

# *The Will to Orthodoxy*

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A CRITICAL GENEALOGY  
OF NORTHERN CHAN BUDDHISM

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*To Louis Frédéric*

## Acknowledgments

This book is a reworking of my doctoral dissertation (*thèse de Doctorat d'Etat*), defended in December 1984 in Paris. Most of the content has already been published in French, but in two works difficult to obtain (let alone to read): *La volonté d'orthodoxie dans le bouddhisme chinois* (Editions du CNRS, 1988) and *Le bouddhisme Ch'an en mal d'histoire* (Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1989). I have thus decided to put out a new version so as to make the work more accessible—both in content and in form.

I undertook this revision with the intention of considerably reducing the critical apparatus in this book—but I failed in the end to avoid “the ostentation of footnotes, addenda, and appendixes” (Le Goff, *Pour un autre Moyen Age*, p. 21). Indeed, the initial attempt to check my penchant for footnotes was undermined with every subsequent revision. Readers who want still more critical apparatus can always go to the earlier published forms. In a way, this work constitutes the historiographical scaffolding that permitted me to write my other recent books. It is thus presented here both as a piece of research in its own right and as representative of one phase in a progression, a phase that has not lost its relevance, despite the publication at about the same time of John McRae's book, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism*. Both of our approaches are heavily influenced by the historical criticism of Chan undertaken by Yanagida Seizan, and our results are in many ways complementary. Unfortunately I was unable to rework my entire book to take into account all the



new data contributed by McRae. I only hope that by tossing this piece into the hopper of Chan history I may provide elements for some future synthesis.

It would also probably be appropriate to modify my historical stance and introduce into the discussion, as I have since done, anthropological considerations that shed light on how a patriarchal lineage could become the controlling element in a tradition that laid claim to complete detachment from all historical contingencies. The two approaches reinforce each other, however, and it is because of this complementarity that the present work, although earlier in its conception than *The Rhetoric of Immediacy* and *Chan Insights and Oversights*, can take its place beside them.

I have, over the years, benefited from the help of many friends and institutions. My most obvious debt is to Professor Yanagida Seizan, without whom this project would not even have been conceived. My research in Japan was also greatly enhanced by generous help of Hubert Durt, Antonino Forte, Robert Duquenne, and the late Anna Seidel at the Hōbōgirin Institute. In France, I am particularly indebted to Francine Hérail, the late Bernard Frank and Louis Frédéric, Kuo Li-ying, Marc Kalinowski, and Isabelle Robinet; in the United States, to my *kalyāṇamitra* Carl Bielefeldt; and to Allan Grapard, Neil McMullin, Jeffrey Broughton, Ken Eastman, and the late Philip Yampolsky. I also want to thank several graduate students at Stanford University who edited parts of the first draft of the translation and encouraged me to publish it: Wendi Adamek, Elisabeth Morrison, James Robson, John Kieschnick, and Irene Lin. My thanks also go to Phyllis Brooks, who managed to finish the translation despite adverse circumstances; and to John Ziemer, who accepted the manuscript for Stanford University Press. The translation was made possible through a grant from Stanford's Center for East Asian Studies, and I want to thank in particular Theodore Foss for his support.

B.F.

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## Abbreviations

BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient</i> . Paris. Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient.
Beijing	Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang, Beijing
Chanmen fa	<i>Huida heshang dunjiao bimi xinqi chanmen fa</i> (Beijing zhi 86)
Chan'yao	<i>Wuwei sanzang chan'yao</i> , by Śubhakarasiṃha
Chengxi tu	<i>Zhonghua chuan xindi chanmen shizi chengxitu</i> , by Zongmi
Commentary	<i>Zhu Banruo boluomiduo xin jing</i> , by Jingjue. In Yanagida 1967a: 596–610.
Ding shifei lun	<i>Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun bing xu</i> , by Shenhui
DNBZ	<i>Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho</i> . Takakusu Junjirō et al., eds. Tokyo: Yōseidō, 1913–22. Reprinted—Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan, ed. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1970–73. 100 vols.
Dunwu yaojue	<i>Dunwu zhenzong jingang bannuo xiuxing bi'an famen yaojue</i> , by Houmochen Yan (Zhida)
Dunwu zhenzong lun	<i>Dacheng kaixin xianxing dunwu zhenzong lun</i>
Duxu	See <i>General Preface</i>
DZ	<i>Daozang</i> ( <i>Zhengtong daozaṅ</i> , 1445). Including the <i>Wanli xu daozaṅ</i> (1607). 1120 vols. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1923–26. Reprinted—Taipei: Yiwen yin shuguan, 1962. 60 vols.
General Preface	<i>Chanyuan zhuguānji duxu</i> , by Zongmi
HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>

- HY *Combined Indices to the Authors and Titles of Books in Two Collections of Taoist Literature (Daozang zimu yinde)*. Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series. Taibei: Chinese Materials and Research Aids Service Center, 1966.
- IBK *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (Journal of Indian and Buddhist studies)
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JLABS *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*
- JTS *Jiu Tang shu*, ed. Liu Xu
- K. *Koryō dae jang gyong (Tripitaka Koreana)*, Seoul.
- KDBGK *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu ronshū*. Tokyo: Komazawa University.
- KDBK *Komazawa daigaku bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō*
- P. Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang, Pelliot Collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
- P. Tib. Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang, Pelliot Collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
- Platform Sūtra* *Liuzu dashi fabao tan jing*
- QTW *Qinding Quan Tang wen* (1814). Dong Gao (1740–1818) et al., eds. Taibei: Huaiwen shuju, 1961.
- Record *Lengqie shizi ji*, by Jingjue
- S. Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang, Stein Collection of the British Library, London
- S. Tib. Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang, Stein Collection of the India Office Library, Oxford
- SKSLXB *Shike shiliao xinbian*. 1st series, 30 vols. Taibei: Xinwen feng, 1977. 2d series, 20 vols., 1979; 3d series, 40 vols., 1986.
- T. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*. Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaigyoku, eds. 100 vols. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–32.
- Tan jing* See *Platform Sūtra*
- Tanyu* *Nanyang heshang dunjiao jietuo chanmen zhi liaoxing tanyu*, by Shenhui.
- Treatise on the Five Upāya* *Dacheng wusheng fangbian men*
- XTS *Xin Tang shu*, ed. Ouyang Xiu
- ZZ *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō*. Nakano Tatsue, ed. Kyoto: Zōkyō shoin, 1905–12. 150 vols. Reprinted—Taibei: Xinwenfeng, 1968–70.

# THE WILL TO ORTHODOXY

A Critical Genealogy of Northern Chan Buddhism



## Introduction

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The Chan school, the ancestor of Japanese Zen, appeared in China around the beginning of the sixth century in the person of the semilegendary character Bodhidharma. The term *chan*, from which the school later took its name, is the truncated transcription of the Sanskrit word *dhyāna*, usually rendered as "spiritual concentration." But early Chinese Chan probably differs as much from the Indian-style *dhyāna* as it does from medieval Zen. Without denying Chan's indebtedness to Indian Buddhism, we must concede that the emergence of a Chan lineage during the Tang, and the institutionalization of the Chan school during the Song, in many respects represents a reaction against it, or at least an effort to adapt it to the radically different conditions prevailing in Chinese society.

### *Birth of a Lineage*

The most typically Chinese feature of this school, which claims to derive from the Indian master Bodhidharma, is obviously its insistence on a patriarchal tradition. The ancestor cult, after all, is extremely important in China. A "historian" of early Chan, Guifeng Zongmi (780–841), explained his theory of the seven Chinese patriarchs by the custom of prescribing the "constructing of seven pagodas in the region, carrying out funeral ceremonies after seven months, wearing mourning for seven generations, and interceding for the happiness of seven ancestors."<sup>1</sup> Most Western interpreters of "Zen

thought" see in this genealogical concern only a concession—and a secondary one at that—to the spirit of the times. But the truth is in fact quite the opposite: it is precisely this matter of ancestral relationships that determined from the outset the main lines of the Chan/Zen pattern of thought. Even today, in the great Japanese Zen monasteries, the complete list of patriarchs from the Buddha Śākyamuni to the current Zen master (*rōshi*) is recited before each morning's *zazen* session, and the memorization of this lineage is one of the first tasks of all novices.

The patriarchal tradition of Chan took shape during the seventh and eighth centuries. It does not show up in the *Erru sixing lun* (Treatise on the two entrances and four practices) attributed to Bodhidharma.<sup>2</sup> It can, however, be detected in the two "histories" of the Dongshan school (soon to be rebaptized the "Northern school" by a dissenter from it), the *Lengqie shizi ji* (Record of the masters and disciples of the *Lañkāvatāra* [school], hereafter *Record*), and Du Fei's *Chuan fabao ji* (Chronicle of the transmission of the dharma jewel), both of which were written between 710 and 720.<sup>3</sup> Its development continues in the *Ding shifei lun* (Treatise establishing the true and the false)<sup>4</sup> by Shenhui (684–758) and in the *Lidai fabao ji* (Record of the dharma jewel through the ages; ca. 776).<sup>5</sup> It was, however, with the *Baolin zhuan* (Chronicle of the Baolin [Monastery]), compiled in 801, that the distinguishing patriarchal tradition took on its definitive shape.<sup>6</sup>

The *Baolin zhuan* introduced the era of the records of the transmission of the lamp (*chuandeng lu*) and the recorded sayings (*yulu*) and brings to a close that of the Chan sūtras—apocryphal texts whose blossoming, beginning in the middle of seventh century, had provided a basis for the legitimization of the new school.<sup>7</sup> The *Baolin zhuan*, of which we unfortunately have only an incomplete version, presents Chan as the esoteric tradition transmitted by the Buddha Śākyamuni to his disciple Mahākāśyapa. It also gives biographical accounts of the 28 Indian patriarchs (up to Bodhidharma), followed by those of six Chinese patriarchs: Bodhidharma, Huike (487–593, Sengcan (d. 606), Daoxin (580–651), Hongren (601–74), and Huineng (638–713). From Huineng's two major disciples, Nanyue Huairang (677–744) and Qingyuan Xingsi (d. 740), and more especially their respective disciples, Mazu Daoyi (709–88) and Shitou Xiqian (700–790), we see the emergence of the two lineages that would give birth to the "classical" Chan of the ninth century and then, during the Song, to the Rinzai and Sōtō schools of Japanese Zen. This line of development became possible on an institutional level during the Song because of the elaboration of the Pure Rule (*qinggui*), attributed to Baizhang Huaihai (749–814).<sup>8</sup> Chan had finally achieved its independence from the traditional monastic discipline.

The first half of the ninth century may be considered a transitional period. Right after the great proscription of Buddhism in 842-45, the new Chan school became the main current in Chinese Buddhism. Adversity did not crush it but rather stimulated its growth. From that time, it had no trouble taking over the space vacated by the traditional schools. The top-heavy hierarchy of those schools made them vulnerable, and they found themselves unable to work around the various measures instituted against them and never recovered their former power.

In 841, just before the proscription, Guifeng Zongmi, the last great representative of "pre-classical" Chan, died.<sup>9</sup> It was also during that decade, in 848, that the Dunhuang oasis on the Silk Road was abandoned by the Tibetans, who had occupied it for half a century (since 781 or 787). This doubtless explains why, in the vast "deposit of sacred waste" discovered in the Dunhuang caves by Aurel Stein and Paul Pelliot at the beginning of this century, the few documents concerning Chinese Chan consisted, with minor exceptions, only of texts predating the *Baolin zhuan*.<sup>10</sup> It was this pre-classical Chan that was introduced into Tibet, where it came up against Indian Buddhism and ended up by merging with Tantric Buddhism. It was also this form of Chan that the Japanese monk Saichō (767-822) took back to his country in 804 after a brief visit to China.

This early form of Chan was eclipsed by the later tradition. But a certain amount of material concerning its doctrines was incorporated into the records of the transmission of the lamp. These materials, however, were usually reworked or treated as peripheral. It was only with the interest aroused by the rediscovery of the Dunhuang manuscripts that historians like Hu Shi, Ui Hakuju, and Suzuki Daisetsu started to re-examine traditional sources and focus on the eighth century.

One of their first incontrovertible findings was that the principal disciples of Huineng were not, as had been believed, Nanyue Huairang and Qingyuan Xingsi. Their names do not even appear in the famous *Liuzu tanjing* (Platform sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch), which emphasizes instead the significance of Shenhui. Zongmi also saw Shenhui as the sole legitimate heir to Huineng; the Hongzhou branch, through Nanyue Huairang, was merely collateral. Shenhui would even, in 796, receive the official title of "seventh patriarch."

In his *Zhonghua chuan xindi chanmen shizi chengxi tu* (Chart of the relationships among masters and disciples who transmitted Chan in China), Zongmi separated out three main streams in the Chan of his time:

1. The Niutou school (named after Mount Oxhead, Niutou shan, where its founder lived): this was a collateral line deriving, according to tradition, from the fourth patriarch Daoxin;



2. The Northern school, represented by Shenxiu (606–706) and his disciple Puji (651–739): a collateral branch through the fifth patriarch Hongren;
3. The Southern school, divided into two branches, (a) that of Heze (Shenhui), representing the direct line from the sixth patriarch Huineng, and (b) that of Hongzhou (Huairang), the collateral line.

Hu Shi showed that the story of Chan in the eighth century was dominated by the conflict between the Southern and Northern schools. It was he who revealed the role played by Shenhui in the establishment of the Southern school as the orthodox tradition. According to him, it was Shenhui's vigorous offensive against the rival and prosperous Northern school at a meeting held in 732 at Huatai that heralded the appearance of a radically new notion in Chan, that of "subitism," sudden awakening.

The Northern school and its alleged founder, Shenxiu, served above all as foils to Shenhui, who saw them as representatives—or rather the sources—of a false Chan tendency, that of gradualism. The gulf may not have become as complete as Hu Shi believed, and various attempts at reconciliation were made, some of which, paradoxically, came from Shenhui's heirs. Nevertheless, most later records emphasize the incompatibility between the two doctrines. Zongmi, in his *Chengxi tu*, summed the matter up in this way: "At the beginning of the Tianbao period [742–56], Heze [Shenhui] entered into Luo[yang] and spread his doctrine there. It was then that he began to reveal that the lineage of Shenxiu's school was collateral and its doctrine gradualist. Each of the two schools revealed great dynamism, and the people of the time tried to understand the differences between them. Thus they began to speak of the Southern and Northern schools."<sup>11</sup>

Hu Shi accepted Zongmi's opinions at face value and came down on Shenhui's side. Misled by Zongmi's apparent "objectivity," he forgot that, as John McRae puts it, Zongmi "wielded the olive branch of non-partisanship only from the citadel of his own elaborate systematic ranking of early Ch'an factions."<sup>12</sup> He thus ended up presenting as historic truth what was fundamentally only a slightly earlier form of the question of which school was the orthodox one. The controversy between the two schools was really only the outcome of the "will to orthodoxy" that characterizes all of early Chan. What was originally just an obscure and rather heterodox movement became, in less than three centuries, a dominant, ruling orthodoxy that left a profound mark on Chinese culture. This evolution took place in five major steps:

1. During the sixth century the school claiming Bodhidharma as founder tried to gain a foothold in northern China, but with no great success.

2. Toward the middle of the seventh century a distinct community (which would soon come to be called the Dongshan school) took shape farther south, near the famous Buddhist center of Lu shan (in Hubei). Its founder, Daoxin, does not seem to have been aware that he belonged to the Bodhidharma lineage.
3. During the last decades of the seventh century, the Dongshan school tried to draw closer to the central government. Shenxiu first established himself at Yuquan shan, the great center of the Tiantai school, near a strategically important prefecture (Jingzhou, in Hubei). A little later his disciples Faru (638–89) and Huian (582–709) set themselves up at Song shan, an important Daoist and Buddhist center near the eastern capital, Luoyang. It was then that the Dongshan school associated itself with the tradition of the *Lankāvatāra*, which had come down from Bodhidharma. Finally, Shenxiu himself was invited to the western capital of Chang'an in 700.
4. With Shenxiu's disciples, the Dongshan school became solidly entrenched in both capitals. Shenhui, in turn, set himself up at Luoyang and tried to evict the rival faction. He achieved this thanks to An Lushan's rebellion in 755.
5. After this rebellion, which greatly weakened the central power, new schools developed in the provinces: among others, those of Bao Tang, Hongzhou, and Niutou. Orthodoxy passed from the lineage of Shenhui to that of Mazu Daoyi.<sup>13</sup>

Such a line of development was obviously the result of complex historic events and could not be attributed entirely to the acts of individuals, even though the charisma of people like Shenxiu and Shenhui was important. The decentralization following An Lushan's rebellion was reflected in the religious sphere by the Buddhist clergy's greater independence from the court. At the same time, claims of orthodoxy lost some of their importance. Thus the Niutou school, younger than the Northern and Southern schools (in spite of a tradition that claims the opposite), was apparently quite content to remain a collateral line of Chan—an attitude that would have been unthinkable just a few decades earlier.<sup>14</sup>

### *The Problem*

Even if the controversy that Shenhui stirred up was more than a nasty quarrel, it is clear that the oversimplifications to which it gave rise have helped to conceal the doctrinal continuity between the two schools and the diversity of Chan thought in that period. This Manichaean-style vision was ultimately more successful than its author: Shenhui rapidly disappeared into a forgotten corner of history, even more rapidly than those he had tried to send there. Even after Shenhui's death, Northern Chan remained the ortho-

doxy, at least until the emergence of "classical" Chan with Mazu Daoyi and his successors.<sup>15</sup> But Shenhui's arguments would cast long shadows, and they were still invoked by Hu Shi and Suzuki.<sup>16</sup> Even today this version of the facts, though regarded by an increasing number of researchers with a certain caution, has not yet been entirely rejected.

This is why, as a first step in that direction, it is important to reconstruct the point of view of the Northern school rather than simply consider this school as a factor contributing to the definition of the Southern school. In fact, the term "Northern school" is itself misleading, since it presupposes the existence of a counterpart "Southern school"; Shenxiu's school, at the time it took shape, actually had no rival and was known simply as the "Dongshan school." For convenience, however, I retain the name "Northern school," as sanctioned by tradition—and by Shenxiu's epigones themselves. In any case, an examination of epigraphic sources, along with the relative abundance of documents about this school among the Dunhuang manuscripts, now makes possible a preliminary re-evaluation of its doctrine and the role it played in later developments of Chan. That is the purpose of this book.

A second step would require that we show the wide variety of currents, the burgeoning of various tendencies that constituted the earliest stages of Chan, and place them in their politico-religious context. To go further, it would be necessary to reveal the complexity of the relationships between Chan and the other Buddhist schools (Tiantai, Huayan, Jingtu, Zhen'yan, and so on), as well as with other Chinese religions and patterns of thought (popular religion, Daoism, Confucianism). If the Chan tradition is characterized above all by the development of a patriarchal lineage, the history of Chan presupposes the deconstruction of this lineage.

Finally, we have to break through the limits imposed by the Sino-Japanese perspective that has prevailed up to now. During the Tang period, Chan, as a pattern of thought, spread throughout Central Asia, Tibet, Vietnam, Korea, and Japan, and it is in this long-neglected, wider geographic setting that we must try to reinstate it.<sup>17</sup>

### *Meditation and Doctrine*

In this preliminary study of the Northern school, I have tried to stress another theme because it seems to me to constitute one of the main differences between early and later Chan. This is the desire to legitimize Chan practice by scriptural tradition. By the time Bodhidharma supposedly arrived in China, toward the end of the fifth century, Buddhism had already been

sundered by the partition early in the third century A.D. of the ancient Han empire into southern and northern dynasties and had divided into two major lines: in the south, the influence of the disciples of the Indian translator Kumārajīva (344–413) had led to the dominance of the scholastic tradition, and in the north, under “barbarian” leaders, Indian-style *dhyanā* had acquired great popularity.

Buddhist centers under the Northern Wei (386–420) were also divided between scholiasts and *dhyanā* practitioners. The Chan preached by Bodhidharma could doubtless be interpreted as a reaction against such fragmentation within Buddhism, seen as deviation from the true path. Thus the *Erru sixing lun* tries to reconcile the two approaches, the theoretical and the practical. Access via principle (*liru*), although based on doctrine, cannot be submitted to a straightforward exegesis. Similarly, access via practice (*xingru*) presupposes a fundamental intuition of the Absolute and is, on this point, distinct from classical *dhyanā*.

The same concern for synthesis is also found in Zhiyi (538–97), the founder of the Tiantai school. But it was above all in the new Chan school that this concern took form, especially with Shenxiu and his disciples, with Jingjue's *Lengqie shizi ji* (Record of the masters and disciples of the *Lankāvatāra* [school]), and with Zongmi himself. In fact, beginning with Zongmi the major Chan line adopted as its identifying theme “a special transmission outside the scriptural teachings” (*jiaowai biechuan*) and once more fell, at least to all appearances, into the deviationism that Zongmi began by criticizing.

After discussing the thought of the Northern school as it is expressed in various documents, I shall dwell somewhat longer on an examination of one of these documents, the *Lengqie shizi ji*, and its author, Jingjue. It does seem as though the Chan of the earliest period—or at least one of its main currents—derives from the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*. This sūtra was translated in the fifth century, a little before the semilegendary founder of Chan, the Indian monk Bodhidharma, came ashore at Canton and drew great attention for his intensive practice of meditation. (Legend holds that he remained seated, motionless, for nine years.) I chose to focus on the *Record* for various reasons. It is one of the documents rediscovered at the beginning of the twentieth century in a cave at the Dunhuang oasis on the Silk Road. What is more, it gives us a clear idea of the state of the Chan tradition at the beginning of the eighth century, just before the schism that would divide it into the Northern and Southern schools. The *Record*, which is representative of one of the lines that would later become the Northern school, is one of the first attempts to draw up a Chan patriarchal lineage (the importance of genealogical lineages in China has already been discussed). It is foremost

a chronicle, but its extensive summary of Chan doctrine and practices at this early period has forced us to modify many of the ideas that have come down to us through the classical form of Chan developed during the ninth century.

The choice of the subject matter itself—the Northern school—is in many ways significant. We shall be looking at an orthodox line that would soon be marginalized by its defeat in the contest with the Southern school. The trend represented in the *Record* can further be considered as marginal in relation to the Northern school proper. An interest in the marginal may seem quite normal for most cultural historians, for whom heresies and marginals of all kinds have become a popular subject of study. The same would not be true for a scholar working in the framework of Japanese Buddhist historiography, in which only the orthodox tradition is deemed worthy of interest. I began to feel the need to run counter to the Japanese historiographic tradition, a tradition to which I am otherwise fundamentally indebted, when I became more interested in the syncretism, or rather the eclecticism, of the author of the *Record* and the adepts of the Northern school, their attempt at harmonizing scholarship and practice, and finally their defeat than I was in the doctrinal intransigence of their opponents, even if the Southern school's sectarianism would ultimately lead to its success and transformation into orthodoxy. While relying largely on traditional Buddhist historiography, I have attempted to express certain reservations, raise some questions, or revise some accepted hierarchies.

The need for a twofold reading of Chan texts—a historical-critical and a hermeneutical one—explains why this analysis of the Northern school and of the *Record* proceeds along two major axes: the study of the patriarchal tradition and its sectarian stakes on the one hand, and the ideology of the practice of Northern Chan on the other. Here we must stress that there is no clear causal link between the one aspect and the other, even if there are apparently occasional correlations: the analysis of sectarian infighting does not necessarily reflect the development of doctrine, and subitism is not, as has long been claimed, the sole prerogative of the Southern school. It is also important to stress the matter of patriarchal lineages, whose role in Chan has often been misunderstood. As mentioned above, the Chan (or Zen) tradition claims a direct transmission from the Buddha Śākyamuni via the 28 Indian patriarchs and the first six Chinese patriarchs. With the Sixth Patriarch, Huineng, the Southern school is claimed to have established its orthodoxy in the face of the rival, collateral branch represented by Shenxiu. In actual fact, as we have seen, it was only a generation later, with Shenhui, candidate to the coveted title of "seventh patriarch," that the matter was

settled. This patriarchal genealogy was made possible and necessary by the success of Chan at the beginning of the eighth century, and its growing awareness of its own status as a sect. The emphasis placed on the founding fathers—Bodhidharma and Huineng—results from this sectarian outlook.

This sectarian view of Chan history, along with the desire to flesh out as much as possible the often fictitious biographies of the patriarchs in question, still dominates to a large extent the efforts of Japanese Chan/Zen historians. Classic works on the question privilege the purely teleological view, which takes Japanese Zen to be the obvious ultimate development of the tradition. This tendency shows up clearly in the tables of contents of such works, where chronology is mistakenly taken as an indication of the linear logic of the development from gradualism to subitism.<sup>18</sup> As I began my work, I found that I had to abandon this linear structure, at the risk of producing a text that would be difficult to read because of its fragmentation. This heterogeneity also results from the nature of my source materials and the difficulty of making a frontal criticism of a long tradition. I had to allow myself to set up certain premises, to accept certain classical theories and controversies (like the controversies over quietism and subitism, which constitute the main focus of discord between the two schools). I had to investigate each of these theories or controversies from one end to the other before I felt justified in eventually moving beyond them. I had to reverse the traditional hierarchy of the two schools before I could suggest abandoning it altogether.

During this process certain conclusions became obvious. First of all, it became clear that the marginality of the phenomena under study was not a matter of chance; it was crucial. The patriarchal tradition is a product of people on the margins, the result of their desire to become the party of the orthodox. It is not a sign of a richness in the tradition, but rather of a lack in it. It is on the fringes, on the shifting boundaries between this school and other religious movements—not all of them Buddhist—that the destiny of the Chan tradition was shaped. Shenhui's polemical discourse, in particular, might be a product of "boundary anxiety."

It also became clear that even when we accept certain established demarcations and lines of separation, they do not always follow the lines marked out by tradition. Thus, the traditional break between gradualism and subitism does not coincide with the division between the Northern and the Southern schools. The doctrines of these two schools (leaving to one side their superficial differences) derive from a single discourse and are part of the same mental universe, which is certainly not yet that of classical Chan. The controversy over sudden and gradual awakening thus acquired a paradigmatic

value, and the final exclusion of the Northern school is in a way the founding act of Chan/Zen orthodoxy. In order to establish sectarian consciousness, it was necessary for one group to be set up as a scapegoat, to become emblematic of heterodoxy, and this turned out to be the Northern school. Yet a careful reading of the texts from the period shows that both schools laid claim, in different ways, to the same kind of subitism. We thus have to perceive another type of exclusiveness, at a deeper, more fundamental level. We may even wonder whether the two protagonists in the controversy were not skirting something even more basic, something they could not admit to. The polarization over subitism versus gradualism may perhaps harken back to an opposition between elitism and proselytism. If this is the case, both schools, insofar as they preach the sudden nature of awakening and of practice, show a markedly elitist character. Despite (or because of) their demagogic nature, the statements of Shenhui, the self-proclaimed spokesman for the Southern school, have a strikingly lordly tone. But the same is perhaps true for Shenxiu and his successors. As Jacques Derrida has put it, "the lord reaches in one leap . . . what is given to him instantly, whereas the people have to work at, develop, and plan things."<sup>19</sup> Huineng, the alleged founder of the Southern school, was perhaps no more than a useful alibi for his heir Shenhui, and his canonization is as much a cover-up as an act of recognition.

But what was it that these two schools, despite their surface disagreements, were trying to exclude? This is not an easy question to answer. My own impression is that Chan doctrine, at that period, constituted a kind of unifying, demythologizing (and at the same time mythifying), elitist discourse. Despite its sometimes mystical flavor, it was fundamentally opposed to local cults with their mediums and exorcists. Although it takes its name from *dhyāna*, Chan grew up primarily as a reaction against Indian-style *dhyāna*, often seen by the Chinese as a surefire way to achieve supernatural powers. Chan masters ceaselessly attacked thaumaturgy, even though they were often themselves considered to be wonder-workers. They often preached an abstract, irenic doctrine, in opposition to the various "provinces of meaning," to the determining power of place, characteristic of popular religion and a certain type of Daoism. The *Record*, for example, uses the figure of the "first patriarch," Guṇabhadra, to criticize "demoniac *dhyāna*" and other magical methods and insists on the contemplation of basic principles. It is not surprising that Chan metaphysics influenced Song neo-Confucianism.

But we can detect a second tendency underlying this demythologizing tendency of early Chan that may be described as "sacralizing" and is revealed

especially in the importance attached to funeral rites; the cult of relics, mummies, and icons; and, in a more general way, to ritual. Thus we see the re-creation, within an absolutist discourse, of multiple provinces of meaning, some of which I have tried to map out in recent publications. To do this, I had to question the accepted superiority of classical Chan, just as I am doing here. Only in this way could I begin to rehabilitate a neglected popular tradition, one that remains alive even within Chan itself. As I established the diversity of the tradition and plotted out the discursive strategies that govern it, I worked to set myself off from a certain ideological strain that currently claims to represent the Zen tradition but is actually a variant of the "orientalist" ideology denounced by Edward Said.<sup>20</sup>

This work thus consists of three parts. The first part treats the biography and thought of Shenxiu. It was this individual—or rather the school that considers him its founder—who established the conditions for the controversy that would divide Chan and largely determine the way that this tradition would see itself. Although his actions provided ample opportunity for criticism, neither his personality nor his thought was as simplistic and one-sided as they have been represented since the time of Shenhui. I have therefore tried to situate him within his political and intellectual context, taking into account both the nature of his followers and his affinities for Buddhist scholasticism. The recent discovery in Korea of long quotations from the *Huayan jing shu*, a commentary on the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* attributed to Shenxiu, led me to study the possible connections between this Chan master and the Huayan school as well as the influence of his thinking on Korean Buddhism.

The second part studies the way in which the Northern school, after Shenxiu, tried to adapt to new circumstances: changes in imperial policies, the rise of rival schools, changes in the nature of its followers. I should have liked to show more clearly the relationships that existed between this school and other Buddhist currents (the Tiantai, Pure Land, and Zhenyan schools), but, given the current state of my knowledge, I could not break down the compartmentalization established by the Chinese and Japanese traditions of historiography. Nevertheless, I tried to stress the eclecticism that lies at the base of the Northern school's doctrine and constitutes both the main reason for its influence in Japan (a question we will return to) and one of the traits that separates it most clearly from the rival school of Shenhui.

The third part is dedicated to the *Record* and its author, Jingjue. This work purports to be a "history" of Chan, but its primary purpose was to promote the *Lankāvatāra* school to which Jingjue belonged. I have thus chosen to treat it as a document "dating" from the Kaiyuan era (713-42).



even when it seems to incorporate earlier documents. Jingjue's biography remains sadly incomplete, but I have tried to examine his social and intellectual background, so as to understand how the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition could have come to be grafted to that of Dongshan. This examination reveals that Jingjue's *Record* reflects the point of view held by a marginal group of the Northern school, quite distinct from that of the main disciples of Shenxiu. Behind the apparent unity of this school we thus see the outlines of the partisan battles that would open the path for the Southern school. In my attempt to retrieve certain ideological aspects of Chan, I hope that I have not, in the metaphorical terms of J. C. Cleary, been "using a conceptual sieve that keeps the chaff and discards the grain," but rather that, emulating Chan dialectics, I have helped undermine this very dichotomy by showing that the chaff is precisely an "essential" part of the grain.<sup>21</sup>

## CHAPTER I

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### *Shenxiu and His Times*

#### *Toward a Biography*

As we begin to trace the biography of Shenxiu, the "founder" of the Northern school of Chan, we must discard all previously accepted suppositions. Clearest among these are the distortions that have come down to us through Shenhui. But it is difficult to fight the conventional view of Shenxiu as a "gradualist" without falling into the opposite camp of regarding him as an unconditional partisan of "suddenism." Although the *Record* can give rise to this impression, several other texts that are almost certainly from the hand of Shenxiu himself should lead us to modify this judgment. We may wonder, then, whether such concepts, useful as they may be in defining the general lines of an ideology, can actually render the complex truth about an individual with the breadth of Shenxiu.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

Before moving to Shenxiu's biography proper, let us look at the sources that lie behind it. The best known is Daoyuan's *Jingde chuandeng lu* (Record of the transmission of the lamp of the Jingde era, 1004), which refers to Shenxiu as the "heir to the first generation of the collateral branch deriving from the great master Hongren." This version is repeated in later histories of the "transmission of the lamp," but it is itself the end result of a tradition already three centuries old, one that sees the Northern school as being on a path of irreversible decline. Given the sectarian concerns that dominate it, this source cannot be considered completely reliable.

We have to go back to older sources. These are largely epigraphical: Dunhuang documents related to the Northern school and various texts external to the Chan tradition. Also to be considered are the earliest works of the Southern school, like Fahai's *Platform Sūtra*, the various writings of Shenhui (especially his *Ding shifei lun*), and the works of Zongmi on the history of Chan. The primary emphasis in these documents is the Northern school's thought rather than Shenxiu himself.

The main epigraphic source—the only one rich in biographical details—is the “Tang Yuquansi Datong chanshi bei” (Stela inscription of the *dhyāna* master Datong of Yuquan [shan], [under the dynasty of the] Tang), composed a little more than three years after the death of Shenxiu by the scholar and statesman Zhang Yue (667–730). This text has served as the basis for most of the other biographical accounts dedicated to Shenxiu. It was also known in Japan, where it is mentioned in the catalogues of the monk Enchin (814–91). We may also mention two documents of a similar nature included in the *Quan Tang wen* (Complete Tang prose; hereafter abbreviated as *QTW*), the “Xie ci yushu Datong chanshi bei e zhuang” (Message of thanks for the imperial inscription on the stela of the *dhyāna* master Datong; *QTW* 224), and the “Wei Luoxia zhu seng qingfa shi yin Xiu chanshi biao” (Address of welcome to the *dhyāna* master Xiu, in the name of the monks of Luo[-yang] interested in matters concerning the dharma; *QTW* 240). Two other epitaphs were reportedly composed on the death of Shenxiu, one by Li Fan, prince of Qi, and the other by a retired scholar named Lu Hong (var. Lu Hongyi). Neither of these has yet come to light, however.

Important information is provided by two Northern Chan “histories,” the *Lengqie shizi ji* and the *Chuan fabao ji*. The *Chuan fabao ji* was compiled by a rather obscure figure, Du Fei. It is interesting in several respects. It is probably the oldest known Chan chronicle, since it was compiled around 713—seven years after Shenxiu's death; moreover, an annex is devoted to the “Stūpa Inscription of Master Daoxiu, [also known as] Datong, of Guisi on Zhongnan shan.” Jingjue's *Record* seems to be slightly later in date and represents a quite different trend of Northern Chan. As its title indicates, it emphasizes a lineage based on the transmission of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, and even gives the rank of first patriarch, not to Bodhidharma, but to Guṇabhadra, the translator of this sūtra.

Several other documents shed some light on Shenxiu's career, although they were not produced by the Chan school. The most detailed account falls even outside the Chinese Buddhist tradition: it is the *Jiu Tang shu* (Old Tang history), compiled in 945. It contains a long biography of Shenxiu, with appended biographies of Bodhidharma, Huineng, and Shenxiu's two main

disciples, Puji and Yifu (658–736). The fact that the only other biographies of Buddhist monks gathered in that section (*juan* 191) of the *Jiu Tang shu* are figures as important as Fotudeng (232–348), Kumārajīva, Huiyuan (334–416), Xuanzang (602–64), and Yixing (683–727) should suffice to show the fame of the founder of Northern Chan more than two centuries after his death. The very title of that section, alluding to the thaumaturgic powers of these monks, sheds light on an aspect of Shenxiu's personality Chan chronicles tend to elide. However, it is this image of a monk endowed with divinatory talents that was retained in two other important sources, the *Song gaoseng zhuan* (Song biographies of eminent monks) and the *Shenseng zhuan* (Biographies of thaumaturge monks).

Although the *Song gaoseng zhuan* has two distinct entries for Shenxiu of the Dumensi and Huixiu of the Tiangongsi, both seem to refer to the same character. The latter was quoted at length in the Song dynasty *Taiping guangji*, and then during the Ming in the *Shenseng zhuan*. Both clearly indicate that Zhang Yue composed the epitaph of Shenxiu.<sup>2</sup>

Du Fei's *Chuan fabao ji* indicates that Shenxiu received plenary ordination at the age of twenty. If we use the date proposed by Zhang Yue for this ordination (the eighth year of the Wude era, or 625), we get a birth date of 606. With the exception of the *Chuan fabao ji*, all records agree that Shenxiu was born in Weishi, in the prefecture of Bian (Kaifeng xian, in modern Henan). His name varies according to the sources. Most of them give him the patronymic Li. But although some refer to him by his personal religious name, Shenxiu, or more simply Xiu, others use his posthumous title *Dhyāna* Master Datong. As noted above, the *Song gaoseng zhuan* refers to him as Huixiu of Tiangongsi. The "Address of Welcome" (QTW 240) drawn up by Song Zhiwen (d. ca. 712) and a Dunhuang document (P. 3559) from the Northern school talk of him as a monk from the Yuquansi named Daoxiu.

As a youth, Shenxiu seems to have been devoted to study. According to the *Jiu Tang shu* (191), he "read in great depth in the classics and the dynastic histories." Zhang Yue makes the point that Shenxiu understood perfectly "the deepest principle of Lao[zi] and Zuang[zi], the ultimate meaning of the *Shu* [jing] and the *Yi* [jing], the sūtras and śāstras of the Three Vehicles, and the meaning of the *vinaya* in four sections."<sup>3</sup> The *Chuan fabao ji* describes him as having, "from his childhood, a pure wisdom and lively intelligence," and insists on the fact that "along with his inclination to shun all distractions, he was endowed with complete virtue."<sup>4</sup> Thus, "his studies reached the greatest quality and breadth; he understood the Path of Mutations, appreciated the [doctrine of] Huang [Di] and [of] Lao[zi], and undertook the reading of the classics and commentaries on them. There is nothing that he

did not investigate through his studies—beginning with the arcana of the Three [Emperors] of Antiquity [Fu Xi, Shennong, and Huang Di].”<sup>5</sup>

The three doctrines—Confucian, Daoist, and Buddhist—thus revealed their secrets to the precocious genius of Shenxiu. This depth of scholarship and education implies that he came from a privileged level of society, but we know nothing about his family. His intense desire for learning led him to travel through the regions to the south of the Blue River, seeking scholars who might be able to give him guidance. He was thirteen years old when the Tang dynasty took power. In the *Chuan fabao ji*, Du Fei reported that the upheavals at the time of the change of dynasty and the resulting famines and epidemics in Hedong and Shandong forced Shenxiu to go to Yingyang in order to get food from public granaries.

During this journey he met the “good friend” (Skt. *kalyāṇamitra*) who convinced him to leave his family and become a monk. The date of this first ordination is nowhere reported, but given available information, it must have been during 618, the year Li Shimin, the future Taizong (r. 629–49), installed the new Tang dynasty. During his novitiate he continued to travel. According to the *Chuan fabao ji*, he first went to western Wu (in modern Jiangsu) and to Min (in Fujian), and then “visited famous mountains: Luofu shan, Dong shan, Meng shan, Tai shan, and Lu shan—where he went into retreat.”<sup>6</sup> In 625 he received full ordination at the Tiangongsi in Luoyang; he was then twenty. From then on, “he honed his determination in [the practice of] discipline and rites; then, progressively, he went on to cultivate concentration and wisdom.”<sup>7</sup> The *Song gaoseng zhuan* entry dedicated to Huixiu says that after having cultivated the precepts and discipline, he undertook to master concentration (*dhyāna*).<sup>8</sup>

#### THE MEETING WITH HONGREN

We now encounter a gap in the chronology. None of the sources mention Shenxiu again until 656, when he had reached the age of 50, the age, according to Confucius’ famous line, “when one knows the heavenly decree.” It was then, according to Zhang Yue, that “he withdrew from the world of men and had the opportunity to listen to the *dhyāna* master Ren, from Qi prefecture, who was heir to the Dharma of the Chan school.” Hongren was then 55 years old, and his master, Daoxin (581–651), had been dead for five years. (Du Fei, in his *Chuan fabao ji*, says that Shenxiu was 46 when he went to Dong shan and became a follower of the *dhyāna* master Ren.) This is clearly the most significant event in Shenxiu’s biography, the passage that establishes his legitimacy as heir to Bodhidharma, and, as might be expected, the versions given in the various sources differ considerably.

