

181. It is a common injunction of Buddhism that the mind resides in none of the three locations relative to the body: interior, exterior, and intermediate.

182. I am unaware of any precedent for this logic.
183. Perhaps the logic is that body and mind could be termed "being" if they were totally unrelated entities, rather than different aspects of the same reality.

184. At the very end of the text is a reference to the "five oceans and ten wisdoms" (wu-hai shih-chih), which presumably refers to this item and the list in which it is contained. The meaning of the "five oceans" is unknown.

185. The last of these three characters is only partially legible.

186. There does not appear to be enough room for this part of the title, but consistency would require its presence.


188. This is a tentative reading.

189. The last line of P3664 and the first line of P3559 are identical. I find it difficult to understand how such a repetition could have occurred. Perhaps the separation of the two pieces took place during the very act of copying, and the line in question was repeated to show how the two pieces fit together. Line numbering in the transcribed text found at the end of this book has been initiated once again at this point.

190. Here I have used the terms "interior" and "exterior." Elsewhere I have used "within" and "without" and other similar equivalents, depending on the English context.

191. The allusion is probably to the metaphor of the mind being like a monkey that hops from one sensory window onto the world to another in an undisciplined, hyperactive fashion.

192. Judging from the context, the point must be that this is a mistaken apprehension of or attachment to the dharmadhātu.

193. Rather than "explanation," this could refer to the "transformation" of an unenlightened person's realm into that of an enlightened person.

194. The redundant characters shih-chieh, "world," occur here. The previous ellipses indicate three missing characters.

195. Shou 給, "to receive," is taken as an error for hsiu 修, "to cultivate."

196. The reference is to a mahālaka, an immense fish used as a metaphor for something stupid. See Nakamura, 2:1278a-b.

197. A tentative reading. An alternate interpretation would be: "Within this teaching there appears no essence of sentient beings, and the . . . . of the Buddhas are completely nonsubstantial."

198. I have been unable to find the exact source of this quotation. It may be only a rough paraphrase.

199. The term used is chun-shih, "perfumed and materialized."

200. See the occurrence of this term in the EJSHL, translated in the preceding chapter of this part.

201. This would seem to be in direct conflict with Shen-hsiu's Kuan-hsin lun, which interprets the three immeasurable eons of practice necessary to become a buddha in a nontemporal fashion. I do not believe this apparent contradiction is significant; see the discussion of "contemplative analysis" in Section 6 of this chapter. In the present context the connotation of the term is simply that one should practice constantly and without cease.
202. This is reminiscent of the metaphor of waves and water found in the *Awakening of Faith*. See Hirakawa, *Daijō kishin ron*, pp. 119 and 125-27 or *T32.576c*.

203. *Li-hsing* could be translated simply as “ideal practice.” However, the emphasis on the necessity of achieving a balance of both understanding and practice occurs throughout this text. “Practice,” in fact, seems to refer to activities undertaken on behalf of sentient beings, rather than meditative endeavors. This distinction, not to mention the specific term used here, is clearly reminiscent of the *EJSHL*. See the end of Chapter Six of the translation below and n. 217.

204. It is significant that a distinction is made between practitioners and non-practitioners—all that is necessary is to undertake and continue spiritual practice. The *Hsiu-hsin yao tun* contains a similar injunction that its message cannot be understood with the ordinary mind. See section I of the translation in Chapter VI.

205. Here occur four characters that are indecipherable in the immediate context.

206. This is a paraphrase. The text has, literally: “This is an other-understanding, not a self-understanding. This is an other-practice, not a self-practice.”

207. The Chinese translation for the term that is used here, *san-shih-ch'i chu-tao fa-men*, is not one of the several conventional ones. The thirty-seven requisites include the four foundations of mindfulness, four kinds of exertion, four bases of power, five faculties, five strengths, seven constituents of enlightenment, and the Eightfold Path. See Nakamura, *1:472b-d*.

208. The negative of “nonpractice” is partially obscured, and the syntactical relationship between the phrases is in doubt.

209. This could be rendered equally well as, “Therefore, I first had to explain the worlds.” On the different meanings of the character *ming*, see n. 169.

210. The character *wu* 無, “not,” has been taken as *i* 亦, “also,” to avoid a double negative.

211. *Sheng* 生, “vehicle,” is presumably an error for *sheng* 生, “to generate.”

212. There are not false and correct in the sense of truth value, but in that of being in opposition to or accord with the spirit of Buddhism.

213. Here *ch'ien ching* is used to mean a previous moment of mentation, rather than an object of concentration physically in front of one.

214. Two very similar characters, *chih* 至 and *tao* 道, meaning “to come” and “to arrive,” respectively, are used here. It is uncertain whether they were meant to have identical or slightly different connotations in this instance.

215. See Chapter One, line 10, and n. 173.

216. Literally, “If from space you next contemplate the earth.”

217. The compound *li-hsing* occurs again a few lines below in the *Yuan-ming lun*. The correlation of such terminology with the two basic ideas of the East Mountain Teaching and Northern School should be obvious. See nn. 102 and 203.

