

ABSTRACT

THE WANLING RECORD OF CHAN MASTER HUANGBO DUANJI: A HISTORY AND TRANSLATION OF A TANG DYNASTY TEXT

By

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May 2013

The *Wanling lu* is an important text in the history of Chan and Zen Buddhism. The text contains the teachings of a Chan Master in the lineage that would become the orthodox in China during the Song dynasty, and later spread to Japan and Korea. According to traditional accounts, the text originated from the notes taken by the government official, Pei Xiu, during a visit with Chan Master Huangbo in 849 C.E. Recent scholarship has called the traditional accounts of the origins of this text into question, though the text can still be reliably dated to the Tang dynasty. The *Wanling lu* was first translated into English in 1958. In this thesis, I summarize the history of the text and include biographical material concerning the text's central figure, Huangbo. I also provide my own translation of the *Wanling lu* with annotation, replacing the outdated 1958 edition.

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AND TRANSLATION OF A TANG DYNASTY TEXT

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of Religious Studies

California State University, Long Beach

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts in Religious Studies

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May 2013

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my family, friends, and professors for their support, advice, and encouragement throughout my work on this project. I am particularly indebted to Professor Tianwei Xie for teaching me Chinese. I would also like to thank Professor Jeffrey Broughton for his invaluable assistance and for insisting that I was capable of translating this text (I did not always believe him). This project would not have been possible without the help of these professors. Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Tina, who displayed infinite patience with me as I spent the last two years with my face buried in an ancient text.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The *Huangbo duanji chanshi wanling lu* (*The Record of Chan Master Huangbo Duanji at Wanling*, hereafter referred to as *Wanling lu*) is a text of great importance in the history of Chan Buddhism. The central figure of the text, Huangbo Xiyun (d. ca. 850), was a prominent monk in the Hongzhou school of Chan. He was also, according to traditional accounts, the teacher of Linji Yixuan (d. 866). It was Linji's school of Chan that would become the most successful in China and spread to Japan and Korea. The *Wanling lu* has been useful to scholars in that it can be reliably dated to the late Tang dynasty and contains the teachings of Hongzhou school of Chan. According to Dale Wright, a Chan scholar who has written much about Huangbo and the literature associated with him, the *Wanling lu* is a "clear and specific example of Hongzhou Zen teachings as they existed in the middle of the ninth century" (Wright 2004, 130). The *Wanling lu* also provides scholars with an image of Huangbo and his teachings that stands in contrast to the iconoclastic image presented in post-Tang sources.

The text itself is presented as a question-and-answer dialogue between Master Huangbo and the famous government official, Pei Xiu (791-864). The dialogue is then followed by an "ascending the hall" sermon which we are to assume took place in the presence of Pei Xiu sometime in 849. Pei Xiu had an elite education, having studied the

Confucian classics and later devoting himself to the study of Buddhism (Wright 1998, 4). He held a number of official government positions, including that of Prime Minister, and was known for his talent in calligraphy (Wright 1998, 4). Wright has argued that much of the success of the *Wanling lu* was likely due to the “fame and aristocratic status of Pei Xiu” (Wright 2004, 129).

Given the importance of this text, it was surprising to me that at the time I began this project, there had only been one translation of the *Wanling lu* into English. The first translation of the *Wanling lu* into English was completed by John Blofeld and is contained in his book, *The Zen Teaching of Huang Po on the Transmission of Mind* (Blofeld 1958). In undertaking the task of a new translation, I hoped to contribute to the growing body of knowledge about this text and Huangbo’s place in the history of Chan Buddhism.

Huangbo in Chan Tradition

When the Linji school of Chan rose to prominence in China during the Song dynasty, the image of the Tang dynasty Chan masters had evolved to fit the evolving tastes of monks and their literati supporters. Song dynasty texts presented the Tang Chan masters as eccentric iconoclasts who slapped and shouted their disciples into enlightenment. The most popular and successful Chan text was the *Linji lu* (*The Record of Linji*). Linji’s interactions with his purported master, Huangbo, had the effect of establishing Linji as the heir to the Hongzhou school of Chan. It also set the standard for the literary representations of Huangbo. After reading the *Wanling lu*, one can see that there are discrepancies between the Song dynasty depictions of Huangbo and the contents of the *Wanling lu*.

As far as Huangbo's biography is concerned, there is not much about which we can be certain. The dates of his birth and death are not agreed upon and even his official biography from the Song dynasty tells us little more than that he was from the Fujian province and became a monk while very young (Wright 1998, 1). The earliest versions of the *Wanling lu* do not contain any biographical material or physical descriptions of Huangbo. Later editions incorporated material from the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu*, a Chan history compiled in 1038 CE (Sasaki 2009, 414). In this later material, Huangbo is described as having "a pearl-like protuberance from the middle of his forehead and to be seven feet tall" (Welter 2008, 138). This later material also mentions that Huangbo was from Fujian (Blofeld 1958, 94). While there are many texts describing Huangbo's activities and conversations with other monks, the bulk of these were written long after Huangbo's death. Furthermore, many modern Chan scholars have argued that these dialogues and anecdotes are largely fiction, and were written with various agendas in mind. I shall return to these arguments shortly.

We can be reasonably confident in the accuracy of the biographical information provided by Pei Xiu in his preface to the *Chuan xin fayao* and *Wanling lu*. There is not much information in the preface, and what is present is not very controversial, leaving us little reason to doubt it. According to Pei Xiu, Huangbo lived in the Hongzhou area and was associated with Baizhang Huaihai (Blofeld 1958, 27). Pei gives a brief description of Huangbo's teachings, mentioning the "doctrine of the One Mind" and that "both mind and substance are void" (Blofeld 1958, 27). These statements are both in accord with teachings found in the *Wanling lu*. Pei does not give us a physical description of Huangbo, but he does go on to tell us that "[Huangbo's] words were simple, his reasoning

direct, his way of life exalted, and his habits unlike the habits of other men” (Blofeld 1958, 27). Pei also makes mention of Huangbo’s immense popularity, stating, “Disciples hastened to him from all quarters” and “Of the crowds which flocked to see him, there were always more than a thousand with him at a time” (Blofeld 1958, 28). The latter statement is demonstrably an exaggeration, as the opening lines of the *Wanling lu* state that there were around five hundred people gathered to hear Huangbo. This is, however, a minor point. Pei’s exaggeration is clearly meant to speak to Huangbo’s popularity, which was likely immense. A high ranking government official such as Pei Xiu would likely not have taken an interest in Huangbo if he was not well-known.

In addition to providing us with brief descriptions of Huangbo’s temperament, teachings, and popularity, Pei Xiu also gives us some evidence of Huangbo’s activities and leaves us with a range of possible dates for his death. Pei writes in his preface that while “in charge of the district of Zhonglin” in 843 CE, he spent time with Huangbo at Longxing Monastery where he “questioned [Huangbo] about the Way” (Blofeld 1958, 28). Pei also “studied under” Huangbo at Kaiyuan Monastery “while governing the district of Wanling” in 849 CE (Blofeld 1958, 28). Thanks to Pei Xiu and his preface, we know that Huangbo came down from his mountain to stay at Longxing Monastery in 843 and Kaiyuan Monastery in 849. Therefore, Huangbo died no earlier than 849. Pei wrote down Huangbo’s teachings not long after leaving Kaiyuan Monastery, but was hesitant to publish them (Blofeld 1958, 28). Pei finally decided to publish the Huangbo manuscripts, “fearing that these vital and penetrating teachings will be lost to future generations” (Blofeld 1958, 28). After giving the writings to the monks at Mount Huangbo Monastery

for editing, Pei Xiu published the *Chuan xin fayao* and *Wanling lu*, dating his preface in 858 CE (Blofeld 1958, 28).

Unfortunately, Pei does not give a date for Huangbo's death. Barring a new discovery, we are left to conclude that Huangbo died sometime as early as 849 and possibly as late as early 858. Speculation of such a late date for his death can be justified by the fact that Pei Xiu had gone on to serve as China's Prime Minister in 853 (Wright 1998, 4), so a very quick turnaround from the text's editors was quite likely. The monks charged with editing the text would probably not want to keep such a powerful and influential patron waiting. This is not to say that Pei Xiu would have threatened repercussions for a delay. On the contrary, the monks would have been excited by the prospect of having the prominent figure of Pei Xiu spreading the teachings of their master, and would have wanted their master's teachings published quickly. Given the recent history of government suppression of Buddhism (such as the Huichang suppression of 841-847), government approval of a monastery would have been highly coveted (Schlutter 2008, 34). Pei Xiu could have sent the text for editing, received the edited text, and published within the year.

With so little information available regarding the biography of Huangbo, scholars are left with traditional Chan accounts of anecdotes and dialogues to fill in the gaps. There is a large body of Chan literature purporting to depict the dialogues and antics of this famous monk. Due to the ensuing popularity of the *Linji lu*, the most well-known accounts of Huangbo are found in this text. The *Linji lu*'s depictions of the interactions between Linji and Huangbo leave us with an image of Huangbo's teaching style that is in stark contrast with what is recorded in the *Wanling lu*.