According to the *Chuan fabao ji*, Hongren, the fifth patriarch, had "from their very first encounter shown respect [for Shenxiu], to whom he continued as mentor for several years." As for Shenxiu, he in turn was deeply impressed and, full of admiration for Hongren, is supposed to have stated, "Here is truly my master!" His long quest had finally been successful. He entered Hongren's service, "dedicating himself wholeheartedly to gathering wood and carrying water, and in this manner he sought the Way. Thus, for six years he labored, without respite, day and night." This dedication was not long in bearing fruit. Hongren, seeing him as different from his other disciples and recognizing him as a "deep vessel," finally told him, "Many are those I have saved. But when it comes to 'suspending judgment' and 'perfecting one's radiance,' there is none to surpass you!" (*JTS* 5110). In the same vein, according to Zhang Yue, "the great master exclaimed, 'The Dharma of Dongshan is found in its entirety in Xiu!'" At this point he ordered the latter to wash his feet and, praising him all the while, seated him at his side."<sup>9</sup> This was highly prized consecration, the master's recognition of his spiritual heir. Thus, the *Chuan fabao ji* comments, "the Way [of Shenxiu] reached its culmination; but what he then achieved personally, no one can know."<sup>10</sup> Or, as is reported in the *Record*, "When he finally received the Chan Dharma and saw the Lamp transmitted to himself, his illumination took place in silence: the path of words was cut off, the functions of the mind extinguished. He produced no written text."<sup>11</sup> This same work, however, also gives in its entry on Hongren a more intellectual cast to Shenxiu's achievement. Here, the fifth patriarch is reported as telling another favored disciple, Xuanze (not Huineng): "I took up the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* with Shenxiu, who rapidly penetrated its fundamental principle. Many will certainly profit from this." He adds, "After my *nirvāṇa*, you and Shenxiu will have to make the sun of the Buddha shine again and return its brilliance to the lamp of the mind!"<sup>12</sup>

#### A LONG ECLIPSE

The time came for Shenxiu to leave Hongren, but neither the date nor the circumstances surrounding this departure are clear. The stela inscription composed by Zhang Yue is especially enigmatic at first view. After being praised by his master, Shenxiu "burst into tears, took his leave, and withdrew into solitude." This apparently contradictory sequence of events has led Matsuda Fumio to suggest that in the interval a particularly significant event had taken place: Hongren's recognition of a sixth patriarch, in the person of Huineng.<sup>13</sup> But is there really any contradiction in Shenxiu's behavior? Chan chronicles report many monks bursting into tears from an

Hongren  
(601-74)

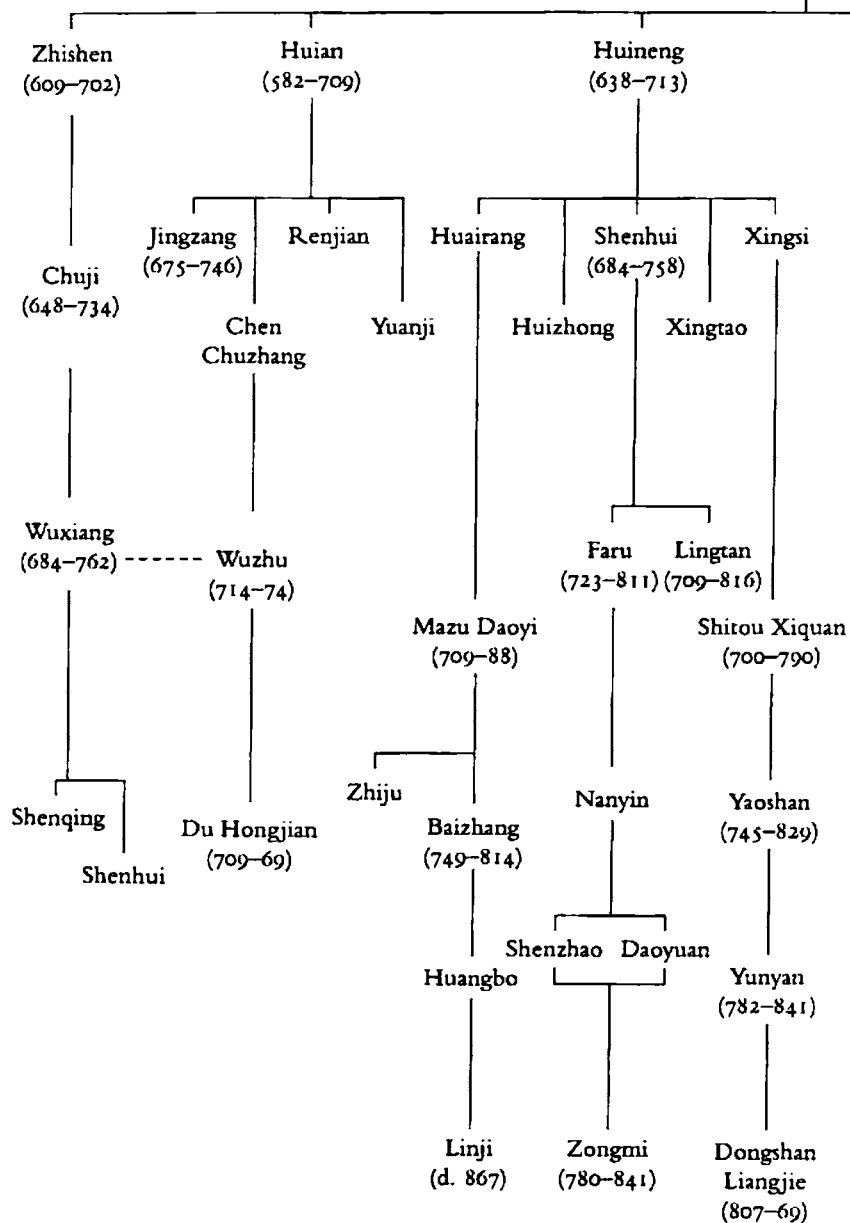
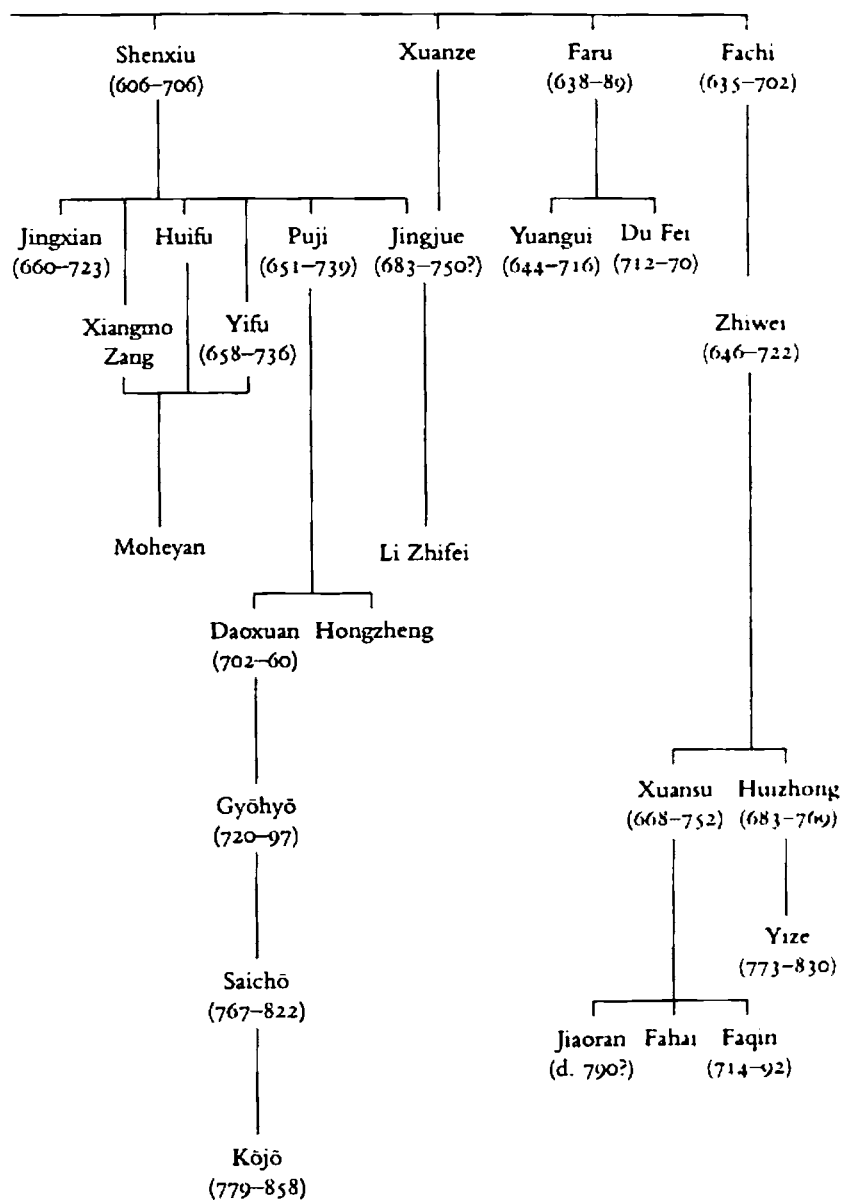


Fig. 1 Genealogical table of Chan masters descended from Hongren





excess of joy caused by their awakening, and being led by this spiritual upheaval to leave the community in which they had been living. Furthermore, if Shenxiu really did leave Dong shan after only six years—around 661—it would have been impossible for him to be there at a time when he could meet the layman Lu (the future Huineng), who arrived in Hongren's community in 671 (according to the *Jingde chuandeng lu*), or even 674 (according to the *Sōkei daishi betsuden*).<sup>14</sup> Only the "Short Preface" added by Fahai to the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* (QTW 915) reports the fact that Huineng received the robe and the Dharma in 661. But this is a late text that appears first in the Yuan edition of the *Platform Sūtra*.<sup>15</sup>

This problem in chronology also calls into doubt the famous story of the poetic contest between Shenxiu and Huineng for the title of "sixth patriarch."<sup>16</sup> Unless, that is, we accept the *Jiu Tang shu* version, which seems to indicate that Shenxiu remained with Hongren until the death of the latter, in 674 or 675: "Hongren died in the fifth year of Xianheng [675]; Shenxiu then went to Jing prefecture and took up residence at Mount Dangyang." Similarly, according to the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, "Ren died during the Shangyuan era [674–75]. Xiu then went to Mount Dangyang in Jiangling and settled there."<sup>17</sup>

If we stick to the most ancient sources and accept that Shenxiu left Dong shan around 661, we then have a second gap of about fifteen years in his biography. In fact, according to his epitaph, it was not until the Yifeng era (676–78), when he was already over seventy, that he was first enrolled in the register of a monastery, at the Yuquansi.<sup>18</sup> The details of his life during this period remain practically unknown. Only the *Chuan fabao ji* provides a few sparse details: as the result of obscure circumstances, it seems that Shenxiu became once more a "white robe" layman and lived, away from the public eye, for a little more than ten years in the Tianjisi monastery in Jing prefecture (Jiangling xian, in modern Hubei).<sup>19</sup>

#### THE RISE TO PROMINENCE

He did not remain completely unnoticed, however, because the *Chuan fabao ji* reports that "in the Yifeng era several tens of aged [monks] at Jingchu recommended him for ordination and had him set up residence at the Yuquansi."<sup>20</sup> On this point the *Song gaoseng zhuan* differs from the other sources, claiming that "Shenxiu (alias Huixiu) then returned to become a dependent of the Tiangongsi, in the city of Luo[yang]."<sup>21</sup> This confusion may have arisen from Shenxiu's double ordination and from the fact that the first occurred at the Tiangongsi. Still, despite his growing fame, Shenxiu hoped to continue living as a recluse. To this end, according to Zhang Yue, he built

a hermitage on the mountainside, a little over three kilometers (seven li) from the Yuquansi, and named it Gate of Deliverance (Dumen). He intended to live out his days there, in reflective solitude.

After his enrollment at the Yuquansi, it was another ten years or so before he began to transmit his teaching. But disciples, attracted by his reputation, began to gather around him, "as clouds follow the dragon and the wind follows the tiger." Without any encouragement on his part, a community soon formed around Shenxiu and kept on growing. According to the *Chuan fabao ji*, it was after the death of his fellow disciple Faru, in 689, that this development gained strength. "After the death of the *dhyāna* master Ru, students came to seek refuge on our Dharma platform, regardless of the distances involved." This was most notably the case of those who would become his two main successors, Puji and Yifu, as well as their future rival, Shenhui. According to Zongmi, Shenhui studied three years with Shenxiu before the latter was called to the capital.<sup>22</sup> This assertion seems corroborated by the name Shenhui, whose first character is the same as that of Shenxiu. A monk's religious name often contained the first character of his master's name. The number of disciples around Shenxiu already exceeded those of his late master Hongren. According to Zhang Yue, "those who went up into the hall [i.e., his close disciples] were 70 in number, while those who were attracted to his Way numbered 3,000."<sup>23</sup> These figures, while probably exaggerated, are nonetheless indicative and give some idea of his success. All the sources emphasize this point.

It would still be several years more before Shenxiu's fame would reach the ears of Empress Wu Zetian (624–705). In 690 Wu had succeeded in usurping the Tang throne; she would reign as "emperor" until just before her death. On the recommendation of Song Zhiwen, Shenxiu was invited to the eastern capital, Luoyang, some time in the year 700. At first he wanted his disciple Puji to go in his stead, but he finally went to Luoyang the following year and was presented to the empress in the palace chapel. According to the *Chuan fabao ji*, "[Wu] Zetian had sent a palace official to welcome him, and both clergy and laity scattered flowers [on his path]."<sup>24</sup>

This interview sealed the destiny of the young Chan school. Buttressed by imperial support, it would be transformed into a triumphant orthodoxy—in peril of turning into a court religion, a courtly doctrine. This evolution took place within a few years at most, and although it appears to have been due to the meeting of these two extraordinary characters, it was also the result of a unique conjunction of sociopolitical factors. But official chronicles, as well as Buddhist records, mention only the first aspect. Shenxiu's nobility of character and his speedy rise to power apparently fired the imagination.

Shenxiu was received with great pomp and circumstance, but never abandoned his lofty attitude, even in the presence of the empress. He was conducted to the palace seated *dhyāna*-style on a palanquin. All the grandees, beginning with Wu Zhao, prostrated themselves before him.<sup>25</sup> According to the *Chuan fabao ji*, "princes, dukes, and their subjects—all were converted." As Zhang Yue put it: "He who transmits saintly words does not have to face north [in the presence of the emperor]; he who possesses superabundant virtue should not greet [the emperor] as a subject!"<sup>26</sup>

The stela inscription adds that Shenxiu was then raised to the rank of "dharma master for the two capitals" and "preceptor of state [*guoshi*] for the three emperors"—the Empress Wu and her two sons, Zhongzong and Ruizong. Jingjue's *Record* also indicates that Shenxiu accompanied the imperial carriage—that is, he followed the empress on her frequent moves from Chang'an to Luoyang and back. At Luoyang he stayed at the Tiangongsi. The *Song gaoseng zhuan* tells elsewhere that the *dhyāna* master Huixiu entered the western capital, Chang'an, and stayed at the Zishengsi. In his *Ding shifei lun*, Shenhui mentions a debate that supposedly took place during 702 between Shenxiu and the *vinaya* master Wang (dates unknown) on the ordination platform of the Yunhuasi in Chang'an. Shenxiu may also have stayed at various times on Song shan.<sup>27</sup>

Imperial favors showered down on him. One decree converted his former hermitage on Mount Dangyang into an official monastery, the Dumensi.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, the family home in Weishi became the Baoensi. Shenxiu's preaching was not limited to the upper classes in the capital but extended to other levels of society. He was extremely popular, as is shown by the *Jiu Tang shu*: "At that time everyone who had wind of his reputation, from princes to the ordinary people of the capital, strove to come to see him. Each day more than ten thousand people came to prostrate themselves before him."<sup>29</sup>

Among his most ardent admirers, besides the empress herself (who was becoming more and more pious as her life drew toward its close), we should mention first of all Zhongzong and Zhang Yue. On ascending the throne in 705, the new emperor showed increasing respect to Shenxiu. And Zhang Yue, then director of the Imperial Secretariat (*Zhongshu ling*), had retained such a vivid impression of his first meeting with Shenxiu that he considered himself one of his disciples. He describes him thus: "The *dhyāna* master is eight feet tall, with heavy eyebrows and splendid ears; his power is as high as the mountains; he is of the stuff that supreme religious leaders are made of."<sup>30</sup> The *Song gaoseng zhuan* also mentions a visit that Li Longji, the future Xuanzong, along with all the princes, made to consult him.<sup>31</sup> But Shenxiu did not allow himself to be carried away by his fame. On the contrary, he

seems to have understood clearly that his fame posed dangers to himself and his doctrine. Zhang Yue tells of his nostalgia for his lonely valley and his constant desire to return to his mountain. Du Fei's *Chuan fabao ji* describes his feelings in these terms: "But how can someone who loves clouds and forests forget the mountains and rivers? He has a golden staff in his hand, but would infinitely prefer to sit on a rustic bed and leave all human company, concealing his tracks from men of the world and drawing spring water from the cliffs. How can the place where he now lives ever become a haven of peace?"<sup>32</sup> Of course, this is hardly more than a trope, but we might still accept this as an indication that Shenxiu was not entirely satisfied with his life at the court. Each time he told the emperor of his desire for solitude, the latter would indicate his approval but then would find some pretext to keep him close by. A decree dated 705 and reported in detail in the *Record* is significant in this regard. It ends thus: "The wish [expressed] yesterday by the *dhyāna* master to return to his home prefecture is to no avail. I hope that he will respond to my ardent expectation rather than persist in this attachment for the elms [of his monastery]."<sup>33</sup>

Shenxiu by now was a hundred years old and weakened by the life he had to lead. According to Zhang Yue, he showed no actual symptoms of any sickness, and although "his 'sensory souls' [*po*] are scattered, his vital principle remains intact."<sup>34</sup> Clearly this portrait is considerably idealized. Another version tells us that Shenxiu was quite ill when he transmitted his Dharma to his disciple Yifu (658–736). Whatever the true state of facts, when Shenxiu expressed the wish to have his funerary stūpa built in the compound of his former hermitage on Mount Dangyang, his disciples realized that his end was near. He died at the Tiangongsi in Luoyang, seated in the *dhyāna* position, during the night of April 15, 706. His death was marked by funeral ceremonies on a scale unprecedented for a Buddhist priest. After his death, Shenxiu's other disciples were unwilling to accept Yifu's claim to succession, and a fight for succession might have ensued had not Wanhui (632–711), a charismatic monk held in high esteem at the court, attested to the validity of Yifu's claim. Despite this, as we will see in Chapter 3, several other disciples of Shenxiu were to claim the rank of "seventh patriarch."

#### THE FUNERAL CEREMONIES

Shenxiu was first buried temporarily at Longmen (Juesai), a site renowned for its colossal sculptures as well as its tombs. Some of the ashes of Shenhui would also be buried at Longmen. One month after Shenxiu's death an imperial edict conferred on him the posthumous title of "*dhyāna* master Datong" (Great Penetration). In the section dedicated to posthumous

titles, the *Da Song sengshi lüe* (Song dynasty compendium of monastic histories) of Zanning (913–1002) notes that this inaugurated the custom of giving a posthumous title to eminent monks.<sup>35</sup> This fact becomes all the more significant when we remember that Bodhidharma did not receive the title of “*dhyāna* master Yuanjue” (Perfect Realization) until some time in the Dali era (766–79). Huineng would have to wait until 816—more than a century after his death—to get the title “*dhyāna* master Dajian” (Great Mirror).

In October of the same year, the remains of the *dhyāna* master Datong, surrounded by an escort of princes and dukes as well as a horde of the faithful, were moved to their final resting place, the Dumensi. According to the *Record*, an attendant to the heir apparent, one Lu Zhenchuan, received from the emperor the order to supervise this transfer. On the day of the move, according to Zhang Yue, “the Son of Heaven left Longmen in tears.”<sup>36</sup> In the twelfth month the remains were laid in a stūpa built, according to Shenxiu’s last wishes, on a hill behind the monastery. His stela, or what is left of it, remains there to this day. As often happened on such occasions, various remarkable phenomena took place.

The stela inscription adds that a hundred days after the death of Shenxiu a great service was held at the Longhuasi to close the period of mourning. Similar ceremonies were held at the Ximingsi on the occasion of the first and second anniversaries of his death. For this purpose Wanhui apparently collected contributions from the imperial women’s quarters. Finally, according to the *Jiu Tang shu*, to honor the memory of the *dhyāna* master Datong, the home of the Prince of Xiang was converted into a monastery called the Baoensi (*JTS* 191). This detail seems to contradict the testimony of Zhang Yue, who reports that this monastery had already been established during Shenxiu’s lifetime on the site of his family residence. The compiler of an epigraphic collection, the *Baqiongshi jinshi buzheng*, takes up this discrepancy, but concludes that there is no reason why there could not have been two monasteries with the same name—one in Chang’an and the other in Shenxiu’s home prefecture.<sup>37</sup> We have relatively few documents at our disposal and so have to leave unanswered many questions, not only about chronology but also about the exact role played by Shenxiu and his supporters in the society of the time. It is to this final question that we now turn, without any hope of reaching a definitive answer.

First, however, let us briefly examine a rather surprising document contained in the *Taiping guangji*, and entitled “Xiu shi yanji” (Recorded words of Master Xiu).<sup>38</sup> It records the predictions of a monk named Shenxiu, who resided at the Jianfusi in Chang’an, knew the arts of the Yin and the Yang, and had free access to the imperial palace. I shall mention only one of

his predictions, since it concerns the circumstances of his own death. Having received a visit from two lay disciples, Cui Wu and Li Renjun, Shenxiu predicts to the latter that he will be promoted ten years later to the rank of prefect of Nanchang. He also tells him that, as prefect, Li will have to oversee Shenxiu's punishment, and that he wants to be buried among the pine trees of the Waguansi (a monastery in present Jiangsu) and have a stūpa erected. Li Renjun, impressed by this request, promises that he will carry out Shenxiu's wishes. Six years later, he has indeed become prefect of Nanchang, when he receives a message about the arrival of an important figure, who has been exiled for "having divulged a secret matter of the palace." The next day, an imperial edict orders that the culprit be beaten "until death follows." Li's duty is to supervise the execution. After having untied his clothes, the condemned person turns toward him and shouts: "Remember that I want to be buried among the pine trees of the Waguansi! Don't forget your promise!" Before Li Renjun has time to react, Shenxiu—for it was him indeed—has fallen under the blows of the executioner. Filled with consternation, Li offers his resignation and rents a boat to transport the body of the deceased to its promised sepulcher.

Apart from the homonymy, what relation is there between the dramatic destiny of the hero of this story and the historical figure named Shenxiu? None at first glance, if we consider the only precise dates given by the *Tai-ping Guangji*—according to which Li Renjun was born in the Jianzhong era (780–84). As we will see below, the man in question was probably Huiji Shenxiu, a disciple of the Huayan master Faxian (d. 778).<sup>39</sup> However, the repetition of certain biographical details seems significant. Apart from the fact that we know no other monk of that name who, during the Tang, had free access to the imperial palace, the emphasis on Shenxiu's divinatory talents is strangely reminiscent of another entry in the same *Tai-ping Guangji*, in which the *dhyāna* master Xiu predicts, among other things, to the future Emperor Xuanzong his rise to power. This entry on Shenxiu is followed by that on his heir Yifu, who, at the time of his own death, predicted their destiny to two of his lay disciples.<sup>40</sup> The parallelism between the three entries is obvious, and it cannot be entirely fortuitous. The question that remains is what credibility to give to some new details. The *Tai-ping Guangji* is above all a record of supernatural stories and has no claim to historical truth. However, it sometimes uses some fairly old materials, which have passed unnoticed or have been voluntarily erased from official history. Its testimony cannot therefore simply be rejected, but it is impossible to distinguish truth from fiction. It is relatively certain that the "founder" of Northern Chan has known a more glorious death. A part of his life remains obscure, however, and, as

noted above, he seems at one point to have met some difficulties that prompted a temporary return to lay life. Are we entitled to think that the compiler of the *Taiping guangji* has drawn on some lived episodes of that kind to concoct a purely fictitious biography? At any rate, the mere fact that Shenxiu's name appeared in such a biography is significant: it bears witness not only to the persistence of his fame but also to the ambivalent judgments passed on this figure—who stands out for his supranormal powers as well as for his indiscretion regarding secrets of state (or of the imperial quarters). The official Tang history retained only the first aspect. The later Chan tradition, on the other hand, has been more negatively prejudiced toward this complex figure.

### *The Place of Shenxiu Within Tang Buddhism*

#### THE HERITAGE OF THE DONGSHAN SCHOOL

First of all, what is Shenxiu's place within what was, at the time, still only the Dongshan or *Lankāvatāra* school? The idea of separate Northern and Southern schools was still not widespread, nor was that of any conflict between them.<sup>41</sup> If we are to believe Zongmi, the very terms "northern" and "southern" were not yet in use, and people spoke only of the school of Bodhidharma. Shenxiu appears to have been well disposed toward his fellow disciple Huineng: according to the *Jiu Tang shu*, it was on his recommendation that Empress Wu invited Huineng to the capital (JTS 191). Huineng refused the invitation, invoking the instructions left by his master Hongren, and all later Chan chroniclers have pointed to this refusal as a demonstration of his integrity. This may have been the case, but even if we accept the story as true, we may still wonder whether other factors may not have entered into his decision.<sup>42</sup>

Shenxiu's friendly attitude toward Huineng also appears in a passage in Shenhui's "Miscellaneous Dialogues" in which the founder of the Northern school is reported as telling his disciples: "At Shaozhou there is a great good friend. He originally received instructions from the great master Ren. The Buddhist law is all in that place. If you have any problem that you cannot solve yourself, go there and have all your doubts cut away. It will be truly wonderful, for he knows the true principle of Buddhism."<sup>43</sup> These are significant words, even if obviously Shenhui did not intend to stress Shenxiu's lack of partisan spirit when he quoted them. The problem does not lie in a quarrel over the patriarchal succession between Shenxiu and Huineng. It was only after the Dongshan school became established in the two capitals that

its partisans began to feel the need to prove their legitimacy. It was then that they started establishing the connections between masters and disciples that would allow them to claim a direct lineage from Bodhidharma, and through him the Indian patriarchs and the Buddha himself. This idea of a patriarchal lineage first appeared in the Tiantai school, which preceded the Huayan and Dongshan schools in the political arena.

Shenhui did the same thing some time later. It was only when he arrived at Luoyang that he began to try to demonstrate the legitimacy of his Southern school and sought indirectly to establish himself as the seventh patriarch. In doing this, he was only influenced by the political climate of the time, just as Shenxiu's school had been, a school that also claimed to be heir to the Indian monk Bodhidharma and to represent his "Southern school." One may wonder if Chan masters free from missionary zeal and dedicated to their practice of *dhyāna* would have felt so urgently the need to establish their orthodoxy. But perhaps this is reading too much of our own political context into the period.

Whatever the case may be, during the first years of the eighth century, Huineng was still completely unknown in the capital. It was among the other great disciples of Hongren, and especially among their less distinguished followers, that the various strains of the Chan movement would take their form. Later considered the "founder" of the Northern school, Shenxiu actually had a predecessor in the person of Faru. As Yanagida Seizan has shown, it was in the obituary of Faru that the theory of the Chan patriarchal tradition first appeared, in its most rudimentary form.<sup>44</sup> At the time, however, there was still no formal articulation of the theory of a single line of descent, the theory that Shenhui would later use to attack the Northern school. Quite the contrary, in his entry in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (Supplement to *Biographies of Eminent Monks*), Daoxin, when pressed by his followers to name his successor, answered: "I have already conferred [my Dharma] several times!"<sup>45</sup>

Faru's obituary constitutes an important step because it connects two lineages that had been quite separate up to that time: Bodhidharma-Huikē-Sengcan on the one hand, and Daoxin-Hongren on the other, bringing them together in the person of Faru himself. This single patriarchal lineage was then recognized by the other main disciples of Hongren, who tried in turn to create their own community in the region of the two capitals. Du Fei, in his *Chuan fabao ji*, also recognizes this single lineage. Thus it is with a theory formulated to legitimize what would become the Northern school that we see the opening of the era of transmissions of the lamp—considered as characteristic of the Southern school.



## CENTRIFUGAL FORCES

But who were these "main disciples" of Hongren? The lists found in the different sources vary only slightly. In his *Chengxi tu*, Zongmi talks of ten people but gives the names of only three of them: Shenxiu, Old An (i.e., Huian), and Zhishen (609–702). In his commentary on the *Sūtra of Perfect Awakening*, he lists nine names: Shenxiu from Jingshou, Faru from Luzhou, Tong from Xiangzhou, Zhishen from Zizhou, Yifang from Yuezhou, Huzang from Huazhou, Xian from Chizhou, Jue from Yangzhou, and Laoan from Song shan. He adds, "These are all only regional masters." In both cases Huineng is singled out as the direct heir.<sup>46</sup> Here Zongmi is only repeating the claims of the Heze school, to which he belonged. The *Lengqie renfa zhi*, as cited by the *Record*, also reports Hongren as saying, "Those who will later transmit my Way come to scarcely ten people," but the list given there is somewhat different. Huineng is mentioned only as a regional figure, and Shenxiu clearly holds a position of prime importance, shared with Xuanze (fl. early eighth c.), the author of the *Lengqie renfa zhi*. According to Hu Shi, this list stands a good chance of being authentic.<sup>47</sup> In the version given by the *Lidai fabao ji*, a later text (ca. 776), Xuanze has replaced Huineng.<sup>48</sup> It then becomes clear that Zongmi in turn took the list in the *Record* as his source, simply replacing Shenxiu with Huineng. Whatever the facts may be, this battle for primacy clearly reflects the atmosphere of this period of social, political, and religious upheaval.

A comparison of Faru's obituary and the inscription on Shenxiu's stela shows that there were two divergent conceptions of the Chan patriarchal tradition. According to the first, "In India transmission took place without any reliance on writing and those who entered through this gate transmitted only the mind."<sup>49</sup> Here we find, in the clearest possible language, the famous statement of later Chan about "a special transmission outside the scriptural teachings" (*jiaowai biechuan*). On the other hand, when Zhang Yue reported that Shenxiu "saw the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* and its transmission as the spiritual essence," he was consciously aligning himself with the tradition that held that Bodhidharma transmitted this sūtra to Huike as the only translated work that could lead the practitioner to salvation. According to the same source, when he found the site of his future hermitage, Shenxiu is reported as having said, "This is truly the Lonely Peak of Laṅkā!"<sup>50</sup> Zhang Yue wants to show Shenxiu as heir to the tradition of the *Laṅkāvatāra*, and this is why he puts so much emphasis on Hongren's statement, "The Dharma of Dongshan is to be found in its entirety in Xiu!" This tradition is also confirmed, as is only to be expected, in Jingjue's *Record*. But the stela erected at Zhongnan shan by Shenxiu's Chang'an disciples makes no mention of

the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*.<sup>51</sup> In fact nowhere else, neither in the earliest biographical accounts of Shenxiu nor in the works that he presumably wrote, do we find any allusion to this sūtra, despite references to several others. In the absence of other evidence, it is thus difficult to accept that Shenxiu was the standard-bearer of any school that could be described as that of the *Lankāvatāra*. Rather, we gain the impression that Shenxiu, whose body was still warm, had already become a hostage to differentiated trends within Chan. Were these trends, and their respective claims to orthodoxy, already well in place when Faru and Shenxiu held sway in Northern China, or did they appear only with their epigones? It is difficult to answer such a question. The exchanges between Wu Zetian and Shenxiu imply that Shenxiu saw himself simply as heir to an established tradition and not as the founder or innovator of a new school.<sup>52</sup> But this is, of course, the expressed attitude characteristic of most reformers.

An anecdote—of a considerably later date since it is reported in the *Zuting shiyuan* (1108)—may provide insight into another trend that existed within the Dongshan school either during Shenxiu's lifetime or shortly after his death. This is the account of the bath offered by Empress Wu to the two *dhyāna* masters Huian and Shenxiu on the occasion of their entry into the palace. As we may expect from a text emanating from the Southern school, Huian takes the most important role. Impressed by his imperturbable attitude in the midst of the hot water and the maids of honor serving him, the empress could not refrain from praising him: "It is only in water that you can see a great man!"<sup>53</sup>

Huian seems to have been an important person, and he often appears alongside Shenxiu. Both the *Record* and Xuanze designate them as Hongren's heirs. "These three great masters were preceptors of state under three successive rulers: the Empress Zetian Dasheng, the Emperor Yingtian Shenlong [Zhongzong], and the father of the [current] emperor [i.e., Ruizong]."<sup>54</sup> Li Zhifei's preface to Jingjue's commentary on the *Hydya-sūtra* takes a similar position.<sup>55</sup> Huian died in 709 and so lived only three years longer than Shenxiu. During this time the empress awarded him the purple robe. Xuanze was perhaps still alive when Jingjue put together his *Record*. During this period these two seem to have played a role comparable (and even superior, in the case of Huian) to that of Shenxiu's two great disciples, Puji and Yifu. Huian's posthumous encroachment on the prerogatives of Shenxiu himself can be judged from the fact that in the *Jiu Tang shu* it is Shenxiu alone who recommends Huineng to the empress, but in the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* (1036) both Huian and Shenxiu ask the Emperor Zhongzong to issue an invitation to the *dhyāna* master Huineng. Still, it was Shenxiu alone who

reconciled the various strains within the Dongshan school and established a consensus that could not be achieved either by Faru (given pride of place by Du Fei's *Chuan fabao ji*) or by Huian or Xuanze (promoted by Jingjue's *Record*). Therefore, it was Shenxiu who quite justifiably would later be regarded as the founder of the Northern school.

#### MONASTIC LIFE AND PROPHETIC VISIONS

Outside the Dongshan school proper, Shenxiu's primacy was due not simply to his personality or his doctrinal positions. It was as a wonder-worker—and in particular thanks to his alleged gift of prophecy—that Shenxiu was admired both by the court and among the people of the two capitals. The *Song gaoseng zhuan* gives two anecdotes about Huixiu (alias Shenxiu) of the Tiangongsi and his talent for seeing the future. The first took place at the Zishengsi, where Huixiu lived in 701, shortly after his arrival in Chang'an. One day he insistently warned his disciples to extinguish carefully all lamps because of the danger of a fire. But they did not listen to his warnings, and it was only too late, when the monastery was completely aflame, that they realized clearly what he had been telling them. Fortunately massive donations permitted the immediate reconstruction of the monastery—another result of Shenxiu's occult influence?<sup>56</sup>

The same source then reports a meeting between Shenxiu and Li Longji, the future Xuanzong. On this occasion, the latter presented a flute to the *dhyāna* master. Shenxiu then predicted, in a veiled fashion, Xuanzong's accession to the throne.<sup>57</sup> Did he also foresee that some thirty years later, during the long reign he was predicting, Shenhui, one of his disciples from the Yuquansi, would give the tradition he represented a death blow? This question does not seem to have occurred to his followers, since the two anecdotes are reported in exactly the same form in a Ming collection of biographies of magician-monks, the *Shenseng zhuan*. Shenxiu shows up there, between Huian and Wanhui, the monk who found himself charged with the duty of collecting alms from the imperial harem to complete the postmortem ceremonies for the *dhyāna* master Datong.<sup>58</sup> Similarly the *Jiu Tang shu*, although it makes no mention of Shenxiu's occult powers, does place him in the category of the "specialists of the occult" (*fangzhi*). But this tells us more about the Buddhism of the Tang period (when politics and religion were always closely aligned with the occult) than it does about Shenxiu himself.

#### BUDDHIST SCHOOLS AND THE COURT

The young Shenxiu was, as we have seen, remarkable for his wide-ranging scholarship and a mind open to the various contemporary patterns

of thought. But the primary characteristic of his maturity was the practice of asceticism, the observance of a more austere and contemplative form of Chan. However, his arrival at the court and his entry into public life would force him to relax his doctrinal stance a little, to adapt it to the abilities, needs, or desires of his listeners. He found himself in a completely new and extremely fluid situation. The requirements of the court were not at all like those of the community at Yuquan shan.

But Shenxiu was not the only person, in fact, not even the first, to be called to the palace chapel. From the time of the imperial edict of 691 restoring Buddhism's primacy over Daoism, the various Buddhist schools, aware that their fate lay in the hands of the court, tried to adopt a high profile. Among Shenxiu's predecessors at court we may single out first of all Xuanzang (602–64). On his return from India in 645, he managed to gain the favor of two emperors—Taizong (r. 626–49) and Gaozong (r. 649–83)—and until his death he was able to show his worth as a translator of Sanskrit texts and theoretician of the idealist doctrine (*vijñaptimātratā*). But under the reign of Empress Wu, the most significant figure was undoubtedly Fazang (643–712), the first great theoretician of the Huayan school. Called to the palace in 699, he was much admired by the empress, to whom he presented, around 704, the elements of his doctrine in his famous *jin shizi zhang* (Essay on the golden lion).<sup>59</sup> It is quite possible that Shenxiu, although he was about forty years older, met him.

It was doubtless with a clear awareness of his two predecessors and of the need to surpass them, that Shenxiu was led to refine or modify certain parts of his thought. It is likely that he was then interested in Huayan thought, even if he was not, as will be seen below, the author of a commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. Suddenly the Dongshan doctrine seems to have become one variety of court Buddhism. It was from this time that it became urgent to develop a Chan patriarchal tradition capable of competing with the patriarchal traditions and doctrinal classifications of the Tiantai, Faxiang, and Huayan schools.

Although Fazang's influence on Shenxiu is plausible, this influence would be much more limited than certain scholars have claimed, and certainly much less than that of Zhiyi. The main work attributed to Shenxiu, the *Guanxin lun* (Treatise on mind contemplation; T. 85, 2833), even has the same title as a work by the founder of the Tiantai school (T. 46, 1920). This affinity also seems to be reflected in the connection made by the Buddhist historian Zanning when he stresses that both monks were regarded as preceptors of state by three or four emperors. Finally, Shenxiu's idealist viewpoint would seem to have more in common with the practical and theoretical synthesis

achieved by Zhiyi than with the extreme systematization of Huayan doctrine formulated by Fazang. Thus the evolution of Shenxiu's thought during his stay in the capital was not necessarily shaped by his meeting with Fazang; it reflects, rather, the prevailing ideological climate there, as does that of Fazang himself.

The principal figures among the other famous monks called to the inner chapel of the palace were Wanhui, Huian, Sengqie, Daojun, Hongjing, and Yinzong.<sup>60</sup> Shenxiu seems to have been on good terms with most of them. The story of the arrival at court of another adept from the Dongshan school, Zhishen (609–702), appears only much later, in the *Lidai fabao ji*. During the period of concern here, Zhishen was still practically unknown.<sup>61</sup> But even though several of these monks received the title of preceptor of state, their fame was nevertheless eclipsed by that of Shenxiu. It was, as we have seen, only with the *dhyāna* master Datong that the use of the posthumous title began. As a result, the official Tang historians, Confucianists who could hardly be suspected of sympathy toward Buddhist monks, could not avoid giving him a substantial biographical entry.

### *The Political Role of Shenxiu*

#### IMPERIAL PATRONAGE AND ITS MOTIVES

The new Buddhism symbolized by Shenxiu was successful in large part because it arrived on the scene at precisely the right time. It fitted perfectly into the "revolutionary" movement undertaken by Empress Wu and the group of leaders she assembled around her. The personal element played an important role in this case, and the faith—if not the good faith—of the empress cannot be ignored. But sociopolitical changes in a dynasty at one of the turning points in its history—and here one must take into account both the event and the non-event—must weigh more heavily than the private life (however stormy) of even the most powerful individual.

The life of Empress Wu and her connections with Buddhism have been the subject of many studies.<sup>62</sup> During the early days of her reign, Wu Zetian used Buddhism to advance her aims in the face of the hostility of the Confucian literati. The Buddhist clergy, for its part, profited openly, and sometimes unscrupulously, from imperial support. But a sudden reversal happened after the execution in 695 of Wu's former favorite, the monk Xue Huaiyi. Up to that time Wu Zetian had relied on popular Buddhism to legitimize her "revolution." From then on she would rely on a group of prominent monks (including Fazang and Shenxiu) and take an active interest in the translation

projects directed by individuals like the Khotanese monk Śikṣānanda (652–710) or Yijing (635–713).

What did this change imply? Should we see in it an indication of a sincere interest on the part of a woman made more pious by age who, thanks to the success of her policies, could now free herself from an alliance with some dubious elements? Or is it only another demonstration of her Machiavellian nature? The motives for her choice were certainly complex. From all the evidence, her relations with Shenxiu and the esteem in which she held him were fundamentally different from the relationship she had with Xue Huaiyi (and for good reason!). But it should be stressed that this period, from 695 to 705, is characterized by an intense desire for orthodoxy on the part of the empress and her supporters. The "revolution of the great Zhou," as she called her dynasty, was now completed; it was time to consolidate it, to provide it with a degree of legitimacy. To do this, compromising figures had to be eliminated and individuals worthy of respect brought in. The imperial order for new translations of Buddhist texts met this need, as did turning for spiritual authority to the most famous representatives of the Dongshan school.

This school may have been selected because it had the double advantage of having remained up to that time outside the arena of political intrigue and of being on its way to becoming the stronghold of orthodoxy in the new Chinese Buddhism. Shenxiu did not betray his predecessors on this point; rather, he simply recapitulated their heritage and brought to a logical conclusion the development begun in the time of Daoxin and Hongren. Although it is unlikely that he was completely free of all political motives, it would be wrong to see in him an ambitious man, lusting after power and honors. His biographers show him as accepting the imperial invitation reluctantly, but this detail may arise from hagiographical considerations.