218. The topic of “self-enlightened sagely wisdom” (*tzu-chueh sheng-chih*) is mentioned at least five times in the *Lankāvatāra Śūtra*. See *T14.485a*, *486c*, *491b*, *506c*, and *510b*. In the third and fourth instances there is also reference to the elements of phenomenal reality being the “manifestations of one’s own mind,” as in
the *Yuan-ming lun*. Incidentally, the first and second instances utilize the metaphor of the mirror, which suddenly reflects reality without any false thoughts.

219. I cannot find this statement at the corresponding locations of any of the readily available commentaries on the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*. The commentary referred to here may have been one by Shen-hsiu or P’u-chi, which was being introduced and summarized in the lecture(s) that became the *Yuan-ming lun*. In addition, I cannot find any other references to a world system constructed on the basis of four disks, rather than three. See n. 315.

220. The term used here means “to revile the Dharma,” although heresy seems to be the real problem, not blasphemy.

221. According to Tanaka, “Tōnkōbon *Emmyōron* ni tsuite,” p. 207, the Pe­
ing manuscript includes this anecdote in Chapter Six. I have taken several small liberties with the text in order to present a smoother translation.

222. See the list of ten items given in Chapter Two.

223. This ending is very abrupt, as if the original conclusion of the text has been omitted or lost.

224. The peculiar character of the *Wu fang-pien* has required the use of two special conventions. First, since this composite version is based on the text in the *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, I have included specification of the manuscript, section, and page number for each segment. The first number, in Roman numerals, represents the manuscript number in Suzuki’s edition. (“III A” and “IIIB” refer to Suzuki’s first and second sections of his third manuscript.) Then follows the major section of that manuscript from which the segment in question was taken, i.e., “Int” for the Introduction, “Con” for the Conclusion, and nos. 1-5 for each of the five expedient means. The next number, that just before the colon, represents the segment number as given by Suzuki. (Some of these segment labels are hyphenated numbers, such as “3-1.”) Finally, the number after the colon is the page number in the *zenshū* edition. Hence the present example, “II.Int.1: 167,” means that the segment in question occurs on p. 167 in the *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū* edition and that it is the first one in the Introduction of Suzuki’s second manuscript. The second special convention is that liturgical responses are given in italics, while glosses and liturgical instructions in the text, which usually occur in smaller Chinese characters in the original manuscripts, are indicated by the simultaneous use of both parentheses and italics. Liturgical queries preceding the responses are not italicized.

225. The distinction between “going counter to” and “being in accord with” the Buddha Nature (*wei* and *shun*) resembles the *Yuan-ming lun*’s notion of “reverse” and “direct” types of contemplation (*ni* and *shun*). I wonder if Suzuki has erred in the transcription of the *Wu fang-pien* manuscripts; I have not been able to check his version against the microfilms in this case. The sentence included here in underlined form occurs in the text in slightly smaller characters. The same convention is followed below.

226. This could be read, “When your minds are peaceful and motionless, what is it that is called purity?”


228. The characters *ho yen wen*, “the preceptor asked,” occur here but have been overlooked for reasons of simplicity.
229. Nakamura, 2:1006c, says the following about tang-t’i (tōtai in Japanese): “The true nature of things as they are. A word that directly indicates their fundamental essence. Fundamental essence. The thing itself.” According to this definition, tang-t’i refers to the true reality of Suchness itself, or the true reality of a specific object of contemplation. Since no such specific object is mentioned, I have chosen the more general alternative.

230. The term chueh-hsin is not very common in the Wu fang-pien. See the use of chueh-hsing, “enlightenment nature” at the end of the composite text (Conclusion, section A).

231. This term occurs prominently and repeatedly in the Tun-wu chen-tsung yao-chueh.

232. See similar terms at III.B.1:213 and IV.Con.3–1:233 (Conclusion, section B, of the composite text).

233. The text goes on to define these as the tempter of the afflictions, that of thinking and mental confusion; the tempter of the heavens, that of exterior limits and sensory realms; the tempter of the skandhas, that of physical laziness; and the tempter of death, that of the interruption of effort.

234. I have omitted an exchange which equates the Buddha with the “three sixes” (san-liu). Suzuki edits this to read “three points” (san-tien), which are the three dots used to make the character  in the Siddham version of the Sanskrit syllabary. In esoteric Buddhism these dots are equated with the dharmakāya, prajñā, and moksa. This usage is attested as early as the ninth century and may well have been in use as early as the period in question. See Nakamura, 1:483a. However, it seems better to leave the text as it stands and interpret the “three sixes” as a reference to the eighteen āyatanas or the capabilities, data, and consciousnesses associated with the six types of sensory awareness.

235. Here occur the smaller characters ju yen, “entered [and] said,” the meaning of which is unclear. (Could they be some kind of stage direction?)

236. Pu-ch’i, “nonactivation” is mentioned in Section 19 of this chapter. On “maintain[ing] the True Mind,” see the Hsiu-hsin yao lun.