Near the beginning of the *Linji lu*, a monk asks Linji, “Master, of what house is the tune you sing? To whose style of Chan do you succeed?” (Sasaki 2009, 3) To which Linji replies, “When I was staying with Huangbo I questioned him three times and was hit three times” (Sasaki 2009, 3). Linji’s response ties him to the Hongzhou lineage and portrays Huangbo as an eccentric figure. In the numerous anecdotes that follow, the two Chan figures hit, slap, and insult each other while uttering seemingly strange phrases, such as, “In the future you’ll cut off the tongues of every man on earth” (Sasaki 2009, 47). The image of Huangbo presented in the *Linji lu* does not match up with Pei Xiu’s description of a monk who taught using simple words and direct reasoning. One might suggest that Huangbo might have been a bit more reserved while speaking with someone as important as Pei Xiu, reserving his eccentric antics for fellow monks. However, there is an instance found in another text (which was added to a later edition of the *Wanling lu*) which has Huangbo slapping the emperor (Blofeld 1958, 96). It does not seem likely that Huangbo would treat Pei Xiu with any more deference than the emperor. If Huangbo had indeed exhibited such eccentricities, these behaviors would be found in the earliest texts.

Perhaps the most interesting post-Tang story concerning Huangbo is recorded in the *Zutang ji* (*Collection of the Patriarchal Hall*), a Song dynasty text published in 952, containing dialogues and biographies of numerous Chan masters (Sasaki 2009, 432). In this story, Pei Xiu falls ill and dies, then miraculously comes back to life while Huangbo is seated at his bedside (Faure 1991, 182). Bernard Faure has interpreted this story as a possible portrayal of Huangbo as a “shamanic intercessor” who guided Pei Xiu back to our world from another realm (1991, 182). The fact that this story is absent from Pei Xiu’s writing suggests that it was written long after the *Wanling lu*. Had such an event

taken place, Pei Xiu would certainly have mentioned it in his preface to the *Chuan xin fayao* and *Wanling lu*. It also seems unlikely that this story would have been edited out of the earlier texts, as its inclusion would only serve to increase the prestige of the Hongzhou lineage and the monastery at Mount Huangbo. This story, and many others concerning Huangbo, appears to have been written during the Song dynasty.

Modern Chan scholars have written extensively about the development of Chan Buddhism in the Tang and Song dynasties. Their research has shed light on the discrepancy between the images of Huangbo in the *Wanling lu* and Song dynasty texts, such as the *Linji lu*. The portrayal of the Chan master as anti-ritual, anti-textual, eccentric was not limited to Huangbo. This image came to be applied to Huangbo's predecessors and contemporaries as well. Chan scholar Albert Welter has argued that the transformation of the Chan masters into "anticanonical" and "antiritualistic" iconoclasts was part of an attempt on the part of Chan monks to appeal to the Song literati by creating ". . . a new identity that insulated it [Chan] from the perceived complicity of Buddhism in the failure of the Tang" (2006, 219). By eschewing ritual and canon, Chan presented itself as "independent of the tradition that preceded it (Welter 2006, 219). This new Chan identity was not only free of the stigma that had become attached to Buddhism by the end of the Tang, but was also quite entertaining to read, which probably added to its appeal to the literati (Welter 2006, 207).

In addition to the retroactive attribution of iconoclastic behavior, Welter has also proposed that physical descriptions of Chan masters were Song innovations. With respect to the descriptions of Huangbo's height and his "pearl-like protuberance from the middle of his forehead", Welter argues that these descriptions serve to present the "Chan

master as a new kind of figure” (2008, 138). Welter poses the question, “Why should any more accuracy be accorded to the antics exhibited through Chan’s vaunted encounter dialogues than to depictions of Chan masters’ physical demeanor?” (2008, 139) Other scholars have noted that the teaching styles of Chan masters as presented in the Song dynasty do not align with what we now know of Tang dynasty Chan. As Mario Poceski states, “. . . the attribution of an iconoclastic ethos to the Hongzhou school is historically unwarranted, since it is based on fictionalized accounts of the lives and teachings of Mazu and his disciples that first appear in post-Tang sources” (2008, 95). Therefore, the representations of Huangbo and his predecessors as larger-than-life, eccentric figures should be viewed as “literary device(s), and not a reflection of actual behavior” (Welter 2004, 172).

With the massive amounts of evidence presented by multiple scholars pointing to the Song fabrication of an iconoclastic and eccentric vision of Huangbo, we are severely limited in what we can know for certain about Huangbo. The dialogues and biographical material in the post-Tang sources have been shown to be unreliable and historically inaccurate. It would seem that the *Wanling lu* and Pei Xiu’s preface, both lacking the antics and description common to the Song materials, present us with the most accurate image of Huangbo. Recent scholarship provides us with much more information about what he was *not* than what he *was*. However, John McRae reassures us, stating that “the vagueness of earlier accounts should be comforting in its integrity” (2003, xix).

According to rule number three of “McRae’s Rules of Zen Studies,” “Numbers, dates, and other details lend an air of verisimilitude to a story, but the more they accumulate the more we should recognize them as literary tropes” (2003, xix). When we strip away the

“literary tropes” of the Song texts, we are left with a rather vague, but much more accurate, image of Huangbo.

The Text as a Tang Dynasty Representation of Hongzhou

Even though we can conclude that the Song dynasty representations of Huangbo are most likely inaccurate, can we be any more certain that the *Wanling lu* was an accurate reflection of the teachings of Huangbo and the Hongzhou school during the Tang? There are lingering doubts as to whether or not the *Wanling lu* was actually composed by Pei Xiu. According to Dale Wright, the *Wanling lu* and *Chuan xin fayao* circulated separately “until at least the early eleventh century, after which the two are joined together as a set” (1998, 14). Jinhua Jia raises another concern. Jia points out that “. . . in his preface to the *Chuan xin fayao*, Pei Xiu clearly states that the text includes Huangbo’s teachings in both Hongzhou and Wanling” (2006, 134). This casts doubt on the authenticity of the *Wanling lu*, as it is entirely possible that it was written as a separate text by an unknown author or authors, and later attached to the *Chuan xin fayao*. Wright concludes that the *Wanling lu* was “more likely the product of monks on Mount Huangbo” (1998, 14).

Regardless of whether or not the text was written by Pei Xiu, there is evidence that the contents of the text are an accurate reflection of the teachings and style of the Hongzhou school during the Tang. Prior to his studies with Huangbo, Pei Xiu was a close disciple of Guifeng Zongmi (780-841), a prominent Heze Chan monk and scholar. In his responses to Pei Xiu’s questions and concerns regarding the competing Chan schools in operation at the time, Zongmi offered a glimpse into the teachings and style of the Hongzhou school. Jia has written, “Since Zongmi was a younger contemporary of

Mazu's immediate disciples, his works can be used as 'standard texts' to determine the dates and authenticity of those texts attributed to Mazu and his disciples" (2006, 50).

Though Zongmi's writings do not provide definitive proof of the *Wanling lu*'s authenticity as a text written by Pei Xiu, they do offer evidence in favor of authenticating the *Wanling lu*'s Tang dynasty composition.

Zongmi summarizes the teachings of the Hongzhou school using such phrases as "The path is mind," "There are no dharmas to get caught up in, no buddhas to become," and, "Outside the mind nature there is not even one dharma to be apprehended" (Broughton 2009, 86). Jeffrey Broughton points out that similar phrasing and themes appear throughout the *Wanling lu* (2009, 240). Broughton also notes that in all of his summaries and critiques of the Hongzhou teachings, "[Zongmi] never associates Hongzhou with anticonventional or iconoclastic behavior, such as kicking disciples or burning Buddha images, though this is the image of Hongzhou that holds sway in Song Chan books and in much modern scholarship" (2009, 18). As for the Song texts featuring iconoclastic and eccentric Hongzhou masters, Jia argues that ". . . because Zongmi did not mention any illogical, iconoclastic vocal or physical exchange . . . we can infer that the highly mature type of encounter dialogue was not actually practiced before the mid-ninth century" (2006, 50). Had Zongmi been aware of any such antics in his time, he would surely have mentioned them in his correspondence with Pei Xiu, as Zongmi was trying to sway Pei's opinions in favor of Heze Chan.

The lack of eccentricity and iconoclasm in the *Wanling lu* suggests that the text was written during the Tang. This very lack might be directly related to its decline in popularity during the Song. As Chan masters came to be portrayed more often as the

shouting and slapping eccentrics, the Huangbo presented in the *Wanling lu* “came to appear conservative by contrast to later eccentrics” (Wright 2004, 130). The *Erru sixing lun* (*Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices*), one of the earliest texts associated with Chan Buddhism, seems to have suffered a similar fate. McRae believed that the text, alleged to have been authored by Bodhidharma, diminished in importance during the Song due to its “straightforward” presentation and that it “. . . did not match the image that the Chan tradition wanted to have of its founding patriarch” (2003, 33). After the Hongzhou Chan masters became idealized as iconoclasts during the Song, Huangbo came to be remembered in this light, as opposed to the rather straightforward teacher that we are presented with in the *Wanling lu*.

CHAPTER 2

CONTENTS OF THE WANLING LU AND NOTES ON TRANSLATION

With the 1958 publication of his translation of the *Wanling lu*, John Blofeld offered the first English rendering of the text. However, in recent years it has become clear that his translation does suffer from a major omission. At the time of his translation, scholars were largely unaware of the extent to which Chan masters quoted and alluded to traditional Buddhist texts. In offering the new translation below, I have intended to incorporate the work of recent scholarship to show where such quotations and allusions occur throughout the text.