#### SHENXIU'S SUPPORTERS

Strategic maneuverings do not account completely for his remarkable success. Clearly the various upheavals following the Zhou "revolution" and the accession to power of a new elite gave rise in many people to spiritual confusion and the need for a new system of values, a need that the Dongshan doctrine answered better than the traditional doctrines. In this regard it is interesting to look at the people who clustered around Shenxiu.<sup>63</sup> Within the imperial family, his strongest supporter after Empress Wu herself was Zhongzong. After his return to power in 705, Zhongzong showered Shenxiu with favors and seemed unable to do without him. He was extremely upset by the death of the master and almost immediately gave him a posthumous

title and saw that he was buried in the grounds of his former hermitage, now converted into an official monastery. Ruizong (r. 710–12) also made a significant contribution of 300,000 cash toward the establishment of this monastery, the Dumensi. As for the future Xuanzong, tradition has it that he consulted Shenxiu and treated him with respect, even though his interest in Buddhism remained limited. In any case, the fortunes of Shenxiu appear to be less tied than may have been assumed to those of Empress Wu. After her deposition and death, the continued veneration given to the “preceptor of state” proves that Shenxiu had other important supporters at court.

First among these we should mention the author of one of the two epitaphs of Shenxiu that have not survived—Li Fan, prince of Chi, who was the fourth son of Ruizong and a half-brother of Xuanzong.<sup>64</sup> Well known for his erudition and literary talents, he was also interested in Daoism. His biography does not mention his connections with Shenxiu, but his home in Luoyang was close to the Tiangongsi. A special place also belongs to Jingjue (683–ca. 750), since, as we shall see in Chapter 6, he was not only the author of the *Record* and one of the foremost monks at the Da Anguosi in Chang'an but also the brother of Empress Wei, consort of Zhongzong.

Beyond the imperial family, Shenxiu's partisans were mostly high-ranking bureaucrats. The most famous is obviously Zhang Yue, the author of the stela inscription for the *dhyāna* master Datong.<sup>65</sup> He is a typical representative of the new ruling cadre that emerged from the examination system Empress Wu tried to encourage to counteract the influence of the ancient aristocracy and ensure the success of her revolution. Throughout his turbulent career, Zhang Yue revealed a constant concern for Buddhism and maintained a close association with various monks. During the reign of Wu Zetian, the situation was, from this point of view, very different from that under the reign of Xuanzong, and the relations that Zhang Yue maintained with the Buddhist clergy could only have helped him—as much politically as spiritually. He had a particularly high regard for monks like Yijing, Bodhiruci (d. 727), Daoan (654–717), Daoyin (668–740), and Tanyi (692–771) and participated in the translations of works by the first two, working to make the results more “elegant.”

The *Song gaoseng zhuan* reports that Zhang Yue also sent ten pounds of incense and a poem to Caoxi (in modern Guangdong) in memory of Hui-neng.<sup>66</sup> Although this poem appears in Zhang Yue's collected works, it seems more likely that he encountered the “sixth patriarch” through his connection with Shenhui, whom he met late in life. But Shenxiu was the only master of whom he can truly be considered a disciple, and Shenxiu's death, which came shortly after the death of his own mother, affected him deeply. The

individual to whom Zhang Yue supposedly gave his poem on Huineng was apparently another important disciple of Shenxiu, Wu Pingyi (dates unknown). That is why Zhang Yue sent him to Song shan after Shenxiu's death in order to place a poem on his stūpa there. The story of Wu Pingyi's visit to Caoxi is doubtless based on this event and was intended to counter-balance Shenxiu's fame.<sup>67</sup> The *Song gaoseng zhuan* mentions a third lay disciple of Shenxiu who supposedly had some interest in Huineng. This was the poet Song Zhiwen (d. 712), who played a determining role in Shenxiu's invitation to come to Luoyang.<sup>68</sup> The *Quan Tang shi* contains a poem by him entitled "From Hengyang to Shaozhou, to Consult the *Dhyāna* Master Neng," but its attribution calls for the same caution as that of Zhang Yue.<sup>69</sup>

Finally, among the presumed adepts of the Dongshan doctrine among officials, we should mention the author of the *Chuan fabao ji*, Du Fei. Around 684, when he was still the Dharma master Fei of the Da Fuxiansi in Luoyang, Yifu came to meet him and to study the Mahāyāna canon with him for a while, before moving on to study with Shenxiu at the Yuquansi in 690. It was doubtless at the request of Yifu that he later compiled his *Chuan fabao ji*. Little else is known of him. The catalogues of the Japanese monk Ennin (794–864) mention a text about Nanyue Huisi (515–77), compiled by one Du Fei, assistant of the Court of Imperial Regalia (*weiwei cheng*). It is likely that the Dharma master Fei returned to secular life during the time that Shenxiu was at the capital.<sup>70</sup> There is one final person who, though not holding an official post, was also asked to draw up an epitaph for Shenxiu. This is the retired scholar Lu Hong (var. Hongyi), who lived as a hermit at Song shan. His biography reveals certain parallels with that of Shenxiu, and this suggests the possibility of connection between the two men.<sup>71</sup>

Even this summary listing reveals that Shenxiu's supporters constitute a varied set of people, coming from trends or clans that are otherwise sometimes seen as battling each other: the court, the bureaucracy, the old aristocracy, the new elite emerging from the examination system. Even within the imperial family itself, his adherents came from the various factions surrounding Empress Wu, Zhongzong, Empress Wei, Princess Taiping, and the future Xuanzong.

It is likely that Shenxiu's own personality, combined with his freedom from sectarian spirit, was the main reason for the esteem in which he was held. Most of the individuals mentioned above had a strong taste for scholarship, accompanied by a certain degree of literary talent, and a pronounced independence when it comes to established authorities. They may have seen in Shenxiu a possible model. Drawing on his long experience of men and ideas, Shenxiu himself managed to respond to the expectations of these



different people without compromising himself, even though he rose to prominence in a time of great transition. For some his great age and high virtue made him an example of the traditional sage; for others, given his role at the heart of the new Buddhism, he represented the new forces that were then reshaping Tang society. But ultimately the common denominator among all his adherents was a yearning for legitimacy, a wish to give orthodoxy to the new value system. This is clear in the case of Empress Wu and the officials surrounding her who rose through the examination system, people like Zhang Yue. It was probably equally true for the members of the aristocracy such as Empress Wei and Princess Taiping, who tried to consolidate their power after the abdication of Wu Zetian. Thus Shenxiu contributed to the establishment of a kind of transition between two periods, and it is here that his historical importance truly lies. But there is another explanation for his pre-eminence ignored: the strength of his ideas. Although the personality of Shenxiu or his political role must be taken into account, his doctrine was seductive to many of his adherents. And it is this, or at least the small part of it that has come down to us through the works of Shenxiu and of his close disciples, to which we now turn.

## CHAPTER 2

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### *Shenxiu's Doctrinal Background*

Texts from Dunhuang—especially a work entitled *Treatise on the Five Upāya*—show the Northern school as having a tendency toward scholasticism.<sup>1</sup> A close relationship between this school and the Huayan school (well known for its metaphysical speculations) has often been proposed, but on fragile grounds. Basically the evidence for this association lies in a work by the Korean master Ŭich'ŏn, the *Sinp'yŏn chejong kyojang ch'ongnok* (General catalog of the canon of the various schools), which attributes to Shenxiu a 30-juan commentary on the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, the *Huayan jing shu*, and another text of similar inspiration in 3 juan, the *Miaoli yuancheng guan* (Perfect contemplation of the profound principle). The fairly recent discovery of a number of quotations from this last work scattered through the works of the Korean monk-poet Kyunyŏ (923–73) seems to confirm this attribution and has stimulated a revival of interest in the study of connections between Huayan and the Chan of the Northern School.<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere a quotation from Shenxiu's *Commentary on the Avatamsaka* has turned up in a sub-commentary by a Japanese Kegon master, Junkō (1218–75), who cites in turn a Huayan anthology compiled by Ŭich'ŏn, the *Wŏnjong mullyu*.<sup>3</sup> But these quotations have given rise to hasty conclusions that must be re-examined. As we do this, we will be led to survey the impact of Shenxiu's thought and that of his school on Korean Buddhism.

### *Doctrinal Influences*

How should we define the problem of the connections between the Northern school—and more precisely Shenxiu—and Huayan? How far can one speak of a reciprocal influence between these two schools of thought? A first response, and a radical one, is that of Zongmi, who considered that such connections were, if not completely nonexistent, at the most so insignificant as to be not worth discussing. In the equation that he tried to set up among the three major Chan groups and the three major Buddhist doctrines, Zongmi saw the Northern school as corresponding to the doctrine of the epistemological school (Faxiang) and the Heze school's point of view as an application of Huayan doctrine.<sup>4</sup> The presuppositions behind such a classification are so obvious as to make one immediately question its validity. How can we ignore, for example, the fact that Zongmi is regarded as the fifth patriarch of both the Heze and Huayan lineages? Furthermore, his arguments do not seem incisive. Shenxiu's acquaintance with the Yogācāra doctrine does not imply an adherence to the Faxiang school. Rather, the contrary is true. And if we were to apply this logic further, the same argument could apply equally well to Zongmi himself.<sup>5</sup> Japanese scholars have not been misled on this point: although they normally give great credence to Zongmi, they have paid little attention to his allegations in this matter and have tried rather to emphasize the Huayan elements in the thought of the Northern school. Some of them go so far as to call the Northern school "Huayan Chan" (J. Kegon-zen).<sup>6</sup> Various clues seem to lead them to this conclusion. We have in particular already noted that several of Puji's successors like Daoxuan (702–60) and Shouzhi (700–770) were reputedly well versed in Huayan doctrine.<sup>7</sup> Can this conclusion about connections between the two schools also be applied to the thought of Shenxiu?

### THE Tiantai Influence

It may well be a complete distortion of Shenxiu's thought to try to restrict it to a sectarian rubric, whether Chan, Tiantai, or Huayan. As has already been noted, the very idea of a "Chan school," understood as a distinct institution, was nonexistent during Shenxiu's lifetime. He claimed to belong to a tradition—that of Dongshan—rather than to a doctrine proper. But in the absence of any direct access to his teaching, we must rely on those indications left by the texts and reason in terms of influences received and exercised, even as we lament, along with Valéry, "this word 'influence' which designates no more than ignorance or a hypothesis."

Thus, with this caveat as a background, we can begin to look at the

way in which Shenxiu borrowed some of his ideas from various schools or scriptures. The statements of Zhang Yue and Jingjue to the contrary, his debt to the *Laṅkāvatara-sūtra* remains problematic, and nothing in his putative work seems to allude to it.<sup>8</sup> The contribution from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* or the texts relating to the *prajñāpāramitā* seems more significant. The *Treatise on the Five Upāya*, a major work of the Northern school even if it may not be entirely from Shenxiu himself, also uses certain ideas characteristic of the Yogācāra (Faxiang) school.<sup>9</sup> But the clearest contribution comes from Tiantai thought. It is significant that the main work attributable with a high degree of certainty to Shenxiu himself, the *Guanxin lun* (Treatise on mind contemplation), bears the same title as one of the writings of Zhiyi.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, it probably dates from the time when Shenxiu was living at the Yuquansi, the monastery founded by Zhiyi and a place where Tiantai and Vinaya still flourished. The *Treatise on the Five Upāya* devotes one of its sections to the interpretation of the basic Tiantai scripture, the *Saddharmapundarika-sūtra* (Lotus sūtra of the true law, hereafter *Lotus Sūtra*).<sup>11</sup> Finally, the importance given to ideas such as the "one-practice *samādhi*" also shows the influence of Tiantai.<sup>12</sup>

### *Avatamsaka, Huayan, and Tathāgatagarbha*

Before we consider the influence of Huayan on Shenxiu's thought, one last remark seems in order. We should take care to distinguish, on the one hand, the Huayan that derives from the *Avatamsaka* and its translations into Chinese and, on the other, the doctrine of the Huayan school as it was first presented by Dushun (558–645) and then developed and systematized by Zhiyan (602–68), Fazang, Huiyuan (dates unknown), Chengguan (737–838), and finally Zongmi. In the period under discussion, the term "Huayan" referred to a shifting body of doctrines, one in constant evolution—a situation that later tradition, stiffening into an orthodoxy, has tried to cover up retrospectively.

If we are to accept the established opinion that Shenxiu's thought derives from a form of Chan with strong Huayan tendencies, then it is important to determine at the outset which among the influences on him came from the *Avatamsaka* itself and which came from the first patriarchs of the Huayan school, whether predecessors or contemporaries of Shenxiu. But all this still assumes that the Huayan assimilated into the Northern school followed the orthodoxy established by Fazang on the basis of the *Avatamsaka*. Was this truly the case?

## THE 'DACHENG QIXIN LUN' AND ITS ROLE IN CHAN

It appears that this question has to be answered in the negative. And this divergence between the form of Huayan influential in the Northern school and the orthodox line established by Fazang led to the preference given in the thought of Shenxiu and his disciples to the *Dacheng qixin lun* (Treatise on the awakening of faith in the great vehicle) over the *Avatamsaka*. The *Dacheng qixin lun* has finally, after many controversies, been established as a Chinese apocryphal text. Paul Demiéville summed up its content thus: "The essential doctrine of the *śāstra* is that of the mutual impregnation of *tathātā* [thusness] and *avidyā* [ignorance], which, by their interplay without beginning and without end, produce all that exists, from the world of phenomena to the sacrosanct absolute, and also that by which a learned dialectic assimilated *avidyā* to *bodhi* or pure *citta*, resulting thus in that reconciliation of opposites which is, in the East, the last word in religious truth."<sup>13</sup>

The fascination that the *Dacheng qixin lun* held for the Dongshan school doubtless derives from the fact that this work, while achieving a clever synthesis of the various gnoseological theories of the *Tathāgatatagarbha* lineage, was able to avoid the long rhetorical flourishes of the *Avatamsaka*, which really does live up to its name of "sūtra of flowery ornamentation." On a soteriological plane, the *Dacheng qixin lun* offered Chan adepts arguments for the reinterpretation of various concepts of the *Avatamsaka* as they concern meditative practice.<sup>14</sup> If we are to believe Jingjue's *Record*, it was Daoxin, the founder of the Dongshan school, who first sought to present Chan practice by drawing on ideas apparently drawn from the *Dacheng qixin lun*, ideas such as the distinction between substance and function of the mind. Although his successor, Hongren (601–74), did not quote explicitly from the *Dacheng qixin lun* in a work attributed to him, the *Xiuxin yaolun* (Summary treatise on mind cultivation), he was clearly inspired by it in his definition of the "pure fundamental mind" (*qingjing benxin*) or in his "guarding of the true fundamental mind" (*shou benzhenxin*). Just as significant is the fact that the two histories of the Northern school, Du Fei's *Chuan fabao ji* and Jingjue's *Record*, cite in their prefaces the same famous passage from the *Dacheng qixin lun* on the mind as Thusness (*tathātā*).<sup>15</sup> It is these ideas of "one mind" and true Thusness—as the source of the world of phenomena—that would provide Shenxiu's thought with its theoretical base and constitute the leitmotif of his *Guanxin lun*.<sup>16</sup> In the realm of practice, these ideas are revealed in the priority given to the contemplation of the mind (*guanxin*)—the single method that encompasses all others:

The mind is the foundation of the ten thousand *dharma*, and all *dharma* are produced by the mind alone. He who manages to understand it perfectly will

find himself in the presence of the totality of all *dharma*. To illustrate this, let us take the example of a great tree: its branches and its leaves, its flowers and its fruits, as many as they are, all depend on its roots. Thus, when you plant a tree, it cannot begin to produce seeds until after it has taken root. If you cut it and then uproot it, it will necessarily die. In the same way, if you cultivate the Way by understanding the mind perfectly, you will easily achieve it, almost without effort. But if you lack this understanding, all your efforts will be spent in vain. Thus the three worlds are only a manifestation of the mind. . . . If the mind is troubled, a multiplicity of phenomena appears; if [the mind] is at peace, [this multiplicity] will disappear.<sup>17</sup>

The equation established between true Thusness (*tathātā*) and pure mind can be taken as one of the defining features of the *Guanxin lun* even if it already underlies the thought of Daoxin and Hongren. But it is above all the distinction that Shenxiu makes between the two aspects of the mind—the pure and the defiled—that reveals an influence from the *Dacheng qixin lun*, whose major theme is that of the double nature, at the same time unchangeable and conditioned, of Thusness. Still, the change in terminology may indicate a desire on Shenxiu's part to stress the soteriological implications of this essential ambivalence in reality. But even if the single practice of *guanxin* derives logically from the one-mind principle, it still has to be validated by means of the great diversity of canonical texts. Shenxiu tries to get around this diversity by means of an esoteric (maybe even offhand) redefinition of the pious practices of Buddhism (monastery building, casting of statues, offerings of incense and flowers, maintenance of votive lamps, circumambulations of stūpas, fasts, prayer, commemoration of the Buddha) and of various traditional Buddhist rubrics: the "three poisons" that are the source of all passions (lust, anger, and stupidity), the six bandits (that is, the six senses), the six destinies, the three unmeasurable *kalpa* of asceticism, the three groups of "pure precepts," and the six *pāramitā* (Perfections).<sup>18</sup> This type of symbolic exegesis, probably inherited from the "contemplative" or allegorical hermeneutics (*guanxin shi*) of Tiantai, seems to have been popular in the Northern school, since it also constitutes the basic hermeneutical device of the *Treatise on the Five Upāya* and of various other Northern Chan texts.<sup>19</sup>

#### THE 'DACHENG QIXIN LUN' AND THE 'FIVE UPĀYA'

The *Treatise on the Five Upāya* may be read as an attempt to reinterpret various classic notions, among others that of the "three trainings" (*śīla, samādhi, prajñā*). Zongmi summed up the thought of the Northern school when he said that it consists of "brushing away the adventitious dust [of the passions] in order to gaze on purity, and penetrating the scriptures by means of the *upāya*."<sup>20</sup> The five *upāya* that he lists match exactly those in the *Wusheng*

*fangbian men* (Gate of the five unborn *upāya*): (1) complete manifestation of the Buddha essence; (2) opening the door of knowledge and wisdom; (3) revealing the unimaginable deliverance; (4) showing the true nature of the *dharma*; (5) perfectly taking hold of natural, undifferentiated deliverance.

The concept of *upāya*, salvific means, holds a central place in the thought of Shenxiu and the Northern school. The classical *upāya* is only a provisional method, a completely relative truth intended to facilitate conversion, in brief, a "therapeutic opportunism"; this is why it is often compared to a medical remedy, a specific remedy prescribed for a particular disease and intended to effect the most rapid cure possible. Such an *upāya* could not plumb the arcana of the *Avatamsaka-sātra*. If the people following the *Treatise on the Five Upāya* could do that, it is because they were using a special kind of "expedient," called the "unborn *upāya* of Mahāyāna." "Mahāyāna" is used here with the same meaning as it has in the *Dacheng qixin lun*: it designates not only the Greater Vehicle in opposition to the Lesser Vehicle (Hinayāna) but also the Absolute, Thusness itself. At the turn of the eighth century, this way of using the word was fairly common in Chan circles.<sup>21</sup> At the same time, the modifier "unborn" suggests a sudden awakening, not only in the ordinary, temporal understanding of the term but also as absolute and unconditioned (transcending any gradual, relative, conditioned approach). If the mind is not aroused (*xin buqi*), all practice, even that of *dhyāna*, becomes superfluous. And in the eyes of Bodhidharma's heirs, it is exactly this absence of practice that constitutes, in the last analysis, true practice.

For the Northern school, which is heir to that tradition, the *upāya* is no longer simply a means to achieve awakening; it is itself that awakening. As such, it belongs to a different dimension and represents an effort at transcending the dualistic distinction between ends and means. It is (or claims to be) the expression of ultimate truth, reality as it manifests itself "anyway in a certain way" or, to use an expression from the *Dacheng qixin lun*, truth as non-emptiness. This is what the *Treatise on the Five Upāya* is trying to emphasize when it speaks of "*upāya* as mind."<sup>22</sup> Such a conception is ultimately a complete negation of the traditional *upāya*. It prefigures a way of thought that would attain prominence with Mazu Daoyi and give birth to the very special maieutics of classical Chan (especially the "cases" or *gong'an*, J. *kōan*).

The first section of the *Treatise on the Five Upāya* develops themes borrowed from the *Dacheng qixin lun*. The privileged position of the latter as a scriptural authority is revealed clearly in the fact that the first *upāya*, which takes the very terms of its definition from the *Treatise*, is considered to contain within it all the other four. Thus it is from the *Dacheng qixin lun* that Shenxiu and his school drew the idea of *linian* (detachment from thought). For

the Huayan master Chengguan, this idea expressed the characteristic point of view of the Northern school and stands in contrast to the *wunian* (non-thinking) preached by Shenhui and the Southern school, an idea also taken from the same passage of the *Dacheng qixin lun*, in which the two terms seem to be used as synonyms.<sup>23</sup>

What, then, is this "Buddha essence" that the first *upāya* recommends be manifested in its completeness? The *Treatise on the Five Upāya* first recapitulates the beginning of the *Dacheng qixin lun*:

Buddha is a Sanskrit word . . . that is translated here as "awakening." This term "awakening" means that the substance of the mind is detached from all thought. This detachment is characterized by identity at the level of empty space: as the unique character of the *Dharmadhātu*, it is universal. It is, in other words, the equal *Dharmakāya* of the Tathāgata. And it is in relation to this Dharma body that one speaks of fundamental awakening.

Then he further develops, in a dialectic that is his own, this idea of awakening:

This term "Buddha" includes three meanings. . . . To awaken oneself, to awaken others, and to achieve awakening in its fullness. . . . Detaching oneself from the mind constitutes personal awakening; detaching oneself from form [permits one to] awaken others; it is to be independent of the five objects of the senses. When one is detached both from the mind and the form, achievement and practice are perfect: that is the Dharma body equal to the Tathāgata.<sup>24</sup>

Another fundamental idea not found in the *Dacheng qixin lun* is that of Thusness (*tathātā*), which is made the object of a similar kind of exegesis:

What is the Buddha? The mind of the Buddha is pure and detached from being as well as non-being. If the body and the mind are not aroused, one constantly conserves the vital spirit! What is Thusness? When the mind does not move, that is Thusness; when the form is not in motion, that is also Thusness. Mind and form, as Thusness, are deliverance. For the person who is detached from both the mind and the form, nothing exists.<sup>25</sup>

This emphasis placed on immobility and detachment would arouse the criticism of Shenhui, who saw in it only another attachment, to purity and quiet, a kind of commonplace quietism. But the quietist pitfall was clearly perceived by the Northern school, and the *Treatise on the Five Upāya* seems to forestall these critics (if one accepts, of course, that this text is, on the whole, earlier than the attacks launched by Shenhui):

There are those who, out of fear of motion, become attached to immobility and abolish the six awarenesses in order to experience the *nirvāṇa* of emptiness



and quietude. . . . They come to covet *samādhi* and, delighting in this, fall into the *nirvāṇa* of [the adepts of] the two Vehicles [*śrāvaka* and *pratyekabuddha*]. . . . These latter are devoid of wisdom as they concentrate themselves: they can neither preach the Law nor save beings. On emerging from concentration, their mind is scattered, and they begin to preach the Law. But as they are no longer impregnated with the water of *samādhi*, one speaks of "dry concentration and wisdom."<sup>26</sup>

We have here a double, simultaneous movement of introversion and extroversion (in the etymological sense of the words, not the psychological) that corresponds to that of concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). But we should not see here intentional practice, a deliberate effort at introspection. It is simply a matter of surrendering to non-action (*wuwei*), letting Thusness (the Buddhist version of the Dao) do its work without interference. The *Treatise on the Five Upāya* also warns the adept (in terms borrowed from Daoism): "Avoid bending your body and mind, or stretching them out!"<sup>27</sup>

Thus, from a theoretical point of view, Shenhui's accusations that the adepts of the Northern school abandoned wisdom to dedicate themselves to concentration do not appear to be justified.<sup>28</sup> He himself is in any case not immune to the reverse criticism: Did he not distance himself somewhat from orthodoxy by attaching importance to wisdom to the detriment of concentration, and to activity rather than to quietude? This is of little importance. But to close we may cite another short text belonging to the Northern school, the *Dacheng beizong lun* (Treatise of the Northern school of the Great Vehicle).<sup>29</sup> The passage in question confirms that the interpretation given by this school to the recommendation in the *Dacheng qixin lun* that "not excite the mind" should not be reduced to a kind of adherence to quietude and emptiness. The interpretation remains true to the principle of non-duality:

Avoid producing any thought of observing morality, and even more so that of transgression! The thought of concentration, and even more so that of dispersion! The thought of wisdom, and even more so that of stupidity! Pure thought, and even more so sullied thought! The thought of compassion, and even more so that of ill will! The thought of emptiness, and even more so that of adherence to false views! The thought of awakening, and even more so that of the passions! . . . Sorrow, like all pleasure, comes from the mind. If one forgets thought, what can afflict one? What can give one joy?<sup>30</sup>

The text continues with an almost equal number of strophes (some 40 in all) dealing with *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra*, from which it emerges that every idea, even that of *nirvāṇa*, shares in *saṃsāra*. Every practice, no matter how

excellent it may be, still derives from the realm of relativity, and this irremediable flaw cuts short any attempt to attain the Absolute by this route.

As we can see, if we view it only in the light of the formula devised by Zongmi—"Brush away the dust [from the spiritual mirror] in order to gaze on purity"—we are undervaluing the thought of the Northern school and its constant evolution.<sup>31</sup> The terminology used by this school does open it to misunderstanding. The expression *linian* in particular could lead us to believe that the adept must work to detach himself from false thoughts and the passions that result from them. In this case Zongmi was correct in thinking that a real existence is being presumed for the passions and that they can affect the inherently pure mind. But this expression may also mean that the mind is *always already* detached from all thoughts, that it transcends them: they do not have the same degree of reality that the mind has, and their apparent opaqueness is, finally, transparency. Such is the point of view of subitism, and such is the conclusion that the Northern school seems to draw from premises set forth in the *Dacheng qixin lun*.

### *The Huayan Master Shenxiu*

While editing the complete works of the Korean poet-monk Kyunyō, the Korean scholar Kim Chigyōn found scattered through the works a dozen quotations from Shenxiu's *Miaoli yuancheng guan*. The existence of another work by this master, besides his voluminous commentary on the *Avatamsaka*, had been long noted by various Japanese scholars. The attribution of these two works to Shenxiu rests, as mentioned above, on a statement in Ūich'ōn's catalog. Ūich'ōn did not mention the Northern school per se, however. The same is true of all citations of Shenxiu's work that have been studied. But Kyunyō twice mentioned the "Dharma master" Shenxiu.<sup>32</sup> The evidence, then, points to the existence of a second Shenxiu, eclipsed by the fame of the leader of the Northern school. His name appears in the biography of Faxian (d. 778), a disciple of the disputed successor to Fazang, Huiyuan. The *Song gaoseng zhuan* unfortunately provides no information about this Shenxiu, except that he was on the rolls of the Huijisi (near the sub-prefecture of Shaoxing, in modern Zhejiang).<sup>33</sup> He was a contemporary of the fourth Huayan patriarch Chengguan, and at one time studied the *Avatamsaka* with Faxian, at the Tianzhusi, or with Jiaoran (d. ca. 790), who composed Faxian's epitaph.<sup>34</sup> He is perhaps the person of this name whose disgrace and execution are reported in the *Taiping guangji*.<sup>35</sup> If this is so, he was buried in the compound of the Waguansi in Nanjing (Jiangsu) by one of his lay dis-

ciples, Li Renjun, the prefect of Nanchang.<sup>36</sup> Chronologically this is possible, although the hagiographic nature of the *Taiping guangji* account makes caution advisable.

Whatever the facts of the case, we may be sure that it was to this Shenxiu that Ŭich'ŏn was attributing the compilation of the *Huayan jing shu* and the *Miaoli yuancheng guan*. To become convinced of this, we need only examine a little more closely the catalog in which the texts are mentioned (T. 55, 2184). In both cases we see that Ŭich'ŏn was presenting in chronological order the commentaries on the *Avatamsaka* that he had reviewed. He was clearly dealing with the Huayan line and not the Northern school (otherwise absent from his catalogue). This indication seems to have escaped the attention of most researchers, and the discovery of the quotations from the *Miaoli yuancheng guan* in Kyunyŏ's works has only compounded the initial error.<sup>37</sup> The Shenxiu in question was probably the same "Huayan master" that the Japanese monk Kūkai met during his journey in China at the beginning of the ninth century. The confusion between the two individuals is easily explained. The interest in Huayan shown by some Northern Chan adepts is undeniable, and it is tempting to suggest that this tendency arose with the learned Shenxiu himself. The syncretic nature of Korean Chan, which was strongly impregnated with Huayan ideas, could also lead to such an interpretation and appears to have been an influence from the Northern school and its founder.<sup>38</sup> Finally, the confusion of the two individuals seems to have arisen at an early date, since it apparently already existed in the mind of the compiler of the *Taiping guangji*. It shows up even in the index to the Taishō edition of the Buddhist canon (*Daizōkyō sakuin*, vol. 28). This fact is not enough to prove, *a contrario*, that the *dhyāna* master Shenxiu had no interest in Huayan. Most likely he did, given his interest in the *Dacheng qixin lun*. But the complete assimilation by the Northern school of Huayan philosophy is probably an event of the second generation after him, if not the third.

### *Shenxiu and Korean Chan (Sŏn)*

The absence of a connection between Kyunyŏ and Chinese Chan does not negate the hypothesis of influence from the Northern school on the founder of Korean Sŏn. Among the nine or ten branches (or "mountains") of Sŏn, there is at least one, the Hŭiyang-san school, that adhered at one time to the doctrine of Shenxiu's disciples.<sup>39</sup> The origins of this branch traditionally date to the *dhyāna* master Pŏmnang, who, according to an

inscription at Pongam-sa, was a disciple of the fourth Chinese patriarch, Daoxin.<sup>40</sup> But his successor, Sinhaeng (706–79), received the transmission of the Northern school directly during a three-year stay in China from a master named Zhikong (703–99), himself a disciple of Puji. In any case, it was only with Sinhaeng's disciples (Chunböm, Hyeün, and above all Tohön [826–82; also known as Chisön]) that we see the Huiyang-san school truly taking shape and becoming the first school of Korean Sön.

In another account of the genealogy of this school, the lineage given above is replaced by another: Huineng—Nanyue Huairang—Mazu Daoyi—Chingam Hyeso—Tohön. But this listing is undeniably later, since it comes from the stela inscription for a second-generation disciple of Tohön, a monk named Chonjin, whereas the first comes from the stela erected for Tohön himself.<sup>41</sup> However, the second version is the one traditionally accepted: Korean Sön claims to have nothing to do with the Northern school and swears, in the Chogye school, its unswerving loyalty to the Southern school.<sup>42</sup> This traditional view has recently come under criticism. Thus, according to Min Yönggyu, the entire body of Sön, and not just the Huiyang-san school, has been influenced by the Northern school.<sup>43</sup> Min's main argument is that the synthesis of Chan and Huayan characteristic of this school is also one of the features of Sön. There may be some truth in this. But it is less easy to accept, as has been suggested, that two of the three main Korean disciples of Mazu—Hongch'ok (dates unknown) and Hyech'öl (dates unknown)—were actually adherents of the Northern school.<sup>44</sup> Their use of the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* proves nothing. We know that Mazu himself quoted this sūtra freely. As for the influence of Huayan on these two figures, it is certainly there, but perhaps has been overestimated. Min deduces it from their stelae inscriptions, but these were compiled by Ch'oe Ch'iwön (857–904?), himself an adept of the Korean Huayan school (Hwaöm) and the author, among others, of the inscription for Fazang.<sup>45</sup> It is likely that this scholar had, in good faith, a tendency to stress the importance of Huayan in his inscriptions. In any case, the place of Huayan in the doctrine of the Nine Mountains reflects above all the fundamental role played by Ŭisang and Wōnhyo (617–86) in the Buddhism of the Korean kingdom of Silla and the need this religion had to provide a centralizing ideology for the reigning dynasty. Still, adherents to the Northern school, although numerically a small minority, did make a major contribution to the introduction of Chinese Chan into Korea.

Paradoxically, it was perhaps through Zongmi that Shenxiu's ideas gained most of their Korean audience. We know of the interest that Chinul (1158–1210), founder of the Chogye school, had in Zongmi's *Chanyuan zhuquanji*

*duxu* (General Preface to the *Collected Writings on the Origins of Chan*). In this work, the Northern school is presented as a necessary stage in an ongoing Chan dialectic and not just as a mere heterodoxy.<sup>46</sup> And the second basic principle (to penetrate the scriptures by means of the *upāya*) of the critical definition that Zongmi elsewhere gave of the thought of this school could be applied to the author himself.<sup>47</sup> Zongmi preached harmony between doctrine and meditation (*jiaochan yizhi*), a principle that Shenxiu also respected, even if he did not find it necessary to use this expression. Beyond the problem of quarrels between schools, we come to questions of method. Here Zongmi seems as close to Shenxiu as he is to the Southern school. Thus, we may consider Shenxiu himself as one of the precursors of the theory of harmony between doctrine and meditation.<sup>48</sup> Hence his probable influence on Sōn, as well as on another heir to this theory, Yongming Yanshou (904–75).<sup>49</sup> Shenxiu and his disciples were perhaps the first to attempt, from a truly Chan perspective, a synthesis of Tiantai, Faxiang, and Huayan concepts—a synthesis Yanshou would also try to achieve in his *Zongjing lu* (Record of the mirror of principle). It seems that we can discern a train of thought that, starting with Shenxiu, would develop, among others, with Chengguan, Zongmi, and Yanshou, and finally in Korea with Ŭich'ŏn and Chinul.<sup>50</sup>

The influence of Shenxiu's thought on Korean (and Japanese) Buddhism is undeniable, if limited, and has two components: its perceived orthodoxy, which would lead to the success of the *Guanxin lun* as a work by Bodhidharma, and its eclecticism, which would awaken responses in all those who found themselves ill-adapted to the sectarian tendencies too often apparent in Buddhism. This is how Shenxiu's influence blended with that of people such as Chengguan, Zongmi, and Yanshou. The establishment of patriarchal lineages within every school in the eighth century tended to conceal any lateral relations among the various patterns of thought. In theory, only vertical relationships remained, those between master and disciple. Although there are reasons for their existence, this primacy given to genealogy and the tree-shaped schemas it imposes do not permit us to see the rhizomes, the tangled web of influences actually at work beneath the surface.<sup>51</sup> In this, the thought of the Northern school is no exception. It is necessary to study, along with its connections with Huayan, all the bonds that tie it to doctrines deriving from Tiantai, Jingtū (Pure Land Buddhism), Zhenyan (Tantric Buddhism), and Lǔ (Vinaya). It is the eclectic spirit of Tiantai, as it prevailed at Yuquan shan, that marked the maturity of Shenxiu. But was it not in part the spirit of the Northern school that, in Japan, was transmitted to Mount Hiei, the center of the Tendai school?

### Excursus 1: Chan and Tiantai

#### ZHIYI'S INFLUENCE ON DAOXIN

When Daoxin founded his community at Shuangfeng shan, the Tiantai school had already passed its glory days. After Guanding (561–632), Zhiyi's successor, it underwent a relative eclipse as a result of its associations with the Sui dynasty. This eclipse would last until the beginning of the eighth century. Zhiyi died in 597, when Daoxin was still very young. When he came of age but before he settled permanently on Shuangfeng shan, Daoxin spent about ten years (ca. 610–20) at the Dalinsi, a monastery on Lu shan. This monastery had been founded around 590 by one of Zhiyi's disciples, Zhikai (533–610).<sup>52</sup> It is not known whether Zhikai was still alive or had just died when Daoxin entered the Dalinsi, but this is not important. The main point is that Zhikai's thought—and through him that of Zhiyi—remained present in these places and must have influenced Daoxin.

Also noteworthy is the later presence around Daoxin of disciples such as Faxian (577–653) and Shanfu (d. 660). The former apparently first studied with Zhiyi himself, during a stay at the Sicengsi in Jingzhou, before becoming involved in Chan.<sup>53</sup> The latter was taught the “*upāya* for access to the Way” (*rudao fangbian*) by Daoxin, but before that he had practiced Pure Land contemplation methods with Huijiao (546–622), a fellow disciple of Zhiyi during his years of study with Nanyue Huisi.<sup>54</sup> Given this background, the influence of the Tiantai contemplation theories on Daoxin is easily explained.

#### BORROWINGS FROM ZHIYI'S THOUGHT

Tiantai doctrine rests on the principle of the necessary complementarity between doctrine (*jiao*) and contemplation (*guan*), or to use the terms attributed by the *Record* to the *dhyāna* master Zhimin, between understanding and practice. To emphasize each of these essential aspects of Buddhist law, Zhiyi drew up in turn, during the years 593–94, the *Fahua xuanyi* (T. 33, 1716) and the *Mohe zhiguan* (T. 46, 1911). In the second text, he criticized certain kinds of contemplatives and exegetes (whom he refers to respectively as “*dhyāna* masters of obscure understanding” [*anzheng chanshi*] and “Dharma masters [attached to] the letter” [*wenzi fashi*]). He compared in particular the meditator who rejects all doctrinal understanding to someone who grasps a torch (the mind in the act of concentrating) without knowing how to hold it, and the discursive study unaccompanied by contemplation to seizing a sharp knife (the intellect) without knowing how to use it. In both cases, one is quickly injured.<sup>55</sup> This theme is often taken up again,

although with less clarity, in the *Record*, especially in the entry dedicated to Daoxin.

On a theoretical level, Zhiyi distinguished in the *Mohe zhiguan* three forms of teaching by the Buddha (sudden, gradual, and indeterminate).<sup>56</sup> These correspond, on the level of practice, to three varieties of *zhiguan* (*śamatha-vipaśyanā*, calming and discernment): perfect and sudden (*yuandun zhiguan*), gradual (*cidi zhiguan*, literally "in good order"), and indeterminate (*buding zhiguan*). The first kind of meditation is laid out in more detail in the *Mohe zhiguan*, the second in the *Cidi famen* (Gradual Dharma gates; T. 46, 1916), and the third in the *Liumiao famen* (Six profound Dharma gates; T. 46, 1917), all works by Zhiyi. They actually can be reduced to two, with the third only one variety of gradual *zhiguan* in which the practitioner modifies the sequence of spiritual exercises as he likes. We thus find once more the double structure that characterizes Daoxin's method: basically "subitist," but modified by a flexible gradualism that permits an adaptation to the individual capacity of practitioners.<sup>57</sup> Both Zhiyi and Daoxin gave importance to salvatory expedients (see the list of the 25 preliminary *upāya* in the *Mohe zhiguan*) and to those just beginning practice.

Although Daoxin recognized the importance of doctrinal understanding, he seldom referred to Tiantai doctrine proper. It is above all in the domain of practice that Zhiyi's influence can be seen. Daoxin, as we will see, stressed "one-practice *samādhi*" (*yixing sanmei*), one of the four kinds of *samādhi* presented in the *Mohe zhiguan* as leading up to the "perfect and sudden *zhiguan*."<sup>58</sup> In other respects the one work of Zhiyi's that most profoundly influenced Daoxin's thought, as it is presented by Jingjue, does not seem to be the "subitist" *Mohe zhiguan* but rather the *Xiao zhiguan* (Shorter calming and discernment; T. 46, 1915). The *Xiao zhiguan* is addressed to beginners, a feature it shares with Daoxin's presentation. There are several other similarities that cannot be attributed to simple coincidence. It is significant, for example, that in order to illustrate his method Daoxin used the very "gradualist" metaphor from the *Śūramgama-sūtra* on learning to shoot a bow and arrow, an analogy also used in the *Xiao zhiguan*.<sup>59</sup> In the same way, the concrete details that Daoxin gave on the physical posture to be adopted by the practitioner are clearly taken from the *Xiao zhiguan* (especially relaxing by means of "massaging" oneself, a technique that was apparently originally Daoist and is mentioned only in the works of Zhiyi and Daoxin).<sup>60</sup>

Finally, alongside a passive seated form of meditation in which the practitioner is to "fix his/her mind" in order to arrive at an almost vegetal immobility, Daoxin gave an important place to a meditative practice consisting of pure spontaneity, a sort of perpetual mindfulness in which "every deed

and every gesture constitute awakening." These are, *mutatis mutandi*, the two *zhiguan* spoken of in the *Xiao zhiguan*: the first is carried out "in a seated position"; the second "in the course of activities," in response to objects.<sup>61</sup>

Still, Zhiyi's ideas about meditation were much too systematic to be completely congenial to Daoxin, who, although he did not hesitate to rely on them at times, was trying above all to put together a simplified form of practice in order to arrive finally at a kind of "anti-method." Although the doctrinal contribution from the Tiantai school was considerable, from the outset the emerging school of Chan claimed to go beyond the earlier school, even if it did not necessarily succeed in so doing.