237. See Hirakawa, pp. 102 and 105, or T32.576b. These passages are discussed in Section 15 of this chapter.

238. Suzuki’s text I.1.4:163 includes an abbreviated version of this material. Following this occurs a citation from a work called the Liu-ken chieh-t’o men (Teaching of the Emancipation of the Six Senses), otherwise unknown. The passage cited defines each sense organ as nonsubstantial and without self, etc.

239. Suzuki’s text II.1.10:171 relates different portions of the Awakening of Faith line quoted here to “self” and “other,” but this subject is not continued elsewhere in the Wu fang-pien.

240. We will see subsequently that this compound must be translated using two synonomy.

241. Suzuki’s text I.1.5:163 contains an explanation of five different kinds of dharmakāya. These are based, the text tells us, on the Ta t’ung fang-kuang ching (Sūtra on the Penetration of the Great Expanse), a Six Dynasties work probably composed in China. The relevant portion of this text is reproduced at 785.1348c, but its explanation of the five kinds of dharmakāya differs from that found here in the Wu fang-pien. The definitions given in the Northern School text contain
two interesting points: (1) the term “merit” (kung-te) is defined in terms of contemplative analysis, so that kung refers to the transcendence of thoughts and te to the manifestation of the absolute, and (2) there is a reference to the dharmakāya of space, “which is equivalent to the realm of space,” a concept that is reminiscent of the Yuan-ming lun.

242. The terms “unfolding” and “constriction” seem at first glance to be related to breathing meditation, but the usage here actually refers to the passive realization and active expression of enlightenment.

243. Li-hsin, “to transcend the mind,” may be an abbreviation for hsin li-nien, “the mind transcends thoughts.” The same would be true of “transcend[ing] form.”

244. I am adding chieh hsiang 界相, not just chieh 界, as Suzuki does.

245. The three self natures that occur here are the older Chinese equivalents for the three svabhava of the Yogācāra tradition, as found in the Chinese translations of the Lankāvatāra Sūtra. See Nakamura, 1:113c and 1364a. I have taken the character shih 是 in the definition of the third self nature as an error for yuan 圓.

246. This opening dialogue is a composite of material from Suzuki’s texts II.2.1:172, II.2.38:184, and IIIA.2.1:193. A different version occurs at what evidently corresponds to the same location in another manuscript, IIIIB.1:213. This other version goes as follows:

Do you perceive (chien, “to see”) your body?
No.
Do you perceive your mind?
No.
Not perceiving the body, the body is emancipated. Not perceiving the mind, the mind is emancipated. Emancipation has the meaning of autonomous spontaneity (tzu-tsai).

The characteristic of not perceiving the body and mind is without going and without coming. Vast and without a single thing, the gate of bodhi (p’u-t’i men) opens of itself.

247. Chih-chien is translated either as “knowing and perception” or “perceptive faculties,” depending on the need for binominal symmetry.

248. The Wu fang-pien’s penchant for symmetry suggests that we should interpolate at this location a statement about the gate of wisdom and the sentence, “The senses are motionless.”

249. Suzuki actually includes these two sentences in segment II.2.3.

250. Although Suzuki indicates that this is a quotation from the scriptures, its exact source has not been identified.

251. See the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, section T, and n. 108.

252. These three types of hearing seem to correspond with the differences in brainwave activity of nonmeditators and experienced practitioners of different types of meditation. That is, whereas nonmeditators habituate quickly to a repeated auditory stimulus, experts in Indian yogic meditation enter a state in which they never respond to the sound at all, and Zen meditators hear the sound each time in exactly the same way, without habituation. Although the case of the nonmeditator does not quite fit the Wu fang-pien’s statement about ordinary,
unenlightened people, it is still possible to infer that early Ch'an strove to define a type of meditative endeavor substantially different from traditional Indian practices. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine whether the dichotomy implied here is completely culture-bound, i.e., Indian vs. Chinese approaches to meditation, or whether some precedent to this "constant practice" occurred in Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism.

253. This passage has not been located in the Nirvāṇa Sūtra.
254. This contradicts a well-known line in the Tao-te ching, 4.
255. Here the character for "perception" is shih, not chien.
256. T14.542b.
257. T14.542c.
259. At roughly this point in the corresponding passage, Suzuki's text II.2.20:178 has the following: "With fundamental and successive [wisdoms], all locations (i.e., all types of sensory activity) are clearly distinct, all locations are emancipated, all locations are [engaging in] spiritual practice."
260. Although this metaphor is common in Buddhist literature, it does not occur in the Lotus as given here.
261. Suzuki's text IIIA.2.16:199 adds the concept of motionlessness to its answers regarding space and the lotus blossom. It also closes with the following line about the "unsurpassed Honored One": "Always in accordance with the characterless principle, illuminating the source of the fundamental mind."
262. Suzuki's text IIIA.2.17:199 has added the idea of motionlessness, as just above, plus an interesting additional line. It has, in total:

The mind's being motionless is the "wondrous Dharma." The body's being motionless is the "lotus blossom." When body and mind are motionless, one enters the "samādhi of the locus of incalculable meanings." This is called the Sūtra of the Lotus Blossom of the Wondrous Dharma.