In his book, *Ordinary Mind as the Way: The Hongzhou School and the Growth of Chan Buddhism*, Mario Poceski presents with the reason why the scriptural quotations and allusions in Hongzhou sermons could have gone unnoticed in the past. Poceski writes, “It appears as if Baizhang and others had internalized sections of the Buddhist canon, spontaneously using scriptural quotations and allusions as part of their natural speech” (2007, 147). The Hongzhou masters, including Huangbo, delivered sermons that made use of material from various Buddhist sutras without citation, making it very difficult to determine which parts of a given sermon were the master’s original thoughts (Poceski 2007, 146). This is certainly true of the *Wanling lu*.

Tracking down the scriptural quotations and allusions proved to be a difficult, and often tedious, task. However, recent technological advances and the hard work of Chan

scholars have made my task much easier than it could have been. The entirety of the Chinese Buddhist canon as found in the *Taisho shinshu daizokyo* is now available in searchable online databases thanks to the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association (CBETA) of Taiwan and the SAT Daizokyo Text Database Committee of the University of Tokyo. These databases allowed me to enter text from the *Wanling lu* in order find the canonical texts from which Huangbo's words originate. Without these databases, it would have been impossible for me to find the dozens of allusions and quotations in the *Wanling lu*.

It might seem odd to the modern reader that a text would contain so many quotes without citation. However, it is likely that the intended audiences of Huangbo and other Hongzhou masters would have picked up on the references themselves. As Poceski notes, in addition to the monks at the monastery, “. . . audiences were the literati and officials, a good number of whom were conversant with Buddhist tenets and literature” (2007, 147). As mentioned in Chapter 1, Pei Xiu was very familiar with Buddhism and Buddhism texts. As for the monks and nuns in attendance, the Chinese government required them to demonstrate an extensive knowledge of the sutras in order to keep their ordained (and tax-exempt) status (Wright 1998, 27).

I have chosen to split my translation of the *Wanling lu* into two distinct sections. The first, presented in Appendix A below, contains a series of questions and answers. If we accept the traditional account of the authorship of the *Wanling lu*, these questions were asked by Pei Xiu during his stay with Huangbo in 849. The second section, which I have presented in Appendix B, contains an “ascending the hall” sermon. Such sermons are commonplace in Chan literature. Poceski describes the “ascending the hall” sermon

as, “. . . a formal occasion during which a Chan teacher would address his disciples in the lecture hall of the monastery” (2008, 91). The sermon found in the *Wanling lu* probably took place sometime in 849 at the Kaiyuan Monastery (Blofeld 1958, 28).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE WANLING LU: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

黃檗斷際禪師宛陵錄。裴相公問師曰。山中四五百人。幾人得和尚法。師云。得者莫測其數。何故。道在心悟。豈在言說。言說只是化童蒙耳。

The Wanling Record of Chan Master Huangbo Duanji. Minister Pei [Xiu] questioned the Master: “At this mountain center there are four or five hundred people. How many of these people have attained [an understanding of] your dharma [teaching]?”

The Master said: “The numbers of those who have attained [my dharma] cannot be measured. Why? The Path is realized in the mind. How could it be realized in speech? Putting into words can only affect a child’s ignorant ears.”

問如何是佛。師云。即心是佛。無心是道。但無生心動念有無長短彼我能所等心。心本是佛。佛本是心。心如虛空。所以云。佛真法身猶若虛空。不用別求。有求皆苦。

It was asked: “What is ‘Buddha’?”

The Master said: “This very Mind is Buddha. No-mind is the Path. Only do not stir up in the mind thoughts such as existence and non-existence, long and short, other and self, subject and object, and other such thoughts. Mind is fundamentally Buddha. Buddha is fundamentally Mind. Mind is like the empty sky. So it is said, ‘The Buddha’s true Dharmakaya is like the empty sky.’¹ One need not seek outside of this. If there is seeking [outside of this understanding], all [will be] suffering.²”

¹ This statement is a quote from the *Suvarna-prabhasottama-sutra* (Ch. *Jin guangming jing* 金光明經) (T 664.16.0385b14-15).

² The line 有求皆苦 (“If there is seeking, all will be suffering”) is a partial quote of a line in the *Lenqie shizi ji* (T 2837.85.1285b05-6). The full line reads, “If there is

設使恒沙劫行六度萬行得佛菩提。亦非究竟。何以故。為屬因緣造作故。因緣若盡還歸無常。所以云。報化非真佛。亦非說法者。但識自心。無我無人本來是佛。

“Suppose that one were to diligently, for as many kalpas as there are sands in the Ganges, perform the six paramitas and the 10,000 practices in order to attain Buddha-awakening. There would still be no outcome. What is the reason? It is because [such practices] belong to *pratitya-samutpada*³ and the production of karma. When conditions are exhausted, all things will return to impermanence. So it is said, ‘The sambhoga[kaya] and nirmana[kaya] are not the true Buddha. Neither are they the speakers of Dharma.’⁴ Only know your own mind. ‘No self’ and ‘no person’ are, from the beginning, Buddha.”

問聖人無心即是佛。凡夫無心莫沈空寂否。師云。法無凡聖亦無沈寂。法本不有。莫作無見。法本不無。莫作有見。

It was asked: “For the sagely person, no-mind in itself is Buddha. For the commoner in no-mind, will he not sink into empty tranquility?”

seeking, all will be suffering. If there is no seeking, then happiness.” The full line appears in a few Chan oriented texts, including the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (T 2076.51.0458c14-15), and the *Erru sixing lun* (Broughton 1999 11). Each of these texts have “The sutra says” preceding the line, however none of them name the sutra of the quote's origin. The *Erru sixing lun* seems to be the earliest text containing the quote. I have been unable to determine which sutra, if any, is the original source. It is possible that the line originated in the *Erru sixing lun*.

³ Dependent co-arising.

⁴ This quote is from Vasubandhu's commentary on the *Diamond Sutra* (T 1511.25.0784b19). These lines from Vasubandhu were pervasive in Chan literature, appearing in numerous commentaries. The lines also appeared in Yongming Yanshou's 永明延寿 *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄, where Yanshou attributes the lines to Vasubandhu (T 2016.48.0503.a03-04).

The Master said: “The Dharma has no commoner, no sage, and no sinking into tranquility. The Dharma fundamentally has no existence. But do not have a ‘non-existence’ view. The Dharma fundamentally is not ‘non-existence’. But do not have an ‘existence’ view.”

有之與無盡是情見。猶如幻翳。所以云。見聞如幻翳。知覺乃眾生。祖師門中只論息機忘見。所以忘機則佛道隆。分別則魔軍熾。

“‘Existence’ and ‘non-existence’ are both views [caused by] feelings. They are like hallucinations. So it is said: ‘Seeing and hearing are like hallucinations.’⁵ Knowing and awakening are [actions belonging to] sentient beings. In the Patrarch-masters’ Gate there is only discussion of calming [mental] functions and forgetting views. Therefore, forgetting is the key to growth on the Buddha path. Discrimination, then, sets Mara’s army ablaze.”

問心既本來是佛。還修六度萬行否。悟在於心。非關六度萬行。六度萬行盡是化門接物度生邊事。設使菩提真如實際解脫法身。直至十地四果聖位。盡是度門。非關佛心。

It was asked: “Mind is already, from the beginning, Buddha. Should one still study the six perfections and the 10,000 practices?”

⁵ This line is quoting the *Shoulengyan jing* (T 945.19.0131a21). The *Shoulengyan* is likely a Chinese apocryphon., composed in China, and passed off as a translation from a Sanskrit original (Benn 57-58).

The Master said: “Awakening is of the mind. It has nothing to do with the six perfections and 10,000 practices. The six paramitas and 10,000 practices are all transformation gates for dealing with others and crossing over beings. [These are] peripheral matters. [One can] suppose bodhi, thusness, ultimate reality, liberation, and the Dharmakaya, up to and including the ten stages [of the bodhisattva], the four fruits⁶, and the rank of sagehood. All of these are [but] gates to crossing over [to Nirvana]. They do not concern the Buddha-mind.”

心即是佛。所以一切諸度門中佛心第一。但無生死煩惱等心。即不用菩提等法。所以道。佛說一切法。度我一切心。我無一切心。何用一切法。從佛至祖。從佛至祖。並不論別事。唯論一心。亦云一乘。所以十方諦求更無餘乘。

"Mind itself is Buddha. Therefore, of all the many perfections, [perfecting] the Buddha-mind is the most important.⁷ Only do not give rise to thoughts such as ‘death’, ‘afflictions’, etc. By means of this you will have no use for ‘bodhi’ and other such dharmas. So it was said, ‘The Buddha spoke all of the Dharma teachings [in order to] carry me over all thought. When I am rid of all thoughts, what need would I have for all of the Dharma teachings?’ From the Buddha through the patriarchs, none of them preached anything apart from this matter. [They] only preached the One Mind. [They]

⁶ These are the fruits of the srotapanna, sakradagamin, anagamin, and the arhat (Soothill and Hodous 177).

⁷ This line originates in the *Lankavatara Sutra* (T 670.16.0481c02).

also spoke [of this as] the One Vehicle. Therefore, ‘If one were to thoroughly search the ten directions, there would still be no other vehicle [to be found].’⁸”

此眾無枝葉。唯有諸真實。所以此意難信。達摩來此土。至梁魏二國。祇有可大師一人。密信自心。言下便會。即心是佛。身心俱無。是名大道。

“This [teaching], disciples, has no branches and leaves. It only contains the highest Truth (tattva). Therefore, this [teaching’s] meaning is difficult to believe.