#### THE IMPACT OF THE 'XIAO ZHIGUAN' ON THE CHAN SCHOOL

The *Xiao zhiguan* was the first attempt to set down, in a comprehensive, concise, and easily accessible form, the various meditation techniques, which for the most part had hitherto been transmitted orally. This is why the work is so interesting for adherents of *dhyaṇa*—both within Chan proper and in the other schools.<sup>62</sup> Daoxuan (J. Dōsen, 702–60) transmitted to Japan the Chan of the Northern school, Vinaya, and Huayan, and he introduced this work to Japanese Buddhists in 736. The main propagator of the ideas in this work, however, was clearly Zongmi. He contributed greatly to the re-evaluation of seated meditation, which had dwindled in importance after Shenhui's attacks on the Northern school. In the passages that he dedicated to this question, Zongmi quoted the *Xiao zhiguan* word for word, merely changing a little the order of the sections. Through Zongmi the *Xiao zhiguan* would influence the composition of meditation manuals such as the *Zuochan yi* (part of the *Chanyuan qinggui* by Zhanglu Zongze, dates unknown).<sup>63</sup>

Thus, the very precise rules enunciated by Zhiyi on the practices of seated meditation were passed down through the ages without undergoing the same fluctuations in popularity as Tiantai doctrine itself. At certain points, they seem to contradict the dominant Indian tradition concerning *dhyaṇa*, a fact emphasized by masters of the esoteric school such as Śubhakarasiṃha and Vajrabodhi, who could not, however, prevent their becoming popular. It may be that it was precisely because they continued certain Daoist meditative practices or were in harmony with Chinese popular beliefs that they had so much success within Chan.

#### RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TIANTAI AND CHAN LINEAGES

It is doubtless an exaggeration to maintain, as does Sekiguchi Shindai (1969a: 293), that the tradition derived from Bodhidharma and the teachings of Tiantai did not constitute two separate lines of thought until the end of



the eighth century. It is true, however, that the line of demarcation between the two schools long remained shifting. It was only toward the end of the Tang that a sectarian spirit led to a hardening of positions, which had first of all to be redefined on each side, and this development soon degenerated into open conflict.

Zhiyi was almost a contemporary of Sengcan (traditionally said to have died in 606). According to Sekiguchi, it is completely plausible that Huisi (515-77), Zhiyi's master, and Huike (488-593), Bodhidharma's successor and Sengcan's master, could have been acquainted with each other through their common disciple Huibu (518-87) from She shan.<sup>64</sup>

Despite certain points in common, the Chan of Bodhidharma does not seem to have influenced the thinking of the Tiantai master. Nor does Zhiyi's criticism of Hīnayāna *dhyāna* methods such as "wall contemplation" seem to have been directed at Bodhidharma. The founder of the Tiantai school was undoubtedly more concerned about the thought of Sengchou (480-560), another famous meditation master, whom the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* presents as the opponent of Bodhidharma.<sup>65</sup> Sengchou is the presumed author of a work in two *juan*, the *Zhiguan fa* (Method of *śamathavipaśyanā*), and, according to Daoxuan, he stressed the practice of the four "foundations of mindfulness" (Skt. *smṛtyupasthāna*, Ch. *nianchu*). Zhiyi put together a work on this subject, the *Sinianchu* (T. 46, 1918). From this same period we should also note the relationship that, according to the *Record*, existed between Zhiyi's fellow disciple Xiancheng Huiming (531-68) and Sengcan.

Zhiyi's thinking continued to influence the Dongshan school even after Daoxin. After Zhiyi's time the Tiantai school divided into two main strains: the first, at Tiantai shan, emphasized the practice of *zhiguan*, and the second, at the Yuquansi in Jingzhou, put more stress on the Vinaya. Shenxiu and the Northern school seem to have been influenced by the second tendency, represented by Hongjing (634-713) and Huizhen (673-751). In a stela inscription for the fifth Tiantai patriarch, Zuoqi Xuanlang (673-754), Li Hua (d. ca. 774) mentioned both the Tiantai and the Northern school lineages. It was also at the Yuquansi that Nanyue Huairang, considered by later tradition as the founder of one of the two main branches of Chan (Linji/Rinzai), received the teaching of Hongjing, and Yongjia Xuanjue (655-712) that of Shenxiu.

The Southern school quickly laid claim to Xuanjue, considered the author of the famous *Zhengdao ge* (Song on the realization of the Way); he seems to have gone to consult Huineng, but took his leave the day after his arrival, from which he got the nickname "Jue-who-stayed-only-one-night." The *Zhengdao ge* is actually most likely an apocryphal work and little is known about Xuanjue's ideas. The *Fozu tongji* (General record on the Buddha and

the patriarchs) presents him as a fellow disciple of Xuanlang and well versed in Tiantai doctrine.

In the Yuquansi lineage, mention should also be made of individuals like Feixi (fl. mid-eighth c.), Chujin (698–759), Shouzhi (700–770), and Jiaoran (dates unknown). The last two in particular had roots in the Northern school: Shouzhi is supposed to have received the “mind seal of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*” from Puji, and his disciple Jiaoran wrote the *Neng Xiu ershi zan* (Praise of the two masters Neng and Xiu). On Tiantai shan, Foku Yize (751–830) collected the works of Niutou Farong (594–657), Baozhi (428–516), and Fu dashi (497–569), which would be widely cited in later Chan literature.

But the period of harmony between Tiantai and Chan was over in China, even though it would continue in Japan thanks to Saichō and his disciples and in Korea thanks to Ŭich'ŏn, who developed a synthesis of “doctrine” and “meditation.” With Zhanran (711–82) and Zongmi relations between the two schools deteriorated rapidly. Zhanran, traditionally the sixth Chinese patriarch of Tiantai (a position already claimed by Huizhen of the Yuquansi), made the same criticisms of the adherents of Chan and their claim that they had a “special transmission outside the scriptures” as Zhiyi had formerly made of “*dhyāna* masters of obscure realization.” Zongmi was not to be left behind. Forgetting his eagerness to recopy the *Xiao zhiguan*, he lowered his rating of the Tiantai doctrine to one of simple “gradualism,” on the same level as the Chan of the Northern school, belonging to the category of doctrines that recommend the “cultivation of the mind by putting an end to illusion” (*xiwang xiuxin zong*).

The formulation of the Chan patriarchal tradition in the *Baolin zhuan*, with its theory of 28 Indian patriarchs, would provide another bone of contention between the two schools. Adherents of Tiantai claimed that the transmission of the Dharma had been interrupted at the death of the twenty-fourth patriarch Simha *bhikṣu*. But the diatribes of some Tiantai monks such as Shenzhi Congyi were simply rearguard actions that could not prevent the decline of their school in the face of the growing prosperity of Chan. There were, however, attempts at reconciliation in both schools and efforts to overcome sectarian positions. On the Chan side, for example, we can note the activity of Tiantai Deshao (891–972) and his disciple Yongming Yanshou. But they were exceptional cases.

### *Excursus 2: Chan and Pure Land*

The formation of Daoxin and Hongren's Dongshan school is contemporaneous with the founding of the Pure Land school by Daochuo (562–645)

and Shandao (613–81). Dong shan is very close to Lu shan, one of the chief centers of the Pure Land tradition. When the Northern school established itself in the region of the two capitals, it found Pure Land doctrine to be very popular, thanks to the activity of Shandao's disciples. Thus, there is nothing surprising in the fact that the two lines of thought should have influenced each other. According to the *Chuan fabao ji*, "At the time of [Hong]ren, [Fa]ru, and Datong [Shenxiu], the Dharma gate [of Chan] opened wide, and all elitism was abandoned as all [practitioners] were encouraged to commemorate the name of the Buddha immediately in the same way."

Several of Hongren's disciples, such as Fachi (later seen as the fourth patriarch of the Niutou school), and Zhishen (considered the founder of the Jingzhongsi school in Sichuan), or Xuanshe (dates unknown, founder of the Nanshan school in the same region), seem to have advocated a combination of seated meditation with "commemoration of the Buddha" (*nianfo*). The interest of Daoxin and Hongren in Pure Land doctrines seems to emerge from the fact that both cite the *Guan wuliangshou jing* (T. 12, 365), one of the three main Pure Land scriptures. When he adopted as an essential method the "one-practice *samādhi*" (*yixing sanmei*) of the *Saptasatikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, Daoxin was well aware of the term's Amidist connotations, even if he, unlike the Pure Land school, did not emphasize the "commemoration" of the Buddha Amitābha.

The author of the *Record* also presents as a kind of prologue a series of stanzas that can be found in part in several Pure Land texts from Dunhuang, including the *Jingtu fashen zan* (Hymn to the Dharma-body of the Pure Land; T. 85, 2827) by Fazhao (d. 772), one of the foremost representatives of the Pure Land tradition after Shandao. Jingjue seems to have been fairly well known in circles close to the Pure Land adepts. Fazhao's master, Chengyuan (712–802), had studied with Huizhen of Yuquansi, a disciple of Chuji (648–734, himself a disciple of Zhishen) and of Hongjing, a master of the Tiantai school quite close to Shenxiu. The borders between the various schools seem to have been still quite fluid, permitting fruitful exchanges between them.

The Pure Land school owed some of its influence in doctrinal matters to the fact that although it maintained the primacy of invocation of the Buddha Amitābha, it did not consider this to be a panacea that dispensed with the need for other practices (as was later the case in the Japanese Pure Land schools). Rather, this school attached great importance to observing discipline and to seated meditation, which provided a common ground with Chan. Still, this school was characterized above all by its pietistic ethos. The "commemoration" of the Buddha Amitābha is of value only insofar as

it confers upon the practitioner the privilege of being reborn in the Western Pure Land. These two aspects (commemoration of the Buddha and rebirth in the Pure Land) are intimately connected. The case is quite different in Chan, where they are often dissociated.

#### THE PRACTICE OF 'NIANFO' (COMMEMORATION OF THE BUDDHA)

Before the time of Daoxin, we find no trace of the practice of *nianfo* in Chan, and this is one reason the *Damo chanshi guanmen* (Gate of contemplation of the *dhyāna* master [Bodhi]dharma; T. 85, 2832) is considered an apocryphal work, even though tradition holds it to be by Bodhidharma. According to this text, "there exist within Chan seven methods of contemplation [*guanmen*] and the vocal commemoration of the Buddha gives access to six kinds of merits." The final, and most important, of these merits is that of being reborn in the Pure Land.<sup>66</sup> In the *Xifang zan ji wen* (Collected hymns of the Western Pure Land), there is a *Lixifang Amituo fo Damo chanshi ji* (Hymn to the Buddha Amitābha of the Western Pure Land, by the *dhyāna* master Damo), a text whose beginning is the same as that of the poem placed at the commencement of the *Record*.

Daoxin judged *nianfo* to be simply a method for beginners, a preliminary to seated meditation. It was simply a matter of "commemorating" a Buddha—it did not matter which Buddha—with a view to attaining the "one-practice *samādhi*." *Nianfo* was also different from the kind of invocation practices followed by Shandao's disciples, since behind it lies the *prajñāpāramitā* doctrine of emptiness and it can be seen as a form of "spiritual contemplation":

To have nothing in mind is what is called "thinking about the Buddha." Thinking about the Buddha is thus thinking about the mind, and seeking the mind is the same thing as seeking the Buddha. When this stage is reached, the mind that was thinking about the Buddha disappears in turn, and it is no longer necessary to pay attention to it.

A little farther on, Daoxin addressed experienced practitioners, adding: "Refrain from [having recourse to expedients such as] thinking about the Buddha. Simply let yourself go." Even though these statements show some willingness to take contemporary beliefs into account, out of a concern for therapeutic effectiveness, they do not seem particularly imbued with devotional fervor. Hongren reveals the same attitude:

Question: Why is [keeping] one's mind more significant than "commemorating the Buddhas"?

Answer: Constantly commemorating other Buddhas does not prevent one from going through [the cycle of] lives and deaths. It is only by keeping my

own mind that I shall reach the other shore. In the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* it is said: "He who seeks me by means of forms and sounds is on the wrong track and will never succeed in seeing the Tathāgata." This is why it is said that "keeping the fundamental true mind" is more important than "commemorating the Buddhas."

For his part, Shenxiu seems to have placed more importance on this kind of commemoration, despite his expressed reservations about the purely vocal *nianfo* preached by Shandao and his followers. Commemoration, vocal or not, is meaningful only insofar as it rests on a basis of "contemplation of the mind": "To be true, the 'commemoration of the Buddha' must be correct thought [*samyaksmṛti*]. If one does not grasp the meaning of it perfectly, it is faulty. By means of correct thought, one is assured of rebirth in a pure land. How can one achieve this if one's thought is incorrect?" Still, the meaning that he attached to the term "commemoration of the Buddha" does not resemble that of the Pure Land adepts:

"Buddha" means "Awakening." One must watch over the source of the mind in order to prevent error from occurring. To "commemorate" is to "remember": this means observing the precepts strictly, without the least failing. Thus, it is clear that this "commemoration" occurs in the mind and not through words.

Shenxiu condemned the simple "invocation" of the Buddha as a form of attachment to specific phonetic characteristics (*xiang*) and cites as corroboration the same passage from the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* that Hongren used. At the beginning of the *Treatise on the Five Upāya*, however, we see a master (most likely Shenxiu himself) "striking a piece of wood and invoking for a moment the name of the Buddha." This is, however, followed immediately by the statement that all these characteristics are ungraspable and illusory.

In the ordination ceremonies that took place during the first and last months of each year in the Sichuan school, Wuxiang (684–762) from Jingzhongsi (also known as Reverend Kim, Jin heshang) used before his sermons a form of *nianfo* that extended the sound, without drawing breath.<sup>67</sup> On the other hand, Wuxiang's successor, Wuzhu (714–74) from the Bao Tang Monastery, rejected invocation of the name of the Buddha, along with various other practices, as deriving from false ideas.<sup>68</sup> But the contradiction between the two positions is less than might at first appear, and Wuzhu was actually only pushing to an extreme the logic of his predecessors.

But this logic was opposed by some adherents of the Pure Land school, such as Huiyi (680–748). He held that to claim that *nianfo* was a false method based on an attachment to specific characteristics was to take a mistaken position contrary to such sūtras as the *Ratnakūṭa* (T. 12, 310), the *Sukhā-*

*rativayūha* (T. 12, 366), or the *Guan wuliangshou fo jing* (T. 12, 365, probably apocryphal). But, despite his criticism of what he took to be the excesses of Chan, Huiri himself advocated a joint practice of "commemoration of the Buddha" and seated meditation.<sup>69</sup> The same tendency recurs among his successors Chengyuan and Fazhao. In any case, the interest of most Chan masters of the period in *nianfo* seems to have been fairly shallow. At the most, they saw it as a useful preliminary to contemplation. Their deep motivations thus seem to be exactly the opposite of those of the Pure Land practitioners for whom invocation of Amitābha constituted the viaticum to a paradise beyond this world.<sup>70</sup>

#### REBIRTH IN THE PURE LAND

For Daoxin and his disciples, the only conceivable Pure Land was the mind. Thus rebirth into this land had to be interpreted in a "spiritual" sense, as the act of realizing the fundamentally unchangeable nature of this mind. From this it follows that all dogma is superfluous because it expresses only the conventional truth of the unenlightened. Shenxiu, however, seemed to admit, in his *Guanxin lun*, the possibility of rebirth in a "pure land." Shenxiu's more affirmative attitude was perhaps prompted by the growing popularity of Pure Land doctrine in the two capitals. But Shenxiu himself also gave a very spiritual interpretation of this "pure country," which remains an abstract notion. This is far from the beatific visions of the Pure Land mystics. Shenxiu's point of view was also shared by his "rival" Huineng, who stated in the *Platform Sūtra*:

The deluded person concentrates on the Buddha and wishes to be reborn in the other land; the awakened person makes pure his own mind. . . . If only the mind has no impurity, the Western Land is not far. If the mind gives rise to impurity, even though you invoke the Buddha and seek to be reborn [in the West], it will be difficult to reach. . . . But if you practice with a straightforward mind, you will arrive there in an instant!<sup>71</sup>

A similar standpoint is expressed in the following dialogue from Dazhu Huihai's (fl. ninth c.) *Dunwu yaomen* (Essentials of sudden awakening):

Question: I want to be reborn in the Pure Land. But I have a doubt: does the Pure Land really exist or not?

Answer: It is said in the sūtra: ". . . If the mind is pure, wherever one is, there is the Pure Land."

From these quotations, we can see that the position of Chan circles was fairly consistent and completely unlike that in the Pure Land school. There

were, however, a few exceptions, such Fachi, who is said on his deathbed to have asked his disciple Zhiwei to see that his corpse was abandoned to animals so that they might assimilate some of his merits and eventually be reborn in the Pure Land.<sup>72</sup> It is also said that on the day he actually died, the company distinctly saw up in the sky "divine banners" coming from the west to circle the mountain several times. Here we see a completely different religious atmosphere.

But on the whole, adherents of Chan during the Tang were not particularly moved by the appeal of the paradise of Amitābha. Their doctrine, comparatively irenic (like that of Huayan, with which it shared imperial favor), tended to consider the problem of evil irrelevant. It was precisely the pessimism and anxiety engendered by this problem, the need to find an immediate remedy for suffering and an escape from death, that gave Pure Land doctrine both its characteristic tone and its religious impact. The refusal of Northern Chan to consider these questions in the terms in which they were posed marked the limits of its influence on the popular strata drawn to the miraculous. Stating that the relative is no more than a mask of the absolute amounts to avoiding the painful mystery of human finitude instead of trying to come to grips with it. But at the same time it may be that this attitude, through the contribution it made to restoring a value to phenomenal reality, may have gone some way toward satisfying the "pantheistic" tendencies that exist in Chinese culture.

### *Excursus 3: The Northern Chan Theory of Practice*

The doctrine of the Northern school represents an attempt at synthesizing the various trends within contemporary Buddhism. In the area of practice, it marks the culmination of the early Chan contemplative tradition. Information given in the *Treatise on the Five Upāya* and Jingjue's *Record* reveals that this tradition can be summed up as various kinds of meditation such as "mind contemplation" (*guanxin*) and its variants (*kanxin*, etc.), the "one-practice *samādhi*" (*yixing sanmei*), or "keeping the one" (*shouyi*).

#### CONTEMPLATIVE TECHNIQUES

While attaching great importance to salvatory expedients (*upāya*), the founder of the Dongshan school, Daoxin, was careful to define at the outset their area of application: these spiritual techniques, necessarily gradual, are only a makeshift, a concession to novices. For those with experience in *dhyāna*, he preached a complete subitism that dispenses with any use of expedients. Among the techniques he listed, the "examination of the mind"

(*kanxin*) deserves attention. It is actually one of the methods most typical of the Northern school and, because of this, formed the basis of one of the principle accusations made by Shenhui against this school.

"Concentration in *dhyāna*, in the Great Vehicle, consists of not indulging in spiritual exercises, [not examining one's mind], not viewing purity, not contemplating emptiness, not looking far away, not looking close up."

"Why not view one's mind?"

"All viewing is error. When there is no error, one looks at nothing. . . . Fixing one's mind is to resort to expedients. This is why one does not fix one's mind. The mind is unlocalized."

The same point of view emerges in the *Platform Sūtra*, where Huineng stated:

Good friends, some people teach men to sit, viewing the mind and viewing purity, not moving and not activating the mind. . . . Those who instruct in this way are, from the outset, greatly mistaken. (T. 48, 2007: 338b; Yampolsky 1967: 137)

Linji Yixuan (d. 867), railing against those "blind shavepates who, having stuffed themselves with food, sit down to meditate and practice contemplation," repeats word for word the definition of the Northern school's practices as Shenhui had formulated them: "If you stop the mind to look at stillness, arouse the mind to illumine outside, control the mind to enter *samādhi*—all such [practices] as these are artificial striving."<sup>73</sup>

Shenhui's definition, in spite of its polemical nature, seems to have been inspired by formulations that circulated within the Northern school. But we well may wonder whether the interpretations he imposed on them are justified. The criticisms given above boil down to two main points: using expedients (*upāya*) and the danger, by so doing, of hypostatizing the mind and its purity.

In the matter of *upāya*, it is undeniable that Shenxiu and his disciples, following the thinking of Daoxin, saw them as important. But Huineng and Shenhui, despite their opposition in principle, seem also to have made use of such expedients. Huineng, according to the *Platform Sūtra*, said: "If you wish to convert an ignorant person, then you must have expedients."<sup>74</sup> For his part, Shenhui did not hesitate to preach a fairly traditional form of contrition.<sup>75</sup>

Turning to the second criticism—with its method of contemplating the mind, did the Northern school (as Shenhui claimed) yield to the temptation of making the mind a sort of hypostasis, thus falling into an unpardonable dualism? Here we need to examine more closely the idea of *guanxin*



"contemplating the mind," and the terms close to it in meaning, like *kanxin* "gazing at the mind," *kanjing* "looking at purity," and *kan wusuo[chu]* "looking at the unlocalized." Let us now look into the evolution of these practices and examine their reception in the later Chan tradition.

'*Guanxin*' (*mind-contemplation*). Contemplation of the mind, for Shenxiu, included all the other methods and was the subject of his first work, the *Guanxin lun*. The idea derived from Tiantai and appeared in various works by Zhiyi. For the founder of the Tiantai school, as for the founder of the Northern school, the mind is the source of all other dharmas and contemplating it is, for the novice, easier than contemplating the Buddha or sentient beings. The immediate question is, however, What contemplation and what mind are being discussed in this case?

In the Tiantai tradition, *guan* usually stands for the Sanskrit *vipāśyanā* in the binomial *zhi-guan*, "calming and discernment" (*śāmatha-vipāśyanā*). In this case we may well be dealing with a discursive type of meditation and thus are correct to translate the term as "discernment," "examination," "inspection," "analysis." But it is likely that Chan adepts, little aware of Sanskrit etymologies, would have used this word more in its Chinese meaning of "contemplation" and would understand by this a practice deriving from the "unifying way." The nature of this contemplation apparently differed according to its object. Zhanran, for example, saw the need to distinguish between a "contemplation of the principle" (*liguan*) or seeking the "true nature" (*shixiang*, otherwise emptiness, *śūnyatā*, or Thusness, *tathātā*) and an "examination of phenomena" (*shiguan*) in the epistemological tradition (*viññaptimātratā*).

Thus, when this kind of contemplation or examination is applied to the mind, we face a possible dual interpretation of the second element: as "mind-king" (*xinwang*, *citta*) or as "mental function" (*xinsuo*, Skt. *caitasika*), or, to use Tiantai terminology, "true mind" (*zhenxin*) and "deluded mind" (*wangxin*). This ambiguity would become a stumbling block to many Tiantai theoreticians and led to the division of the school into two branches: the "mountain school" (*shanjia pai*), whose main representative was Siming Zhili (960–1028), and the "outside the mountain" school (*shanwai pai*). The latter held that the object of contemplation could not be the true mind, that is, the mind as principle (*lixin*), the essence of everything, and a synonym of Thusness. For Zhili and his allies, however, it was simply a matter of examining the deluded mind, that is, the mind-consciousness (*manas*) of the common man, the sixth of the eight "consciousnesses" (*viññāna*) defined by Yogācāra doctrine. The two theories could just as easily derive from the thinking of Zhiyi or of Zhanran. Because the idea of "true mind" was uncomfortably close to the Huayan theory of "production conditioned by mind-only" and

the associated contemplation was deemed difficult for novices, this idea came to be considered unorthodox. In Japan, however, the Tendai school continued to accept both points of view.

For Shenxiu *guanxin* was apparently a sort of *visio spiritualis* rather than a *visio mentalis*. This is the point the founder of the Northern school seems to have been stressing when he asked in the *Record*: "Does this mind involve mental activity or not? What mind is concerned?"<sup>76</sup> Implicit here but stated explicitly elsewhere is that the mind in question is non-mental (*wuxin*, absence of mind, non-thought). It is closer to noetic nature (*xing*, Buddha nature, "pure" or "unique" mind of the *Tathāgatagarbha* [Tathāgata womb] tradition) than to the "ordinary mind" (*pingchang xin*) advocated by Mazu Daoyi. Zongmi himself, despite his criticism of the Northern school, stressed on various occasions the need to "contemplate one's mind" in order to "see one's nature."<sup>77</sup> Mind and nature were thus for him, as for Shenxiu, synonyms, whereas for Huineng and Shenhui (from whom Zongmi derived) the two terms were antonyms.

'*Kan*' (*vision*). This character, usually translated as "look," also has the meanings of "watch over," "supervise," "guard." Contemplation of the mind (*kanxin*) can thus be associated with the "observance of the mind" (*shouxin*) recommended by Hongren in the *Xiuxin yaolun*.<sup>78</sup> The term seems to have been used widely in the Dongshan school. According to the author of the *Record*, Daoxin defined the "keeping of the One" (*shouyi*) as the act of "gazing attentively at something, while trying day and night to preserve constant immobility."<sup>79</sup> This is a well-known Hīnayāna meditation technique whose purely preliminary role was not enough to make it acceptable to intransigent Mahāyāna partisans like Shenhui or Linji. It was Daoxin himself, and not his successors, who encouraged practitioners to "fix their mind."<sup>80</sup> It was doubtless only his title of "patriarch" that exempted him from the doctrinal criticism launched by Shenhui. We also find similar prescriptions in Bodhidharma and Hongren. For example, the *Xiuxin yaolun* states:

The mind is neither interior nor exterior, and also is not to be found in the intermediary space. . . . Gaze intently, and you will see the flux of your awareness: it is like a stream of water, or else like will-o'-the-wisps, always shifting place. Once you have determined that your awareness is neither internal nor external, slowly exert your power of vision, and it will soon become harmonious and dissolve. . . . Your mind will then be firm and detached, pure and peaceful.<sup>81</sup>

According to Hongren, anyone who achieves this state has the sensation of being seated on the ground on top of a mountain overlooking flatlands: wherever he turns, his view is of infinite space.<sup>82</sup> The same image is taken up again in the *Treatise on the Five Upāya*:

Do not collect your mind, and do not spread it out either! Gaze fully and at length! Contemplate all of space equally! . . . What do you see?

Nothing.

When you gaze on purity, look at it in detail, with the eye of the pure mind. Gaze on the infinite! . . . Look far ahead, far behind! Look for a determined time, in the same fashion, toward the four cardinal directions, upward, and downward! Look at the entire space. Look long, with the eye of the pure mind! Look without interruption and without taking account of time passing! Then your body and your mind will come into harmony and will be able to overcome all obstacles.

'*Kan wusuo[chu]*' (to gaze on the unlocalized). To "gaze on the unlocalized" means to "contemplate the mind in its undetermined, . . . undifferentiated aspect, free from all the false ideas that it gives rise to."<sup>83</sup> This method constitutes the main theme of several Northern Chan texts. The equivalence between "contemplating the mind" (*kanxin*) and "contemplating the unlocalized" (*kan wusuo[chu]*) emerges clearly from one passage in the *Shizi qizu fangbian wumen* (Five gates of expedients of the seven patriarchs):

All obstacles and errors are created by the mind. Thus to contemplate the mind is to contemplate the unlocalized. . . . The unlocalized is your mind. The space empty of every thing is called a "receptacle" [*zang*] and in it reside the vital principle [*shen*] and awareness [*shi*]. Look clearly and, with time, you will see. There is your pure, fundamental nature.

When the unlocalized mind looks on the unlocalized—that is what is called an "unconditioned dharma" [*wuwei fa*]. To see without seeing is the true absolute vision.<sup>84</sup>

This passage is actually a quotation from Houmochen's (that is, Zhida's; 660–713) *Dunwu zhenzong yaojue* (Oral ratification of the true teaching of sudden enlightenment). This comparatively unknown work and its Tibetan translation provide interesting information on how to contemplate the unlocalized. Presented as a fictitious dialogue between two individuals (who are actually the same person), the layman Houmochen Yan and the *dhyāna* master Zhida, the work opens with a definition of the unlocalized:

By "unlocalized" is meant the fact that all mind is absent. . . . The "unlocalized" is the awakening of the Buddha, the basis of the practice of all the Bodhisattvas, as well as the place where your "Dharma nature" [*faxing*, Skt. *dharma[n]ā*] resides. By gazing at it, you will become able to see.

Zhida then counters the objections made by the layman Houmochen, who wonders whether "gazing at the unlocalized" might not imply a subtle form of attachment (to existence, to emptiness, to the unlocalized itself):

To gaze does not constitute an attachment to emptiness; rather, not gazing at it reveals such an attachment. . . . When one gazes at the "localized" [*yousuo*], there is an attachment to existence, not when one contemplates the unlocalized. If you can succeed in making "non-thought" [*wusuoxin*] gaze at the unlocalized, that is what is called an "unconditioned dharma." It is not attaching oneself to the unlocalized.

Houmochen makes a final objection: "Although 'non-thinking' does not become attached to the unlocalized, when one gazes at it, there is something to see. Thus how can there be no attachment to the 'vision'?" Zhida replies:

"Non-thinking" gazes without accepting or rejecting anything, and therefore its vision consists of "seeing without seeing." This is what is called "true absolute vision." Since it is a true vision, one can succeed in seeing the "real nature" [*shixiang*]. As a result, the Bodhisattva's mind always resides in the unlocalized.

The unlocalized is also defined as the "womb of Tathāgata" (*ni[lai]zang*, Skt. *Tathāgatagarbha*): the unlocalized lies within the three-inch space inside your mind. . . . It is what the sūtra calls "womb of Tathāgata." . . . "Tathāgata" designates your fundamental mind, your intrinsic nature. This mind is devoid of any specific characteristics. When your mind gazes at the unlocalized, it is the mind of the Tathāgata. Since it is attached to nothing, it is called "Thusness." When you do not gaze, the mind of Thusness vanishes. When you gaze constantly, it becomes manifest. This is when it is called the "Thus come" (Tathāgata). If you believe that the Tathāgata has eyes or specific characteristics like the "thirty-two marks," when you see the Tathāgata you are really only a follower of Māra.

Zhida continues by denouncing as illusory all the various kinds of supernatural vision induced by meditation. He widens the range of contemplative practice, maintaining that one should contemplate the unlocalized in every act of daily life and not simply, as might be believed from the beginning of this dialogue, during a session of seated *dhyāna*. Under these conditions, "true vision" may finally be achieved.<sup>85</sup>

"Gazing" (*kan*) and "vision" (*jian*) are thus related in a kind of cause-and-effect relationship. They seem, however, to derive from two different dimensions. The first is still an expedient (*upāya*), whereas the second already expresses the point of view of awakening. If the "perfective view" of the absolute is achieved suddenly, in a "subitist" fashion, as Paul Demiéville has stressed, it still implies for Northern Chan adepts the need to "gaze [*kan*] imperfectly."<sup>86</sup> But this form of gradualism is required by any form of practice, and Shenhui himself, when not engaged in polemics, freely conceded this. Furthermore, the "gaze" involved in this process is doubtless not as

"imperfective" as it may appear, since it is from the outset "without thought," *supra intellectum* (and thus "sudden"), and has as its object precisely an "absence of object" (the unlocalized absolute). Although it is conditioned as a method, it is an "expedient" of a very special nature, a borderline case—and this is what qualifies it to be described as an "unconditioned dharma (or method)." The "vision" resulting from it seems very close to the "cognitive vision" (*zhijian*) advocated by Shenhui. The texts of the Northern school particularly appreciated this idea. Thus we find in the *Liaoxing ju* (Verses on understanding one's nature): "Let each person strive to gaze toward the principle! When there is no more gazing in this gazing, that is correct gazing."<sup>87</sup> Or along the same lines, from the *Shamen Zhisong shu* (Teaching of the Śramaṇa Zhisong): "The mind is unlocalized [*wuzhuchu*, Skt. *apratīṣṭhita*] and it does not reside [even] in the mind. . . . Look, look unceasingly, and when your gazing disappears, you will see completely naturally."

A table in Huida's (or Zhida's) *Chanmen fa* (Method of the Chan gate) presents a survey of practices in a dozen verses whose theme is "the mind derives from the unlocalized":

The mind of all beings comes from the "womb of Tathāgata." . . .

The mind derives from the unlocalized. Gaze with all your being, and then continue to look further! Look, look, look without ceasing! This is what is called "wisdom without outflow" [*anāsravajñāna*].

The mind derives from the unlocalized. When, out of covetousness, one tries to understand the sūtras and the śāstras, because of thinking one does not have the time to gaze. This is "seeking worldly knowledge."

. . . When, out of covetousness, one produces [conditioned] action, [one is lost in] useless memories without allowing the gaze to ripen. This is the "method of heretics." . . . When one seeks to enter the concentration of emptiness and quietude, the mind calms and consciousness merges into quietude. This is the "obstacle for the Listeners" [*śrāvaka*]. . . .

When one remains constantly in unlocalized purity without emerging into the world, this is the "bond of the Bodhisattvas." . . .

When the unlocalized is constantly pure and one emerges into the world with calm and serenity, that is the "deliverance of the Bodhisattvas."

. . . When purity is constantly manifested and one is attached to no specific character, that is the "Land of all the Buddhas."<sup>88</sup>

'*Kanxin*' (gazing at the mind). "To gaze at the mind" involves, as in the preceding case, a "turning inward of the mind directed at the mind itself, as transcendent mind, beyond all perceptible duality."<sup>89</sup> The term recurs often in the memoirs composed by the Chinese monk Moheyan (fl. late eighth c.) during the so-called Council of Tibet:

This is why it is required that one contemplate the mind in order to suppress all influences from false notions conceived by the mind. . . .

If one is seated in *dhyāna* and while gazing the mind one remains awake at the moment when false notions are being produced, one then grasps the indeterminate and one no longer obeys the passions to produce acts. This is what is called "deliverance from thought to thought." . . . *Dhyāna* practitioners should "contemplate the mind," and when thoughts begin to arise, they should avoid all examination of them, all reflection even on not-reflecting!<sup>90</sup>

In another version of this work, Moheyan explains that "returning the six gateways [senses] [to their source] is 'gazing at the mind.'"<sup>91</sup> This passage based on the apocryphal *Śūrangama-sūtra* is an illustration of his subitism. It seems that, as far as he is concerned, "gazing at the mind" no longer has its original meaning of "seated *dhyāna*" but means "sudden awakening" or "absence of thought." According to the Japanese scholar Obata Hironobu, he may have been influenced in this respect by the *dhyāna* master Wolun (dates unknown).<sup>92</sup> In any case, the linking of the names of Wolun (Tib. *nal-bahi-hkhor-lo*), Xiangmo Zang (fl. early eighth c.; a disciple of Shenxiu and one of Moheyan's masters; Tib. *bdud-hdul-gyi-snin-po*), and of Moheyan (Tib. *ma-hā-yan*) in the manuscript Pelliot Tib. 116 (which also includes Zhida's *Dunwu yaojue*) shows that the Northern school's *kanxin* theory had a considerable influence on the subitist branch (*stom-mun pa*) of Tibetan Buddhism. We also know that this current emerging from Chinese Chan survived the Tibetan controversy under the guise of Mahāyoga Tantrism of the rDzogs-chen branch of the rNying-ma-pa.

The method of "gazing at the mind" is examined from a critical point of view in the *Qing er heshang da chance shidao* (Asking two reverends to answer ten questions on Chan; ms. S. 4113). This work consists of two series of ten questions on Chan doctrine, with the alternating replies given by two fictitious masters surnamed Kong (Emptiness) and Zi (Spontaneity). According to Tanaka Ryōshō, the former is considered to be defending the traditional doctrine of the Northern school, whereas the latter expresses the more radical viewpoints of the Southern school. The obviously polemical nature of the work leads Tanaka to the conclusion that its author belonged to the Southern school, and thus he questions the validity of the opinions attributed to the Northern school. Three questions (nos. 3, 7, and 8) in the second series deal with "contemplating the mind":

3. Question: "The two dharmas, the objects and the mind, are mutually dependent. Why do we not speak of 'gazing at objects' and restrict ourselves to 'gazing at the mind'?"

Kong's reply: "Since gazing at the mind is non-dual in nature, objects and mind are inseparable: this is the domain of non-thinking."

Zi's reply: "Even though we talk of 'objects' and 'mind,' these things really do not exist as such. When mind and objects have disappeared, one achieves perfect quietude."

7. Question: "*Dhyāna* means gazing at the mind. But does one gaze at it consciously [*youxin*] or is it possible to gaze 'without thinking' [*wuxin*]? If we can gaze consciously, this is tantamount to forming false notions. But if we can gaze 'without thinking,' how do we avoid becoming attached to emptiness?"

Kong: "Being simply free from emptiness as from error, that is what is called 'gazing at the mind.'"

Zi: "Gazing at neither the mind nor emptiness, that is what is called 'truly gazing.'"

8. Question: "Mention is made of expedients to [achieve] the Way. But what is their essence—concentration or wisdom?"

Kong: "Any expedient that permits penetration has wisdom as its essence."

Zi: "This expedient is wisdom. But all these are only names devoid of any substance. If one does not gaze at the mind, no more does one consider expedients. When wisdom is true, expedients are true wisdom."<sup>93</sup>

As can be seen, whereas Kong emphasizes expedients (knowledge or spiritual contemplation), Zi completely denies their reality. The former is addressing ordinary practitioners, and the latter, an elite. We should not take this to mean, however, that the Northern school did not know of this second point of view. It suffices to recall, for example, the two aspects of Daoxin's thought as it is presented in the *Record*.

For the Northern school, mind contemplation was from the outset conceived of as an anoetic state: by allowing the practitioner to realize his or her innate mind, it tends to "spirit away" this mind, to abolish any notion of a "spiritual essence." The *Dacheng beizong lun*, for instance, recommends "forgetting the mind." By the same token, this contemplative practice removes all basis for mental activities, which subside of their own accord. However, the ambiguous nature of this "expedient" (which arises both from thought, in its initial stage, and from "non-thinking") invites various misunderstandings. Adherents of the Northern school, like their adversaries, were well aware of this danger, and offered two solutions. The first, and most widely accepted, was to insist ceaselessly on the unlocalized nature of the mind, and so cut short all possible forms of hypostasis (emptiness, etc.). By doing this, they preserved the idea of contemplation while giving it a more and more subitist content (as we have seen, for example, in Moheyan). The second solution was to oppose contemplation and all kinds of practice. As is indicated by the title of a work from the Niutou school, the *Jueguan*

*lun*, it was necessary to "abolish contemplation" (*jueguan*).<sup>94</sup> This radical questioning was the logical result of a line of thinking that had its roots in the Chan of Bodhidharma. It may be seen as an outgrowth of the internal dynamic of contemplating the mind.

#### THE ONE-PRACTICE 'SAMĀDHI' ('YIXING SANMEI')

On the basis of extant Chan materials, it seems clear that one-practice *samādhi*, even if it was mediated through the Tiantai tradition, was not simply one of the four kinds of *samādhi* elaborated by Zhiyi in his *Mohe zhiguan*. Rather, it appears as a reaction against the Tiantai doctrine and its impressive, almost overwhelming, arsenal of meditation techniques, or *upāya*. The primary meaning of *yixing sanmei*, a term used to translate the Sanskrit *ekavyūhasamādhi* (single magnificence *samādhi*) or *ekākārasamādhi* (single-mode *samādhi*), was not "one-practice *samādhi*." The term is found in the *Saptasatīkāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (Ch. *Wenshu shuo banruo jing*), where the Buddha says: "The Dharmadhātu [Dharma Realm] has only one characteristic. To take this characteristic as an object [of contemplation] is called *yixing sanmei*."<sup>95</sup> The *sūtra* states two methods for entering this *samādhi*. The first consists of reading the Perfection of Wisdom *sūtras* and practicing the *prajñāpāramitā* (perfection of wisdom). The second is a commemoration of the Buddha (*buddhānusrīti*, Ch. *nianfo*). These two approaches were later characterized by the Pure Land school as corresponding to "contemplation of principle" (*liguan*) and "contemplation of phenomena" (*shiguan*). Both contemplations lead eventually to a realization of the undifferentiated character of the Dharmadhātu. Thus, the definition of the *yixing sanmei* given in this *sūtra* refers to the metaphysical or ontological unity of truth rather than to the methodological singleness of practice. This situation was changed during the sixth century by speculations on the meaning of *śamatha-vipaśyanā* (Ch. *zhiguan*), and in works like the *Dacheng qixin lun* and the *Mohe zhiguan* the concept of *yixing sanmei* was integrated with the theory of *śamatha-vipaśyanā* to give it a Mahāyana content.<sup>96</sup> In the *Mohe zhiguan*, for instance, the *yixing sanmei* is clearly defined as a one-practice *samādhi*. The Chan and Pure Land schools inherited the conception of the *yixing sanmei* from these works and eventually modified its content considerably. Because of their soteriological outlook, the term had to be understood quite literally: the one practice was superior because it included all practices. It was no longer one *samādhi* among others. Thus, one-practice *samādhi* became synonymous with seated meditation (*zuochan*) for the Chan school, and with invoking the Buddha's name (*nianfo*) in the Pure Land school.