A reference to the samādhi in question occurs in the Lotus and is quoted in the Wu-fang-pien just below.
263. Suzuki's text IIIA.2.18:200 adds the phrases "open the gate of expedient means, manifest the path of truth (chen-shih lu)." The latter term also occurs in IIIA.2.19:200.
264. This is abbreviated very slightly from the original, which occurs at T9.2b and again on p. 4a.
265. It is interesting to see li-nien occur so explicitly as a substantive compound. The same usage occurs in the corresponding passage at II.2.31:181.
266. Suzuki's text II.2.32:182 has shun, "to be in accord," instead of ju, "to enter."
267. T9.5b.
268. Also T9.5b.
269. T9.6a. As Suzuki suggests, I am omitting the character wen, "question," that precedes this phrase.
270. It is tempting to correlate this statement with the third of Bodhidharma's four practices. See the translation of the EJSHL in Chapter V.
271. The text continues on to treat all the six perfections in the same manner.
Suzuki's text IIIA.2.25:202 includes the same passage but abbreviates all but the first perfection. I have included only enough of this material to indicate the pattern.

272. T14.546b. Like chih-hui, pu k'o ssu-i must be broken up for translation here. The reason for this will be apparent in the dialogue just below.
273. T14.546a. The phrases below are from the same source.
274. In this line I have translated both ch'u-hsin jen and ch'u-hsin as "beg­inner."
275. Here I have left ssu-i and pu ssu-i undivided, in order to yield a more fluid English rendition.
276. These are, of course, the Four Noble Truths.
278. The reciprocal position occurs shortly below. I have used bold print to help the reader distinguish the key sentences.
279. Note that this is not just the correspondence of serenity and illumination, but the correspondence of the two expressions of their correspondence.
280. See T14.546b. "Enlargement or contraction" is only "increase or de­crease" in the original, the volumetric nature of this change being understood.
281. Suzuki's text III.3.5:207 correlates the gods of the Heaven of the Thirty-three with the five sense organs and five sensory consciousnesses. The scriptural passage just above is abbreviated from T14.546b–c.
282. That is, they eradicate all mental activity, rather than just the dualistic discrim­ination that is the real problem.
283. T15.36b–c.
284. I have followed Suzuki in taking ch'i instead of chih.
285. This text is otherwise unknown. Although the contents of the quotation from it are somewhat more annihilatory than the Wu fang-pien in general, its use here substantiates the fact that the members of the Northern School were circulating their own teachings under Bodhidharma's name.
286. The first of these quotations is from Śiksānanda's translation of the Avatamsaka, T10.68c. The second is presumably from the same source.
287. The interpretation that this is an enlightened perception is a concession to the occasional use of chueh-hsin in the Wu fang-pien. Here the text has only chueh.
288. The dharmakāya has a "frozen" permanence because it is unrelated to the realm of activity, I believe.
289. See Buddhahadra's translation of the Avatamsaka, T9.438c. Śiksānanda's wording, T10.77c–78a, is different but more explicit. The lines quoted here were apparently fairly popular, even though their interpretation among members of the Northern School is not certain. They also occur in a fragmentary manu­script of the Wu fang-pien (S2503) reprinted in the Taishō tripitaka. See T85.1292c and n. 161.
290. The fundamental study of the Teaching of the Three Stages is Yabuki Keiki's Sankaikyō no kenkyū (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1927).
291. See Yanagida's discussion of the origins of the Southern School in Shoki Zennshū shisho, pp. 101–102. Yanagida begins this discussion with the statement, "The Southern School is predicated on the Northern School. Without the Northern School there could not have been any Southern School."
292. Unfortunately, in the present context I will be unable to consider Shen-hui's historical role and his criticisms of the Northern School. On the latter subject, see Robert Zeuschner's doctoral dissertation, *An Analysis of the Philosophical Criticisms of Northern Ch'an Buddhism* (University of Hawaii, 1977).

293. In some cases the Sanskrit term *prayoga* seems a better equivalent than *upāya* for the Chinese term *fang-pien*.

294. See Chapter Two, section B of the translation.

295. The general thrust of the *Kuan-hsin lun* is that one should eradicate the three poisons of craving, anger, and stupidity. This would seem to imply a conservative approach to religious practice, i.e., one of self control, etc. However, the eradication of the three poisons is not presented as synonymous with but rather as sharply different from traditional moral and spiritual training. The eradication of the poisons is contrasted with the tradition of the Buddha's three immeasurable eons of training, a tradition that is then itself redefined. (See item 3 in the list that follows in the text.) Exactly the same observation holds true for the *Kuan-hsin lun* as has already been made about the concept of mindfulness in the *JTFM*: The most important innovation is that the recommended practice included no prerequisites or preparation but could be accomplished immediately. (See Chapter VI, Section 7.)

296. This would be equivalent to about six liters by Han Dynasty measures (when the Buddha's biography first became known in China) and twenty-one liters during the T'ang Dynasty (when Shen-hsiu was writing). In either case, a substantial volume of milk.