Bodhidharma came to this land (China), arriving in the two kingdoms of Liang and Wei. [Upon his arrival] there was only one person, Master [Hui-] Ke⁹, who [could receive] the esoteric faith of one’s own mind. Once [Bodhidharma’s] words were spoken, [Master Huike attained] this simple understanding: this very Mind is Buddha. The body and mind both are non-existent. This is called the Great Path.”

大道本來平等。所以深信含生同一真性。心性不異。即性即心。心不異性。名之為祖。所以云。認得心性時。可說不思議。

“The Great Path is, from the beginning, equality. Therefore, ‘The deep faith that all living beings [are of] the same true nature.’¹⁰ The mind and nature are no different.

⁸ This line is taken directly from the *Lotus Sutra* (T 262.09.0015a14-15).

⁹ Huike 慧可 (487-593) is traditionally regarded as the second patriarch of Chan. There are numerous legends concerning his interactions with his teacher, Bodhidharma.

¹⁰ Huangbo is quoting Bodhidharma’s *Erru sixing lun*. Huangbo’s quote aligns with the text as it is found in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (T 2076.51.0485b22-23). Earlier versions of the *Erru sixing lun*, such as those found in the *Lenqie shizi ji* and the text found amongst the Dunhuang manuscripts, contain a slightly different wording. See T 2837.85.1285a13 for the *Lenqie shizi ji* and Broughton’s English translation of the Dunhuang text (Broughton 1999 9).

This very nature is this very mind. Mind does not differ from this nature/essence. This is called ‘patriarch’. So it is said, ‘When one attains an understanding of the Mind-nature, one may speak the inconceivable.’¹¹”

問佛度眾生否。師云。實無眾生如來度者。我尚不可得。非我何可得。佛與眾生皆不可得。

It was asked: “Does the Buddha carry sentient beings over [to the shore of enlightenment]?”

The Master said: “In reality, there are no sentient beings for the Tathagata to carry over. If it is the case that ‘self’ cannot be apprehended, how could ‘not-self’¹² be apprehended? ‘Buddha’ and ‘sentient beings’ are all impossible to apprehend.”

云現有三十二相及度眾生。何得言無。師云。凡所有相皆是虛妄。若見諸相非相。即見如來。佛與眾生盡是汝作妄見。只為不識本心。謾作見解。

[Pei Xiu] said: “It is now said that [the Tathagata] manifested the Thirty-two Marks in order to carry sentient beings over [to the shore of enlightenment]. How can you say that this is not so?”

The Master said: “Whatsoever has marks is unreal. If you view all marks as non-marks, this is seeing the Tathagata.”¹³ ‘Buddha’ and ‘sentient beings’ are all constructed

¹¹ This is a quote from a poetic verse attributed to the 23rd Indian patriarch, Haklena (Ch. 鶴勒那). This verse can be found in numerous Chan collections, including the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (T 2076.51.0214b27).

¹² In this sentence, “not-self” indicates “other beings”.

¹³ These lines, unattributed in the *Wanling lu*, are pulled directly from

by your false views. It is simply because you do not recognize your original mind that you mistakenly construct views.”

才作佛見便被佛障。作眾生見被眾生障。作凡作聖作淨作穢等見。盡成其障。障汝心故總成輪轉。

“As soon as you create a ‘Buddha’ view, then you will be obstructed by ‘Buddha’. If you create a ‘sentient being’ view, you will be obstructed by ‘sentient being’. If you create ‘commoner’, ‘sage’, ‘pure’, ‘defiled’, and other such views, all of these will become obstructions. Because these obstruct your mind, all of them become [samsaric] wheel-turning.”

猶如獼猴放一捉一無有歇期。一等是學。真須無學。無凡無聖。無淨無垢。無大無小。如是一心中。方便勤莊嚴。

“It is like a monkey that releases one thing and grasps another without rest¹⁴. It is the same with learning. One must attain the state beyond study. No ‘commoner’, no ‘sage’. No ‘pure’, no ‘defiled’. No ‘great’, no ‘small’. No ‘outflows’, no ‘conditioned’. So it is in the One Mind. Upaya serve as adornments.¹⁵”

聽汝學得三乘十二分教。一切見解總須捨却。所以除去所有。唯置一床寢疾而臥。祇是不起諸見。無一法可得。不被法障。透脫三界凡聖境域。始得名為出世佛。

Kumarajiva’s Chinese translation of the *Diamond Sutra* (T 235.08.0749a24-25).

¹⁴ Compare this with the quote from the *Nirvana Sutra* (T 374.12.0536c06): "The nature of the monkey is that he rejects one thing and holds on to another. The heart and nature of sentient beings is also like this" (Egan 171).

¹⁵ This line is taken from the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 (T 24.1484.1010a08). The *Fanwang jing* was accepted into the canon as a Chinese translation (supposedly done by Kumarajiva) of a Sanskrit original, though it was probably written in China (Sasaki 382).

“I hear that you have studied and understand the three vehicles and the twelve divisions of the teachings. All of these opinions must be abandoned. Therefore, get rid of these possessions; only lay out a bed for sleeping while sick and lie down.¹⁶ Simply do not give rise to views, [understand that there is] not one dharma to obtain, do not be obstructed by dharmas, and be liberated from the three realms and the region of ‘commoner’ and ‘sage’. Then one will attain for the first time the name of ‘World-transcending Buddha’.”

所以云。稽首如空無所依出過外道。心既不異。法亦不異。心既無為法亦無為。

“So it is said: ‘Bowling at the Buddha’s feet is like the sky; there is no basis to it.’¹⁷ Go beyond these outside (non-Buddhist) paths. Since mind is of non-differentiation, dharmas are also of non-differentiation. Since mind is no-doing, dharmas are also no-doing.”

萬法盡由心變。所以我心空故諸法空。千品萬類悉皆同。盡十方空界同一心體。心本不異。法亦不異。祇為汝見解不同。所以差別。譬如諸天共寶器食隨其福德飯色有異。十方諸佛實無少法可得。名為阿耨菩提。

“The ten thousand dharmas are all due to mind-transformation. Therefore, if my mind is empty, all of the dharmas are empty. All possible categories of things are all sameness. The empty world in all the ten directions is of the same substance as the One

¹⁶ This is in reference to the *Vimalakirti-nirveda Sutra*. In this sutra, Vimalakirti (Chn. 維摩詰) empties his room and, through upaya, manifests an illness to lure others into visiting him so that he may offer his teaching.

¹⁷ This is a direct quote from the *Vimalakirti-nirveda Sutra* (T 475.14.0538a14).

Mind. It is only that you perceive that these are not the same. Therefore, there are differences. For example, ‘The devas all eat from the same jeweled utensils, but in accordance with their individual karmic merit, the color of the food differs.’¹⁸ In all the Buddhas of the ten directions, there is truly not even the smallest dharma to be apprehended. This is called ‘anuttarasamyaksambodhi’.”

祇是一心實無異相。亦無光彩。亦無勝負。無勝故無佛相。無負故無眾生相。

“It is only in the One Mind that there is truly non-differentiation of characteristics. There is also no light and no color. There is also no victory and no defeat. Because there is no victory, there are no marks of a Buddha. Because there is no defeat, there are no marks of sentient beings.”

云心既無相。豈得全無三十二相八十種好化度眾生耶。師云。三十二相屬相。凡所有相皆虛妄。八十種好屬色。若以色見我。是人行邪道。不能見如來。

[Pei Xiu]said: “Mind is without marks, but what about the Thirty-two Marks [of the Buddha], the Eighty Minor Marks¹⁹ and the transformation of sentient beings?”

The Master said: “The Thirty-two Marks belong to characteristics. Whatsoever has marks is unreal. The Eighty Minor Marks belong to rupa (form). ‘If one sees me by means of rupa, such a person practices an evil path, and cannot see the Tathagata.’²⁰”

¹⁸ Another direct quote from the *Vimalakirti-nirdesa sutra* (T 475.14.0538c27-28).

¹⁹ The Eighty Minor Marks are an addition set of physical characteristics of the Buddha (Muller *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, “bashi zhonghao”).

²⁰ These lines quote the Buddha’s verse in the *Diamond Sutra* (T 235.08.0752a17-18).

問佛性與眾生性。為同為別。師云。性無同異。若約三乘教。即說有佛性有眾生性。遂有三乘因果。即有同異。若約佛乘及祖師相傳。即不說如是事。唯有一心。非同非異。非因非果。所以云唯此一乘道。無二無三。除佛方便說。

It was asked: “Are Buddha-nature and sentient being-nature the same or different?”

The Master said: “Their nature is neither the same nor different. If you accept the position of the Three Vehicles’ teachings, then you will say, ‘Buddha exists and sentient beings exist’. This will achieve Three Vehicles-karma. Then there will be ‘sameness’ and ‘difference’. If you accept the position of the Buddha Vehicle that was transmitted by the Patriarchal Masters, then you will not speak such things. There is only the One Mind. There is neither sameness nor differentiation. No causes and no effects. Therefore, it is said, ‘There is only the One Vehicle. There are not two or three. Apart from Buddha, expedient means are spoken.’”²¹

問。無邊身菩薩。為什麼不見如來頂相。師云。實無可見。何以故。無邊身菩薩便是如來。不應更見。祇教爾不作佛見不落佛邊。不作眾生見不落眾生邊。不作有見不落有邊。不作無見不落無邊。不作凡見不落凡邊。不作聖見不落聖邊。

It was asked: “Why did Wubian Shen²² Bodhisattva not see the Tathagata’s usnisa²³?”