In Chan, if we are to believe the *Record*, one-practice *samādhi* came to the fore with Daoxin. Daoxin quotes the definition given in the *Saptaśatikā-prajñāpāramitā*, which leads him to admit the value of *nianfo* as an *upāya*. But this is ultimately negated for the sake of "spontaneity" (*ziran*). This *prajñāpāramitā* text remained a scriptural authority for the Dongshan and Northern schools, as can be seen from a dialogue between Wu Zetian and Shenxiu: "The Empress . . . Zetian asked the dhyāna master Shenxiu: 'The Dharma that has been transmitted [to you], what is its lineage?' He answered: 'I inherited the Dharma Gate of Dongshan in Qizhou.' She asked: 'Upon which scripture does it rely?' He replied: 'It relies upon the one-practice *samādhi* of the *Wenshu shuo banruo jing*.' Zetian [said]: 'When it comes to cultivating the Dao, nothing surpasses the Dongshan Dharma Gate.'"<sup>97</sup> As we have seen, Shenxiu's *Guanxin lun* gives "mind-contemplation" as the "single practice" that includes all others but does not connect it explicitly with one-practice *samādhi*. Likewise, the *Treatise on the Five Upāya*, though not explicitly referring to the *yixing sanmei*, relies on the *Dacheng qixin lun* when it emphasizes the necessity of realizing the one character (i.e., the absence of all characters) of ultimate reality.<sup>98</sup>

Although both Huineng (or at least the author of the *Platform Sūtra*) and Shenhui borrowed the notion of one-practice *samādhi* from the *Record*, they reshaped it for their own purposes, using it as the main instrument in their criticism of the Northern school and its allegedly quietistic contemplation.<sup>99</sup> Shenhui's position can be interpreted as a reaction against the ontological tendencies of the Northern school by returning to the *prajñāpāramitā* tradition. In the *Shenhui yulu* (Recorded sayings of Shenhui), for instance, he declared: "If you want to gain access to the profound Dharmadhātu and directly enter one-practice *samādhi*, you must first read and recite the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* and cultivate and study the teaching of the Perfection of Wisdom."<sup>100</sup> Reciting the *Vajracchedikā* also results in the disappearance of all past sins and all subsequent hindrances. Whereas the Northern school's one-practice *samādhi* was criticized for its "voluntarist" aspect, Shenhui's practice was characterized as *wuwei*, or "non-acting." In other words, it involves non-intentionality (*wuzuoyi*) and non-thinking (*wunian*): "Absence of thought is the Perfection of wisdom, and this perfection of wisdom is one-practice *samādhi*."<sup>101</sup>

Zongmi inherited Shenhui's criticism of Northern Chan but added certain nuances to the role of seated meditation. In his *General Preface*, he distinguished five kinds of *dhyāna* from the point of view of practice: *dhyāna* of the non-Buddhists, of the profane, of Hinayāna, of Mahāyāna, and of the supreme vehicle. He defined the last type as follows:

If one's practice is based on having suddenly realized that one's own mind is from the very beginning pure, that the depravities have never existed, that the nature of the wisdom without outflows is fundamentally complete, that this mind is the Buddha . . . then it is the *dhyaṇa* of the supreme vehicle. It is also known as pure *dhyaṇa* of the Tathāgata, one-practice *samādhi*, and *samādhi* of true suchness. It is the root of all *samādhi*.<sup>102</sup>

Zongmi's conception of one-practice *samādhi* derived from the *Dacheng qixin lun*, not from the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra*. Paradoxically, Zongmi was in this respect closer to the Northern school than to his alleged master Shenhui. He went even further than Shenxiu's disciples in interpreting the "originally pure mind" as an ontological reality. The cleavage on the question of one-practice *samādhi* thus does not always conform to the doctrinal assertions of the two schools.

Northern school influence also appears in the *Dunwu yaomen* by Dazhu Huihai. Huihai is traditionally considered a disciple of Mazu Daoyi, but he may have lived earlier than Mazu. Doctrinally, he certainly represented a less radical trend of Chan. Whatever the case, his understanding of one-practice *samādhi* was obviously indebted to the *Record* and can be seen as another attempt at doctrinal synthesis. But this effort at synthesis, like that of Zongmi, came too late. Already a radically new form of Chan was growing within the Hongzhou school, to which Huihai is believed to have belonged. It had little to do with the old problem of one-practice *samādhi*. The "pure *dhyaṇa* of the Tathāgata," which Zongmi had regarded as constituting the Supreme Vehicle, was now judged too philosophical and had to give way to the "Chan of the patriarch masters" (*zushi chan*). Saichō was right when he claimed that one-practice *samādhi* summed up the Chan tradition derived from Bodhidharma, but this tradition—which he transplanted to Japan—already had only a tenuous existence in China.

The disappearance of one-practice *samādhi* may be interpreted as an indicator of the "epistemological split" that opened between early Chan and the "classical" Chan of the ninth century.<sup>103</sup> Still, it is impossible to overestimate the importance of this concept, which gave rise to a fruitful dialogue between metaphysics and practice—thus ensuring the transition to "classical" Chan. In addition, by providing a common reference point for the Tiantai, Chan, and Pure Land schools, this form of *samādhi* brought them closer together. It is significant that interest in this concept began to wane just as relations among these three schools started to loosen and when, conversely, Saichō saw it as one of the fundamental pieces in his syncretic doctrine. It played the same role in the development of a syncretic form of Buddhism in Tibet.

## 'SHOUYI' (KEEPING THE ONE)

The expression "keep the One without deviating" (*shouyi buyi*), attributed by the *Record to Fu dashi* ("Great Master Fu," alias Fu Xi, 497–569, the "Chinese Vimalakīrti"), is a borrowing from Daoism. The term *shouyi* had many connotations in the Daoist context, and we may wonder how many of these resonate in the Chan interpretation. The One in the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi* was the absolute, the impersonal Dao itself. "Keeping" or "embracing" the One meant a mystical union with the Dao and, therefore, an integration of all the elements constituting the individual. But very early, along with the divinization of Laozi, the One came to be considered as a personal divinity or even a divine triad, the "Three Ones." In the *Baopuzi*, for example, it "possesses names, uniforms, and colors."<sup>104</sup> "To keep the One," then, involved visualizing the "supreme One" and its hypostases so that they manifest themselves in the practitioner's body and bring him longevity. "If men could know the One, everything would be accomplished." A similar interpretation was given by Tao Hongjing (456–536) and the Maoshan school, as well as later by the Double Mystery school (Chongxuan zong), a Daoist school heavily influenced by Mādhyamika philosophy.<sup>105</sup> It also appears in a dialogue between Emperor Gaozong (r. 649–82) of the Tang and Pan Shizhen, a Daoist hermit living on Song shan (the cradle of the Northern school).<sup>106</sup>

Another interpretation of *shouyi*, reflecting a moralizing trend, was common in certain Daoist circles. It is found in a commentary on the *Laozi* discovered in Dunhuang and attributed to Zhang Lu, the third leader of the sect of the Celestial Masters (*tianshi*). This commentary, the *Xiang'er*, refrains from anthropomorphic conceptions of the One. Here, "keeping the One" means first of all to follow the prescriptions ordained by the Dao, thereby contributing to the great harmony (*taiping*). This amalgam between keeping the One and keeping the precepts has some affinities with the Buddhist conception of the Bodhisattva precepts. According to the Daoist master Zhang Wangfu (dates unknown), "To keep the precepts means eventually to keep the mind-precept. This is what we call 'keeping the One without losing it.'"<sup>107</sup>

At about the same time, the Northern school was beginning to assert conformity with Buddha nature as the one-mind precept (*yixin jie*); the main difference with the Daoist notion is that keeping the One in Chan aimed at awakening, not simply longevity. The term *shouyi* is also found (with its variants, "hold onto simplicity without deviating" [*shoupu buyi*] or "keep the faith without deviating" [*shouxin buyi*]) in a Daoist work, the *Taishang miaofa benxiang jing*, known in a version from Dunhuang (P. 2388). But, as Paul Pelliot has stressed, "resemblance and identity among terms does not

signify any commonality of systems. . . . Often and for a long time, the apparent identity of words concealed deep differences in ideas."<sup>108</sup>

We may wonder to what extent Chan adepts in the sixth and seventh centuries were aware of these doctrinal incompatibilities. As it appears in the *Record*, Daoxin's (or perhaps actually Jingjue's) criticism of the Daoist tendency to hypostasize the One or the mind might have been better addressed to certain Chan followers than to adepts of the Daoist school of the Double Mystery.<sup>109</sup> Shortly before the time of Master Fu, toward the end of the Liang (502–57), one of Tao Hongjing's contemporaries, the Buddhist master Wangming (dates unknown), boasted in his *Xixin ming* (Inscription on the ceasing of thought) of the superiorities of keeping the One and of anoesis over all other practices. The *Jin'gang sanmei jing*, an apocryphal text closely related to the Dongshan school, gives the following definition of "keeping the One":

"Bodhisattva! [You] should urge those sentient beings to preserve the three and guard the one, in order to access the *tathāgatadhyāna*. Due to this concentrated absorption, their minds will come to be free of panting."

Taeryōk Bodhisattva asked, "What do you mean by 'preserve the three and guard the one, in order to access the *tathāgatadhyāna*'?"

The Buddha replied: "'Preserve the three' means to preserve the three liberations. 'Guard the one' means to guard the thusness of the one mind. 'Access the *tathāgatadhyāna*' means the noumenal contemplation on the thusness of the mind. Accessing such a state is in fact what is meant by approaching the edge of reality."<sup>110</sup>

Nevertheless, the "keeping the One" that Daoxin allegedly borrowed from Fu *dashi* remains a classical form of spiritual concentration that consists of examining the emptiness of the body and of modes of consciousness (*vijñāna*). All the psychic phenomena (visualization and the like) that may appear during this process are rejected as illusory.<sup>111</sup> Despite some possible allusions to Daoist meditation techniques (relaxation, quieting of the vital spirits, purification of the vital breath), the content of this meditation remains unquestionably Buddhist.

Hongren suggested a closely related method that he termed "keeping the true, fundamental mind" (*shouben zhenxin*), "keeping the one mind" (*shou yixin*), or "keeping the true" (*shou zhen*).<sup>112</sup> This method, however, emphasized the need to visualize the letter "one." Unlike the interior contemplation [*neiguan*] of the Daoists, this visualization is interior only at a preliminary stage; later it should be directed toward exterior space.<sup>113</sup> This kind of practice seems to have been widespread in the Northern school since it is found, along with some variants, in the *Treatise on the Five Upāya*.<sup>114</sup>

The *Record* invokes the authority of "patriarchs" like Fu *dashi* and Daoxin and tries, with great use of quotations, to flesh out the theory of keeping the One. This is done with the aim of giving the method a Buddhist legitimacy and making it the defining practice of Chan. The unexpected success of the Southern school thwarted this effort. Keeping the One, assimilated into the doctrine of the Northern school, would suffer the same fate as the school. After having been for a while the object of criticism, it would gradually fall into oblivion. This is doubtless the meaning of the statements posthumously attributed to the third patriarch, Sengcan, in the *Xinxin ming* (Inscription on the mind of faith), a work whose authenticity is open to question: "There is no value to searching for the true—simply stop holding onto false views. . . . The two exist only because of the One, but remember also that you should not hold to the One."<sup>15</sup> Yet it is likely that the method in question continued to be practiced in various eclectic circles open to influences from both Daoism and Chan. This is the impression given by a passage from a late eighth-century apocryphal text, the *Baozang lun* (Treasure store treatise): "Recognize the illusion for what it is, guard the truth and embrace the One, and you will no longer be defiled by external things."<sup>16</sup>

#### 'ZUOCHAN' (SEATED 'DHYĀNA')

Jingjue, the author of the *Record*, was one of the first to attempt a theoretical justification for the "seated *dhyāna*" that would soon become completely identified with Chan. To be sure, this seated *dhyāna* had long been widely practiced by Chan followers, beginning with the legendary Bodhidharma himself. But early on, it was the object of criticism from adherents of Mahāyāna, who did not like its Hīnayāna roots and suspected it of leading to a form of attachment unfavorable to the spiritual development of the practitioner.

Thus Vimalakīrti, in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, criticized the quietist tendency represented by Śāriputra. Within the Tiantai School, Zhiyi tried to avoid difficulty by replacing the idea of *dhyāna* with that of *zhiguan*, in which the two components—concentration (*dhyāna*) and wisdom (*prajñā*)—were in strict balance. The author of the *Record* took this precedent into account. The seated *dhyāna* he advocated maintained the double aspect of *zhiguan*. Furthermore, it differed from its Hīnayāna equivalent in that it tried to eliminate all "intentionality" that might give it a clearly gradualist nature. It was this type of Mahāyāna seated *dhyāna* that the Northern school as a whole sought, with more or less success, to promote. But the seated position was recommended only as an expedient for novices and because it is, among all the various bodily postures, the one most suited to extended contempla-

tion. No exclusive value was attributed to it, and the clear tendency among some *dhyāna* masters to see in it the "royal road" of Buddhist practice provoked, even within the Dongshan school, certain reservations, echoed, for example, in the apocryphal *Jin'gang sanmei jing*:

The Buddha states: The *dhyāna* of the Bodhisattvas is movement. Not moving, not practicing *dhyāna*, that is unborn *dhyāna*. The nature of such a *dhyāna* is non-birth, and it also has nothing to do with the production of the specific characteristics of *dhyāna*. The nature of such a *dhyāna* is non-residing; it is thenceforth without any residence in the movement of *dhyāna*. If one knows that in this nature of the *dhyāna* there is neither movement nor repose, one obtains non-birth.<sup>117</sup>

The criticism of seated *dhyāna* rapidly became more virulent. It provided Shenhui a weapon in his battle against the supremacy of the Northern school. In the *Nanyang heshang wenda za zhengyi*, Shenhui announced to a Dharma master Cheng:

The sūtra says: "If one studies the various *samādhi*, this is movement and not seated *dhyāna*." . . . How can that be called *samādhi*? If *samādhi* was such, Vimalakīrti should not have blamed Śāriputra for remaining seated in stillness.<sup>118</sup>

Rather than "seated meditation" per se, Shenhui was condemning unconditionally the "pre-meditation" to sit. According to him, the true practice must be non-intentional (*wuzuo*). But if this non-intentionality is achievable in the case of morality (*fā*) or wisdom (*prajñā*), it is not in the case of concentration (*dhyāna*). This is the point on which he differed from the Northern school, which also, it should be noted, conceded the excellence of spontaneous practice but saw in seated *dhyāna* the most perfect manifestation of such practices.

This evaluation of seated *dhyāna* is illustrated by a dialogue, probably fictitious, between Nanyue Huairang and Mazu Daoyi, the founders of another branch of the Southern school. Huairang asked Daoyi what his purpose was in staying seated in *dhyāna*. Daoyi replied that he wanted to become a Buddha. Huairang then picked up a tile and began to rub it. When Daoyi asked him what he was doing, he replied that by polishing the tile he wanted to make it into a mirror (the story presupposes that of the poetic contest between Shenxiu and Huineng). When Daoyi protested that such a result was patently impossible, Huairang responded: "How can one become a Buddha by practicing seated *dhyāna*?" The object of criticism here is the idea of "becoming a Buddha" by means of any practice, lowered to the standing of a "means" to achieve an "end."

This interpretation also appears in the *Platform Sūtra*, in terms close to

those used by Shenhui. But Linji Yixuan made the most resounding accusation against "quietist" *dhyāna*, in which the practitioner "sits down cross-legged with his back against a wall, his tongue glued to the roof of his mouth, completely still and motionless." "That's all wrong!" continued Linji, "If you take the state of motionlessness and purity to be correct, then you are recognizing ignorance [*avidyā*] as master. . . . Virtuous monks, motion and motionlessness are merely two kinds of states; it is the non-dependent Man of the Way who utilizes motion and utilizes motionlessness."<sup>119</sup>

This criticism of seated *dhyāna* as "quietism" doubtless reflects a change in the socioeconomic role of the Buddhist community during the Tang era. Many people came to feel a certain resentment toward a religion in which monks "undertook only pious works, reciting sacred texts and remaining seated in *dhyāna*."<sup>120</sup> But seated *dhyāna*, no matter how much it was deplored, did not lose any of its popularity and continued to be practiced by many of its critics. It had its open partisans even within Linji's school. Some were beginning to suspect that the spontaneity and wisdom so heartily advocated by Mazu Daoyi ran the risks of being poorly understood and of legitimizing a laxness even more dangerous than quietism itself.

Zongmi, even as he claimed to be an heir to Shenhui, thought it useful to be precise on this matter:

The *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* states: "It is not necessary to be seated." It does not say, "It is necessary not to be seated." Whether or not to be seated depends on what is most suited to the capacities of the practitioner. . . . Caoxi [Huineng] and Heze [Shenhui], afraid that the perfect line might fade out, sternly criticized methods such as stabilizing the mind, and the like. It was a matter of wiping out the sickness, not the Dharma. These expedients are the very ones that the Great Master, the Fifth Patriarch, used in his teachings. . . . Bodhidharma made use of wall contemplation [*biguan*]. . . . Is this not a method of seated *dhyāna*? One must not praise this [Bodhidharma, Hongren, etc.] and condemn that [Shenxiu, the Northern school].<sup>121</sup>

By revindicating seated *dhyāna*, Zongmi was trying to re-establish the ancient balance between concentration and wisdom, one upset by Shenhui when he gave a preponderant role to wisdom (*prajñā*) in his theories. It was thanks to the influence of Zongmi that the seated *dhyāna* advocated by Tiantai and the Northern school acquired respectability within the Southern school. It was about the same time that the Dongshan school, now the "Southern school," began to use the denomination of "Chan lineage" (*chan-zong*) that it would keep throughout its history.

## CHAPTER 3

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### *The Northern School After Shenxiu*

The Northern school, reaping the benefits of its alleged founder's great prestige, continued to develop under his successors, Puji and Yifu.<sup>1</sup> They were active throughout the major part of the Kaiyuan era (713-41). During this first part of the reign of Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712-55), the two major "histories" of the school were compiled: Du Fei's *Chuan fabao ji* and Jingjue's *Record*. The evidence suggests that the adepts of this branch of Chan profited from the religious fervor of Empress Wu. After her abdication in 705, their school retained the favor of the new emperor, Zhongzong (r. 705-10), and benefited greatly, along with the Huayan school, from the generosity of the imperial family. The Northern school, however, attempted to remain apart from court intrigues: Puji was invited to the palace to become Shenxiu's successor, but he declared himself unworthy of this honor and refused to accompany the imperial envoy Wu Pingyi. Yifu remained cloistered on Zhongnan shan, south of Chang'an. Similarly Yixing, Puji's famous disciple, later declined an invitation from Emperor Ruizong (r. 710-12).<sup>2</sup> The leaders of the school thus evinced the caution and political good sense that would enable them to navigate without damage the turbulent waters of the period during which Empress Wei and Princess Taiping were removed from power. They thus began the Kaiyuan era in a fairly favorable position and adjusted to the political renewal that marked the beginning of Xuanzong's reign. But given its pre-eminent role, the Northern school necessarily remained sensitive to various political, socioeconomic, and religious factors:



Xuanzong's Buddhist policy, the replacement of people in authority, constraints arising from the geographical location of the school, competition from other religious currents—to mention only the main ones.

### *Xuanzong's Policy on Buddhism*

The young emperor's conception of the role of religion differed considerably from that of his predecessors. Learning from the events that preceded, and even gave rise to, his coup d'état, he intended to convert Buddhism and Daoism into tame instruments of a centralized government.<sup>3</sup> First, however, he had to take care of the urgent task of cleansing the ranks of the clergy and preventing collusion between members of the clergy and possible enemies of the state. This was the purpose behind a series of measures during the first twenty years of his reign. Thus, in 714 he approved a request from Ministry President Yao Chong (651–721) to prevent any new ordination of monks and decreed the return of 12,000 suspect monks and nuns to lay life.<sup>4</sup> Officials were forbidden to establish new private monasteries, and ordinary people lost the rights to copy the scriptures and to cast Buddhist statues.<sup>5</sup> The same year another edict that declared Buddhist monks and Daoist priests owed respect to their parents provoked such a general outcry that it was quickly cancelled.<sup>6</sup> Also in 714 associations between officials and members of the clergy were completely forbidden. Xuanzong remembered well the role played by certain clerical groups in attempts to seize power for Empress Wei (in 710) and Princess Taiping (in 712). In 722 the prohibition was renewed, and this time was extended to fraternization between officials and astrologers and other diviners. It was under this prohibition that Zhang Yue was ousted by his rivals in 726.<sup>7</sup> In 724 an examination system was established for monks. A block was also placed on extravagant spending with the closing of the money-raising institution known as the Inexhaustible Treasuries (*wujinzang*) and the prohibition of the movement known as the sect of the Three Stages (*Sanjie jiao*).<sup>8</sup> In 727 an edict called for the destruction of village temples and the transfer of their religious activities to larger monasteries in the region, ones closed to the public. Two years later Xuanzong decided that a triennial registration of the Buddhist monks and nuns should be organized.<sup>9</sup> In 731 there were further prohibitions of private ordinations and of associations between monks and laymen. In addition, monks were henceforth held to a strict observance of discipline. With this range of repressive measures, Xuanzong reined in—with more or less success—what he perceived as the excesses of popular Buddhism.

He then engaged, in another series of edicts, in the task of promoting and organizing an official religion, reduced to a largely ritual role.<sup>10</sup> Beginning in 730, Buddhist and Daoist monasteries were ordered to commemorate the imperial birthday by a religious ceremony. In 736 the imperial commentary on the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* was published and distributed throughout the empire. A little later, following the suggestions of the Imperial Secretariat, Xuanzong referred to the Ceremonial Court for Foreigners all cases concerning the Buddhist clergy. The following year the Office of Sacrifices was placed under the control of officials, and the Daoist clergy came under the aegis of the Court of Imperial Family Affairs. This sign of favor toward the Daoists derived from the fact that the name of the imperial family, Li, was the same as that attributed by tradition to Laozi. In 738 each district was called on to establish two official monasteries with the names Longxing monastery and Kaiyuan monastery.<sup>11</sup> The following year Buddhist and Daoist priests were required to mark the anniversaries of the deaths of former emperors in each of the Longxing monasteries, and to celebrate the birthday of the reigning emperor at the Kaiyuan monasteries. It was in this same year, 739, that Puji died. He was the last major representative of the second generation of the Northern school.

This long series of imperial edicts is worth enumerating because it truly reflects Xuanzong's pragmatism. He was not fundamentally hostile toward Buddhism. Although the philosophical components of Buddhist thought were of slight interest to him, he was extremely conscious of the political and social implications of popular religion. He saw very clearly the potential danger it represented—as an arsenal of efficacious techniques, especially those of the kind of black magic practiced by the so-called left-hand way, which was widespread during the period. This gave rise to his desire to make a clear distinction between popular religion and official religion, and to prefer the second over the first. It also explains why he insisted on preventing any suspect associations between the ruling classes and the clergy by assigning to each a strictly delimited sphere of action. But although Xuanzong on this point bowed to the influence of his Confucianist advisers, he certainly did not share their prejudices against the religious sphere per se. By the end of his reign, we can begin to see his own inclination toward the supernatural take over from his realism as a statesman. This explains in large part the importance of Daoism and Tantric Buddhism during the Tianbao era (742–56).

Xuanzong's tendency toward the religious was not completely new: even before he became emperor, the young Li Longji had consulted monks like Shenxiu and Wanhui, individuals famous for their divinatory talents.<sup>12</sup>

His change in attitude seems to have been caused by the special circumstances surrounding his accession to the throne. The brutal curbs on Buddhism were thus fundamentally motivated by the need to avoid all seditious moves on the part of corrupt monks (or those so judged), such as Huifan, the lover of Princess Taiping, as well as the need to wipe out all remnants of the rule of Empress Wei and her supporters (official malpractice, sale of ordinations). It was only after 730, when he no longer faced a threat of serious resistance from a weakened aristocracy and an administration divided into rival factions, that he could think about giving a more important role to Buddhism. But it would be a Buddhism prepared to accept a role as an official religion.

### *Xuanzong and the Northern School*

In this grand imperial design, what place was there for the Northern school? In spite of (or perhaps because of) its great popularity, this school did not at first receive support from Xuanzong. In the early part of the Kaiyuan era, it continued to develop at Song shan, but at the capital it underwent a partial eclipse. It was only in 722 that Yifu, at the request of his followers, both monks and lay people, left Zhongnan shan to go and stay at the Ciensi in Chang'an. The following year, however, he accompanied the emperor to Luoyang, where the court had to move once more because of the difficulty in supplying the Western capital. In 725 he moved to the Da Fuxiansi in Luoyang before returning to Chang'an in 727.<sup>13</sup> As for Puji, he was called to the capital (Chang'an) only in 725—that is, almost twenty years after Shenxiu's death. After living for some time at Luoyang, at the Jing'aisi, he moved to the Xin Tangsi in Chang'an right after Yixing's death in 727. It was thus only in 727 that Puji and Yifu found themselves together in the capital for the first time.

Yixing did not have to wait so long for signs of imperial favor. Already in 717, when he was still only one of Puji's disciples and also quite young (34 years old), he was called to the palace. According to the *Fozu tongji*, "the emperor asked him for the Way to assure the peace of the nation and the prosperity of the people, and how one was to succeed in the world. Then he gave him the title Heavenly Master."<sup>14</sup> Xuanzong's preoccupations were still predominantly pragmatic, and he was addressing himself to the scholar, not to the *dhyāna* master.

Xuanzong's interest in Chan and the Northern school was probably marginal. In any case, Yixing quickly developed the reputation of being the heir to the esoteric school, and his association with Puji and the Chan school faded into the background.<sup>15</sup> But in 721 the emperor, who took a

liking to him, entrusted him with the responsibility of drawing up a new calendar, the *Dayan li*. And when in 727 he learned that Yixing was sick, Xuanzong ordered all the eminent monks of the capital to pray for his recovery. He was also deeply affected by Yixing's death. He conferred on him the posthumous title "*Dhyāna* master Dahui" (Great Wisdom) and contributed, with a gift of 500,000 cash, to his funeral ceremonies and the building of a stūpa. The following year he offered Yixing's disciples 50 pieces of silk and undertook to plant pines and cypress trees in front of the stūpa. Finally, he personally wrote the calligraphy for the title of the stela erected at the Shaolinsi on the first anniversary on Yixing's death.<sup>16</sup>

Xuanzong's attitude toward Puji and Yifu seems to have been more distant. The great age of the two Chan masters and their dignified demeanor doubtless gave rise to his greater reserve. Yixing was only two years older than the emperor, whereas Puji and Yifu were 34 and 27 years older, respectively. At the funeral ceremonies for Yifu in 736, Xuanzong appointed as his representative an imperial commissioner for the inner palace (*jingshi*, that is, a eunuch). He conferred on the departed the posthumous title "*Dhyāna* master Dazhi" (Great Knowledge), but left the composition of the stela inscription to one of Yifu's lay disciples, Yan Tingzhi (673-742).<sup>17</sup> Similarly, when Puji died in 739 at the Xin Tangsi, it was his lay disciple Pei Kuan, then prefect of He'nan, who announced the news to the emperor.<sup>18</sup> The departed received the posthumous title "*Dhyāna* master Dazhao" (Great Radiance), and his stela inscription was composed by Li Yong (d. 747).<sup>19</sup> Thus, despite the respect Xuanzong showed to Shenxiu's two famous successors, he gave the impression of being less affected by their deaths than by that of Yixing.

This preference most likely had its roots in personal feelings, but other factors may have entered in. Yixing was less stigmatized by association with the reign of Empress Wu and could more easily be seen as incarnating the policy of renewal espoused by Xuanzong. Furthermore, the concrete, ritual nature of his form of Buddhism better answered the imperial plans than did the more philosophical Northern school.<sup>20</sup> As a result, when this school did regain its dominant position at the court toward the middle of the Kaiyuan era, this was probably a late concession on the part of the ruler to a branch of Chan whose popularity had not waned since the death of Shenxiu. But it was possibly also, for Xuanzong, a way of honoring the memory of Yixing in the person of his former master, Puji. Yixing seems to have continued to revere Puji until the very end. If one can believe the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, when he was on the point of death, he said farewell to Xuanzong in order to return to Song shan and pay his last respects to Puji. In any case, his

allegiance is emphasized by the fact that immediately after his death Puji was named to succeed him at the Xin Tangsi (where he remained from 727 until 739).

But it is probable that the decisive influence in favor of the Northern school was that of Zhang Yue. The evidence leads us to believe that the arrival of Puji and Yifu, the two *dhyāna* masters, in the capital was tied to the return to power of Shenxiu's old disciple. The *Song gaoseng zhuan* tells of a meeting between Huixiu (i.e., Shenxiu) and the future Xuanzong. If this did take place, it would have certainly been arranged by Zhang Yue. When he later fell into disgrace and had to retire to the countryside, it was his adversary, Yao Chong, who influenced Xuanzong in his anticlerical policies. The recall of Zhang Yue, shortly after Yao Chong's death in 721, was accompanied by a resurgence of the Northern school. Even after the final expulsion of Zhang Yue in 726 and his death in 730, this school could still count on powerful supporters within the ruling team—most notably Yan Tingzhi, the protégé of Chief Minister Zhang Jiuling (d. 736). But the downfall of the latter in 736 and rise to power of Li Linfu (d. 752) marked the beginning of a new period in the history of the Northern school, which it was ill prepared to face after the successive loss of two leaders.

### *The Main Supporters of the Northern School*

Among the disciples or supporters of Puji and Yifu, we find, besides Zhang Yue and Yan Tingzhi, several high officials like Wei Zhi,<sup>21</sup> Fang Guan, Zhang Jun,<sup>22</sup> Li Cheng,<sup>23</sup> Li Yong, Pei Kuan, Wu Pingyi, and Lu Yi.<sup>24</sup> Some of them entered the public scene during the reign of Empress Wu, through the examination system. Zhang Yue is the most typical example of this type. But others, like Pei Kuan, belonged to the ancient aristocracy of Guanzhong or to well-known families. Despite this social diversity, all of them were accomplished men of letters. For the most part holding opinions close to Zhang Yue's political views, they were hostile to Li Linfu. Several of them would fall victim to him. This was most notably the case with Li Yong, whose fame as a writer and prerogatives as a royal prince did not prevent him from being beaten to death. But their political ambitions raise suspicions that their religious faith was fairly superficial, and we may question the strength of their adherence to the Northern school. Eclectic by nature, they often saw in the doctrine offered to them by Puji and Yifu only one way of thought among many—when they did not take it simply as a pathway to power.<sup>25</sup> Of course there were a few exceptions, notably Yan Tingzhi and Li Cheng. But the entry on Yifu in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*

provides a characteristic example of the state of mind predominating among them and merits citation at length:

Having called together his disciples, [Yifu] announced to them the date of his death. Vice-president of the Ministry of War Zhang Jun, the great leader of the armies Fang Guan, and Vice-president of the Ministry of Rites Wei Zhi had always had full faith in him and held him in high esteem. On the date named, they all were present. [Yi]fu then went up into the hall and preached for his disciples. Then he stated, "I am about to die. The sun is setting; we will have to part!" After some time Zhang [Jun] said to Fang [Guan], "I have been taking the elixir of longevity for many years. Thus I have never attended any funeral rites." With those words, he took his departure. [Yi]fu then said to Fang [Guan], "For a long time now Mr. Zhang has been enjoying himself. Now he is on the verge of committing a remarkable error. Later, he will completely lack reputation and moral integrity. If he had remained [with us] until the end of this Dharma Assembly, that would have been enough to let him escape misfortune. How regrettable!" Then, taking the hand of Fang [Guan], he said, "Work to become a famous minister and try to contribute to renewal!" When he had finished speaking, he died. Later Zhang Jun dishonored himself, by accepting a usurped position at the rebels' court. Fang [Guan] on the other hand gave his aid to two sovereigns and intervened at a decisive moment. Thus both of them fulfilled the prophecies of [Yi]fu.<sup>26</sup>

Here Zhang Jun is presented as an adept in Daoist longevity practices, and survival is clearly more important to him than moral considerations. His defection on this occasion clearly presages his future "treason" during the rebellion of An Lushan (755). The same internal logic is in play in both cases. We may note in passing the analogy between the Northern school in the religious sphere and the rule of Xuanzong in the field of politics. In Puji's stela inscription (QTW 262), an association is suggested between the seven patriarchal generations of the Chan school and the seven dynastic generations leading up to Xuanzong. Here the Northern school's concern for legitimacy lies revealed.

But the two components that dominate in Zhang Jun's "religious feelings"—eclecticism and utilitarianism—can also be seen among almost all the high officials who supported the Northern school. Zhang Jun's father, Zhang Yue, maintained relations with various Daoists and, as we have already seen, with several important Buddhist monks of the day.<sup>27</sup> We also know from other sources of his interest in astrology, and his ambition was undeniable. As for Fang Guan, whose loyalty to Yifu is stressed in the account given above, he also was close to Daoists such as Jing Fei, Xing Hepu, and Yin Chong, as well as Buddhist monks like Fashen. It was also in his home that the *Śūraṅgama-sūtra* was discovered. This famous apocryphal text was

apparently copied, if not composed, by his father Fang Rong, then in exile in the south after the abdication of Wu Zetian.<sup>28</sup> According to the *Jiu Tang shu*, "at that time when he was great minister . . . he had spirited 'pure talks' on emptiness with the president of the Great Secretariat of the heir to the throne, Liu Zhi, the imperial censors Li Yi and He Ji, and others, and he spoke of Buddhist causality and the Primordial Void of Laozi" (*JTS* 111). Here we see the ancient tradition of "pure talks" (*qingtan*), and Fang Guan's interest in Daoism is more compatible with Chan than was Zhang Jun's search for longevity. This tendency to give almost equal weight to the three great religions—Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism—is typical of the eclecticism of the officials of the period. Those who adhered more strictly to one of these three religious currents—like Yan Tingzhi, a fervent Buddhist—did reveal a considerable interest in various schools within the religion of choice, in particular Chan, Vinaya, and Pure Land. But when Yifu, on the point of death, pressed Fang Guan to become an architect of renewal, did he foresee that this official would later become one of the main allies of Shenhui and his Southern school?<sup>29</sup>

Other supporters of the Northern school, like Pei Kuan, Li Yong, and Lu Yi, were less fickle and sometimes opposed the Heze school violently. Lu Yi engineered the exile of Shenhui in 753, for example. But all already held important posts during the Kaiyuan and Tianbao eras. They were thus basically hostile to change, and this fact brings them close to the Northern school, solidly retrenched on its positions. Fang Guan, however, became truly important only with the upheavals brought about by the An Lushan rebellion—as was also the case with Shenhui. He is representative of a class of ambitious officials who, after having used their association with the Northern school to gain power, did not hesitate to abandon it when they felt the wind changing direction.

Shenxiu's school owed much of its initial success to its shared interests with those officials who had emerged from the examination system or, more generally, with the partisans of change. It could not, however, avoid becoming somewhat conservative as it became more and more identified with the establishment. This evolution, by the compromises that it required, condemned it to a gradual alienation from its more radical allies, the new generation of officials. It also gave rise among certain adepts of the school, including Shenhui himself, to a certain amount of discontent. The following of the Northern school had certainly become very large, but it was greatly threatened by the inauguration of the regime of Li Linfu. Beginning in 740 the officials who supported it were ousted from important positions by the aristocracy. The apparently flourishing state of the school on the eve

of Puji's death could not conceal the true fragility of its social foundations, which An Lushan's insurrection would succeed in destroying.

### *Economic and Administrative Constraints*

The rapid expansion of the Northern school at the beginning of the eighth century was part of a more general movement of intense religious fervor and an upsurge in conspicuous expenditure. During the time of Empress Wei, the movement reached its greatest extent, as is evident in the elaborate ceremonies that marked Shenxiu's funeral. The measures taken by Xuanzong at the beginning of his reign were intended, among other things, to put an end to the proliferation of monasteries and schools and to reorganize an economy gravely compromised by abuses of all sorts—most notable the unbridled squandering of riches resulting from the setting up of the Inexhaustible Treasuries. As Jacques Gernet has noted, "The economic development was to accord with imperial policy, leading in the long term to the elimination of small communities in favor of large ones that were wealthier and better equipped to survive."<sup>30</sup>

Thus it was that Chan adepts, originally practitioners of solitary ascesis, came to live in the great monasteries of the two capitals and the adjacent territories. There they were neighbors of monks belonging to other groups, and they often met in a section of the buildings that was termed the "*dhyāna* court" (*chanyuan*). The main Chan center of the time was on Song shan, not far from Luoyang. Already at the end of the seventh century, two important disciples of Hongren had settled there: Faru at the Shaolinsi and the Huian at Huishansi. Several of Puji's disciples, such as Yixing, Tongguang (d. 770),<sup>31</sup> and Fawan (715–90),<sup>32</sup> also lived in the first of these monasteries. In the second we may also note the presence of one of Shenxiu's main heirs, Jingxian (660–723).<sup>33</sup> Shenxiu himself, and after him Puji, also stayed in the third great monastery of Song shan, the Songyuesi. At Luoyang Puji found himself assigned to the Jing'aisi before being transferred to the Xin Tangsi in Chang'an. Several of his disciples remained in one of the main monasteries in Chang'an, the Da Anguosi. These great monasteries at Song shan and in the two capitals showed in general a strong predilection toward the Vinaya school. This fact doubtless was a decisive influence in the development of the Northern school: Puji and his disciples attached great importance to disciplinary questions and were, in many respects, close to the Vinaya masters of the time.<sup>34</sup>

The activity of these monasteries was not limited, however, to the observance of monastic discipline. Rather, it appears to have been extremely



varied, with translations from Sanskrit, practical exegesis of *dhyāna*, and so on. The presence of adepts of the Northern school in such cultural centers is certainly a measure of the school's flourishing and contributed greatly to the growth of its reputation during the Kaiyuan and Tianbao years.<sup>35</sup> But at the same time it did compromise its economic and administrative independence. This was surely the reason the school never felt the need—or at least was unable—to draw up specifically Chan monastic rules and safeguard its identity. Any judgment on this point will doubtless give too little weight to the constraints on the school. It was only later, in a much less centralized China and under completely different social pressures, that this development could take place within the Southern school, with the drawing up during the Song of the Pure Rule (*qinggui*) traditionally attributed to Baizhang Huaihai (749–814) and the creation of monasteries belonging exclusively to the Chan school.

### *The Expansion of Other Schools of Thought*

#### DAOISM

We have just seen, in the case of Yifu, how Daoism could encroach on the Northern school's sphere of influence. The example came from a high level in society, since it was the emperor himself who was said to have put together, in 735, a commentary on the *Laozi*, the *Daode zhenjing shu*, and distributed it throughout the empire. But this was a fairly philosophical form of Daoism, and Xuanzong, from basically political motives, seems to have been inspired by the syncretism of the Maoshan school.<sup>36</sup> Thus, in his 714 edict on the respect that members of the clergy owe their parents, he indicated that, in his opinion, Daoist and Buddhist doctrines were essentially identical. And in order to underscore the equal weight given to the three religions of China, he published at the same time as his commentary on the *Laozi*, two other commentaries: one on the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* and the other on a Confucian text, the *Xiao jing* (Classic of filial piety). But when, in 737, Xuanzong put Daoist affairs under the authority of the Court of Imperial Family Affairs, he gave clear precedence to Daoism. This measure must surely have reflected his deepest convictions. We may also see here a recognition of the fact that the Daoist religion was increasingly vital. Thus, for example, the poet and statesman He Zhizhang asked in 744 to become a Daoist priest and transformed his house into a Daoist monastery (*guan*). Similarly, in 750 Li Linfu and several high officials decided to turn their homes into *guan*. With such patronage, the numerical count of Daoist clergy grew considerably, and the cult of Laozi developed. During the Tianbao

era—the very name originates in the discovery of a dynastic talisman (*bao*) due to a revelation from Laozi—Xuanzong came to rely openly on Daoism, borrowing from it the kind of ideological arsenal for his imperial mystique that Empress Wu had found in Buddhism. Four of his daughters, the princesses Yongmu, Wan'an, Xinchang, and Chuguo, were ordained as Daoist nuns. Finally, Xuanzong proclaimed himself an Immortal. It is difficult to imagine the reaction of the adherents to the Northern school to this. Various texts from the school, like Du Fei's *Chuan fabao ji* (which dates from a time before these developments) or the *Treatise on the Five Upāya*, reveal a certain Daoist influence, but only Jingjue's *Record* contains a clear criticism of the thought of Laozi and Zhuangzi.

#### TANTRIC BUDDHISM ('ZHENYAN')

Tantric Buddhism appeared in China as early as 655, with the Indian master Punyodaya (dates unknown), but then ran up against the epistemological school (Faxiang) whose reputation was enhanced by the prestige of its founder, Xuanzang. If we can believe the stela inscription of Shenxiu's disciple Zhida (d. 712), some Northern Chan adepts were already seen as specialists in *dhāraṇī* at the turn of the eighth century.<sup>37</sup> However, it was only in the second decade of the eighth century that Tantric doctrine began to find an audience, with the arrival in Chang'an in 716 of another Indian master, Śubhakarasiṃha (Ch. Shanwuwei, 637–735), soon to be followed in 719 by the arrival of his compatriot Vajrabodhi (Ch. Jin'gangzhi, 671–741). The disciples of these two masters, Yixing and Amoghavajra (Ch. Bukong, 705–74), made great contributions to the adaptation of this new form of Buddhism to its Chinese setting. It is often said that Śubhakarasiṃha and Yixing represent a tradition based on the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, and Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra that based on the *Vajrasekhara-sātra*, but Japanese scholarship has tended to exaggerate the divergences between these two lines.<sup>38</sup> It was in 724, toward the end of his brief life, that Yixing recorded the translation of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* made by Śubhakarasiṃha at the Da Fuxiansi in Luoyang. He also compiled a commentary on this sūtra (*T.* 39, 1976) and thus became for posterity the sixth patriarch of the esoteric transmission. But his interest in Tantric Buddhism had already been aroused by his encounter with Vajrabodhi, whose disciple he became in 719. His spiritual journey—which led him from Chan to esoteric Buddhism, after a detour via Vinaya and Tiantai—seems indicative of the tendencies of the times.