297. The quotation is from the *Wen-shih ching* (*Sūtra on the Bath-house*). The original translation of the sūtra itself is attributed to An Shih-kao and bears the full title *Fo-shuo wen-shih hsi-yū chung-seng ching*. See T16.803a for the list of seven items used here. A commentary on this scripture was discovered at Tun-huang, but it contains nothing like the material found in the *Kuan-hsin lun*. See T85.536c-40a.

298. The *Kuan-hsin lun* occurs in printed form at T85.1270c-73b and in the *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, suppl. vol. 1:592–643. The former is based on only one Tun-huang manuscript and lacks the opening passage cited below (see n. 310), whereas the latter is a synoptic transcription of three versions of the text, each representing the edition of two manuscripts.

299. The term *kuan-hsin shih* derives originally from Chih-i's four criteria for commenting on the *Lotus Sūtra*. These are: *yin-yuan shih* ("conditional analysis"), which concerns the relationship between the Buddha and sentient beings; *yueh-chiao shih* ("doctrinal analysis"), which begins with the correlation of the particular scriptural line or term with one of Chih-i's four teachings (*Tripitaka*, common, unique, or perfect); *pen-chishih* ("truth-level analysis"), in which individuals or doctrines are approached in either their "fundamental" (*pen*) Mahāyāna or their "manifested" (*chi*) Hinayāna, i.e., their ultimate or literal, identities; and *kuan-hsin shih* ("contemplative analysis"), which approaches each line from the scripture as a function or component of the "contemplation of the principle of the true characteristic of the one mind." See Nakamura, 2:983a-b, or Andō, *Tendaigaku*, pp. 43−45. Ui was the first to use the term in reference to the Northern School. This is one of the meanings of *fang-pien*, "expedient means," in early texts; I will use "contemplative analysis" in order to avoid confusion. Faure, *La
Volonte d’Orthodoxie, pp. 102–3, defines upāya in the Northern School as not simply a means, but “an attempt to transcend the dualistic distinction between ends and means. It is (or claims to be) the Ultimate Truth, the Truth that is manifested in all ‘fashions of a certain fashion.’ ”


301. P2325 is reproduced at T85.1435c–45a. Although P2192 cannot be dated precisely, it betrays no influence from Shen-hui’s Southern School and no knowledge of the Yuan-ming lun, Wu fang-pien, or even the LCSTC. On the other hand, it does contain references to principle (li) and practice (hsing) and a statement on there “fundamentally not [being] a single thing.” (See the Conclusion, section 1 of the composite text.) The general outlook and style of metaphoric construction in this text implies a provenance similar to that of the Wu fang-pien.

302. The format used here for citations from microfilms of Tun-huang manuscripts is explained in Abbreviations and Conventions of Usage.

303. See similar sentiments expressed in the Ta-mo ch’an-shih lun, Sekiguchi, Daruma daishi no kenkyū, pp. 467–68.

304. This statement occurs at line 22:11/643.

305. The An-pan shou-i ching occurs at T15.163a–73a. Ui Hakujū’s study of this text, which was published posthumously, attempts to separate the original scripture from the interpolated commentary. Unfortunately, no explanation of the criteria used in this process is either given or apparent. See his Yakkyōshi kenkyū (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1971), pp. 201–44. A better attempt at deciphering at least the opening portion of the text is made by Aramaki Noritoshi, “Indo Bukkyō kara Chūgoku Bukkyō e—Amban shui kyō to Kō Sōe – Dōan – Sha Fu jo nado,” Bukkyō shigaku, 15, no. 2 (1971): 1–45. Also see Kawashima Jōmyō, “Amban shui kyō ni tsuite,” Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū 24, no. 2 (1976): 750–53.

306. T15.163c–64b.

307. The term ko-i is often used by modern students of Chinese civilizations as a catchword for an entire early phase of Buddhist-Taoist syncretism. The original meaning of the term was much more narrowly restricted, however. See Zürcher, p. 184.


309. For a convenient summary of Tung’s ideas and works, see Li Wei-hsiung, Tung Chung-shu yü Hsi Han hsueh-shu (Taipei: Chung-wen chih ch’u-pan she, 1979). Pages 66–73 deal specifically with his theories on yin-yang and the five elements. Andō, Tendaigaku, p. 45, mentions the shih ju-shih of the T’ien-t’ai tradition in the context of his explanation of “contemplative analysis.” Also see Andō, pp. 139–41.

310. See the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, suppl. vol. 1:592–95. (The Taishō edition lacks this opening passage.)

311. This passage occurs at T85.1273c or Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, suppl. vol. 1:641–42.
312. T85.1272b or *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, suppl. vol. 1:624–25.
313. See T85.1270c or the *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, suppl. vol. 1:598.
314. T85.1273a–b or *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, suppl. vol. 1:640 and 642. The second of these two statements has already been included in the passage translated at the very end of Section 5 of this chapter.