²¹ These lines are from the *Lotus Sutra* (T 262.09.0008a17-18).

²² Wubian Shen (Limitless Body) is the name of a bodhisattva who is featured in the *Mahaparinirvana Sutra* (T 374).

²³ One of the Thirty-two Marks of the Buddha. It is often referred to as the

The Master said: “There was truly nothing to be seen. For what reason? Wubian Shen Bodhisattva simply was the Tathagata. He should not have any more views. The only teaching is this: if you do not create a Buddha view, you will not fall into the ‘Buddha’ extreme. If you do not create a ‘sentient being’ view, you will not fall into the ‘sentient being’ extreme. If you do not create an ‘existence’ view, you will not fall into the ‘existence’ extreme. If you do not create a ‘non-existence’ view, you will not fall into the ‘non-existence’ extreme. If you do not create a ‘worldling’ view, you will not fall into the ‘worldling’ extreme. If you do not create an ‘arya’ view, you will not fall into the ‘arya’ extreme.”

但無諸見即是無邊身。若有見處即名外道。外道者樂於諸見。菩薩於諸見而不動。如來者即諸法如義。所以云。彌彌亦如也。眾生賢亦如也。如即無生。如即無滅。如即無見。如即無聞。

“Only those with no views can become ‘Wubian Shen’. If one has false views, this is called an outside (non-Buddhist) way. ‘Those outside the way take delight in all the views. Bodhisattvas can reside within the various views and be unmoved.’²⁴ To be a tathagata means that all dharmas are in accord with reality.²⁵ So it is said, ‘Maitreya is also thus. The assembly of enlightened beings is also thus.’²⁶ ‘Thus’ means non-arising.

Buddha's "top-knot". This mark is the fleshy bump on the top of the Buddha's head, which is featured in many sculptural representations of the Buddha. (Muller *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, “dingxiang”)

²⁴ These two lines are from the *Vimalakirti-nirdesa Sutra* (T 475.14.0544c09-10).

²⁵ This line is from the *Diamond Sutra* (T 235.08.0751a26-27).

²⁶ This is a quote from the *Vimalakirti-nirdesa Sutra* (T 475.14.0542b12-13).

‘Thus’ means non-extinguishing. ‘Thus’ means no views. ‘Thus’ means no hearing [the teachings of the Buddha].”

如來頂即是圓見。亦無圓見故不落圓邊。所以佛身無為不墮諸數。權以虛空為喻。圓同太虛無欠無餘。等閒無事莫強辯他境。辯著便成識。所以云。圓成沈識海。流轉若飄蓬。

“The Tathagata’s usnisa is itself a perfect view. Because it is also a non-perfect view, it does not fall into the ‘perfection’ extreme. Therefore, ‘The Buddhakaya is unconditioned and does not degenerate into enumeration.’²⁷ Provisionally, the empty sky can serve as an example. ‘Perfection is the same as extreme emptiness. There is nothing lacking and nothing left over.’²⁸ Such a space has nothing to do and nothing to argue about. Argumentation immediately brings about consciousness. So it is said, ‘Complete perfection is a deep ocean of consciousness. Samsara is like a wobbly mugwort plant.’”²⁹

²⁷ This line appears in the *Foshuo dasheng pusazang zhengfa jing* 佛說大乘菩薩藏正法經 (T316.11.0795c13), as well as the *Vimalakirti-nirdesa Sutra* (T 475.14.0542a17-18). Given the fact that the *Wanling lu* contains numerous references to the *Vimalakirti-nirdesa Sutra*, it is likely that the author used the *Vimalakirti-nirdesa* as the source of this quote, as well.

²⁸ This quote is taken from the *Xinxin ming* 信心銘 (*Inscription of a Faithful Mind*) attributed to Sengcan 僧璨, the third patriarch in the Chan lineage (T 2010.48.0376b24). John McRae has noted that Sengcan did not have “any actual connection whatsoever with the text usually attributed to him” (McRae 1986 11). The *Xinxin ming* can also be found in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*.

²⁹ Unattributed quote. In the *Zongjing lu*, the quote appears with the introduction, “An ancient virtuous one (先德頌) said...” (T 2016.48.0860a14).

祇道我知也學得也契悟也解脫也有道理也。強處即如意。弱處即不如意。似者箇見解有什麼用處。我向汝道。等閑無事莫謾用心。不用求真。唯須息見。所以內見外見俱錯。佛道魔道俱惡。

“If speaking of one’s own knowledge, attainment of learning, enlightenment, liberation [from samsara], and having principles, strong points cause happiness. Weak points cause frustration. Of what use are all of these opinions? I say to you, remain idle with nothing to do, and do not use the mind for nonsense. ‘There is no use in seeking truth. You must only put an end to your views’³⁰ So, ‘Internal and external views are both mistaken. The Buddha-path and the Mara-path are both evil.’³¹”

所以文殊暫起二見。貶向二鐵圍山。文殊即實智。普賢即權智。權實相對治究竟亦無權實。唯是一心。心且不佛不眾生無有異見。纔有佛見便作眾生見。有見無見常見斷見。便成二鐵圍山。

“Therefore, when Manjusri briefly gave rise to a dualistic view, he was eclipsed by two iron mountains.³² Manjusri is real wisdom. Samantabhadra is conventional wisdom. ‘Conventional’ and ‘real’, when judged correctly, are in the end not-conventional and non-real. There is only the One Mind. Mind, not Buddhas or sentient beings, is without discriminating views. As soon as there is a ‘Buddha’ view, a ‘sentient

³⁰ *Xinxin ming* (T 2010.48.0376c03-04).

³¹ This line originates in the *Dasheng zan* 大乘讚, attributed to Baozhi (418-514) but most likely written long after his death (Sasaki 378). These lines from the *Dasheng zan* can be found in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (T 2076.51.0449c10).

³² This line is a reference to the *Zhu fo yaoji jing* 諸佛要集經 *The Sutra of the Essential Collection of All the Buddhas* (T810) (Iriya 113).

being' view will be instantly created. 'Existence' views, 'non-existence' views, 'eternal' views, and 'annihilation' views all become two encircling iron mountains."

被見障故。祖師直指一切眾生本心。本體本來是佛。不假修成。不屬漸次。不是明暗。不是明故無明。不是暗故無暗。所以無無明亦無無明盡。入我此宗門。切須在意如此。

"Because [they are] obstructed by views, the patriarchal master pointed directly to the original mind of all sentient beings. Their fundamental essence is, from the beginning, Buddha. [His teaching is] not a provisional practice, and does not belong to gradualism. It is neither illumination nor darkness. It is not illumination and therefore non-illumination. It is not darkness and therefore non-darkness. Therefore, 'There is no ignorance and no extinguishing of ignorance.'³³ All who enter this axiom-gate of ours must think like this."

見得名之為法。見法故名之為佛。佛法俱無。名之為僧。喚作無為僧。亦名一體三寶。夫求法者。不著佛求。不著法求。不著眾求。應無所求。不著佛求故無佛。不著法求故無法。不著眾求故無僧。

"Perceiving is called 'Dharma'. [Those who] see Dharma are called 'Buddha'. [Those who see that] Buddhas and dharmas are all non-existent are called 'the Sangha'.

³³This is a direct quote from the *Heart Sutra* 般若波羅蜜多心經 *Bore boluomiduo xin jing* (T 251.08.0848c12). Huangbo's style of negation is similar to the style of the *Heart Sutra*.

This is called the ‘nothing-to-do monk’. It is also called ‘the three treasures³⁴ in one essence’. ‘The man who seeks Dharma does not engage in Buddha seeking, Dharma seeking, or Sangha seeking.’³⁵ He should seek nowhere. Do not be attached to Buddha-seeking, and then there will be no Buddha. Do not be attached to Dharma-seeking, and then there will be no Dharma. Do not be attached to Sangha-seeking, and then there are no monks.”

問。何尚見今說法。何得言無僧亦無法。師云。汝若見有法可說。即是以音聲求我。若見有我即是處所。法亦無法。法即是心。所以祖師云。付此心法時。法法何曾法。無法無本心。始解心心法。

It was asked: “Why is it that we still see today’s sermon? How can you say that there is no Sangha and no Dharma?”

The Master replied: “If you view Dharma as having existence, it can be said that this is to advocate the seeking of a self. If you see an existing self, this [self] is located somewhere. Dharma is also non-Dharma. Dharma is mind. Therefore, the patriarchal master said, ‘When I passed on my mind-dharma, was there such a thing as dharma after dharma is the eternal Dharma?’ [When] there is no dharma and no original mind, one is beginning to understand the mind-to-mind dharma.”

實無一法可得名坐道場。道場者祇是不起諸見。悟法本空。喚作空如來藏。本來無一物。何處有塵埃。若得此中意。逍遙何所論

³⁴The three treasures (Skt. triratna) are the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha.

³⁵This appears in Zhi Qian's version of the *Vimalakirti Sutra* (T 474.14.519–536).

“Truly there is not one dharma that can attain the name, ‘sitting upon the site of awakening’. The one who sits upon the site of awakening is simply does not give rise to the various views. Awakening to the dharma is originally emptiness. It is also called the emptiness of the tathagata-garbha. ‘From the beginning there is not a single thing. Where could there be dust?’³⁶ If you attain this understanding, why talk about ‘free and easy’?”