During the years 716–23 another important figure in the Northern school came to consult Śubhakarasiṃha: Jingxian.<sup>39</sup> The resulting discussions centered mostly on the contents of Tantric meditation and on the problem

of the receiving of the Bodhisattva precepts as it was practiced within esoteric Buddhism. These discussions, recorded by a monk of Ximingsi named Huijing, were soon published, after being revised either by Huijing himself or by Yixing. They appeared in the form of a little work entitled *Wuwei sanzang chanyao* (The essence of *dhyāna* according to the *Trepiṭaka* Wuwei, T. 18, 917).

To what extent did Tantric meditation influence that of the Northern school of Chan? It is difficult to answer this question. It cannot be denied that affinities between the two schools do exist in this area: thus the method consisting of gazing at the character "one" (or perhaps "one character"), which the *Record* cites as characteristic of Hongren's form of Chan, seems close to the "inspection of the letter A" recommended by Tantric Buddhism. We may also note the presence in several of the Dunhuang manuscripts clearly related to the Northern school of a *dhāraṇī* translated by Śubhakarasiṃha. This magical formula is thought to ease the entry into concentration by driving off the torpor to which the practitioner is prone. In matters of discipline, finally, Śubhakarasiṃha enjoyed a high reputation, as can be seen in his biographical entry where he is shown, without regard for anachronism, defeating the Vinaya master Daoxuan (596–667). This reputation must have produced for him a certain number of followers among Shenxiu's heirs. Thus Shouzhi, before becoming the disciple of Puji, supposedly received the Bodhisattva precepts from the Indian Tantric master.

Yifu's encounter with Vajrabodhi must have taken place just after the arrival of the Indian monk in Chang'an, in 719, during his stay at the Ciensi or at the Da Jianfusi. At that time, Yifu was established at Zhongnan shan. But three years later, in 722, he also came to live at the Ciensi. But Yifu was thirteen years older than Vajrabodhi, and the entry dedicated to him in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, unlike that of Vajrabodhi, gives us no hint that he could be considered the disciple of the Tantric master. It is not impossible that this detail is fictitious and was intended only to enhance the prestige of Vajrabodhi. This would not be surprising, because various documents confirm that, from the middle of the Kaiyuan era, the esoteric school tried, with some degree of success, to supplant rival schools.<sup>40</sup> During the Tianbao years it even acquired, thanks to Amoghavajra, a dominant position within the Buddhist world.

#### THE Tiantai School

After suffering an eclipse at the beginning of the Tang, the Tiantai school saw a resurgence during the time of Wu Zetian and Zhongzong, when Hongjing was invited to the imperial palace.<sup>41</sup> Leader of the Yuquansi

branch, Hongjing apparently maintained close connections with Shenxiu and also counted Puji among his disciples. His successor, Huizhen, taught Tiantai doctrine to Yixing toward the beginning of the Kaiyuan era.<sup>42</sup> In the eclectic atmosphere of the Yuquansi, Chan and Tiantai were considered complementary. This point of view was soon shared by many contemporaries, as is made clear by the inscription drawn up by Li Hua for the Vinaya master Huairen (669–751): “The *zhiguan* of Tiantai encompasses all the sūtras; the doctrine of Dongshan is the Vehicle of all the Buddhas.”<sup>43</sup> Yet this harmony was fragile. The influence of Tiantai doctrine was already less marked in Puji than in Shenxiu, and the desire of each school to establish itself in the capital perhaps brought about a change in the relations between them. Quite soon the Northern school was felt by certain Tiantai adepts to be a completely separate movement, even a rival one. Thus, according to an inscription recorded in the *Sōkwōn salim* by the Korean monk Ŭich'ōn, on the “Stela of the Two Venerable *Bhikṣuṇī* of the Tianxingsi in Changzhou,” two prominent Tiantai nuns, the blood sisters Huichi and Huiren, who lived respectively at the Da Anguosi and the Ningchasi in Luoyang, attacked Puji in 712, challenging his spiritual authority. In return they were the object of bitter criticisms from Puji's supporters, and a lively polemic ensued. Charged by the emperor with the responsibility of intervening in the fray, Yixing unexpectedly took the side of the two nuns and confirmed himself as a disciple of Hongjing. As the result of a report that he sent to Xuanzong, a Court of the Lotus of the Law (*Fahua yuan*) was set up at the Da Anguosi, and the emperor himself wrote the horizontal inscription that would adorn its fronton.<sup>44</sup> The favor thenceforth enjoyed by the “school of the Lotus” was one of the factors that would encourage the resurgence of Tiantai, along with the appearance of monks like Chujin and Zhanran.

#### THE PURE LAND SCHOOL (JINGTU)

Pure Land doctrine, systematized and propagated by Shandao, benefited from the surge of popular fervor that marked the end of the seventh century and the millenarian tendencies revealed in such phenomena as the Inexhaustible Treasuries (*wujinzang*) and the sect of the Three Stages (*Sanjie jiao*). By the time of Empress Wu, the “current of Shandao” (*Shandao liu*) was solidly established in the capital, with masters like Huaigan (d. 681), Huaiyun (d. 710), and Jingye (d. 712).<sup>45</sup> The work by Huaigan entitled *Shi jingtu qunyi lun* (Discussion of doubts concerning the Pure Land, *T.* 47, 1960) seems to have had especially wide distribution: it even reached Japan during the Nara period, along with the *Anlao ji* (Record of bliss) by Daochuo and various treatises by Shandao.

The most fervent supporter of the Pure Land doctrine at the Kaiyuan court was, however, Huiri. He was not a disciple of Shandao. Born in Shandong, Huiri converted to the Pure Land Teaching during a sixteen-year journey (702–19) that he made, via the southern route, to India. On his return, Emperor Xuanzong bestowed on him the honorific title of *Trepitaka* Cimin. His ceaseless proselytizing brought him into conflict with the Chan school, whose excesses he denounced.<sup>46</sup> His criticisms of Chan led to his main work, the *Wangsheng jingtu ji* (Record of rebirth in the Pure Land), being withdrawn from circulation under the Song. By chance two copies (one of them taken there by Üich'ön) were preserved in Korea, one at the Tonghwa-sa and the other at the Haein-sa, and they were included among the "residual and doubtful" texts in the Taishō edition of the Buddhist canon. But if we are to believe the entry in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, the work was widely known during Huiri's own lifetime. He wanted his criticism to be constructive and did not deny the significance of Chan. He even suggested the complementarity of approaches like seated meditation and commemoration of the Buddha. This explains Huiri's influence on some later masters like Yongming Yanshou, the putative supporter of a fusion of Chan and Pure Land Buddhism.<sup>47</sup> On the whole, those *dhyāna* masters condemned by Huiri for extremism seem more like some of the adepts of the Southern school than the disciples of Puji and Yifu. But precisely, to the extent that his thought had affinities with that of Puji, the popularity of his Pure Land school must have been a threat to that of the Northern school. His diatribes do sometimes call the Northern school to task:

The concentration of *dhyāna* is a technique reserved for an elite. When those who have not yet achieved awakening claim that they have already obtained it, if they have already received the precepts, they are committing a *pārājika* offense. . . . There are now many among the practitioners of seated *dhyāna* who are committing this error. Why? Because masters and disciples, while praising each other, say: [So-and-so] has already attained awakening, he has already achieved [the Way]! . . . They further instruct both monks and the laity to seek the Buddha within themselves and not to entrust themselves to an external Buddha. But to become a friend of good it is also necessary not to rely on instructions from these *dhyāna* masters and know how to gaze at the mind for oneself! These *dhyāna* masters are, after all, only ordinary men who lack any understanding or comprehension. . . . [They] also say that everything is illusory and that in emptiness nothing exists. How does this differ from the false view of emptiness preached by heretics? They also say that one should study "un-born contemplation" during all one's lifetime, and that in this way one can avoid rebirth. How is this different from the heretics' false view of annihilation? Finally they say that all these dharmas and Thusness share a single, identical

substance—limpid, calm, and constant, without birth and without extinction. And, according to them, there exists no earlier or later thought that one can understand. How is this different from the false view of eternalism advocated by the heretics? . . . How can these *dhyāna* masters, however much they may be attached to their concentration, see in it the real cause of awakening? Are there no other *pāramitā*? Yet all holy teachings reveal the superior nature of wisdom [*prajñā*]. This is the true cause that allows one to become a Buddha. All the other *pāramitā* are only secondary causes. . . . How can one then unilaterally praise the superiority of concentration? . . . The *dhyāna* masters in question, although they try to detach themselves from all marks, are constantly caught up in them. As they seek deliverance, they simply immerse themselves in the cycle of lives and deaths.<sup>48</sup>

Huiri is attacking what he sees as extremist deviations, not the practice of Chan in and of itself. Although the Northern school is not mentioned by name in this account, the reference at the beginning to the practice known as “gazing at the mind” (*kanxin*) is indicative. On certain points Huiri’s criticism bears a striking resemblance to that of the Heze school.

#### THE HEZE SCHOOL

In 732 a monk named Shenhui suddenly become famous when he publicly attacked Puji’s school (then at the peak of its glory) during a “great assembly” called at the Dayunsi in Huatai (northeast of Luoyang). Shenhui was then 48 years old; Puji and Yifu were 33 and 26 years his seniors, respectively. According to Zongmi, when he was young Shenhui had himself studied for some time (from 697 to 701) with Shengxiu at the Yuquansi, before becoming Huineng’s disciple.<sup>49</sup> This period in his life is unfortunately undocumented. We only know that an imperial decree in 720 ordered him to stay at the Longxingsi in Nanyang, where he seems to have resided until the meeting at Huatai. His first criticisms of Puji’s school date from the time of his residence at the Longxingsi. Already in his *Tanyu* (Platform sermon)—a work compiled during these years—we find major themes that are taken up again, with increasing force, in the *Ding shifei lun* (Treatise establishing the true and the false) that his disciple Dugu Pei published as an account of the Huatai meeting.<sup>50</sup>

But Shenhui’s audience still remained fairly small. It was only around 739 that he began to become famous and attracted the attention of some of the high officials. This was the year in which Puji died, and the events are related. The Northern school, deprived of the charisma of its leader and condemned by its official position to a kind of stasis, found itself unable to resist Shenhui’s challenge. His invitation to Luoyang in 745, from the president

of the Ministry of War, Song Ding, marked a new stage in his offensive against the Northern school. Many Chan adepts, attracted by his eloquence, joined the new Southern school, or Heze school (from the name of the monastery where he was then living). In 753 a dedicated partisan of the Northern school, the imperial censor Lu Yi, accused Shenhui of being a fomenter of trouble and had him exiled.<sup>51</sup> If not for the rebellion of An Lushan in 755, which resulted in the death of Lu Yi, the Heze school would probably have perished. But the need to raise funds for the imperial armies led to a renewal of the sale of ordination certificates, a practice forbidden by Xuanzong at the beginning of his reign. Shenhui was recalled to Luoyang in 757, where his fame and his eloquence contributed to the success of this endeavor. According to the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, it was largely due to the "scented water money" (*xiangshui qian*) acquired by his sale of ordinations that the two capitals could be retaken by the imperial armies under Guo Ziyi.<sup>52</sup>

Must we follow Hu Shi in praising the legitimism and political acuity of Shenhui? The hesitation of Puji's disciples and their misgivings about supporting ordinations of a strictly political nature stand in stark contrast to the serene opportunism of the Heze master. Ironically, this hesitation may have sealed the fate of the Northern school. As a reward for his good and loyal services, Shenhui was placed in charge of religious observances in the palace chapel by the new emperor, Suzong (r. 756–62). In 772 he received the posthumous title Great Master Zhenzong. Finally, according to Zongmi, in 796 an assembly of *dhyāna* masters, called by the heir apparent on the order of Emperor Dezong (r. 779–805), officially recognized Shenhui as the seventh patriarch of the Chan school.

Although the rebellion led by An Lushan certainly provided the critical circumstances leading to the rise of Shenhui, the decline of the Northern school seems to have had deeper causes. A weakening in the school's power led it to align itself with a conservative camp and so run the risk of alienating the sympathies of the more progressive parties. It is significant that, as soon as he started preaching, Shenhui attracted to his camp officials like Wang Ju (657–746), Cui Riyong (673–722), and Su Jin (676–734).<sup>53</sup> Like Zhang Yue, most of them were literati who had emerged from the examination system during the reign of Empress Wu and had played an important role in Xuanzong's accession to the throne. It is likely that their religious fervor was heightened by more concrete concerns: unhappy at the alignment between the Northern school and the Guanzhong nobility, they saw in Shenhui's protest movement a way to achieve power. To do this they also sought to win over military leaders such as Song Ding. Pei Mian (d. 769),

who instigated the new sale of ordinations, is typical of this trend. But, as Yamazaki Hiroshi points out, "the group that formed around the Heze school did not succeed completely either in emerging as the new administration or in achieving an alliance with the military caste; it started the new era, but did not succeed in becoming its mainstream."<sup>54</sup> In the years following the second "restoration" of the Tang, power actually passed into the hands of regional military governors (*jiedushi*), and this is one of the reasons why Chan doctrine would continue its development far from the capital, in Jiangxi in particular, and no longer in the Northern school or that of Heze.<sup>55</sup>

Even if, however, certain preliminary indications of future developments were beginning to appear at the end of the Kaiyuan era, we should not exaggerate the weakness of the Northern school. In fact, the criticisms leveled against it and the rivalries that grew up probably attest more to its continuing strength. According to one of Shenhui's interlocutors, Chongyuan, "The glory and name of the *dhyāna* master Puji cover the world. He is known and is spoken of everywhere. Everyone says that he is extraordinary."<sup>56</sup> This fame proved lasting, since Shenxiu and his two disciples were judged by the author of the *Jiu Tang shu* to be worthy of biographical entries. In addition, documents from Dunhuang seem to indicate that the Northern school tried to adapt to new conditions as they arose and that they took criticisms into account. The appearance of apocryphal works such as the *Chanmen jing* (Sūtra of the Chan gate) or texts preaching subitism, like the *Dunwu zhenzong lun* (Treatise on the true principle of sudden awakening, T. 85, 2835) in particular, indicates activity in doctrinal matters and a concern to reach a wider audience. But this evolution could take place only in settings removed from the court, as the Northern school spread into the provinces.

### *The Decline of Northern Chan*

Was the demise of the Northern school as rapid as tradition tells us? It is difficult to reach a judgment on this matter, given the lack of relevant documents. But it seems likely that it was not as "sudden" as has been claimed. In 758, the year of Shenhui's death, Wang Wei compiled an address to the throne, on behalf of the *ācārya* (teacher) Shun, to thank Emperor Suzong for writing the horizontal inscription of the stūpa of the masters Datong (Shenxiu) and Dazhao (Puji) at the Songyuesi on Song shan.<sup>57</sup> Throughout the eighth century and right up to the middle of the ninth century, the successors to Shenxiu and Puji apparently retained some of their popularity.<sup>58</sup> The biographical entry on Shenxiu in the *Jiu Tang shu*



may be a reflection of this popularity. In any case, one only has to read the *Song gaoseng zhuan* and some of the surviving epigraphic documents to see that some of the most important figures in the Buddhist world still claimed an affiliation with this school. Such was the case, for example, with Chonggui (756–841), a contemporary of Zongmi renowned in the two capitals for his wisdom and his powers. One of his fellow disciples, Hengzheng (757–843), was invited to court by Emperor Wenzong (r. 827–39).<sup>59</sup> Several other adepts of this school—like Yuanguan (752–830), Daoshu (734–825), Chongyan (754–837), Quanzhi (752–844), and Rizhao (d. ca. 862)—led sizable communities and had powerful protectors. Some were well-known poets, like the monk from the Fushousi, Zhen by name, admired by Bai Juyi.<sup>60</sup> Most were born around the time of An Lushan's rebellion and entered religious life long after Shenhui had supposedly gained favor with the emperor. The victory of the Southern school in the long run cannot be denied, but that does not mean it was entirely, as Hu Shi believed, the work of the Heze master. Actually, even in documents that acknowledge the existence of the Southern school and Huineng's status as the Sixth Patriarch, Shenhui's name is usually omitted, and it appears that, for several decades after his death, the Northern school retained its primacy.

How, then, can we account for its disappearance? It did, after all, fall into oblivion following the ninth century. Several reasons, both internal and external, may be cited. For one thing, it seems that the number of charismatic figures associated with the school declined. In addition, imperial support alone was perhaps not enough to ensure the prosperity of a school; imperial power had been greatly weakened by An Lushan's rebellion, and real power had passed into the hands of regional governors. The Northern school must have suffered also from the general disillusionment with Buddhism, judged to have grown decadent. This criticism, expressed in biting terms by the Confucianist Han Yu (768–824), would lead to the temporary banning of Buddhism in 845. This date coincides roughly with that of the deaths of the last great representatives of the Northern school and the main spokesman for "pre-classic" Chan, Zongmi. This seems to indicate that one of the causes for the disappearance of the Northern school as a school was actually the 845 banning of Buddhism.

The disappearance was not just that of a single school, but of an entire tradition, that of pre-classic Chan. The Buddhism that would be reborn after the ban was lifted would be deeply changed. It had regained its contact with the reality of life in the provinces, a life that it had lost touch with during its time at the court, with its taste for showy rituals and doctrinal controversies. The most prominent representative of this new trend was

Mazu Daoyi. Already at the time of Shenhui's successor Lingtan (709–816), whose stela inscription was composed in 835, the real threat facing the Heze school was perceived to be Mazu's school and no longer the Northern school.<sup>61</sup> However, Mazu did choose Huineng, and not Shenxiu, as his "ancestor," and this posthumous revenge of Shenhui did perhaps precipitate the decline of the Northern school. Thus, the power shifted from the Northern school (rather than from the Heze school) to Mazu and his successors, and the later "transmissions of the lamp," while inheriting Shenhui's theory of patriarchal succession, ratified this shift by practically erasing Shenhui from the record. But the doctrine of the Northern school did survive, if in new forms. It is found, mixed with elements from former rivals like Zongmi, in Chan masters like Fayuan Wenyi (864–949) and Yongming Yanshou, and it is through them that it finally entered into both Korean and Japanese Buddhist circles.

### *Puji and the Patriarchal Tradition*

In most Buddhist chronicles, Puji is presented as Shenxiu's main heir. According to the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, Shenxiu "by his practice of Chan had won the respect of the emperor and was without rival. However, he never gathered disciples to reveal the Dharma to them. It was Puji who, for more than twenty years, first transmitted the doctrine [of his master] in the capital, and all respected him."<sup>62</sup> It thus seems that the success of the Northern school was due in large part to Puji's skillful capitalizing on Shenxiu's prestige.

Puji's life is known to us mainly from his stela inscription, composed by Li Yong in 742, three years after his death.<sup>63</sup> We also have, from a later time, another document that is important despite its brevity. This is a eulogy composed by one of Puji's disciples on the occasion of his master's funeral ceremonies.<sup>64</sup> Shenhui also referred frequently to Puji, but his information should obviously be accepted with great caution. The same is true to some extent for his heir, Zongmi. Finally, the *Jiu Tang shu* (945) includes a short biographical entry, as a supplement to that of Shenxiu [JTS 191]. It was this entry that would be picked up by later Chan "histories."

Puji was born in 651, in the sub-prefecture of Xindu, which was then a dependency of the administrative district of Changle (Jixian, in modern Hebei). During his youth he studied the *Yijing* but then quite quickly turned to Buddhism. In 688 he was ordained a monk by one Master Duan in Luoyang. He then went to study Vinaya with a Master Jing: this was apparently Hongjing, the great Vinaya master at the Yuquansi. The following year he went to Song shan with the intention of studying Chan there with

Faru, the leader of a flourishing community at the Shaolinsi.<sup>65</sup> But Faru had just died, and Puji then decided to go to his "successor," Shenxiu, who was living near the Yuquansi. The disciple was 29 and the master 83. After five years of assiduous practice, Puji was entrusted with two sūtra, the *Vīśeṣacintībrahmapariṣṭhā* and the *Laṅkāvatāra*, that were felt to express the essential teachings of Chan. Two years later he finally received the "attestation" from Shenxiu. After spending six or seven years at Yuquan shan, he returned to Song shan on the advice of Shenxiu. When Shenxiu was called to the capital by Empress Wu, he tried at first, but in vain, to have Puji go in his place. Thus, even after becoming Shenxiu's Dharma-heir, Puji remained on Song shan, developing at the Songyuesi a community distinct from (and in some respect rival to) that of Faru's successors at the Shaolinsi. It was in order to celebrate his master, but also to affirm his own orthodoxy, that Puji erected a stūpa to Shenxiu at the Songyuesi.

After Shenxiu's death in 706, Emperor Zhongzong entrusted a lay disciple of Puji, Wu Pingyi, with the mission of inviting Puji to the capital. Puji declined the offer. The version of this story in the *Jiu Tang shu* differs from all others on this point. It gives the impression that Puji had already replaced Shenxiu in his position in the capital, even while the latter was still alive. However it does seem that it was considerably later, in 725, that Puji was invited to the capital. At first he lived at the Jing'ai, and then moved to the Xin Tangsi after the death of his disciple Yixing in 727. The same year his fellow disciple Yifu made his entry into Chang'an, after staying two years in Luoyang.

At the age of 76, Puji rose to prominence and his doctrine spread throughout the two capitals. Tradition makes of him, on the model of Shenxiu, the "Dharma master of the two capitals" and the "teacher of three emperors." Actually, if Puji stayed, as is likely, in his monastery on Song shan during the short reigns of Zhongzong (r. 705–10) and Ruizong (r. 710–12), he could hardly have served as teacher to these two emperors, and his influence on Xuanzong remains to be proved. But he did enjoy great prestige among the nobility and high officials. According to the *Jiu Tang shu*, "The lords and the people vied for the honor of coming to salute him, but he always maintained a serious and taciturn manner and rarely met his visitors with a smiling face. His prestige grew even greater because of this" (*JTS* 191: 511). Thus he passed twelve years at the capital, admired by all, and worked to consolidate the position of his school. He must have been aware of the criticisms leveled against it in 732 by one of his former fellow disciples, Shenhui. But he died without apparently making an effort to reply to them, in 739, at the age of 89. His lay disciple Pei Kuan, at that time prefect of

He'nan, announced his death to the emperor, who conferred on Puji the posthumous title "*Dhyāna* master Dazhao." His funeral took place at Chang'an, and according to the official account, "it depopulated all the surrounding villages." Puji's body was carried in a golden coffin to the Songyuesi, his monastery on Song shan, where a funerary stūpa was built inside the compound by his disciples. The two stūpas of Shenxiu and Puji would remain the object of a cult for a long time.<sup>66</sup>

Puji's great popularity derived in large part from the psychic powers attributed to him. A significant example of these powers is the way he predicted the visit that his famous disciple, Yixing, feeling himself on the point of death, would make him on Song shan in 727. Another anecdote has merited Puji a place in Chinese "golden legend," alongside the Daoist immortals and Buddhist saints. This legend tells that, during the time when Puji was living at Song shan, he one day reprimanded a monk who had forgotten his bowl in the refectory, telling him that this bowl represented his life. A little later, when the monk's bowl was broken by accident by one of his fellow monks, he died of grief. Then an enormous snake entered the monastery and spread terror throughout the community until Puji pacified it by preaching to it the dogma of karmic retribution. After the disappearance of the snake, Puji explained that this was a reincarnation of the monk, come back to take his revenge on the monk who broke his bowl. Now, converted by the words of the master, he would soon be reborn in human form.<sup>67</sup>

From these legends we can see how Puji's charismatic personality and his talents as a wonder-worker attracted many disciples. According to some sources, they numbered as high as 10,000, but this is probably only a symbolic figure. Whatever the case may be, the prosperity of the school is attested to by the fact that "63 of them ascended into the hall." That is, they achieved the enviable position of accredited successors to Puji. The disciples most often mentioned are Yixing, Daoxuan, Tongguan (700–770), Mingzan (dates unknown), and Hongzheng (dates unknown).<sup>68</sup>

Puji's thought is known only through reports by his disciples. Since he is supposed to have made great use of the "five *upāya*," it is likely that the *Treatise on the Five Upāya*, at least in its later editions, owes much to him. According to his stela inscription, Puji advised his disciples to take as their master the perfection of morality (*śīlapāramitā*) and to rely on the method of "cessation" (*śamatha*). In addition he preached purity and non-attachment as a means of reaching awakening. He seems to have inherited the syncretic spirit of his two masters, Hongjing and Shenxiu. His doctrine is based in equal parts on Chan and on Vinaya, as is attested to in the funeral eulogy by Xuanzong: "The source of his mind was always tranquil, and his observance

of the precepts guided him toward the highest peaks."<sup>69</sup> According to Li Yong, Puji expressed his idea of Chan in these terms:

Whoever concentrates his mind on a single point will put an end to the numberless conditions that give rise to his thoughts. Sometimes understanding suddenly emerges, but sometimes it appears only gradually, after months and years. In both cases it is a matter of grasping the essence of the Buddha. This is what I was taught long ago. If you aim directly at the Dharma Body, you will retain your thinking quite naturally. Because "water, drop by drop, fills the container," and "when one walks on frost, ice is not far away." This is why he who can open the gate of the *upāya* reveals reality directly.<sup>70</sup>

At any rate, the fundamental importance of Puji for the history of Chan lies less in his thought—which is hard to distinguish from that of Shenxiu—and more in the role he played in the elaboration of patriarchal theory.

### *Vying for the Title of Seventh Patriarch*

The schism that opened in the eighth century between the Southern and Northern schools did not result, as is often still believed, from a rivalry between Shenxiu and Huineng for the title of Sixth Patriarch of Chan. It actually dates from the Huatai offensive (732), by which Shenhui tried to assume the title Seventh Patriarch already claimed by several disciples of Shenxiu and Huian.<sup>71</sup> Thus the famous doctrinal debate between subitism and gradualism appears to have its origin in a personal rivalry between Shenhui and Puji.

The first mention of a Chinese Chan patriarchal line appears in the obituary for Faru (d. 689). Du Fei's *Chuan fabao ji*, which draws on it, opens with an enumeration of "seven patriarchs" (Bodhidharma, Huike, Sengcan, Daoxin, Hongren, Faru, and Shenxiu), but does not explain the relation (filiation?) between Faru and Shenxiu, sixth and seventh on the list respectively. Zhang Yue, in his "Stela Inscription for the *Dhyāna* Master Datong," omitted Faru and put Shenxiu in the sixth position.<sup>72</sup> The *Record* repeats this sequence, but puts the Indian translator Guṇabhadra at the head of list, thus moving Shenxiu to the seventh generation and his successors to the eighth. There is no ground for speaking about *one* "seventh patriarch" since the theory of the transmission to a single heir, which Shenhui would use to back up his claims, was not yet accepted. But he did not invent it. It was with Puji that the title of seventh patriarch is first clearly expressed. Shenhui claimed that Puji had erected a stela and built a Hall of the Seven Patriarchs on Song shan. According to his own epitaph, at the moment of his death,

Puji told his disciples, "I am now going to transmit to you the secret seal entrusted to me by my late master. Ever since, long ago, the Bodhisattva [Bodhidharma] guided [Hui]ke, it has been handed down from the latter to [Seng]can, from [Seng]can to [Dao]xin, and from [Dao]xin to [Hong]ren. [Hong]ren conferred it on Datong [Shenxiu], who left it to me. It has now been passed down through seven generations."<sup>73</sup> Li Yong elaborated this point: "Great ruler of the four oceans—this is the title of our emperor Shengwen Shenwu [Xuanzong], [who inaugurated] the Kaiyuan era. As for the one who, having achieved the wisdom of the Buddha, reigns majestically over all things, that is Master Dazhao [Puji], [heir] in the seventh generation of our Chan school."<sup>74</sup> Similarly, in Puji's funeral eulogy:

Only Heaven is great, and only Yao followed it.  
 Only the Buddha is saintly, and only [Bodhidharma] has inherited  
 from him.  
 This is why, in the Indian transmission, five suns brighten antiquity,  
 whereas in the Chinese transmission, seven patriarchs have shed light  
 on imperial fates.  
 Our seventh patriarch is the master Daozhao, Preceptor of State  
 under three reigns.  
 Having transcended the two extremes, he passed through the stages  
 of the career of the Bodhisattva,  
 acquired the compassion of the Tathāgata, and achieved the cognitive  
 vision of the Buddha.<sup>75</sup>

As is obvious, these two documents do not stop at presenting Puji as the seventh patriarch; they make him the equal of the Buddha and the equivalent of the emperor when it comes to spiritual matters. But the awareness of belonging to the seventh Chinese Chan generation was also shared by other great disciples of Shenxiu and Huian. According to Yifu's stela inscription, for example,

The teaching of the *dhyāna* master [Yifu] originated with Bodhidharma. More than three hundred years have passed since the great doctrine spread into the east. It was transmitted successively from [Hui]ke to [Seng]can, [Dao]xin, [Hong]ren, and Datong. The latter, in turn, transmitted it to two individuals, Puji from Hedong and the *dhyāna* master [Yifu]. Thus the spirit of the Dongshan [school] has persisted without interruption for seven generations.<sup>76</sup>

Similarly, in the stela inscription for the *dhyāna* master Jingxian, dated 735, we find in the seventh generation Jingxian himself and Puji, as well as a certain Zheng (otherwise unknown), Yifu, and Xiangmo Zang.<sup>77</sup> In addition, the title of a work like the *Shizi qizu fangbian wumen* (The five gates of

the *upāya* of the seven patriarchs) clearly reveals that the theory of the seven patriarchs and the Northern school's theory of the five *upāya* were intimately associated.<sup>78</sup> Finally, we may note that at the elusive Council of Tibet, the Chinese monk Moheyan presented himself as the disciple of Yifu and Xiangmo Zang, and claimed to be the seventh heir in the line stemming from Bodhidharmatrāta.<sup>79</sup>

Beyond the immediate disciples of Shenxiu, this claim was also made by Jingzang (675–746), a disciple of Huian and Huineng.<sup>80</sup> But, among all these possible rivals for the position, it would be Puji (and, to a lesser degree, Xiangmo Zang) who would serve as a scapegoat for Shenhui. Puji was, after all, the figure at the capital most representative of the Dongshan school and, by the same token, of the “Southern school of Bodhidharma.” The claims of Xuanze (another heir to Hongren) and his disciple Jingjue (author of the *Record*) to represent the tradition of the Southern school and that of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* certainly did not escape Shenhui's notice, but he doubtless judged them less dangerous. Unless, by making Puji the target for his criticisms, Shenhui was trying to take advantage of the divisions existing within the Northern school. He stated in the *Nanyang heshang wenda za zhengyi*, “Today the *dhyāna* master Puji lays claim to the title of seventh patriarch and falsely sets his master up as sixth patriarch.”<sup>81</sup> To strengthen his accusation, Shenhui invented (or developed) the theory of the transmission of the patriarchal robe.<sup>82</sup>

In Dugu Pei's *Ding shifei lun*, Shenhui repeatedly accuses Puji of having set up a stela and building a “Hall of the Patriarchs” on Song shan for his own glorification.<sup>83</sup> According to Shenhui, Puji contradicted himself seriously when he claimed that both Faru and Shenxiu were “sixth patriarchs” because the Dharma can be transmitted only through one person in each generation. Not only, continued Shenhui, is Puji not the seventh patriarch, but he does not even represent the Southern school. “Even though Puji claims to be from the Southern school, his only intention is to destroy it.”<sup>84</sup> Shenhui was clearly wrong in attributing such a point of view to Puji or to the author of the *Chuan fabao ji*. Carried away by the demon of polemic, he descended into slander, claiming that Puji first tried to steal the patriarchal robe held by Huineng and then sent someone to cut off the head of the latter's mummy in 714, before ordering his lay disciple Wu Pingyi to falsify the stela of the sixth patriarch.<sup>85</sup>

Puji's death in 739 and his successors' lack of fighting spirit left the field open for Shenhui. But Puji's fame—like Huineng's mummy—could not be so easily damaged. Thus, for example, the epitaph of the Tiantai master Xuanlang (673–754), composed by the poet Li Hua, still gives, alongside the

Tiantai lineage, a Chan lineage in which Puji's filiation is treated as legitimate.<sup>86</sup> It records the existence of two branches in the Northern school after the death of Shenxiu, one through Hongzhen, and the other through a certain Rong of the Shanbeisi, heir to Yifu.

The fact that Li Hua used the term "Northern school" presupposes the existence of Shenhui's criticisms. According to the "Stela Inscription for the *Dhyāna* Master Jingzhi" (Sengcan), composed in 772 by Dugu Ji, Hongzheng was the only one of the 73 major disciples of Puji to obtain "supreme wisdom." This second inscription also states that Huineng retired to Caoxi and had no prominent disciples.<sup>87</sup> The two inscriptions were often cited in later times.<sup>88</sup> The fact that Puji's name was omitted from Li Hua's inscription even though his line is represented need not indicate that Shenhui's criticisms had cast a certain discredit on him. Rather, it may, on the contrary, testify to the fact that Puji's renown as "seventh patriarch" made references to him in this regard superfluous. In another stela inscription by the same Li Hua, composed for the *dhyāna* master Fayun, Puji is clearly referred to as the seventh patriarch.<sup>89</sup>

The poet Du Fu (712–70), in a poem composed around 766, stated his intention to study the doctrine of the seventh patriarch. According to Zongjian's (fl. thirteenth c.) *Shimen zhengtong* (True lineage of the Śākya gate), it is clear that he is here referring to Puji.<sup>90</sup> Later tradition has constantly tried to interpret this passage as a reference to Shenhui or to Nanyue Huairang. But the Japanese Buddhist historian Kokan Shiren (1278–1346) denounced this as a clear anachronism.<sup>91</sup> In his *Kechimyaku fu*, dated 813, Saichō, the founder of Japanese Tendai, associated himself with the lineage of Bodhidharma through Shenxiu, Puji, and Daoxuan (J. Dōsen), proof that this lineage was still regarded as orthodox at the beginning of the ninth century. In passing, it is also worthy of note that Daoxuan, in a short text cited by Saichō, offered prayers for the repose of the Chan patriarchs down to the seventh generation, and, in a laudable spirit of reconciliation, included in that generation both his master, Puji, and Shenhui.<sup>92</sup>

A little earlier the poet Wang Wei had composed, at the request of Shenhui, a stela inscription for the "sixth patriarch" Huineng.<sup>93</sup> According to Zongmi, Shenhui himself was officially recognized as seventh patriarch in 796, almost 40 years after his death. The victory of Shenhui's version of things became incontrovertible when Huineng received, in 816, the posthumous title "*Dhyāna* master Dajian" (Great Mirror). But it was a Pyrrhic victory, since within the Southern school itself new names were being advanced as claimants to the (posthumous) title of seventh patriarch—most notably those of Nanyue Huairang and Qingyuan Xingsi. And Zongmi



took great pains to defend the point of view of the Heze school, to which he belonged, especially in the face of the growing success of the Hongzhou school founded by Mazu Daoyi.

Significantly enough, the two basic arguments underlying Shenhui's patriarchal theory—the principle of a single filiation and the Dharma transmission symbolized and authenticated by possession of the patriarchal robe—were abandoned as soon as their goal, that of eliminating the Northern school, had been achieved. The Dharma robe was said to have been “buried” once and for all with the death of Huineng (in spite of various attempts to recover it by the Bao Tang school), and later tradition readily accepted that the two (or as many as five, or seven) main Chan lineages could lay claim, with the same degree of validity, to descent through the sixth patriarch, Huineng. None of them was judged to be collateral. If the Northern school had appeared a century later, it too would doubtless have benefited from this remarkable spirit of tolerance. But this was not the case.

### *The Huian Lineage*

Paradoxically there was one movement within the Northern school, represented by the slightly marginal figure Huian, that escaped criticism from Shenhui and his less distinguished successors and kept its place within Chan orthodoxy. Huian is actually the only one of Hongren's disciples apart from Huineng and Shenxiu to be remembered by posterity. The oldest biographical material concerning him is his stela inscription (727) by Sun Dan (QTW 396). In addition, the author of the *Song gaoseng zhuan* dedicated two separate entries to Huian: one dealing mostly with his “official” career and the other stressing his activities as a wonder-working monk. (Shenxiu's biography was similarly divided, doubtless not a chance matter.)<sup>94</sup>

Huian (surname Wei) was probably born at the beginning of the Sui dynasty at Zhijiang, in Jing prefecture (in modern Hubei). Early on he took an interest in Buddhism and made himself a monk in spite of an imperial edict intended to prevent private ordinations. During the Daye era (605–17), he helped famine victims by distributing the alms that he had gathered. Emperor Yang Di (r. 604–17) learned of this and invited him to the palace, but Huian chose to go into retreat first on Taihe shan and then, with the resurgence of troubles that marked the end of the Sui, at the Hengyesi, where he dedicated himself to ascetic practice. During the Zhenguan era (627–50), he went to consult with Hongren on Huangmei shan, where he achieved awakening. Later, in 664, he settled on Zhongnan shan, south of Chang'an. He remained there some twenty years before building for himself,

in 683, a hermitage at Huatai, near Luoyang. The spot he chose was especially unappealing, given the mists that cover it most of the year. An imperial edict then commanded the building of a monastery there, but Huian refused to take over its management and returned to his native prefecture. According to the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, he then settled at the Yuquansi, where Shenxiu's disciples, who had just lost their master, asked him to become the abbot of the monastery. He refused. We have here a clear anachronism: at that time Shenxiu still had another twenty years of life ahead of him.

It is not known precisely at what date Huian went to Song shan, but it seems to have been during the reign of Empress Wu (689–704). He then lived at the Huishansi, and perhaps also at the Shaolinsi. His skill as a wonder-worker gained him the respect of the imperial family, and he was often invited to the palace. In 706, shortly after the death of Shenxiu, he received from Emperor Zhongzong a purple robe and rolls of silk. The following year he returned to the Shaolinsi, where he died in 709. His disciples built a funerary stūpa for him in 713. His stela is, however, of a later date (727).

The entries in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* also contain several clearly hagiographic episodes. The best known is that in which Huian conferred the Bodhisattva precepts on the deity of Song shan:

In the fourth month of the second year of the Shengli era [699], under the reign of Empress [Wu Ze]tian, he said to all his disciples, "Go inside and close the doors. At the third watch a spirit will appear!" Soon the noise of a large escort, intermingled with the jingling of bells, was heard. The spirit went around the buildings several times. After [Hui]an spoke with it, exhorting it [to the good], it saluted twice and left. When [Hui]an was asked for the meaning of all this, he stated, "I have just conferred the Bodhisattva precepts on the spirit of Mount Yue!"<sup>95</sup>

The same source also tells about the meeting between Huian and Empress Wu. When she asked him his age, Huian claimed not to remember. The empress expressed her surprise at this, and he added, "Is this body not subject to incessant cycles of becoming? What use is there, while these cycles are not yet over, in remembering? . . . These are just false ideas, like watching bubbles that appear and disappear. What months or years should one remember?" The empress, enlightened by this lecture, then prostrated herself before Huian.<sup>96</sup>

Like Shenxiu, Huian was famous for his prophecies. His character as a monk endowed with powers was also emphasized by the mysterious circumstances surrounding his death. A few days before he died, he asked his disciples to leave his body in the woods. At this juncture Wanhui, another celebrated wonder-worker, arrived. The two of them talked for a little while

in a language that the other people present could not understand. Then Wanhui departed as abruptly as he arrived. Finally, after the cremation of Huian, 80 *śarīra* grains, crystalline relics, were retrieved from among his ashes. Five of them emitted a purple light and were sent to the imperial palace.

All these anecdotes bear witness to Huian's great popularity. But his renown seems to have been eclipsed at the time by that of Shenxiu. The same was true for another precursor of the Northern school at Song shan, Faru. Like the latter, Huian was in fact quite close to Shenxiu. According to his stela, he "ceded his place to Datong [Shenxiu] from the Yuquansi." The stela in question was erected eighteen years after his death, whereas Shenxiu had scarcely died before three inscriptions had been composed for him, one by arguably the most powerful figure of the day, Zhang Yue. We also know little, if nothing, of the kind of Chan preached by Huian. He left behind no written work. Neither did his disciples, who were not numerous and, like their master, surrounded with a kind of supernatural aura. They bear a strong resemblance to Daoist hermits and are completely in line with the Song shan tradition. The *Jingde Chuandeng lu* (1004) includes biographical entries on three of them: Renjian (dates unknown) from the Fuxiansi in Luoyang, Pozao Duo (dates unknown) from Songyue (Song shan), and Yuanguì from Songyue (644–716).

Renjian is better known under his cognomen Tengteng (Hop-hop). He is reputedly the author of a song entitled "Ledao ge" (Enjoying the Way). We find in Chan several other songs with the same title, attributed to monks such as Mingzan (dates unknown; a disciple of Puji), Shitou Xiqian (d. 790), and Guannan Daowu (dates unknown). Renjian was supposedly invited to the palace by Empress Wu, but the account of this interview bears a strange resemblance to that of the meeting between the thaumaturge Fu Xi (Fu *dashi*) and Emperor Wudi of the Liang.