315. The *Wai-tao hsiao-sheng nieh-p'an lun*, a brief text translated by Bodhiruci and comprised of material associated very closely with the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, contains the following description of a non-Buddhist school known as the "mouth-power teachers" (k'ou-li lun-shih):

Space is the cause of the myriad things. At the very beginning is born space. From space is born wind. From wind is born fire. From fire is born smoke. [From] smoke is born water. The water then freezes solid and forms the earth. From the earth is born the myriad plants. From the myriad plants are born the five grains. From the five grains is born sentience. Therefore, in our treatise it says: "Sentience is food; afterward, it is again no more. (?)" Space is called nirvāṇa. Therefore, the heretical "mouth-power teachers" say that space is permanent and is called the cause of nirvāṇa. (T32.158a)

This is by no means identical to the teaching found in the *Yuan-ming lun*, but the similarity is striking. See Mochizuki, 1:735c–36a and 915c. In contrast to the *Yuan-ming lun*’s four disks (see Chapter 7), the traditional Buddhist orthodoxy posits only three (wind, water, and metal). See T29.57af, de La Vallée Poussin, *L’Abhidharmakosa*, 2:138f, or Mochizuki, 2:1696a–b.

316. See n. 36.

317. For the treatment of these subjects in the *Kuan-hsin lun*, see Section 8 of this chapter. Also see Chapters Six and Three of the *Yuan-ming lun*. (The critical passage in the latter chapter is discussed in Section 11 of this chapter.)

318. The *Yuan-ming lun* refers to the penetration of space by mind and body (Chapter Two, eight paragraphs from the end), to one’s wisdom, practice, and body, etc., filling space when the goal is achieved (Chapter Three, five paragraphs from the end), and to the equivalence of mind and form with space (Chapter Six, three paragraphs from the end). The *Wu fang-pien* discusses space in sections I.A, I.E, I.M, and II.K. In addition, one of the short works bearing Shen-hsiu’s name discovered at Tun-huang refers to “body and mind pervading the dharmakāya.” See the Tā-t’ung ho-shang ch’i li-wen (*Shen-hsiu’s Seven Ritual Statements*), S1494 or Yanagida, "Den’hōbōki to sono sakusha," p. 50 n. 3. Interestingly, this work also contains a reference to the “ordinary original mind within the body” (t’i-chung p’ing-teng pen-lai hsin), which evokes Ma-tsu’s famous references to the ordinary mind. The *Yuan-ming lun*’s discussion of sound may be found in Chapter Nine. In the *Wu fang-pien*, see sections II.A and II.C–E. Concerning the realms, see the latter part of Chapter Two and the very end of Chapter Five in the *Yuan-ming lun* and sections I.E–F in the *Wu fang-pien*.

319. An additional reason to associate the *Yuan-ming lun* with Shen-hsiu might have been the similarity between its emphasis on the “perfect teaching” (yuan-tsung) and the “perfectly accomplished” (yuan-ch’eng) and the title of a lost work attributed to Shen-hsiu in a Korean catalogue. (The catalogue also lists
a thirty-fascicle commentary on the Avatamsaka.) The title of this work is Miao-li yuan-ch'eng kuan (Contemplation of the Wondrous Principle and the Perfectly Accomplished). However, there is no further similarity between the contents of the Yuan-ming lun and the few excerpts of the Miao-li yuan-ch'eng kuan that survive and, more important, the latter text is now considered to have been written by another monk named Shen-hsiu who died about 770 (as is the sutra commentary). The passages in question were discovered by Ōya Tokujō and were published in Kim Ji-gyōn, “Kōchū Hokkaizu entsū ki,” Shiragi Bukkyō kenkyū, Kim Ji-gyōn et al., eds. (Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1973), pp. 380–84. One of the passages in question (p. 383) incorporates material attributed to Shen-hsiu in the TCL (T48.943a–b). See Yanagida’s “Zenseki kaidai,” p. 468. Additional passages of similar attribution are introduced by Yoshizu Yoshihide, “Jinshū no Kegon kyōshō ni tsuite,” Shūgaku kenkyū, 24 (March 1982): 204–9. See Sakamoto, Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1956), p. 56, and T55.1166a and c. Bernard Faure provides a comprehensive analysis of the entire issue in “Shen-hsiu et l’Avatamsaka-sūtra,” Zinbun: Memoirs of the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, 19 (1983): 1–15, as well as in his dissertation, La Volonté d’Orthodoxie, pp. 118–28.

320. The most convenient reference in English for the p’an-chiao theories of the Hua-yen School is Weinstein, “Imperial Patronage in T’ang Buddhism,” p. 304. For a more extensive treatment, see Sakamoto, Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū, pp. 149–265. The list of ten meanings given in Chapter Two of the Yuan-ming lun is reminiscent of the Hua-yen School’s predilection to categories of ten, but this similarity is of little measurable significance.

321. See Chapter Three, section C, of the translation.

322. Professor Yanagida, in his “Shoki Zenshu to shikan shisō,” p. 264, asserts that the principle of nonsubstantiality was fundamental to the development of the Ch’an School from its very inception. This is in contrast to the traditional view, of course, which identifies the Northern School with the Lankāvatāra Sūtra and the Southern School with the Diamond Sūtra and a newfound emphasis on the Perfection of Wisdom.