問。本來無一物。無物便是否。師云。無亦不是。菩提無是處。亦無無知解。

It was asked: “[Regarding the phrase] ‘From the beginning there is not a single thing’, is ‘no thing’ correct?”

The Master said: “Non-existence is also incorrect. Bodhi is not a place. It is also not an understanding of non-existence.”

問。何者是佛。師云。汝心是佛。佛即是心。心佛不異。故云即心是佛。若離於心別更無佛。

It was asked: “What is Buddha?”

The Master said: “Your mind is Buddha. Buddha is simply the mind. Mind and Buddha are not different. For this reason it is said, ‘This very mind is Buddha.’ Apart from mind there is no other Buddha whatsoever.”

³⁶These two lines comprise the second half of Huineng's poem as recorded in the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* (X 1553.78.0455b2-3).

云若自心是佛。祖師西來如何傳授。師云。祖師西來唯傳心佛。真指汝等心本來是佛。心心不異故名為祖。若真下見此意。即頓超三乘一切諸位。本來是佛不假修成。

[Pei Xiu] said: “If one’s own mind is Buddha, then what did the Patriarchal Master transmit when he came from the west?”

The Master replied: “The Patriarchal Master came from the west only to transmit the Mind-Buddha. In truth, he was pointing out that your minds have been Buddha from the beginning, and that your minds are not different. This is why he is called ‘Patriarch’. If you truly, directly see this meaning, you will suddenly transcend all of the various ranks of the three vehicles. From the beginning you are Buddha; [Buddha] is not achieved through provisional practices.”

云若如此。十方諸佛出世說於何法。師云。十方諸佛出世。祇共說一心法。所以佛密付與摩訶大迦葉。此一心法體。盡虛空遍法界。名為諸佛理論。

[Pei Xiu] said: “If this is so, in what dharma is the appearance of the Buddhas of the ten directions spoken of?”

The Master said: “The appearance in the world of the Buddhas of the ten directions is often spoken of in the dharma of the One Mind. Therefore, Buddha silently transmitted [the Dharma] to Mahakasyapa. The essence of this Dharma of the One Mind is pervasive emptiness and is found throughout the Dharma Realm. This is called ‘the discourse of the principle of all Buddhas’.”

這個法豈是汝於言句上解得他。亦不是於一機一境上見得他。此意唯是默契得。這一門名為無為法門。若欲會得但知無心。忽悟即得。若用心擬學取。即轉遠去。若無岐路心一切取捨心。心如木石。始有學道分。

“In this teaching, how can you attain the highest liberation through words and sentences? It is also not realized through one mental disposition or one sense object. This aim is only attained through silent understanding. This gate is called the ‘No-Doing Dharma Gate’. If you wish to understand, simply know ‘no mind’, and you will instantly awaken and directly apprehend. If you exert effort in trying to sense it through study, you will be farther away [from the goal]. If your mind is devoid of such divergent thoughts, you will achieve complete equanimity. When the mind is like wood and stone, then you will have the qualification to begin to study the Way.”

云如今現有種種妄念。何以言無。師云。妄本無體。即是汝心所起。汝若識心是佛。心本無妄。那得起心更認於妄。汝若不生心動念。自然無妄。所以云。心生則種種法生。心滅種種法滅。

[Pei Xiu]: “It is said that right now there are all sorts of unreal thoughts. How can you speak of there being none?”

The Master replied: “‘Unreal’ has no essence. It is merely a product of your mind. If you perceive that mind is Buddha, that mind is originally devoid of ‘unreal’, how could you produce mind and go on to recognize it as ‘false’? If you do not give rise to thoughts in the mind, the mind will naturally be devoid of ‘unreal’. Therefore, it is

said, ‘Thoughts are born, and then every type of dharma is born. Thoughts extinguish, and then every type of dharma is extinguished.’”³⁷

云今正妄起時。佛在何處。師云。汝今覺妄起時。覺正是佛。可中若無妄念佛亦無。何故如此。為汝起心作佛見。便謂有佛可成。作眾生見。便謂有眾生可度。起心動念總是汝見處。若無一切見。佛有何處所。如文殊纔起佛見便貶向二鐵圍山。

[Pei Xiu] said: “As the unreal is just now arising in my mind, where is the Buddha?”

The Master replied: “You are now awakened to the ‘unreal’ that is arising. This awakening is Buddha. You may internalize [the fact that] if there were no unreal thoughts, there would also be no Buddha. Why is this so? Because when you give rise to thoughts that create the view of ‘Buddha’, this is a means of calling into existence a ‘Buddha’ that can be achieved. When you create a ‘sentient being’ view, this calls into existence the sentient beings that may be crossed-over [to the shore of enlightenment]. The moving thoughts that arise in your mind are the locus of your views. If all of these views did not exist, where would the Buddha exist? It is like when Manjushri was able to give rise to a ‘Buddha’ view and was instantly eclipsed and surrounded by two iron-walled mountains.”

³⁷This is a quote from the *Awakening of Faith* (大乘起信論) (T 1666.32.0577b22). According to Ruth Fuller Sasaki, this line has its origins in the *Lanka-avatara Sutra* (Sasaki 273).

云今正悟時。佛在何處。師云。問從何來。覺從何起。語默動靜一切聲色。盡是佛事。何處覓佛。不可更頭上安頭嘴上加嘴。但莫生異見。山是山水是水。僧是僧俗是俗。山河大地日月星辰。總不出汝心。

[Pei Xiu] said: “Now, just at the time of true enlightenment, where is the Buddha?”

The Master replied: “Where does this question come from? From where does awakening arise? Speech and silence, movement and stillness, and all of sound and form—all of these are Buddha activities. Where will you look for Buddha? You cannot place another head on top of your head or a mouth on top of your mouth. Simply do not give birth to separate views. Mountains are mountains. Water is water. Monks are monks. Laymen are laymen. Mountains, rivers, the earth, sun, moon, and stars: none of these are outside of your mind.”

三千世界都來是汝箇自己。何處有許多般。心外無法滿目青山。虛空世界皎皎地。無絲髮許與汝作見解。所以一切聲色是佛之慧目。法不孤起仗境方生。為物之故有其多智。終日說何會說。終日聞何會聞。釋迦四十九年說。未嘗說著一字。

“The three thousand worlds all come from yourself. Where does there exist many sorts [of things]? Outside of the mind, there are no dharmas to fill the eyes with green mountains. The void realm is like the clear and bright earth. These are not separated from your constructed views by so much as a thread. Therefore, all sound and form are the Buddha’s Wisdom Eye. Dharmas do not arise by themselves. They rely upon their surroundings for their birth. Their becoming objects is the reason for the existence of so

much knowledge. Speak all day, but what will you say? Listen all day, but what will you hear? Shakyamuni preached for forty-nine years, but never spoke a single word.”

云若如此。何處是菩提。師云。菩提無是處。佛亦不得菩提。眾生亦不失菩提。不可以身得。不可以心求。一切眾生即菩提相。

[Pei Xiu] said: “If this is so, where is bodhi?”

The Master replied: “Bodhi is does not have a place. The Buddha also does not attain bodhi. Sentient beings also do not lack bodhi. It cannot be obtained with the body. It cannot be sought with the mind. ‘All sentient beings are already marked by bodhi.’³⁸

云如何發菩提心。師云。菩提無所得。爾今但發無所得心。決定不得一法。即菩提心。菩提無住虛。是故無有得者。故云。我於然燈佛所無有少法可得。佛即與我授記。明知一切眾生本是菩提。不應更得菩提。

[Pei Xiu] said: “How does one manifest the bodhi-mind?”

The Master replied: “Bodhi is not a state to be apprehended. If right now you produce a mind that apprehends nothing, certain that there is no apprehending of a single dharma; this is bodhi-mind. Bodhi abides nowhere. This is the reason that there is nothing to be apprehended. For this reason it is said, ‘When I was in Dipamkara³⁹ Buddha’s realm, there was not even the smallest dharma that could be apprehended.

³⁸*Vimalakirti-nirdesa Sutra* (T 475.14.0542b16-17).

³⁹A buddha of the distant past.

[Dipamkara] Buddha then gave me his prediction.⁴⁰ Being fully aware that all sentient beings are originally enlightened, there should be no attaining of bodhi.”

爾今聞發菩提心。將謂一箇心學取佛去。唯擬作佛。任爾三祇劫修。亦祇得箇報化佛。與爾本源真性佛有何交涉。故云。外求有相佛。與汝不相似。

“Now you hear of the manifesting of bodhi-mind. This should be called ‘a mind learning to make the Buddha leave’. [Manifesting the bodhi-mind] is to only imitate the actions of Buddha. Even if you repeatedly practiced for an incalculable number of kalpas, you would still only attain the sambhoga[kaya] and nirmana[kaya] Buddha. What relationship does the Buddha have with your original, true nature? For this reason it is said, ‘[If you] seek outside for a Buddha with characteristics, [such a Buddha] has no resemblance to you.’”⁴¹

問。本既是佛。那得更無四生六道種種形貌不同。師云。諸佛體圓更無增減。流入六道處處皆圓。萬類之中個個是佛。譬如一團水銀分散諸處。顆顆皆圓。若不分時祇是一塊。此一即一切。一切即一。

It was asked: “[If we] are all from the beginning originally buddhas, how do there come to be the four births and six paths, beings that have various appearances and are all different?”