Pozao Duo received his nickname, Duo the stove breaker, from Huian himself. One day he destroyed the temple of the stove god at Song shan with blows from his staff as he preached the ultimate emptiness of all things. This act of vandalism did not bring down on him the curse that everyone expected. On the contrary, the god expressed his appreciation because Duo's preaching on emptiness permitted him to obtain his deliverance. Beyond this legend and a few biographical details, we know nothing about Duo, not even his toponym or his birth and death dates.

Although he is usually considered a disciple of Huian, Yuanguì (644–716) was actually a disciple of Faru, as one of his own epitaphs attests.<sup>97</sup> He could still have had some connection with Huian since their stela inscriptions

were composed by Sun Dan. Like Huian, Yuangui is said to have conferred the Bodhisattva precepts on the Song shan deity. In this case the story is more developed and decorated with a report of the dialogue between the two protagonists.<sup>98</sup> The general impression given by these entries is that the trend represented by Huian was characterized by a free liberal style of Chan. We see a similar tendency among some of the adepts of the Northern school like Xiangmo Zang (Zang the Māra-Subduer).

This image of a practitioner endowed with supernatural powers, along with that of public benefactor, explains the popularity Huian continued to enjoy after his death. These two aspects are also found in Shenxiu, whose stronger taste for scholarship and perhaps also his personal charisma qualified him to become the "founder" of the Northern school. But at the same time his posthumous fame was tied to the fate of that school, whereas Huian remained completely available. His position, overshadowed by that of Shenxiu, permitted his reputation to remain intact, above factional disputes. His thought remained fluid enough to justify all the efforts by one or the other of the two schools to reclaim it. They would, at the height of their quarrels, both try to find in him a way of bolstering their legitimacy. Jingjue's *Record* contributed to this development. Jingjue placed him among the three great disciples of Hongren but did not give him a separate entry. Soon all sorts of more or less fictitious filiations would appear, trying to make of Huian the precursor of this or that branch of Northern or Southern Chan. This division of Chan into two schools, it must be recalled, postdates Huian's death. He does not seem to have shown, any more than did Shenxiu, animosity toward Huineng. It is reported that these two imperial teachers suggested that Zhongzong invite Huineng to the capital. The story, whose purpose is to stress the refusal by the "sixth patriarch," was doubtless created out of whole cloth. It still is indicative. Moreover, one of Huian's disciples, Jingzang, went to study with Huineng after the death of his master. After receiving attestation from Huineng, he returned to practice at Song shan, where he had no problem living alongside Shenxiu's successors. He assembled many disciples around himself.<sup>99</sup>

What are the lineages that claim descent from Huian? First of all, that of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*. In Li Zhifei's preface to the *Commentary on the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, Jingjue is presented as one of Huian's heirs.<sup>100</sup> Although he did not mention this point in his own preface to the *Record*, Jingjue himself clearly considered Huian as one of his masters. A similar attempt was perhaps made by another of Shenxiu's disciples, Yifu. We are told that, at the time of his death, Huian had a long conversation with Wanhui, the same monk who collected donations for Shenxiu's funeral and certified that Yifu

was Shenxiu's legitimate heir. Through Wanhui, Yifu was therefore also connected to Huian. Contrary to Shenxiu, Huian had apparently found favor in the eyes of Shenhui, Yifu's (and Puji's) sworn enemy, who commented favorably on his statements.<sup>101</sup> This is perhaps why, in a work like the *Dunwu zhenzong lun* (T. 85, 2835), the fictitious author Huiguang (alias Dazhao) claims to have studied with both Huian and Shenhui.

Zongmi made Huian the precursor of one of the seven schools of Chan, that of Bao Tang (in Sichuan).<sup>102</sup> The school in question is connected to the Jingzhong school, founded by the Korean monk Wuxiang, but the founder of the Bao Tang school, Wuzhu, achieved awakening with a lay disciple of Huian, Chen Chuzhang. Zongmi saw this school as characterized by the practice of "not remaining attached to doctrine and putting an end to all consciousness." In his *Chengxi tu* (Chart of filiation), Zongmi grouped the two Sichuan schools with the Northern school.<sup>103</sup> Likewise, in the *Zutang ji*, dated 952, Huian and his disciples are taken as representatives of a collateral branch stemming from Hongren.<sup>104</sup>

Yet one of the orthodox lineages of Chan, that of Nanyue Huairang and Mazu Daoyi, a lineage that would lead to the Linji (J. Rinzai) school, sees Huian as one of its "founders." Huairang's biography is, it must be admitted, fairly suspect and seems to have been concocted with the sole aim of discrediting Shenhui and promoting Mazu Daoyi as the sole direct heir to Huineng. According to the *Zutang ji*, Huairang first of all studied Vinaya at the Yuquansi with Hongjing. Then, convinced of the uselessness of such studies, he went to consult Huian on Song shan in 700, along with his fellow disciple Tanran. But Song shan itself was only one step along the way for Huairang. Whereas Tanran achieved awakening by questioning Huian on "the meaning of the coming from the West of the patriarch Bodhidharma" (a theme that would be taken up again and again in Chan literature), Huairang resumed his wanderings, which finally brought him to Huineng.<sup>105</sup>

Still, through this entry on Huairang, the posthumous fame of Huian was assured, and a whole hagiography developed. The *Zutang ji* reports, for example, a dialogue between Weishan Lingyou and Yangshan Huiji (803-87) that discusses the episode of the bath that Empress Wu offered to Huian and Shenxiu.<sup>106</sup> The *Fozu tongji* also shows us Huian and a shamaness who, although she could at first read the thoughts of the master, finally admitted that she was unable to follow him into his absence of thought.<sup>107</sup> The story seems to be directly inspired by an episode, reported in the *Lidai fabao ji*, which shows, once again in the presence of the Empress, the contest between the *dhyāna* master Zhishen and an Indian thaumaturge too proud of his powers.<sup>108</sup> Notably Huian, unlike Shenxiu and the other disciples of

Hongren (apart, of course, from Huineng), is frequently invoked in the "cases" (*gong'an*, J. *kōan*) of "classical" Chan. We should not underestimate his importance in the history of early Chan. But, if the renown of this figure survived the vicissitudes befalling the Northern school, this was due in part to the influence of Jingjue's *Record*, which gave a favorable picture of Huian, without for all that discrediting him (as is the case with Shenxiu and Xuanze) in the eyes of Shenhui and the Southern school.

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*Doctrinal Evolution of the Northern School*

"Shenxiu was the outstanding figure in the Chan school. By his practice of Chan, he had won the respect of the emperor and was without rival. However, he never gathered disciples to reveal the Dharma to them. It was Puji who, for more than twenty years, first transmitted [his master's] doctrine in the capital, and all respected him" (*Song gaoseng zhuan*). To what extent should we believe this statement by the author of the *Song gaoseng zhuan*? Even if one must be cautious about the attribution of the popular sermons found at Dunhuang to Shenxiu—the *Xiu chanshi quanshan wen* (Exhortations to the good by the *dhyāna* master Xiu), the *Datong heshang qili wen* (Seven rules of Master Datong)—the existence of the *Guanxin lun* would be enough to reveal that Shenxiu did not refuse to reveal the Dharma.<sup>1</sup> It is clear, however, that his main disciples developed and systematized his thinking considerably as they collected it. Puji seems to have played a determining role in this matter. Unfortunately we no longer possess any work that we could in all certainty attribute to Puji. In what is apparently the text most representative of his branch, the *Treatise on the Five Upāya*, it is difficult to separate his ideas from those of Shenxiu.<sup>2</sup> Various indications suggest that Puji was interested in the doctrine of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*: although the appellation "Master Huayan" simply derives from his affiliation with the Huayansi and does not necessarily mean that he was a "Huayan master," several of his disciples were specialists in Huayan and may have inherited their interest in this doctrine from him. On the other hand, despite his years of study at the Yuquansi, he gives the impression of being less influenced

than Shenxiu by Tiantai doctrine. His meditative practice was still defined in terms borrowed from Tiantai tradition, for example, the idea of *samatha*, and the authoritative scripture of this tradition, the *Lotus Sūtra*, remained one of the five texts mentioned in the *Treatise of the Five Upāya*. But "mind contemplation" (*guanxin*), from which the *Guanxin lun* drew its title, is replaced in that text by "gazing at the mind" (*kanxin*). This is a telling detail because, even though the two expressions are practically interchangeable, the second does not have the Tiantai connotations of the first. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that this implies deep differences between the patterns of thought of Tiantai and those of the Northern school. Despite disputes that could put them into temporary opposition, the spirit of syncretism that animates them is, as we shall see, essentially the same. Saichō, founder of the Japanese Tendai school, was not mistaken when he claimed to be heir to the Chan of Puji.

In the *Guanxin lun*, Shenxiu had tried to unify various religious practices—reading the Scriptures, observing monastic discipline, commemorating the Buddha, and practicing other skillful means—by redefining them to stress their "spiritual" dimension. For him, all these practices were essential, in both senses of the word: their basic importance depends on the fact that they express the fundamental mind. If they are not supported by spiritual contemplation, they are without value. By this criticism, he disposed of the objections of both the adepts of Pure Land and those of Vinaya, who were said to retain a purely formal observance of the commemoration of the Buddha (*nianfo*) and of discipline, as well as some Chan practitioners who wished to eliminate all religious practice in the name of a sacrosanct "spontaneity." Thus the expedients presented in the *Treatise on the Five Upāya*, far from being simple artifacts, are believed to be identified with the mind itself. However, whereas the *Guanxin lun* places high value on a purely interior memorializing of the Buddha, the *Treatise on the Five Upāya* presents a way of practicing *nianfo* that has all the appearance of a ritual invocation.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps we should see here the influence of the Pure Land school of Shandao, then active in Chang'an. In any case, this conflict between the interiorization and the ritualization of religious practice reflects the ambiguous situation of Chan, a spiritual practice of an elite that was becoming, with the Northern school, an official doctrine. It was in the area of monastic discipline (Vinaya) that this opposition would manifest itself most clearly.

### *The Northern School and Discipline*

As we have already noted, the Northern school counted among its followers many specialists in Vinaya. Shiina Kōyū has placed these in three



categories.<sup>4</sup> First, there were the Vinaya masters who felt that the practice of seated *dhyāna* was necessary and preached a reciprocal transmission of Chan and of Vinaya, for example, Siheng (651–726), Fayun (d. 766), Zangyong (dates unknown), Xiyi (726–96), Farong (747–835), and the nun Guanghui (804–60). As stressed in the stela inscription for Huai ren (i.e., Fashen, 660–751), composed by Li Hua (d. 774), “The two doctrines, Chan and Vinaya, are like left and right wings (of the same bird).”<sup>5</sup> Then came the *dhyāna* masters who, while emphasizing Chan, were no less well versed in the study of Vinaya. Representative of this group is Jingjue, author of the *Record*.<sup>6</sup> Finally there were eminent monks who followed, among other practices, both Chan and Vinaya doctrines. It is to this last category that Puji, Jingxian, Yixing, Daoxuan (J. Dōsen, 702–60, not to be confused with the Vinaya master), and Shouzhi seem to have belonged. If all these figures, despite the diversity of their motives, had such an interest in the question of discipline, it was because this issue was becoming critical. On the one hand, Emperor Xuanzong was emphasizing the strict observance of Vinaya as he formulated measures intended to end the excesses of a clergy that was too undisciplined. On the other hand, the Buddhist leaders themselves had concluded that they needed to adapt the Indian *Prātimokṣa* (disciplinary code) to specifically Chinese conditions and so confirm the evolution of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The Hīnayāna precepts proved too rigid to respond to the rapid growth of a popular form of Buddhism, represented in large part by the Pure Land and Chan schools. Emancipation from this Hīnayānist discipline was doubtless seen by some as unavoidable. However, in spite of some questioning within the most radical Chan tendencies, the need to question Hīnayānist discipline seems to have been far from generally accepted at the beginning of the eighth century in China. The school of the “quadripartite discipline” (*sifenlǚ zong*), based on the *Sifenlǚ* (*Dharmaguptakavinaya*, T. 22, 1428), was then very active. The *Sifenjie ben* (T. 40, 1806) was published in 733; this work by Daoxuan on the precepts of the Dharmaguptaka school “allows scholars who have left the family to recite and learn [these precepts].”<sup>7</sup>

#### THE BODHISATTVA PRECEPTS

Monkhood was conferred by plenary ordination (*upasampadā*), during which the postulant solemnly undertook to respect the *Prātimokṣa* (250 precepts for monks, 348 for nuns). The ceremony took place on a specially erected platform under the auspices of three masters and in the presence of seven witnesses. For the new monk, this was the culmination of a novitiate lasting several years, one that had been begun by a first ordination and

required the observance of the Ten Precepts (the Five Precepts against killing, stealing, having illicit sex, lying, and using intoxicants, plus additional rules against eating at forbidden times, dancing and singing, wearing garlands, perfumes, or other ornaments, sleeping in high or wide beds, and accepting money). But the novice (*śrāmaṇera*) had already passed through a preliminary stage, that of *upāsaka*, during which he committed himself not to infringe on the Five Precepts. Morality or *śīla* made up the first of the monk's three areas of study. The other two were concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). But a sort of specialization soon arose, with some practitioners coming to favor one of the disciplines at the expense of others. This was the case in China, where the Vinaya and Chan schools in particular had the tendency to reduce all religious practices to, respectively, the observance of monastic discipline and seated meditation.

From the fifth century on, Bodhisattva precepts (Skt. *bodhisattvaśīla*, Chinese *pusajie*) specific to Mahāyāna developed little by little. They were added to the arsenal of "Hīnayāna" precepts, themselves called Listener precepts (*śrāvakaśīla*). They were actually used in tandem. The theory of the Bodhisattva precepts was based on various sūtras and śāstras such as the *Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra*, the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, and the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*, or such Chinese apocrypha as the *Yingluo jing* or the *Fanwang jing*. The precepts described in this last work were probably the most popular: there are 58 of them (10 serious prohibitions and 48 light admonitions), and they are above all altruistic in nature.\* This pattern prefigures the idea of "three groups of pure precepts" (*sanju jingjie*), although the term, later very popular, does not appear in the *Fanwang jing*. These three groups represent the three aspects of morality: ceasing to commit evil, cultivating good, and acting for the benefit of others.<sup>9</sup>

Various attempts were made to reconcile the two disciplinary systems. As a general rule, the receiving of the Bodhisattva precepts remained dependent on the previous, gradual receiving of the classic precepts. These were not necessarily considered to be Hīnayānist. Thus, Daoxuan believed that the Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna nature of the precepts did not exist in the precepts themselves but rather in the recipient's state of mind.<sup>10</sup> The Bodhisattva precepts were characterized, therefore, not so much by their content (since in their first form they are, according to the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*, considered to contain the 250 precepts of the *Prātimokṣa*) as by the highly simplified form of the ordination ritual. Only one master was needed to confer them; the other participants were conveniently replaced by the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the ten directions and the three periods. In the absence of a master, the postulant was entitled to pronounce his vows on his own, accompanied

only by these august, invisible witnesses.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, this way of receiving the precepts, which usually took place on an ordinary platform, was not reserved for monks and nuns but could equally well be undertaken by the laity. After the ceremony, the former became Bodhisattva monks and nuns and the latter lay Bodhisattvas.

The Bodhisattva precepts gained ground enormously during the Tang. In Chan their popularity seems to date from Daoxin, to whom the *Record* attributes a Ritual of the Bodhisattva precepts (*Pusajie fa*).<sup>12</sup> But we may wonder to what extent the new Dongshan school was adopting an original position in this matter or simply copying Tiantai theories. In any case, it was clearly with Shenxiu, heir to both patterns of thought, that we see the first attempt to interiorize Vinaya and define the precepts in terms of contemplative practice. In the *Quanshan wen* (Exhortations to the good) attributed to him, Shenxiu was still content to recommend a strict observance of the Bodhisattva precepts and to insist on the transitory nature of human life.<sup>13</sup> But in the *Guanxin lun*, he stated that observing the three groups of Pure precepts means controlling the mind, which has been corrupted by the three poisons of love, hatred, and ignorance. In an interpretation of his own devising, he equated these three groups with the three trainings (*śīla, samādhi, prajñā*) and, finally, with the "triple deliverance" that results from the transmutation of the three poisons, achieved by means of mind contemplation. According to Shenxiu, it is then clear that "the precepts that are put into practice are not distinct from the mind. If the mind itself is pure, all beings are, without exception, equally so. This is why the sūtra says, 'If you wish to purify the Buddha Land, you must first of all purify your own mind. As soon as that is purified, the Buddha Land is pure.' If one succeeds in controlling the mind [infected by] the three poisons, the three groups of Pure precepts will automatically be achieved."<sup>14</sup>

Denouncing the pointlessness of superficial observance, which is what Shenxiu did throughout his work, is definitely characteristic of Chan. But the probable outcome of such criticism is as much a simplistic rejection of all discipline as it is a desire to reanimate it through contemplation. The former attitude prevailed in some branches of Chan, such as the Bao Tang and Hongzhou schools. But the Northern school opted on the whole for a compromise with classic Vinaya and remained committed to the theory of a joint receiving of the Śrāvaka ("Listener" or "Disciple") and the Bodhisattva precepts. Both of these seem to have been much in favor at Song shan, among Shenxiu's disciples, and in the other Northern school movements. According to the *Treatise on the Five Upāya*, "The Bodhisattva precepts consist of observing the 'mind precepts,' whose essence is none other than the Buddha

nature. As soon as the mind is aroused, one moves away from the Buddha nature, thereby transgressing the Bodhisattva precepts. The person who can prevent any agitation of the mind conforms to the Buddha nature and, by this fact, observes the Bodhisattva precepts."<sup>15</sup> In another related text, a Northern Chan apocryphal work entitled *Xinwang jing* (Sūtra of the Mind-King [Bodhisattva]; also called the *Toutuo jing* [*Dhūta(guṇa)* Sūtra]), the Bodhisattva Xinwang redefines Buddhist asceticism (*dhūtaguṇa*) in a radically new fashion:

The precepts of the *dhūta* practitioner are the Buddha-mind precepts. They are of two kinds, the inner and the outer. The inner precepts mean that thought does not arise, the outer that the body is devoid of any characteristic. If one transgresses these two [types of] precepts, one transgresses the inner and outer *dhūta* and one defiles the dharma- and *nāpa*-bodies [i.e., the physical body]. Then, no matter how much one may practice the *dhūta* or recite the scriptures of the twelve sections, one will not avoid committing a severe offense.<sup>16</sup>

This interiorization of the Bodhisattva precepts appears to be a development of the idea of "precepts [arising from] the Buddha nature" (*foxing jie*) as it can be found in the *Fanwang jing* and the *Yingluo jing*. For example, the *Fanwang jing* states, "The precious adamant precepts are the foundation for all the Buddhas and all Bodhisattvas, the germ of the Buddha nature. Since all beings possess a Buddha nature, all forms of consciousness and knowledge, corporeal or mental, whether in the form of feeling or thought, are contained in these 'precepts of the Buddha Nature.'"<sup>17</sup> These ideas would lead to the idea of the "perfect and sudden precepts" (*endonkai*) of Tendai. Because these precepts are essentially an aspect of the Buddha nature, once they have been received, they cannot lose their effectiveness, in spite of any transgression.

#### THE BODHISATTVA ORDINATION RITUAL IN NORTHERN CHAN

The *Treatise on the Five Upāya* does not simply define the Bodhisattva precepts. It also presents an entire ordination ritual. This may seem somewhat surprising, given the generally philosophical nature of the work. But the inclusion of this ritual, a characteristic of other contemporary Chan texts, leads to the conclusion that the question of the Bodhisattva precepts was considered to be a philosophical and soteriological problem of prime importance. The *Treatise on the Five Upāya* presents the ordination ritual in this way:

Let each of you kneel down and join hands. Then you are to pronounce the four great vows. . . . You then ask the Buddhas of the ten directions to serve as masters to you, and then you extend this request to all the Buddhas and

Bodhisattvas of the three periods. After taking refuge [in the Three Treasures], you will be asked five questions about your aptitudes. . . . [Then each novice states his or her name and confesses his or her sins according to a fixed formula; the text then comments:] When a brilliant pearl falls to the bottom of turbid water, the latter, thanks to the power of the pearl, becomes clear. In the same way, the beneficent power of the Buddha nature purifies all the turbid waters of the passions. When you confess your thoughts, the three categories of actions become purified—just as the interior and the exterior are shot through by the light of a beryl. You are then worthy to receive the pure precepts. [This is to be repeated three times.] Each is then to sit down with legs crossed.<sup>18</sup>

This ritual is then followed by an extremely simple *dhyāna* session, consisting of enunciation of the four great vows, a request to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas for teaching, a commitment to take refuge in the Three Jewels (Buddha, Dharma, Saṃgha), questions about the five aptitudes, penance, and the actual receiving of the precepts. Sekiguchi Shindai has seen analogies between these six steps and those given in three other texts: the *Shi'er men jieyi* (Ordination ritual in twelve parts) by Zhanran, the sixth Tiantai patriarch; the *Nanyue ben*, a work attributed to Nanyue Huisi, the first Tiantai patriarch; and the *Shou pusajie* (Ritual for receiving the Bodhisattva precepts), found in a Dunhuang manuscript (S. 1073).<sup>19</sup> According to Sekiguchi, all three works clearly derive from a single lineage that seems to be that of the Northern school. Various Japanese researchers had maintained that the *Nanyue ben* could not have been written by Huisi. Sekiguchi succeeded in showing that this work was none other than the *Damo ben*, a text attributed to Bodhidharma and whose existence was known thanks to a list of ordination rituals provided by the Japanese monk Annen (d. 884). We could have here, says Sekiguchi, a ritual transmitted by one of Puji's main disciples, Daoxuan (Dōsen).<sup>20</sup>

The confusion of Bodhidharma, Huisi, and Daoxuan (Dōsen) is unsurprising. It was common at that time to bestow on works deriving from Chan the authority of the founder of the school. Unlike their counterparts in China (especially beginning with Zhanran), the Japanese Tendai monks also did not as yet consider the two traditions, Tiantai and Chan, truly distinct. In the *Denjutsu Isshinkaimon* (Concerning the Essay on the One-Mind Precepts, T. 74, 2379) by Kōjō (779–858), for example, Huisi is presented as a disciple of Bodhidharma, and the names of Bodhidharma, Huisi, and Daoxuan (Dōsen) are given together to illustrate the transmission to Japan of the “one-mind precepts” (*ishshinkai*).<sup>21</sup> To give Saichō's movement of independence from the Hīnayāna discipline the backing of both Tiantai and Chan, Kōjō put together various legends connected to Prince Shōtoku

(Shōtoku *taishi*, 574–622). Thus he gives credence to the idea that Shōtoku *taishi* was a reincarnation of Nanyue Huisi, and that one day he met at the foot of Kataoka Hill a starving beggar, actually an avatar of Bodhidharma.<sup>22</sup> The anachronism here—Huisi died in 577, three years after Shōtoku's birth—did not completely escape the attention of Japanese monks, but they tried to see in it a further proof of the miraculous nature of this rebirth. In the earliest version, the beggar is not identified as the Chan patriarch but as a sort of Daoist immortal who, shortly after his interview with the prince, achieved "deliverance from the corpse" (*shijie*), leaving behind on his empty coffin after his apparent death the garment that Shōtoku had given him. Kōjō seems thus to have been the first to have guessed the identity of the mysterious vagabond, bringing together several independent legendary elements concerning the death of Bodhidharma (whose tomb was allegedly found empty), his reincarnation in Japan, the three rebirths of Huisi on Nanyue, his meeting with the Indian patriarch whom he recognized as his master, their mutual vow to be reborn in Japan, and finally the reincarnation of Huisi in the form of Shōtoku and his meeting with the Kataoka beggar. Beginning in the Kamakura era (1185–1333), Bodhidharma becomes more important in the story than Huisi, and the legend is repeated, with polemical purpose, in various Zen works. Dōgen, for example, stated, "Nanyue Huisi, talented man that he was, returned to the Zen of Bodhidharma."<sup>23</sup> The story has played an important part in the development of the cult of Bodhidharma, and one can still, today, visit the Darumadera established on Kataoka Hill.<sup>24</sup>

#### FORMLESS PRECEPTS AND NON-INTENTIONAL OBSERVANCE

Tanaka Ryōshō has noted the close similarity between the *Treatise on the Five Upāya* and Shenhui's *Tanyu* (Platform sermon): the order of ritual is the same, and only two sections (the request to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and the questions concerning the five aptitudes) are lacking from the second text. These two works undoubtedly belong to the same lineage, that of Dongshan.<sup>25</sup> On this point, Shenhui remained the disciple of Shenxiu at least for a time even if later he took a more radical position. The *Platform Sūtra*, on the other hand, proposes a quite different ordination ritual in which the main feature is the use of formless precepts, or precepts without any characteristics (Skt. *animittaśīla*, Ch. *wuxiangjiē*), accompanied by a form of penitence of the same type. The first section of this ritual, which has the postulant take refuge in his own triple Buddha body, draws in fact on the three groups of Pure precepts. The explanation of the formless precepts is made first through a praising of the *Prajñāpāramitā* and tries, at least on the

basis of the evidence we see here, to go beyond the traditional concept of the precepts. The adept is invited to take refuge in his own fundamental nature. All other practices, like the control of the mind that has been corrupted by the three poisons, are judged superfluous. In this sense the *Platform Sūtra* appears more advanced than the *Guanxin lun*. Yanagida Seizan argued at one point that this passage, absent from later editions of the *Platform Sūtra*, belonged to an early stage in the development of the text and derived from a lineage other than that of Dongshan—in this case, perhaps the Niutou line, strongly influenced by the Mādhyamika thought of the Sanlun (Three Treatises) school.<sup>26</sup> Yanagida has since abandoned the idea that the earlier recension of the *Platform Sūtra* was a Niutou work, but his hypothesis has the merit of emphasizing the still very traditional nature of the ritual contained in Shenhui's *Tanyu* and the marked resemblance between this work, clearly from a later date, and the *Treatise on the Five Upāya*. Shenhui's point of view in the *Guanxin lun* is close to that of the founder of the Tiantai school, Zhiyi, who speaks of "precepts illuminated by the wisdom of the Middle Way and inherent to the mind in concentration" in his *Pusajie yishu* (Commentary on the Bodhisattva ordination ritual, T. 40, 1811). We see here, if not a complete rejection, at least an attempt to go beyond the formalism typical of classical Vinaya.

But Saichō, the founder of Japanese Tendai, appears closer to the *Platform Sūtra* when he tried to extend the range of Zhiyi's concept by transposing it from the register of the mind in concentration to that of the ordinary mind. In fact he reconciled the two points of view, and it is significant that, in matters of Chan proper, he saw himself as the heir to the Northern school and the Niutou lineages.<sup>27</sup> Elsewhere, the Bodhisattva precepts are sometimes defined, in the Tendai tradition, as "non-intentional" (*wuzuo jie*). This idea, already present in Zhiyi, also appears in Shenhui, who contrasts the classic "intentional" three learnings (*youzuo sanxue*) to a non-intentional three trainings (*wuzuo sanxue*): "We call morality [*śīla*] the fact of not arousing the false mind, concentration [*samādhi*] the absence of such a mind, and wisdom [*prajñā*] the realization that the mind cannot lie."<sup>28</sup> Zongmi, in a sub-commentary on the *Yuanjue jing* (Sūtra of perfect awakening), developed this idea to arrive at a theory of the "three types of three trainings": intentional, non-intentional, and "inherent."<sup>29</sup> However, the "non-intentional" and "inherent" aspects, as he defined them, are only two complementary aspects of the formless precepts preached by the *Platform Sūtra*.

Did these formless precepts exist already in the Northern school or were they peculiar to the Niutou and Heze schools? Shenhui presented his

own formless three learnings as a reaction against Northern school practices, especially in the areas of *dhyāna* and *samādhi*: "It is necessary to resort to intentional morality [*śīla*] and wisdom [*prajñā*] in order to reveal non-intentional morality and wisdom. But this is not true in the case of concentration [*samādhi*]." <sup>30</sup> The Northern school's concepts of discipline seem to have been quite orthodox. Shenxiu had studied Dharmaguptaka Vinaya, and the Bodhisattva precepts he recommends in the *Xiu chanshi quanshan wen* (Exhortations to the good by the *dhyāna* master Xiu) have a classic air about them. He probably remained thoroughly impregnated by the theories of the Nanshan school, founded by Vinaya master Daoxuan. In the case of Puji, his disciple, we may mention the following indication, supplied by Huiguang (dates unknown), the writer of a preface to a widely distributed apocryphal text of the Northern school entitled *Chanmen jing* (Sūtra of the Chan gate): "On Song shan I went to pay reverence to master [Pu]ji of the Songyuesi, who asked me, 'Have you been able to recite the Bodhisattva precepts? If you are seeking the Dharma, you must recite them. That will create for you affinities with it.' In one or two months I finished reciting these precepts, and I left again for three years to seek the Dharma." <sup>31</sup> These Bodhisattva precepts are most likely those of the *Fanwang jing*. Elsewhere, Li Yong's stela inscription for Puji tells that he had studied Vinaya with Hongjing, himself an adept of the Nanshan school. According to Li Yong, "Puji constantly recited the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, by means of which he transmitted the correct receiving of the precepts." <sup>32</sup> If we are to believe the funeral eulogy written for him by Emperor Xuanzong and included in Li Yong's inscription, "The source of [Puji's] mind always remained calm, and his practice of the Discipline reached perfection." <sup>33</sup> Finally Saichō's *Kechimyaku fu* tells us that "master Puji of the Huayansi had examined with respect the preface to the *Zhu Pusajie jing*." This commentary in three *juan* on the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (Stages of the Buddha) was the work of one of Puji's disciples, Daoxuan (Dōsen), and we have some reason to believe that his interest in this sūtra was shared in large part by his master. <sup>34</sup>

Did their completely classic training in Vinaya allow Shenxiu and his disciples to preach the joint observance of formless precepts? First, the idea of formless practice is contained in the notion of the "contemplation of the principle" (*liguan*), supported by the earliest form of Chan. In addition, the thought of the Northern school, just like that of Daoxin and perhaps that of Bodhidharma, works constantly on two levels—sudden and gradual, formless and formal. In the *Guanxin lun*, Shenxiu insisted that he was addressing novices. Perhaps he would have explained higher truths if he had been



addressing a more informed audience. There is no evidence for Shenhui's claim that Shenxiu's mind contemplation was no more than a simple form of seated *dhyāna*. If we judge it on the basis of the few insights provided by the *Record*, it would seem to have had a more dynamic content and probably covered all everyday activities.

Based on such a mind contemplation, the observance of the precepts would not have differed, at least in theory, from that envisaged by the *Lotus Sūtra* or Saichō. The *Record* shows Shenxiu citing a passage from the *Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra* which says that the person "described as a Vinaya master is he who understands perfectly the word 'one'" — a word that in Buddhism refers to the ultimate reality, the principle behind all things, the One Mind or *Tathāgatagarbha*. It may be useful to recall that the *Guanxin lun* was also known as *Poxiang lun* (Treatise on destroying characteristics). According to the *Record*, Shenxiu himself held that his entire thinking could be summed up in two words: substance (*ti*) and function (*yong*), or in the (Daoist) expression the Gate of Double Mystery (*chongxuan men*)—ideas to be related to those of ultimate truth (*saṃvṛtisatya*) and conventional truth (*paramārthasatya*).<sup>35</sup> The theories in the *Guanxin lun* lay claim only to the status of conventional truth. Shenxiu's fundamental insight may have gone beyond these limitations.

The formless precepts could have been a reaction against the Daoists with their highly formalized system of morality—one that in some cases can practically be reduced to a kind of bookkeeping of merits. Thus there is nothing surprising in the fact that these precepts developed primarily on Song shan, a bastion of Daoism and the cradle of the Northern school. It is against this background of barely expressed rivalry that we should interpret some of the stories in which we see Chan masters like Huian and Yuanguì conferring the Bodhisattva precepts on the mountain god or preaching to him the emptiness of all characteristics. According to Yuanguì in particular, "Without the mind, no morality; without morality, no mind. That means no more Buddhas or living beings, no more you and no more me. . . . Who could then observe the precepts?"<sup>36</sup> Northern school adepts at Song shan were perhaps also influenced by the Tantric Bodhisattva precepts that several of them (for instance Yixing, Jingxian, Shouzhi) received from the Indian master Śubhakarasiṃha. According to his *Chanyao* (Epitome of *dhyāna*), the precepts of the True Dharma boil down in the end to incantations or *dhāraṇī*, and it is enough for the practitioner to be aware that the defilements are not truly produced or, in other words, that one's nature remains always essentially pure.<sup>37</sup> This idea, based on the theory of the *Tathāgatagarbha*, is also found in the *Record*. This leads to the possible conclusion that the single

word that Shenxiu claims, as we have just seen, to be behind all Vinaya may after all be a *dhāraṇī*. Without much distortion, one could interpret in the same fashion Daoxin's statement that "although the ocean of the Dharma is infinite, the practice of the Dharma lies in a single word."<sup>38</sup> Such a point of view, just like the ultimate repentance (*diyi hui*) that the *Record* attributes equally to Daoxin, reflects above all the thinking of Jingjue himself. This ultimate repentance, which consists in "sitting straight and seeing the real characters," seems to have been in vogue at the time, since the manuscript P. Tib. 116 attributes it to another famous member of the Northern school, Xiangmo Zang.<sup>39</sup> It also plays an important role in Tantric Buddhism, which assimilates it with the formless precepts and the "contemplation of the letter A" (*aziguan*, J. *ajikan*).

The emphasis placed on the emptiness of characteristics, on the absence of characteristics (*wuxiang*) as the true characteristic (*shixiang*), is obviously not simply an artifact of Jingjue. This emptiness has the same importance in the *Treatise on the Five Upāya*, which, following good Mādhyamika orthodoxy, sets up formal practices only to be able to abolish them later. The idea reappears, pushed to an extreme, in a later text from the same tendency, the *Dacheng beizong lun*: "Do not produce any thought of observance, even less that of transgression!"<sup>40</sup> For the author of the *Dunwu zhenzong lun* (Treatise of the true principle of sudden awakening), "to consider that precepts exist is to lose [sight of] the precepts."<sup>41</sup>

It is clear that the thinking of the Northern school on matters of discipline evolved greatly, as did that of Shenhui, and it is hard to determine which of the two might have influenced the other. Other factors, hard to pin down, probably played a role. We should not overlook the fact that the popularity of the Bodhisattva precepts, even though it derived primarily from the internal evolution of the Chinese Buddhist community, was also due to external socioeconomic conditions, especially the sale of ordinations that escalated at the beginning of the eighth century. Ordination platforms proliferated, and the huge growth in the movement is attested by the titles of works like the *Tanyu* or the *Platform Sūtra*. The *Lidai fabao ji* (ca. 774) reports that Shenhui had an ordination platform built every month.<sup>42</sup> According to the Shenhui's *Ding shifei lun*, Shenxiu himself was present on the Yunhuasi platform in 703. This may lead us to wonder whether the *Treatise on the Five Upāya* may not be the record (or script) of a sermon preached in similar circumstances. The theory of formless precepts would, in that case, no longer be the exclusive property of the adherents of the *Platform Sūtra* or the Niutou school. In the *Fanwang jing shu* (Commentary on the Brahma

net sūtra) by Daoxuan (Dōsen), mentioned by Kōjō, we find a description of the three learnings resembling that in the *Platform Sūtra*:

Within the essentially pure mind, avoiding any transgression of the precepts is what constitutes a morality as immutable as space.

Within the essentially pure mind, remaining calm and motionless as Mount Sumeru is what constitutes concentration as immutable as space.

Within the essentially pure mind, reaching and penetrating all the dharmas, being without fetters, is what constitutes wisdom as immutable as space.

This identity among morality, concentration, and wisdom is called Buddha Vairocana.<sup>43</sup>

It remains to examine to what extent this theory has been applied in China. As we can see from their biographies, Shenxiu and Huineng, along with their direct disciples, remained by and large adherents to the classic discipline. In spite of their bold statements of principle about the Bodhisattva precepts, all of them received plenary ordination, and their practice probably remained largely conventional. The formless precepts thus constituted a long-term ideal, except perhaps in the Niutou school or among some practitioners of solitary asceticism. Unfortunately we have very little information on this subject. The *Lidai fabao ji* tells how Wuzhu, the founder of the Bao Tang school, preached the rejection of every form of religious observance. But it also testifies to the dissension that this intransigent attitude provoked within the Chan community of Sichuan, which followed the ordination ritual expounded by the Dharma master Daoan (312–85).<sup>44</sup> Whatever the situation, monastic discipline did remain a matter of prime concern, and it was precisely because of the need to reconcile the specific nature of Chan with the need for strict observance that the *Chanyuan qinggui* (Pure rule of Chan monasteries), a disciplinary code attributed to Baizhang Huaihai, would appear during the Song. Still, a certain relaxing could be detected as a result of the troubles arising from An Lushan's revolt. At that time there appeared "Bodhisattva monks" (*pusaseng*), or "mountain monks" (*shanseng*)—that is, irregulars—less concerned about discipline. But on the whole the basic notion of the joint receiving of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna precepts was never seriously called into question. The first platform expressly designated as Mahāyānist was built only in 1010, and despite its name, it seems to have been used also for the reception of the Śrāvaka precepts.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, the *Chanyuan qinggui* omits any mention of the formless precepts. It was in Korea, and above all in Japan, that the evolution initiated by this theory would finally take place.

### *Northern Chan in Japan*

The Northern school, through Daoxuan (Dōsen), would thus come to play an important role in the transmission of Vinaya to Japan. It contributed much to the growth of the Bodhisattva precepts movement, which would result, thanks to Saichō and his disciples, in the independence of Japanese Buddhism from Hīnayāna discipline. In 822, one week after Saichō's death, Emperor Saga (r. 809–23) authorized the erection of a purely Mahāyāna ordination platform (*daijō endon kaidan*) on Hieizan.<sup>46</sup> The doctrine of the Northern school, it should be noted, was received in Japan primarily under cover of its supposed orthodoxy in Vinaya matters and as representing the syncretic tendency of the Yuquansi.<sup>47</sup> For Kōjō in particular, the main thing was the ability to derive the tradition of the "one-mind precepts" (*isshinkai*) from Bodhidharma himself. Any interest in the purely Chan components in the thinking of Shenxiu and his disciples was strictly secondary and resulted, in the case of Saichō, from the desire to establish a synthesis of the four Buddhist doctrines (*zen kai en mitsu*) then prevalent in China: Chan, Vinaya, Tiantai (or the "perfect teaching"), and Zhenyan (J. Shingon, Tantric or esoteric Buddhism). We should, therefore, perhaps distinguish between the transmission of the precepts and the transmission of Chan to Hieizan, although these two aspects would be completely blended together by later tradition.

#### THE TRANSMISSION OF NORTHERN CHAN

In his *Naishō buppō sōjō kechimyaku fu* (Secret lineage of the Buddha Dharma), Saichō presented himself as inheriting from five different lineages: the lineage of the transmission of the Dharma from the Great Master Bodhidharma, the lineage of the transmission of the Lotus Doctrine of Tiantai, the lineage of the transmission of the Bodhisattva precepts of the perfect doctrine of Tiantai, the lineage of the transmission of the two maṇḍalas of esoteric Buddhism, and the lineage of the transmission of the maṇḍalas of "mixed esotericism" (*zōmitsu*). The first lineage, purportedly that of the Northern school, mentions the 29 Indian patriarchs (instead of 28, as later Chan tradition would have it); it then enumerates, as Chinese and Japanese patriarchs, Bodhidharma, Huike, Sengcan, Daoxin, Hongren, Datong [Shenxiu], Puji, Daoxuan (Dōsen), Gyōhyō, and, as is to be expected, Saichō.<sup>48</sup> Gyōhyō (720–97) was the first master of the novice Saichō.<sup>49</sup> Later Saichō spent a short time in China, where he received the Niutou form of Chan at the Chanlinsi through Xiaoran, a monk from Tiantai shan. These two strains of Bodhidharma Chan would develop in parallel at Hieizan and would

soon be integrated with the Tendai doctrine. If at first sight the influence from the Niutou school seems to predominate, that of the Northern school is far from negligible.<sup>50</sup> In his *Kyōjijō* (Criticism of the periodization of doctrines, T. 75, 2395), Annen (841-?), for example, repeated the Chan lineage from the *Kechimyaku fu*, even as he referred to the theory of the "verses on Dharma transmission" as it is presented in the *Baolin zhuan* (Chronicle of the Baolin [Monastery]).<sup>51</sup> In his desire to reconcile the doctrinal divergencies within Chan, Annen went so far as to state that Shenxiu and Puji, and their disciples, transmitted the essence of Chan without relying on any written text, merely by means of a transmission verse.<sup>52</sup> In the fourteenth century, Kōshū, the author of a Tendai encyclopedia entitled *Keiran shūyōshū* (Collection of leaves gathered in valleys and mountains), tried to justify the fact that Saichō could inherit from the Chan of the Northern school, by that time long out of favor in the main Zen tradition.<sup>53</sup> According to him, if Shenxiu had not yet achieved awakening at the time of the poetic contest with his fellow disciple Huineng for the rank of sixth patriarch, he certainly achieved it a short time later. Thereafter nothing prevented him from also transmitting the Dharma of Chan, which was therefore, in its entirety, transplanted to Hieizan.