325. This saying (“The path of words . . .”) occurs first in the Ta chih-tu lun, T25.71c. (The two phrases occur here in opposite order from the later conventional usage.) See Nakamura, 1:429a.

326. The connection with the Hsiu-hsin yao lun, section P, is obvious.

327. See the end of the first paragraph of this translation.

328. See P3559, 17:9/391f, or Yanagida, “Den’hōbōki to sono sakusha,” p. 49. It is possible that the passage introduced here is not specifically attributable to Shen-hsiu. The heading “transmission of Preceptor [Shen]-hsiu” occurs shortly above in the manuscript (17:3/385). This is followed by a three-line exhortation to vigorous exertion in meditation, a space of one character, the heading “Oral Determination of the Mind that Leads Ordinary People to Sage-
hood" (tao-fan ch'ü-sheng hsin-chueh), two spaces, a statement on the transmission of the teaching from Bodhidharma to Hung-jen's disciples, and, finally, the passage in question. The second heading and transmission statement clearly refer to the Hsiu-hsin yao lun and, in my opinion, should be placed just after that text. (The transmission statement is clearly related to the CFPC, as has already been noted.) This leaves the passage in question directly after Shen-hsiu's exhortation.

329. See n. 42, item C, for a comment on the occurrences of the term ming-ching in the LCSTC.

330. Suzuki's short introduction to his edition of the Wu fang-pien manuscripts in the third volume of his complete works (pp. 141-52) contains several references to the lack of clarity of the text. At one point, he even suggests that one of the text's position's was "irritating" (modokashii) to Shen-hui. Although we cannot accept Suzuki's preconceptions, it is understandable that the style of the Wu fang-pien offered him little reason to challenge them.

331. This list includes the variant titles that occur in the manuscripts, plus the scriptural correspondences as given by Tsung-mi. For the latter, see Kamata, Zengen shosenshū tojo, pp. 301-302, and Z1, 14, 277c–78b (H14.554a–55b).

332. I believe that the explication of five expedient means, rather than four, six, or some other number, is a reflection of the p'an-chiao tradition. Although this is only a superficial relationship, it is consistent with the Northern School's adaptation of traditional Buddhist motifs to its own purposes. This is not the only early Ch'an work that may be compared with p'an-chiao schema: The structure of the EJSHL attributed to Bodhidharma seems even more organically related. That is, the entrance of principle and the four practices constitute a five-fold progression similar to that found in some p'an-chiao theories. For ease of reference, we may recall the "five periods" of the T'ien-t'ai system. Immediately after his enlightenment, the Buddha is supposed to have taught the Avatamsaka Sutra, which contained an unsimplified statement of the highest truth. Seeing that his message was not being communicated, the Buddha changed his approach and taught the very simple Hinayāna teachings, progressively more sophisticated Mahāyāna doctrines, and eventually the most profound ideas of the Lotus Sutra. Although this scheme was developed after the composition of the EJSHL (even if the EJSHL were written well after Bodhidharma's death) the notion of beginning with the unadulterated truth and then progressing from the simplest to the most profound of religious doctrines is apparent in other, much earlier p'an-chiao schema, viz., Hui-kuan's theory, which is summarized in Hurvitz, "Chih-i," pp. 219–24. This comparison suggests that the logical structure, if not necessarily its content, is thoroughly Chinese.

333. This resume is mentioned in n. 331.


335. See Hirakawa, pp. 99–100. The fact that the Wu fang-pien prefers the "matrix of buddhahood" over the "consciousness-only" theory fits with the rejection of the false view of the sudden teaching and reverse contemplation in the Yuan-ming lun. (See Chapters Two and Five of the translation.)

336. Ibid., p. 182, or T32.577c.
337. Hirakawa, pp. 102–6, or T32.576b. The reader may also consult Hakeda, pp. 37–40. The differences between my translation and the late Professor Hakeda’s are due to the particular usage of terminology in this paper.

338. The idea referred to here is not that of decay into nonexistence or unmanifestness, but differentiation from successive thoughts.


340. See the end of section IV.C of the Wu fang-pien translation.

The esoteric Buddhist master Śubhākarasimha criticizes the practice of meditation by students in Ch’ang-an as follows:

You beginners are [in such] great fear of activating the mind and the motion of thoughts that you cease to make spiritual progress. In singlemindedly maintaining “nonthought” (wu-nien) as the ultimate, the [longer you] search, the more unattainable [is your goal]. (T18.945a)

(The text in which this passage occurs has been mentioned in n. 160 to Part One.) It is noteworthy that this criticism, which was addressed to a congregation led by Shen-hsiu’s disciple Ching-hsien, certifies the popularity of both pu ch’i (“nonactivation”) and wu-nien (“nonthought”) a decade before the initiation of Shen-hui’s anti-Northern School campaign in 730. Also, the phrase “not a single thing” (wu i wu) occurs on p. 945b.