⁴⁰This seems to be a paraphrase from the *Diamond Sutra* (T 235.08.0749c17-18).

⁴¹According to Ruth Fuller Sasaki, this line is a quote from a poem allegedly written by the 8th Indian patriarch, Buddhanandi (Sasaki 263). This quote is also found in *The Sayings Record of Chan Master Linji of Zhenshou* 鎮州臨濟慧照禪師語錄 *Zhenshou Linji Huizhao Chanshi Yulu* (T 1985.47.0501c24; Sasaki 262).

The Master replied: “The essence of all buddhas is complete perfection, and there is nothing to add or subtract. It flows into the six paths and is complete perfection in every place. Of the ten thousand species, each and every one is Buddha. As an example, a ball of mercury will scatter everywhere. It will spread out roundly and perfectly. If not for this spreading it would be merely a clump. This one becomes all. All becomes one.”

種種形貌喻如屋舍。捨驢屋入人屋。捨人身至天身。乃至聲聞緣覺菩薩佛屋。皆是汝取捨處。所以有別本源之性。何得有別。

“The various forms, for example, are like a house. One would abandon a donkey stable to enter a human’s house. One would abandon a human body to attain a god’s body, up to and including sravaka, pratyeka, bodhisattva, and buddha dwellings. These are all places that you obtain and abandon. Therefore, they exist separately from the nature of the original source. How could [the nature of the original source] have any differences?”

問。諸佛如何行大慈悲。為眾生說法。師云。佛慈悲者無緣。故名大慈悲。慈者不見有佛可成。悲者不見有眾生可度。其所說法無說無示。其聽法者無聞無得。譬如幻士為幻人說法。

It was asked: “How is it that all the buddhas practice the Great Compassion and preach the Dharma to sentient beings?”

The Master replied: “Buddha-compassion is without dependence. For this reason it is called ‘the Great Compassion’. The merciful see that there is no buddhahood to be achieved, and the sorrowful see that there are no sentient beings to be carried over [to the

far shore of enlightenment].⁴² He who speaks the Dharma neither speaks nor indicates. He who listens to the Dharma neither hears nor apprehends. An example would be: an illusory master preaching the Dharma to an illusory person.⁴³”

這個法若為道我從善知識言下領得。會也悟也這個慈悲。若為汝起心動念學得他見解。不是自悟本心。究竟無益。

“If I were to speak to you from my great knowledge regarding the Way, the words would be understood. ‘Understanding’. ‘Awakening’. ‘This compassion’. If I were to raise thoughts of study, attainment and insight in your mind, then this would not be a self-awakening to original mind. In the end, there would be no benefit.”

問。何者是精進。師云。身心不起。是名第一牢強精進。纔起心向外求者。名為歌利王愛游獵去。心不外遊。即是忍辱仙人身心俱無。即是佛道。

It was asked: “What is diligence?”

The Master replied: “Body and mind do not arise. This is called the most essential, striving diligence. Once you give rise to a mind tending towards outside thoughts, this is called ‘Kaliraja’s love for the hunt’.⁴⁴ [When] mind does not go

⁴²It is difficult to convey the full meaning of this sentence in English. The word translated as “compassion” (慈悲) consists of two characters, which mean “mercy” and “sorrow” respectively (“compassion”, then, is “merciful sorrow”). To make his point, Huangbo has split the characters to provide a deeper meaning for what it is to practice the Great Compassion.

⁴³*Vimalakirti-nirdesa Sutra* (T 475.14.0540a18-19)

⁴⁴In the *Diamond Sutra*, the Buddha mentions that in a past life, he was dismembered by Kaliraja (Price 33).

wandering outside, this is the sage, Ksantivadin.⁴⁵ Body and mind, without exception, do not exist. This is the Buddha-path.”

問。若無心行此道得否。師云。無心便是行此道。更說什麼得與不得。且如瞥起一念便是境。若無一念便是境忘心自滅。無復可追尋。

It was asked: “If there is no-mind is to practice this path, will it be obtained?”

The Master replied: “No-mind truly is practicing the Path. How can you even speak of what is obtained and unobtainable? It is like this: when you even slightly give rise to a single thought, then there are phenomena. If there is not one thought, then the phenomena are forgotten and this false mind self-extinguishes. It will not again be able to seek.”

問。如何是出三界。師云。善惡都莫思量。當處便出三界。如來出世為破三有。若無一切心。三界亦非有。如一微塵破為百分。九十九分是無。一分是有。摩訶衍不能勝出。百分俱無。摩訶衍始能勝出。

It was asked: “What is going beyond the three worlds?”

The Master replied: “Good and evil are both nothing to be conceived. When one reaches this, one will immediately go beyond the three worlds. The Tathagata’s coming to the world was a destruction of the three existences. If all thoughts do not exist, then the three worlds also do not exist. It is like the 100% destruction of the smallest particle [of a dharma]. When 99% doesn't have existence, while 1% still exists, the Mahayana

⁴⁵This is another reference to a past life of the Buddha, mentioned in the *Diamond Sutra* (Price 33).

cannot win your liberation. When 100% is completely destroyed, the Mahayana can begin to win your liberation.”

APPENDIX B

THE WANLING LU: THE MASTER ASCENDS THE HALL

上堂云。即心是佛。上至諸佛。下至蠢動含靈。皆有佛性。同一心體。所以達摩從西天來。唯傳一心法。直指一切眾生本來是佛。不假修行。但如今識取自心見自本性。更莫別求。

[Huangbo] ascended the hall and spoke: “This very mind is Buddha. From the highest of all buddhas down to the lowest of the squirming living creatures; all possess the Buddha-nature. They share the essence of the One Mind. This is why Bodhidharma came from the west and only transmitted the Dharma of the One Mind. He directly pointed to the fact that all sentient beings are, from the beginning, Buddha. Do not perform provisional practices. But, today, if you understand your own mind and see your own original nature, then there will be nothing else to seek.”

云何識自心。即如今言語者正是汝心。若不言語又不作用心體。如虛空相似。無有相貌亦無方所。亦不一向是無有而不可見。故祖師云。真性心地藏。無頭亦無尾。應緣而化物。方便呼為智。

“It is said, ‘How does one understand one’s own mind?’ This, which today has spoken those words, is truly your own mind. If you do not speak and also do not make effort, the mind-essence thus appears like the empty sky. Non-existence has no features and also has no dimensions. Isn’t it always non-existent and also cannot be seen? For this reason, the Patriarchal Master said, ‘The true nature of mind is Ksitigarbha. There is

no head and also no tail. It transforms beings according to their conditions. As an expedient means, it is called wisdom.’⁴⁶”

若不應緣之時。不可言其有無。正應之時。亦無蹤跡。既知如此。如今但向無中棲泊。即是行諸佛路。經云。應無所住而生其心。一切眾生輪迴生死者。意緣走作心。於六道不停。致使受種種苦。

“If it is uncaused, it cannot be said that it exists or does not exist. When it responds to causes, it also does not leave footprints. Just understand in this way. Today I only direct you to abide in silence. This is practicing the All-Buddhas-Vehicle. The sutra says, ‘You should give birth to a mind that is without anything upon which to stand.’⁴⁷ All of the sentient beings in the wheel of birth and death; thinking causes them to move [along the wheel]. Create thoughts and you will be endlessly within the six paths. This will cause you to be afflicted with suffering and all kinds of bitterness.”

淨名云。難化之人心如猿猴。故以若干種法制禦其心。然後調伏。所以心生種種法生。心滅種種法滅。故知一切諸法皆由心造。乃至人天地獄六道修羅。盡由心造。

“Jing Ming⁴⁸ said, ‘Like monkeys, it is difficult to transform people’s minds because the various types of dharmas restrain their minds.’⁴⁹ After that, they are subdued. Therefore, ‘When thoughts are born, every type of dharma is born. When

⁴⁶This is a four line verse attributed to the twenty-sixth patriarch, Puryamitra. See the *Zongjing lu*, T 2016.48.0939a21-22.

⁴⁷This quote is from the *Diamond Sutra* (T 235.08.0749c22 -23).

⁴⁸This is another name for Vimalakirti (Muller *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, “Vimalakirti”).

⁴⁹*Vimalakirti-nirdesa Sutra* (T 475.14.0553a12-13).

thoughts extinguish, every type of dharma is extinguished.⁵⁰ For this reason it is known that every single dharma is created by mind. Up to and including humans, gods, hell beings, the beings of the six paths, and the asuras; all of them are created by mind.”

如今但學無心頓息諸緣。莫生妄想分別。無人無我。無貪瞋無憎愛無勝負。但除却如許多種妄想。性自本來清淨。即是修行菩提法佛等。若不會此意。縱爾廣學勤苦修行。木食草衣。不識自心皆名邪行。盡作天魔外道水陸諸神。如此修行。當復何益。

“Now if you only study no-mind, all causation will cease. Do not give birth to false thoughts and distinctions. There are no ‘people’ and there is no ‘self’. There is no ‘desire’ or ‘anger’. No ‘hate’, no ‘love’. No ‘victory’, no ‘defeat’. Simply abandon these like the many types of false thoughts. The nature of the self is, from the beginning, pure. This is practicing bodhi, Dharma, Buddha, etc. If you do not understand this [way of] thinking, then all of your study, diligent and suffering practices, eating vegetables and wearing cloth; these will not allow you to know your own mind. These are to be deemed evil practices. [Such practices] without exception lead to the creation of Maras, non-Buddhists, and all of the water and earth spirits. Such practices as these; how could they be of any benefit?”

志公云。本體是自心作。那得文字中求。如今但識自心。息却思惟。妄想塵勞自然不生。淨名云。唯置一床寢疾而臥。心不起也。如今臥疾。攀緣都息。妄想歇滅。

⁵⁰This is a slightly different phrasing of the line from the *Awakening of Faith* quoted above. See T 1666.32.0577b22.

即是菩提。如今若心裏紛紛不定。任爾學到三乘四果十地諸位。合殺祇向凡聖中坐。

“Zhigong said, ‘The original essence is created in your own mind.’ How could this be sought in the written word (the sutras)? Now, only know your own mind. Cut off thinking. In this way, false thoughts and defilements will not arise. Jingming says, ‘Only lay out a bed for sleeping while sick and lie down.’ Thoughts do not arise. Now as an invalid, climbing over these objects (of the mind) comes to a rest, and false thoughts extinguish. This is bodhi. Now, if your mind is cluttered with uncertainty, it is of no matter how much you study and go through the three vehicles, the four fruits, the ten stages, and all the ranks. These will all be reduced to sitting between commoner and sage.”

諸行盡歸無常。勢力皆有盡期。猶如箭射於空。力盡還墮。却歸生死輪迴。如斯修行不解佛意。虛受辛苦。豈非大錯。

“All practices return to impermanence. All of their energy has a time of extinction. Just like an arrow shot into the sky, its power exhausts and it falls. They will bring you back to the cycle of life and death. If you practice, but do not understand the Buddha’s meaning, then there will be bitter suffering. How is this not a great error?”

志公云。未逢出世明師。枉服大乘法藥。如今但一切時中行住坐臥但學無心。亦無分別亦無依倚。亦無住著。終日任運騰騰。如癡人相似。世人盡不識爾。爾亦不用

教人識不識。心如頑石頭都無縫罅。一切法透汝心不入。兀然無著。如此始有少分相應。透得三界境過名為佛出世。

“Zhigong says, ‘If you do not come across a world-transcending teacher, you will take the Dharma-medicine of the Great Vehicle in vain.’ Now at all times, whether walking, standing, sitting, or lying down, you should only study no-mind. Also [practice] non-differentiation, non-reliance, and non-attachment. All day, accept movement and rising. Thus, like a fool in appearance. All of the people in the world do not know you. You also have no use for teaching others awareness or ignorance. With a mind like a stubborn stone without cracks or fissures, all the dharmas that pervade your mind will not enter. So unattached in this way, you may begin to have some associations. Throughout the three realms you will be called ‘a buddha who has transcended the world’.”

不漏心相名為無漏智。不作人天業。不作地獄業。不起一切心。諸緣盡不生。即此身心是自由人。不是一向不生。祇是隨意而生。經云。菩薩有意生身是也。忽若未會無心。著相而作者。皆屬魔業。乃至作淨土佛事。並皆成業。乃名佛障。障汝心故。被因果管束。去住無自由分。

“If you do not taint the mind as it appears, this is called ‘untainted wisdom’. You will not create human and god karma. You will not create hell-being karma. You will not give rise to any thoughts. All conditions will extinguish and you will not be re-born. This very body and mind are a self-created person. If [the process] of re-birth is not completely stopped, then you will be re-born as you wish. The sutra says, ‘Bodhisattvas

are born into the bodies that they wish to be born into.’⁵¹ This is so. The instant that they lose their understanding of no-mind, they will become attached to forms and create them. All of this belongs to Mara-karma. This includes the Pure Land Buddhists’ activities. Even these produce karma, so they are to be called ‘Buddha-hindrances’. Because they hinder your mind, you will be turned by karmic restraints and there will be no freedom to go and reside [in the Pure Land].”

所以菩提等法。本不是有。如來所說。皆是化人猶如黃葉為金權止小兒啼。故實無有法名阿耨菩提。如今既會此意。何用區區。

“Therefore, bodhi and all the various dharmas are originally non-existent. This is so with the Tathagata’s words. All of what he said was in order to transform people just as yellow leaves [are exchanged] for gold as an expedient to stop a child’s crying. [This is] because there is really no dharma called anuttarasamyaksambodhi.⁵² Now that you understand in this way, of what use are trivial matters?”

但隨緣消舊業。更莫造新殃。心裏明明。所以舊時見解總須捨却。淨名云。除去所有。法華云。二十年中常令除糞。祇是除去心中作見解處。又云。蠲除戲論之糞。所以如來藏本自空寂并不停留一法。

“Just accord with your conditions and exhaust your old karma and do not create new calamity. The mind contains brightness. Therefore, your old levels of understanding

⁵¹It is not entirely clear which sutra is being alluded to here. It is possible that this is a reference to the *Lanka-avatara Sutra*, which does contain a discussion of the types of “will-body” that can be taken by a bodhisattva (Suzuki 118-119).

⁵²*The Diamond Sutra* (T 235.08.0749b14-15)

must all be abandoned. Jingming says, ‘Get rid of your possessions.’⁵³ The *Lotus Sutra* says, ‘Twenty years spent removing dung.’⁵⁴ This was only the removal of viewpoints from within the mind. [*The Lotus Sutra*] also says, ‘Eliminate the dung of silly talk.’⁵⁵ Thus, the tathagatagarbha is itself originally empty and silent. It does not allow a single dharma to remain.”

故經云。諸佛國土亦復皆空。若言佛道是修學而得。如此見解全無交涉。成作一機一境揚眉動目。祇對相當便道契會也。得證悟禪理也。忽逢一人。不解便道。都無所知對他。若得道理。心中便歡喜。若被他折伏不如他。便即心懷惆悵。如此心意學禪。有何交涉。任汝會得少許道理。即得個心所法。禪道總沒交涉。

“For this reason, the sutra says, ‘All of the Buddha-lands are also empty.’⁵⁶ If it is said that the Buddha-Dharma is attained through practice and study, then such a level of understanding as this has no association [with the Buddha-Dharma]. It achieves the creation of one mental disposition and one sense object in the raising of a brow or the movement of an eye. You are only partially correct and say that you have an understanding and have obtained proof of awakening to Chan principles. If you encounter someone who does not understand the expedient Path, then say to him that you

⁵³*Vimalakirti-nirveda Sutra* (T 475.14.0544b10).

⁵⁴*The Lotus Sutra* (T 262.09.0017a27).

⁵⁵*The Lotus Sutra* (T 262.09.0017b21). The full line in the Kumarajiva’s Chinese translation of the *Lotus Sutra* reads 蠲除諸法戲論之糞. This line in the *Lotus Sutra* is translated by Leon Hurvitz as, “clear away the dung of frivolous assertions concerning the dharmas (Hurvitz 89).

⁵⁶This quote is from the *Vimalakirti-nirveda Sutra* (T 475.14.544b29-c1). The quote occurs during an exchange between Vimalakirti and Manjusri.

have no knowledge. If he attains [an understanding of] the principles of the Path, he will have great joy in his mind. If you are turned by him and subdued, you will not be as good as him. Your mind will be filled with despair. What does a meaning such as this have to do with the study of Chan? You may obtain even a small portion of a principle of the Path and some mental factors. The path of Chan has nothing to do with any of these.”

所以達摩面壁。都不令人有見處。故云忘⁵⁷機是佛道。分別是魔境。此性縱汝迷時亦不失。悟時亦不得。天真自性本無迷悟。盡十方虛空界元來是我一心體。縱汝動用造作。豈離虛空。虛空本來無大無小。無漏無為。無迷無悟。了了見無一物。亦無人亦無佛絕纖毫的量。

“Therefore, Bodhidharma’s wall-gazing. He did not command people to have any viewpoints. This is why it is said that forgetting mental dispositions is the path of the buddhas, while distinctions are Mara-vishayas⁵⁸. Even while you are deluded, this nature will not diminish. At the time of awakening, it will not gain [anything]. Naturally, your own nature is from the beginning without delusion or awakening. It is my One Mind essence that fundamentally fills the ten directions and the sky realm. Even if you were to engage in creation, how could you be away from the empty sky? The empty sky is fundamentally without the concepts of ‘great’ and ‘small’. It is untainted and

⁵⁷The version of the *Wanling lu* found in the SAT and CBETA databases has *wang* 妄, meaning “false” (T 2012B.48.0387a02). In Iriya’s translation of the *Wanling lu*, he has corrected the text to read *wang* 忘, meaning “forgetting” (Iriya 135). I have chosen to incorporate Iriya’s correction here.

⁵⁸Misleading sense objects.

unconditioned. It is non-delusion and non-awakening. The clever see that there are no ‘things’. There are also no ‘humans’ and no ‘buddhas’, down to even the tiniest width of a hair.”

是無依倚無粘綴一道清流是自性無生法忍。何有擬議。真佛無口不解說法。真聽無耳其誰聞乎。珍重。

“It is unattached, unbound. The monk of the One Path is by his own nature accepting of this non-arising of dharmas. Why the hesitation? The true Buddha is without a mouth and does not explain his dharma teaching. True listening is without ears. Who is there to hear? Take care of yourselves.”⁵⁹

⁵⁹Zhenzhong 珍重 was a phrase commonly used at the end of an “ascending the hall” sermon (Sasaki 127-128).

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