342. See the Ch’eng-hsin lun in the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, 2:443–44.

343. See n. 29.

344. T33.697c. Also see p. 707a and Mochizuki, 1:606a–b.

345. T46.578a.

346. See T15.462c, 469c, and 479a.


348. Obviously, physical objects might be said to “transcend thought” in the sense that they are in and of themselves unrelated to thought, but it is only the practitioner’s awareness of this fact that would have any real significance. Actually, to talk of “physical objects” or a reality that exists external to the practitioner is to miss the point of Buddhist philosophy in general, in which the only “form” that is actually encountered by any individual being occurs as dharmas of cognition.

349. The Wu fang-pien statement occurs at Intro.B of the composite text.

350. The example of Ming-ts’an is the exception that proves this rule: His radical reform after 742 implies that his behavior was a calculated response to a specific situation at Nan-yueh ssu rather than a general rejection of monastic discipline.

351. See Yin-shun’s Chung-kuo Ch’an-tsung shih, pp. 166-68. The Kuan-hsin lun’s comments on nien-fo are mentioned in point 8 of the list included in Section 5 of this chapter. See T85.1273a or the Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū, suppl. vol. 1:636-40. The CFPC (section S) uses the term nien fo-ming (“remembrance of the name of the Buddha”). This implies oral recitation, but the reference is to a shallow practice given to large numbers of beginning students. Faure, La Volonte d’Orthodoxie, p. 213, comments insightfully on the ambiguous relationship between the interiorization and ritualization of meditation practice, using the Wu fang-pien reference to nien-fo as an example of the latter. Finally, Shen-hsiu’s reference to sentient beings’ foolishly “not polishing” the Buddha Amitābha within them, to be mentioned in the Conclusion, Section 1, implies a contemplative and (at least primarily) nonrecitative interpretation of nien-fo. See n. 4 to the Conclusion.

352. See P3559, 26:9/614.


354. See section II.B of the translation.

CONCLUSION


2. See the LCSTC, Shoki no zenshi, 1, p. 321, or T85.1290c.


4. The work is called the Hsiu ch’an-shih ch’üan-shan wen (Shen-hsiu’s Homiletic). See S5702 or Yanagida, “Den’ōbōki to sono sakusha,” p. 50 n.3. See n. 351 to Part Two.


8. See T48.349a. Yampolsky, p. 94 n. 9, suggests that this form of the verse probably appeared around 850. Also see T85.1206c for an interesting variation on “Shen-hsiu’s” verse and the following elaboration: “There is no tree, but [its] image does exist. (This is a metaphor for being in space.) Streets in the wind [are marked by (?)] the tracks of birds.” The specific meaning of this passage is far from clear, but at least this much is certain: The verse in question occurs in conjunction with reference to the nonexistence of the tree—as in one of “Hui-
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Character Glossary

A-yü wang ching 阿育王經  
A-yü wang chuan 阿育王傳  
aï-ch’iu 爱求  
aigu (= ai-ch’iu) 爱求  
An 岸  
An 安  
An-chou (Ying-shan hsien, Hupeh) 安州 (應山縣)  
an-hsin 安心  
an-hsin wu-weì 安心無為  
An-kuo Huan-t’ing 安國玄挺  
An-kuo yuan 安國院  
an-ma 按摩  
an-pan 安般  
An-pan shou-i ching 安般守意經  
An Lu-shan 安陸山  
An Shih-kao 安世高  
An-yang hsien 安陽縣  
Chan-jan 湛然  
Ch’an 諦  
ch’an-chiao 諦敎  
Ch’an-ching hsü 神經序  
ch’an-men 神門  
Ch’an-men ching 神門經  
Ch’an-men ching ping hsü 神門經  
神序  
ch’an-shuo 諶說  
Ch’an-tao 神道  
Ch’an-ting ssu 神定寺  
Ch’an-yao ching 神要經  
Ch’an-yuan ch’ing-kuei 神苑清規  
Ch’an-yuan chu-ch’üan chi tu-hsü 神苑諸薈集部序  

Chang Chiu-ling 张九齡  
Chang Yueh 张說  
ch’ang 常  
Ch’ang-an 長安  
Ch’ang-chao 常超  
Ch’ang-chou (Pi-ling hsien, Kiangsu) 常州 (呉陵縣)  
ch’ang-jen 長人  
Ch’ang-li (Ling-yuan hsien, Jehol) 昌黎 (遼源縣)  
Ch’ang-sha (Hsiang-yin hsien, Hunan) 武昌 (湘陰縣)  
Ch’ang-sha ssu 長沙寺  
Ch’ang-[tsang] 長[藏]  
chao 照  
Chao (= Hui-chao?) 超  
Chao-chou (Ch’ü-chiang hsien, Kwangtung) 韶州 (曲江縣)  
chao-liao hsin-yuan 照了心源  
che 者  
chen 真  
Chen 哲  
Chen 真  
chen chien 真見  
chen-fa 真法  
chen-hsin 真心  
chen-ju 真如  
chen-k’ung 真空  
chen-shih hsin 真實心  
chen-shih hsing 真實性  
chen-shih lu 真實路  
chen-tsung 真宗  
Chen-tsung lun 真宗論