It is significant that Myōan Yōsai (var. Eisai, 1141-1215), heir to the Linji (Rinzai) school that he transmitted to Japan, saw fit to recognize in turn this double lineage. In his *Kōzen gokokuron* (Treatise on the protection of the state by means of the promotion of Zen), drawn up in 1189, two years after his second trip to China, he stated:

In Japan, during the Tempyō years [729-48], Daoxuan [Dōsen] of the Tang, when he was living at Daianji, conferred the Dhyāna Principle on Master Gyōhyō. . . . The doctrine of the great master Bodhidharma that this patriarch, Master Xuan, brought from the great [land of the] Tang and transmitted by putting it down in writing, is preserved here on Mount Hiei. At the end of the Enryaku [era, 782-805], [Saichō] went to seek advice in the great land of the Tang and received once again the transmission of the Law of the great master Bodhidharma. The thirteenth of the tenth month of the twentieth year of Zhenyuan (804), [in the reign] of the great Tang, he received from Xiaoran, a monk from the Chanlinzi on Tiantai shan, the lineage of transmission of the Law in the two countries of India and China, as well as the transmission of the Law of the great master Bodhidharma, and the doctrine of the Niutou shan [school]. He brought them back respectfully to Mount Hiei.<sup>54</sup>

In the spirit of syncretism that inspired him, Yōsai appears closer to Shenxiu and his disciples than to Shenhui or even Linji Yixuan, reputed source of the Rinzai branch of Japanese Zen. Actually, he seemed to partake

of two contradictory concepts of Zen: that of Tendai, heir to the pre-classical Chan for which the Northern school provides a kind of climax, and that of the Chan of the end of the Tang and the Song period, which came to attach more importance to the sixth patriarch Huineng than to Bodhidharma. In the second half of the eighth century, the Chan of the Southern school, spreading throughout all levels of Tang society, became Chinese in form. Thenceforth its doctrine would be presented in "recorded sayings" (*yulu*) in the vernacular, something that the refined Japanese of the Heian era could hardly appreciate. This may explain the failure of the attempt ascribed to the Chinese monk Yikong (J. Gikū; dates unknown). This disciple of Yanguan Xi'an (d. 842) was invited to Japan by Empress Danrin, née Tachibana Kachiko (786–850), in order to bring to the new capital, Heian-kyō, the new style of "rustic," paradoxical Chan then prevalent in China.<sup>55</sup> Whatever the historical truth behind these facts—reported by Kokan Shiren (1287–1346) in his *Genkō shakusho* (History of Buddhism of the Genkō era), the "pre-classical" Chan transmitted by Saichō was certainly more accessible to Japanese monks, still completely imbued with the traditional doctrines of Nara Buddhism. It was only during the Kamakura era, when it became clear that the "classic" Chan derived from the Southern school had become the official Buddhism of Song China, that the Japanese accepted it wholeheartedly. But it is possible to think that Yōsai's and Dōgen's introduction of the two schools, Linji (J. Rinzai) and Caodong (J. Sōtō), was prepared in large part by the Zen tradition preserved at Hieizan, and thus, indirectly, by that of the Northern school.<sup>56</sup>

The syncretic spirit at the start of the Kamakura era was not limited to Yōsai alone. It may be found among a number of his contemporaries, such as Shunjō (1166–1227), Kōben (alias Myōe, 1173–1232), Ryōhen (1194–1252), and Enni Ben'en (1202–80). We know that Enni Ben'en, founder of the Tōfukuji (in the southeastern quarter of the capital), simultaneously practiced Zen, Shingon, Tendai, and Vinaya.<sup>57</sup> But it is true that the establishment in Japan of the Sōtō school or, rather, sect, and the desire of Dōgen to establish a form of Zen free from any compromise, brought with it an eclipse of the syncretic tendency that had been represented, in Chan, mostly by Shenxiu. But by an ironic twist of events, it was within the Sōtō school itself that the lineage of the Northern school would end up being preserved, becoming mingled with that of the transmission of the one-mind precepts.

#### THE QUESTION OF THE ONE-MIND PRECEPTS

The Buddha nature precepts, or "Mind precepts," of the *Treatise on the Five Upāya* perhaps provided the model for the Bodhisattva precepts trans-

mitted to Hieizan and, through Tendai, to the new Zen and Pure Land schools. Their implicit criticism of traditional discipline would also involve, in the long run, the rejection of that discipline. This evolution took place in certain radical currents within the two schools, such as the [Bodhi]dharma school (Darumashū) of Dainichi Nōnin (dates unknown) and the True Pure Land school of Shinran (1173–1262). In the Tendai tradition, these new-style Bodhisattva precepts took two forms, often mingled at a later date: the *endonkai* (perfect and sudden precepts), and the *ishinkai* (one-mind precepts). According to some of the later masters of the Sōtō school such as Manzan Dōhaku (1636–1715) and Menzan Zuihō (1683–1769), the Zen precepts (*zenkai*) had their origin in the one-mind precepts of Bodhidharma, transmitted to Japan by Daoxuan, Gyōhyō, and Saichō.

This view, promoted long ago by Shimaji Daitō, has recently been questioned. Kagamishima Genryū in particular criticizes the blending of the perfect and sudden precepts and the one-mind precepts.<sup>58</sup> The lineage of the *endonkai* goes back to Huisi, whereas that of the *ishinkai* began with Bodhidharma (or more likely with the Northern school). Furthermore, these one-mind precepts were not the exclusive property of Bodhidharma, since, according to Kōjō, Saichō received them “in his mind” from Zhiyi himself and not from the Indian patriarch. But there is every reason to believe that Kōjō was the first to stress this theory of the transmission of the one-mind precepts. He could have drawn the idea from the stela inscription composed by Li Hua for the fifth Tiantai patriarch, Xuanlang (673–754): Bodhidharma is presented in that inscription as a “Bodhisattva monk.”<sup>59</sup> But a close examination of Kōjō’s *Isshinkaimon* shows that he never clearly assimilated the *endonkai* with the Zen precepts. He seems to have drawn a distinction between the “single vehicle precepts” (*ichijōkai*) coming from Chan and the one-mind precepts from Tiantai. Some may see here merely a rather Byzantine terminological problem. Kagamishima stresses what, in his point of view, constitutes the main difference between the *endonkai* and the Bodhisattva precepts preached by the Northern school. According to him, the first have the twin characteristics of being incompatible with the “Hinayāna” precepts and of encompassing all the aspects of the three learnings (*śīla*, *samādhi*, *prajñā*). If we are to accept what is said in the *Treatise on the Five Upāya*, these two traits were absent from the Bodhisattva precepts of the Northern school, which still accepted conjoint reception and spoke of a progression moving from concentration (*samādhi*) to wisdom (*prajñā*). But we have already noted that the thought of this school had clearly, on this point as on others, undergone a significant evolution.<sup>60</sup> In any case, it is clear that the Bodhisattva precepts had acquired for Daoxuan a global nature.

But in practice they remained compatible with the Hīnayāna precepts, and it is this that ultimately distinguishes them from the *endonkai* of Tendai. This difference may have been sketched out by Kōjō, but he did not clearly enunciate it.

We find the same kind of ambiguity in Yōsai, who, after having received the Sudden and Perfect precepts at Hieizan, asked the Chan master Xu'an Huaichang (dates unknown) to give him plenary ordination and the Bodhisattva precepts.<sup>61</sup> The question of discipline forms the leitmotif of the *Kōzen gokokuron*, a treatise with the primary purpose of presenting Yōsai's form of Zen as a practice emerging in a direct line from the Tendai tradition: "Now this school of Zen takes Vinaya as its fundamental principle. . . . It also begins with morality [*śīla*] and finds its culmination in concentration [*samādhi*]." <sup>62</sup> Yōsai's thought on Vinaya seems somewhat conservative compared with that of Saichō, since it admits the possible identification of the *endonkai* and the classic precepts and considers that there must be a progression within the three learnings. It thus presents a clear affinity with the Northern school's ideas. This fact becomes paradoxical when we realize that Yōsai's work, insisting as it does on the importance of discipline, is intended above all to criticize the Darumashū.<sup>63</sup> This school formed under the influence of the *Daruma daishi sanron* (Three treatises of the great master Bodhidharma), transmitted to Hieizan, and the main one of these, the *Poxiang lun* (J. *Hasōron*), is none other than Shenxiu's *Guanxin lun*.<sup>64</sup> According to the *Genkō shakusho*, Yōsai also recommended the observance of the formless precepts. At first sight nothing in his work seems to validate this statement or the way Kokan Shiren blends together Zen precepts and Sudden and Perfect precepts. Only the fact that Yōsai cites the passage from the *Puxian guan jing* (Sūtra of Samantabhadra's contemplation) on ultimate repentance suggests that he was not completely hostile to this theory.<sup>65</sup> There also exist various texts similar to this one, which are attributed to him and are presented as manuals on the one-mind precepts. According to the *Endon issinkai wakai* (Compromise regarding the "perfect and sudden" one-mind precepts), for example, Yōsai preached the Bodhisattva precepts to the detriment of the Hīnayāna precepts and recommended that practitioners rely on the essence of the precepts, or the mind itself, in order to achieve the mind's nature. However, this work seems to have been written by Kohō Kakumyō (1271-1371), a disciple of Shinchō Kakushin (1207-98) and Keizan Jōkin (1268-1325).<sup>66</sup>

These Zen precepts seem to have been equally in fashion in the Pure Land school, as is shown in a work entitled *Daruma sōjō issinkai hō* (Ritual of the one-mind precepts transmitted by Bodhidharma). Three editions of this work have come down to us, one belonging to the Tendai branch of



the Miidera, and the other two from rival currents in the Pure Land school. The lineages that they supply are partly identical and do not differ until after Hōnen (alias Genkū, 1133–1212). We find once again Shenxiu, Puji, Daoxuan, Gyōhyō, and Saichō, as well as his successors, Ennin (794–864), Chōi (dates unknown), Enshō (alias Jinen, 880–964), Jinzen (alias Jinin, 943–90), Zennin (1062–1139), Ryōnin (1073–1132), Eikū (dates unknown), and Hōnen. Strangely enough, Kōjō is passed over in silence.<sup>67</sup> In any case, what emerges from these documents is the fact that the blending originally permitted by Kōjō between one-mind precepts (or Zen precepts) and Sudden and Perfect precepts—that is, between the Chan lineage stemming from Bodhidharma (or the Northern school) and the Tendai lineage of the Bodhisattva precepts—was still operative in the fourteenth century.<sup>68</sup> It would remain so up to the Tokugawa era (1603–1868).

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the question of the one-mind precepts would arise again, this time within the Sōtō school. It was then a matter of determining the specifically Zen nature of the Zen precepts. According to Manzan Dōhaku (1636–1714), the so-called one-mind precepts or single-vehicle precepts, transmitted by Bodhidharma, were the same as the *endonkai* of Tendai and were, as a result, incompatible with the Hinayānist Vinaya. On the other hand, Tenkei Denson (1648–1735) and Sekiun Yūsen (1677–?) saw them simply as the classic Bodhisattva precepts with nothing specifically Zen about them.<sup>69</sup> We have here a repetition of the controversy that set Saichō against the Nara monks. The high esteem that Manzan enjoyed within the Sōtō school sufficed at that period for his opinion to win out over the other. Menzan Zuihō (1683–1769) adopted the same point of view, but added to it a variant that could have destroyed it: he admitted the necessity of passing through the novitiate before receiving the Bodhisattva precepts, which would take away from them their quality as perfect and sudden precepts. He was probably perplexed by the fact that Dōgen himself refrained from rejecting the Hinayāna precepts. Manzan does not seem to have been bothered by this detail since he stated that the Bodhisattva precepts transmitted by Dōgen and his master Rujing (1163–1228), and by Yōsai, went back to Bodhidharma. Thus they have nothing to do with classic Vinaya.<sup>70</sup> In the Rinzai sect, on the other hand, Hakuin Ekaku (1685–1768) and his disciple Tōrei Enji (1723–14) returned to the Hinayāna precepts of the *Damoduoluo chan jing* (*Dhyāna sūtra* of Dharmatrāta). This did not prevent Hakuin from dedicating his summer retreat in 1718 to a commentary on the *Hasōron*, Shenxiu's *Guanxin lun*.

The question of the influence of the Northern school on Japanese Buddhism thus appears to have been badly posed, insofar as people were looking

for a single, static conception of the doctrines of the school without taking its evolution into account. If we stress the traditional nature of the ideas that appear in the first texts, which are also the best known, it is easy to over-emphasize the distance that separates the Bodhisattva precepts of Chan from the *endonkai* of Saichō. But the liberating movement that was already under way in Tang Chan, particularly in the Northern school, would result in a radical re-examination of the classic precepts (for instance, with Saichō and in the Sōtō school), even leading to a rejection of all forms of discipline—with Wuzhu and in the Bao Tang school in China, and in the Darumashū or the Jōdo Shinshū in Japan. The desire to interiorize discipline also made possible a revival of Vinaya among the founders of Japanese Zen. Within the Tendai school, from which Yōsai and Dōgen emerged, there was a comeback of some traditional ideas, such as the theory of the joint reception of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna precepts. All these trends, sometimes contradictory, were already present in the Northern school. Without being the actual cause of such developments, this school certainly was one of the catalysts leading to them.

### *A Changing Thought*

When it came into contact with new doctrines such as Tantric Buddhism or rival philosophical trends like that of Shenhui, the thought of the Northern school, by its nature open to outside influences, became considerably changed. We will content ourselves here with indicating the major lines of this evolution.

#### THE NORTHERN SCHOOL AND TANTRIC BUDDHISM

The connections between Chan and Tantric Buddhism have not previously been a subject of much study. These connections seem to have become fairly significant beginning in the eighth century, as we can see from an anthology found at Dunhuang and compiled, apparently, by a Chan adept. In this *Shōkyō yōshū* (Canonical excerpts—a title given by the editors of the Taishō Canon), we find a long passage drawn from the *Nian song jie hufa putong zhūbu* (Sections on the invocation of the universal protection of the Dharma; T. 18, 904), a collection of Tantric rituals translated by Vajrabodhi.<sup>71</sup> As far as the texts of the Northern school proper are concerned, various signs indicate Tantric influences. Thus, in an apocryphal work of the Northern school also cited in the *Shōkyō yōshū*, the *Chanmen jing*, the questioner of the Buddha—a Bodhisattva named Qizhugai—is very likely only a version of the Tantric Bodhisattva Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambhin (Ch. Chu yiqie gai-

zhang). This Bodhisattva also appears in Śubhakarasiṃha's *Chanyao*, an "epitome of *dhyāna*" intended for Shenxiu's disciple Jingxian. But this is essentially an esoteric manual, and its impact on Northern school thought is hard to assess. In any case, we may assume that the interest of Shenxiu's successors in the Tantric Bodhisattva precepts translated, on the level of meditation, into certain esoteric practices. Adepts of the Dongshan school seem to have used *dhāraṇī* as a preliminary to concentration: in at least six Dunhuang manuscripts we find, inserted between the *Zhengxin lun* (Treatise on the realization of the mind) of Zhiyi and the *Xiuxin yaolun* (Summary treatise on mind cultivation) attributed to Hongren, two invocations exorcising the sleep demon. These *dhāraṇī*, which the practitioner is supposed to repeat 108 times, were apparently transcribed in Chinese by Śubhakarasiṃha.<sup>72</sup> The Northern Chan master Daoxuan (J. Dōsen) also passed for an expert in this field since it was he who was assigned the recitation of the *dhāraṇī* at the inauguration of the Great Buddha of Tōdaiji in Nara (753). We can also detect esoteric suggestions in various works connected with the tradition of the Northern school. For example, the *Xiuxin yaolun* is also known under the title *Zuishangcheng lun* (Treatise on the supreme vehicle).

The idea of the supreme vehicle is typical of Tantric Buddhism. Confirmation of this is provided by a document unnoticed until recently: the epitaph of Zhida, composed by an official named Cui Guan. It tells us, among other things, that Zhida, after having received from his master Shenxiu the "oral teaching" (that is, "esoteric teaching") and the "secret collection," undertook to convert the people of the Luoyang region, "revealing directly the essence of the *dhāraṇī* and reviving the principle of sudden awakening." This document is highly important because it confirms that some of Shenxiu's disciples had already been drawn to the Tantric doctrine then fashionable at Luoyang—well before the arrival in China of the Indian masters Śubhakarasiṃha and Vajrabodhi. The title of a work like the *Huida heshang bimi chanmen fa* (Secret Chan method of Master Huida) also reveals a clear esoteric influence.<sup>73</sup> Although the work is undeniably Chan in its tenor, we now know that its author's thinking reveals certain affinities to Tantric Buddhism.<sup>74</sup> Another text by Huida (Zhida), the *Dunwu zhenzong yaojue* (Essential ratification of the true principle of sudden awakening), had been copied into the manuscript P. 2799 just before a Tantric text entitled *Guanshiyin pusa tuoluoni jing* (Sūtra of the *dhāraṇī* of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara).

These few indications remain insufficient. In any case, the Northern school never tried to incorporate esoteric doctrine as a whole. Various Dunhuang documents, from a somewhat later date, suggest that it was, rather, within the Zhenyan school that an effort at synthesis took place, or more

exactly a co-opting of the doctrines of the Northern school, the Faxiang school, and the Pure Land school. Among the Dunhuang documents there is one (ms. Beijing *xian* 29) that is particularly important in this respect for a genealogy of Chan that is strongly imbued with Tantric conceptions. According to this text, Bodhidharma had reached the eighth stage in his career as a Bodhisattva when he received from the Bodhisattva Vasubandhu [*sic*] the Eye of the True Dharma (*zhengfa yan*) and achieved awakening to the Vajra Realm of the Buddha Vairocana. After him the Dharma was transmitted successively—still in the Vajra Realm (Vajradhātu), or sphere of the absolute—to Huike, Ji (probably an error for Can, i.e., Sengcan), Xinxing (error for Daoxin), Hongren, and Huineng.<sup>75</sup> Interpolations detectable in works like the *Damo chanshi guanmen* (Method of contemplation according to the *dhyāna* master Bodhidharma, T. 85, 2832) and the *Dacheng anxin rudao fa* (Method for pacifying the mind and achieving the Way according to the Great Vehicle), or the appearance of Chan breviaries in the form of pharmacopoeias (like the *Dacheng yaoguan*) are representative of this trend and confirm the popularity of Tantric Buddhism in China toward the middle of the eighth century.<sup>76</sup>

#### THE NORTHERN SCHOOL AND SUBITISM

Shenhui opposed the “subitism” of the Southern school to the “gradualism” of the Northern school. This formulation, brief as it is, contributed in large part to the success of the Southern school and still retains a certain authority. It has been called into question from time to time, even within the Chan/Zen tradition. Some Japanese scholars have long emphasized that the Northern school, insofar as it claims to be in the lineage from Bodhidharma, had to be subitist.<sup>77</sup> This filiation was never questioned by Shenhui and his partisans, who contented themselves with insisting on the collateral nature of the northern branch of Chan. Yet signs that might indicate subitism in the Northern school are there to be found. We could cite, for example, the following passage from the *Treatise on the Five Upāya*: “What is purity? Sons of the Buddha, all the Buddhas and Tathāgata make use of an expedient to achieve the Way. Purifying their spirit, the space of a thought, they thus cross all the Buddha lands all at once.”<sup>78</sup> In the *Chanmen jing*, the Buddha declares that he is limiting himself to discussing the Great Vehicle of the ultimate sudden teaching. This work dates from before the time of Shenhui’s offensive, since it was already listed as an apocryphal work in the *Kaiyuan lu* (Record of the Kaiyuan [era]), compiled in 730 by Zhisheng.<sup>79</sup>

Even during Shenhui’s lifetime, the principle of sudden awakening was spread throughout the capital by one of his lay disciples, Houmochen Yan

(another of Zhida's names). He is known as the author of two Chan treatises mentioned above, the *Dunwu zhenzong yaojue* and the *Huida heshang chanmen fa*. Because of its subitist nature, which seems to forestall Shenhui's criticisms, the first work has up to now been considered later in date by Japanese scholars. Its preface, put together by Liu Wude, the prefect of Dizhou (Shandong), is dated 712, however. But this has been taken as a forgery intended to prove the orthodoxy of the Northern school. This interpretation seems to me to be vitiated by its teleological nature: it rests on the conviction that Chan doctrine developed uniformly from gradualism to subitism and that any apparent anachronism must be rejected as resulting from an interpolation of material. It is high time that we abandoned this model, which has dominated the history of Chan up to now. As his stela inscription (dated 713) proves, Zhida was a convinced subitist, and he apparently owed this belief to his master Shenxiu. This is not to deny that it was mostly after the Huatai conference, after seeing their school accused of gradualism by Shenhui, that the heirs to Shenxiu worked to stress the highly subitist quality of their doctrine. This was no doubt the intention behind the following passage, added in a late (845) recension of the *Guanxin lun*: "This treatise is the backbone of all the sūtras, the ultimate and true gate. To practice in accordance to it, this is what is called sudden awakening!"<sup>80</sup> But it is in a work compiled in Tibet under completely different conditions, the *Dunwu dacheng zhengli jue* (Ratification of the true principle of the Great Vehicle of sudden awakening) that the subitist theory of the Northern school would appear in its full dimensions.

#### THE INFLUENCE OF NORTHERN CHAN IN TIBET

The existence of Tibetan translations of Zhida's *Dunwu zhenzong yaojue* and of Jingjue's *Record* seems to indicate that the thought of the Northern school was already known in Tibet around the time of the famous debate between the partisans of Indian-style gradualism and those who favored Chinese subitism.<sup>81</sup> It may appear paradoxical that the latter had recourse to an adept from Shenxiu's school, the monk Moheyan (Mahāyāna), to represent Chinese subitism. After the time of Shenhui and Zongmi, the gradualist reputation of the Northern school was so firmly established that even Paul Demiéville, in *Le concile de Lhasa*, took Moheyan to be one of Shenhui's disciples.<sup>82</sup> But as much in his thinking as in the lineage to which he laid claim, the Chinese master was clearly a man of the Northern school—even if on some points he adopted ideas from Shenhui and the Bao Tang school. Demiéville noted the analogy between the five *thabs* mentioned in several Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang as the characteristic method of Moheyan

and the five expedients of the *Treatise on the Five Upāya*.<sup>83</sup> This could not be simply a coincidence. In the same way, the idea of “no-thought and no-examination” (*busi buguan*) preached by Moheyan seems related to the notion of “detachment from thought” (*linian*), the first of the *upāya* in question. But above all it is the accent placed, throughout the Chinese file on the controversy, on the practice of gazing at the mind (*kanxin*) that clearly evokes an aspect of the thought of the Northern school so criticized by Shenhui. We should note, however, that this examination is defined as a non-examination by Moheyan, who tends in this matter to go beyond the classic conception of seated *dhyāna*: “To penetrate completely the nature of the principle of Thusness [Skt. *tathātā*], this is what makes up seated *dhyāna*. For those who cannot achieve this, other practices become necessary.”<sup>84</sup>

In spite of its efforts at doctrinal synthesis, the Northern school revealed itself as incapable of dispelling the perils threatening it. In China the Southern school emerged victorious from the controversy Shenhui stirred up. In Tibet the partisans of Moheyan were finally defeated by those of Kamalaśīla after the bSam-yas debate (ca. 794). But the end of the Northern school as a sect did not mean the total disappearance of its doctrines. The differences in the Chinese and Tibetan documents on the controversy should make us cautious in our final judgments. The Tibetan tradition that claims the victory of the Indian party is of a much later date and, for that reason, to be viewed with caution. Still there is no doubt about the downfall of Chinese Chan, even if it was less rapid than the Tibetan sources claim.<sup>85</sup> But subitist ideas continued to develop in Tibet under the cover of Mahāyoga doctrine, within the rDzogs-chen school of the rNying-ma pa. Thus later works like the *Bsam-gtan-mig-sgron* (Lamp of the eye of *dhyāna*) or the *bKa-thang-sde-lna* (Chronicle in five sections) mention the theory of sudden entrance and cite the dicta of various Chinese masters—including Moheyan, Xiangmo Zang, and Wolun.<sup>86</sup> The doctrine of the Northern school thus came to be completely absorbed by Tibetan Buddhism.<sup>87</sup> But along the way it had already been fused with that of the Bao Tang school—somewhat as it had to blend with the doctrine of the Niutou school before being assimilated by Japanese Tendai.<sup>88</sup> This evolution existed in germ in the spirit of syncretism that characterized Shenxiu and his disciples. It is on this point that the Northern school most clearly stands apart from its victorious rival, whose vigor is only the other face of a doctrinal intransigence.

## The 'Dhyāna' Master Jingjue

### *Jingjue's Life*

Only three extant sources contain information about Jingjue's life: his own preface to the *Record*; the "Brief Preface" to his commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya-sūtra*, put together by Li Zhifei, one of his lay disciples; and "Master Jingjue's Stela Inscription," composed by the famous poet Wang Wei (699?–761).<sup>1</sup> None of these three sources provides much in the way of chronological data, not even his birth and death dates. On the most important points, therefore, we are reduced to sometimes shaky hypotheses.

Wang Wei provides a highly significant piece of information about Jingjue's family connections: "The *dhyāna* master had the religious name Jingjue, and his family name was Wei. He was the younger brother of the consort of the Emperor Xiaohou [Zhongzong]."<sup>2</sup> In other words, the author of the *Record* was the brother of Empress Wei and belonged to one of the most powerful clans in the Guanzhong region. His father, Wei Xuanzhen, began as an administrator in Puzhou (in Sichuan) and was promoted to prefect of Yuzhou (in Henan) when his daughter became the chief wife to the heir to the throne. Jingjue seems to have been the youngest in a family of eight children. The official history mentions in passing two other daughters of Wei Xuanzhen and records the names of four of his sons: Jiong, Hao, Dong, and Ci. Strangely, no mention is made of the fifth, the one of concern here.<sup>3</sup>

According to Li Zhifei's preface, Jingjue was 23 (in the Chinese system of computation) in 705.<sup>4</sup> Thus he would have been born in 683, just before

Zhongzong (r. 683–84 and 705–10) assumed the throne and the consequent naming of Jingjue's elder sister as empress. The influence of this family and its social background on the fate and thinking of Jingjue cannot be overestimated. The young emperor's lack of skill and his wife's obvious ambitions quickly brought down on them, and the members of the Wei family, the fury of Wu Zetian, who was unwilling to be shunted to the sidelines in the passive role of dowager empress. Things came to a head in February 684 when Zhongzong wanted to install his father-in-law, Wei Xuanzhen, as head of the Imperial Chancellery. The emperor was immediately stripped of his title, reduced to the rank of Prince of Luling, and exiled to Fangzhou (in Hubei), where he had to remain until 698. His wife shared his fate and helped him to overcome his despair. But the rest of the Wei family did not fare so well. Wei Xuanzhen was exiled to Qinzhou (in Guangdong), where he died. His wife, née Cui, was killed by the prefect of Jingzhou, Ning Cheng. Their four oldest sons fled the capital and were pursued as far as Rongzhou (in the northern part of Guangxi), where they were murdered. The *Jiu Tang shu* reports that only the two younger sisters of the Empress Wei succeeded in escaping the slaughter and finally managed to return to Chang'an (JTS 183). Here again there is no mention of Jingjue, who must then have been about eight years old.

It is possible that some relative concealed him in a monastery in order to protect him from the fury of Empress Wu and to have him pray for the souls of his relatives. The disappearance of his brothers must have played a determining role in his renunciation of the world. The death of his niece, Princess Yongtai, seventh daughter of Zhongzong, may have played a part in this decision, as well. She was born during her parents' exile in Fangzhou and was only seventeen when she received, in 701, the order to commit suicide after criticizing the Empress Wu's favorites, the two Zhang brothers. Jingjue was only a little older than she was, and it is likely that he was deeply affected by this tragic death. That same year he met the *dhyāna* master Shenxiu, recently called to the capital. He told him of his confusion, but he found comfort neither in the old master's advice nor in the philosophical consolation he sought in the *Damo lun* (Treatise of Bodhidharma).<sup>5</sup> They did, however, confirm him in his determination to become a monk.

His ordination either preceded or immediately followed his retreat to Taihang shan, in 705. There he would pass most of the rest of his life and compose his main works. He must have faced opposition when he made this decision. Empress Wu had just been forced to abdicate in favor of Zhongzong. The Wei clan, to which Jingjue was now the main male heir, saw the way open to return to power after their eclipse. Empress Wei, who had



acquired great influence over her husband during their years of exile, quickly became powerful at court. According to Wang Wei, "During the time of Zhongzong, the imperial women's quarters held sway. The women had free access to the [emperor's] private apartments, and the ruling power had secretly changed hands. Close relatives received official positions, and more distant connections received titles of nobility."<sup>6</sup> All members of the Wei clan were invited to share in this rush to power. It is easy to imagine the pressures on Jingjue to abandon his monastic life. Wang Wei alluded to this:

Given the natural bonds [between Jingjue and the empress], an effort was made to provide him with a fiefdom. The imperial workshops were ordered to cast seals, and the chiefs of ministries were charged with drawing up plans. On the next day, the enfeoffment ceremony took place. Two days later he was supposed to go, with all his great train, to an imperial audience. Then he sighed, "Long ago my great master [Śākyamuni] gave up his rank in order to reach awakening. And now I, an insignificant being, should wish to become a feudal lord through patronage? Yet virtue is not far away. The main thing is to practice it." Tearing his robe, he wrapped his feet and fled during the night. He lived by begging for food, and by forced marches finally reached Taihang shan.<sup>7</sup>

Jingjue's interest in Buddhism was shared, if in a completely different fashion, by his sister. Emulating Empress Wu, she inaugurated an era of corruption unprecedented in the Tang. She was encouraged in this by her lover, Wu Sansi, her secret adviser Shangguan Wan'er, and her daughter, Princess Anluo.<sup>8</sup> Even more than for Empress Wu, for her and her followers Buddhism was above all an instrument of power, a convenient path to riches. Empress Wei remains infamous in Confucian chronicles for her traffic in monastic ordinations and administrative appointments.<sup>9</sup>

The Wei family thus reached the pinnacle of its power. The remaining relations of Jingjue were called solemnly to the capital. His mother's murderer was executed, and his head laid on her tomb. Wei Xuanzhen and his four sons were rehabilitated and received posthumous titles. Finally, the remains of Princess Yongtai, along with those of her husband Wei Yanji, were moved to the tomb of Emperor Baozong (r. 649–83) and a monastery, the Yongtaisi, was founded at Song shan in 706 to ensure the repose of her soul.<sup>10</sup> This was small comfort to Jingjue, who had just lost, in Shenxiu, the person he had considered his spiritual guide over the previous five years. He remained cloistered at Taihang shan, where he dedicated himself to study and meditation. The death of Shenxiu left him in despair: "Thenceforth, even though I still had doubts, I had nowhere to turn." Thus, when in 708 he heard of the arrival in the capital of the *dhyāna* master Xuanze, another representative of the Dongshan school, he immediately went to

Luoyang to consult him. He was then about 25 years old, and Xuanze must have been in his eighties. Their relationship would last for several years, and during this time Jingjue was able to "resolve once and for all" his doubts and to become heir to the Dharma of Xuanze: "The cotton *kāśāya* that had belonged to the grand master Ze, along with his pitcher, his bowl, and his monk's staff, were all handed over to the *dhyāna* master Jingjue."<sup>11</sup> Li Zhifei unfortunately provided no exact date for this transmission. It was apparently well before the publication of Jingjue's *Commentary*. The fact that Jingjue says nothing about this event suggests that he had not yet received the formal succession when he drew up the preface to the *Record* some time after 718. He must thus have been well over 30 at the time of his ordination.

Meanwhile, Jingjue seems to have sought advice from a colleague of Shenxiu, the *dhyāna* master Huian from Song shan. Huian's prestige seems to have been considerable. In 706, only a few months after the death of the *dhyāna* master Datong, he received a purple robe from Emperor Zhongzong. He died in 709, only shortly after Xuanze began to preach in the two capitals. The *Record* presents him as one of the three principal successors to Hongren, alongside Shenxiu and Xuanze. But strangely enough, in his introduction Jingjue himself makes no mention of meeting Huian. He also does not seem to have visited Song shan, despite his frequent stays in Luoyang. But his renown was by then well established, and he was much sought after by people at court. According to Li Zhifei, "He spread the Chan Dharma in the two capitals, and those he converted—princes and dukes, monks and laymen—were numberless."<sup>12</sup> Wang Wei confirms this point: "The [emperor's] in-laws and the imperial princes knelt [before Jingjue] and respectfully offered him robes; the mandarins departed backward, brushing [away the dust of their footsteps]. All sought his statements on the ineffable and sought advantage from repeated abasement."<sup>13</sup> These circumstances must have made it difficult for Jingjue to remain apart from the constant intrigues between the palace and a sometimes unscrupulous Buddhist clergy. Despite his desire to remain a hermit, an empress's brother could not claim to avoid all the ever-present constraints of politics.

#### THE TURNING POINT

Apparently, however, Jingjue kept his distance from the rampant corruption. Otherwise he would never have been spared in the repression that decimated the Wei clan and their allies in 710, when Empress Wei's effort to assume power was thwarted by Li Longji (the future Emperor Xuanzong). A reluctant Ruizong was made emperor, but the real power remained with Li Longji and the Taiping Princess, whose rivalry would turn into a merciless

feud. In 713 the princess was "authorized" to take her own life after a failed plot.<sup>14</sup> The overthrow of the Wei clan, soon followed by that of the Taiping Princess and her faction, ended a dark period that the Song historiographers would characterize as marked by "the calamities of Empresses Wu and Wei."<sup>15</sup> Jingjue himself emerged without stigma from the affair, thanks to his status as a distinguished monk and his privileged position vis-à-vis the preceptor of state of the time. Yanagida suggested that the influence of his lay disciple Li Zhifei, a relative of the emperor, must have also helped.<sup>16</sup> However, this assumption has been questioned by Timothy Barrett, who argues that Li Zhifei's kinship to Xuanzong was too distant for him to have had any influence. Barrett points instead to Wang Wei's mention of Jingjue's connections with a son of Ruizong who died in 724. This prince's close relationship to Xuanzong may have contributed to Jingjue's escape.<sup>17</sup> Whatever the actual situation, Jingjue's violent breaking of all the bonds tying him to the profane world led to a definitive split with his family. The tombs of his father, Wei Xuanzhen, and his older brother Wei Jiong were razed on Ruizong's order and pillaged by the people.<sup>18</sup>

In this general atmosphere of uncertainty, Jingjue began the new phase of his life. This new start coincided with the beginning of the Kaiyuan era, during which the Tang dynasty reached its apogee. When Xuanzong took the throne, he was, as we have seen, driven by the desire to re-establish political orthodoxy, long in ruins, and clean up an administration and clergy seriously corrupted by the venality of their leaders. He proclaimed a return to the norm symbolized by the "good government of the Zhenguan era (627-49)." In spite of the uncertainties posed by Xuanzong's marked interest in Daoism and his political pragmatism, which was colored by an anti-clericalism, this situation proved to be rich in opportunities for the members of the Dongshan school. Several indications (including the publication of the first "histories of the lamp," the *Chuan fabao ji* and the *Record*) show that Shenxiu's successors were well aware of the prospects opening before them. So it was that Jingjue, after having found in Xuanze the master he had sought so long, now identified himself, in his *Record*, with the tradition of Xuanze, the *dhyāna* tradition based on the *Lañkāvatāra-sūtra*.

#### THE YEARS OF MATURITY

We know even less about the second half of Jingjue's life. The only information we have concerns two of his lay disciples, Yin Xuandu and Zheng Xian (an official in the Bureau of Finance and the administrative court clerk of Jinzhou, respectively), who asked him in 727 to comment on

the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya-sūtra* in the Mingzhuzhi commandery (near Minxian, in modern Shaanxi).<sup>19</sup> Perhaps Jingjue had been invited to be the guest of his long-term disciple, Li Zhifei, then chief administrator in Jinzhou, not far from Mingzhizhi. If we were fortunate enough to have biographies of these high officials, we would undoubtedly have useful data on the regional spread of one of the Northern school's branches.

When he put together his commentary on the *Hṛdaya-sūtra*, Jingjue was 44 years old. Various details attest to his growing fame. Wang Wei presents him as a *bhadanta* (virtuous monk) of the Da Anguosi. His presence in this great Chang'an monastery, founded by Ruizong, seems at first sight to contradict the subtitle of the *Record*, which describes Jingjue as a "*śramaṇa* [monk] of the eastern capital [Luoyang], living in Linggu, on Taihang shan." The *Song gaoseng zhuan* contains various entries on monks at Da Anguosi but does not mention Jingjue. According to Wang Wei, toward the end of his life Jingjue had 70 close disciples qualified to ascend into the hall and authorized to enter his private cell.<sup>20</sup> This number suggests a sizable community, which might well be that of the Da Anguosi. But it is also possible that his inscription in the registers of this monastery was purely nominal, and that it was only protection in high places (despite his own family connections) that brought him the honor of being attached to a monastery belonging to the imperial family. This is how Wang Wei describes Jingjue's funeral:

Then, identifying himself with the profane, he showed signs of sickness, and, judging the time propitious, prepared for his end.<sup>21</sup> He suddenly announced to his disciples, "Anyone who has any doubts should ask me questions, because this night I shall enter into the [*nirvāṇa*] without remainder." And the sound of the numberless words that he then spoke harmonized with that of water and birds. . . . On such-and-such a day in such-and-such a month in such-and-such a year [*sic*] he returned to peace. On such-and-such a day in such-and-such a month his body was moved to the Chigu hermitage, on the Shaoling plain. . . . From the gates of the city to the opening into the valley, banners and platforms made an uninterrupted sequence, and his Dharma companions in their white mourning dress accompanied the inhabitants of the capital. People beat on their chests, tore at their hair, sprinkled themselves with water, spotted themselves with dust. . . . Lamentations [*arose that*] would cause mountains to crumble and fill the seas, and their sound made the 3,000 great [*universes*] tremble. There were various monks, nuns, relatives of the late Huizhuang, nobles, and many others besides. All advanced together, leading the funeral procession. The practice of some of them was as white as snow, while the fame of others was almost equal to that of the red lotus flowers. Some were [*of the same class as Queen*] Śrīmālā while others were worthy of the layman of Vaiśālī [*Vimalakīrti*].<sup>22</sup>

Wang Wei's poetic genius hardly concerned itself with chronological details, and we do not even know the date of these sumptuous funerals. The event must have taken place before An Lushan's rebellion in 755, because Wang Wei himself died in 761. The official history reports one fact that may be connected with Jingjue's death, or at least with the official consecration that marked the last years of his life. In 750 an imperial edict required the chief of government employees in Chang'an, a man named Xie Yongxian, to inspect the tombs of Wei Xuanzhen and his oldest son and to note the dates of their funeral services. We may see in this gesture of Xuanzong an indication of a long-delayed change in his opinion of the relatives of Empress Wei, if not of that lady herself. Whatever Jingjue's own role in this tardy rehabilitation, he himself seems to have remained ostracized by historians. It was only the chance rediscovery of two of his works among the Dunhuang manuscripts that has revealed his name to us and caused us to look again at Wang Wei's account.

### *Jingjue's Contribution to Chan*

#### 'LAŊKĀVATĀRA' AND 'VAJRACCHEDIKĀ'

The two main surviving works of Jingjue are the *Record*, apparently compiled at the beginning of the Kaiyuan era, at Taihang shan, and the *Zhu Banruo boluomiduo xin jing* (Commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya-sūtra*, here abbreviated to *Commentary*), dated 727. According to Li Zhifei, Jingjue also put together, during his stay at Taihang shan, a commentary on the *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in one *juan*. Unfortunately this work was not found among the Dunhuang manuscripts. But these manuscripts do include a poem that seems to be the beginning of a text entitled *Taihang Jingjue chanshi kaixin quandao chanxun* (Instructions of the *dhyāna* master Jingjue of Taihang for opening the mind and guiding in *dhyāna* practice, ms. Beijing *hai* 51).

This simple listing immediately gives rise to the question of the doctrinal sources of Jingjue's thought. A well-established tradition reports that the Southern school of the sixth patriarch, Huineng, based itself on the authority of the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* and, in a general way, on the doctrine of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, whereas the views of the Northern school derived from theories in the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*. Thus the doctrinal development of Chan is seen as following a strictly dialectic process. The Northern school was destined to crumble in the face of the Southern school at the same time that the *Laṅkāvatāra*, supposedly gradualist, was superseded by the subitist *Vajracchedikā*. This

type of interpretive schema, still followed by many historians of Buddhism, is far from innocent. It has provided the justification for many dissidents or founders of sects who tried to show the orthodoxy and superiority of their own doctrines by adopting an appropriate "doctrinal classification" (*panjiao*). Its role in the evolution of Chinese Buddhism reminds us of that of the concept of the mandate of heaven (*tianming*), invoked whenever there was a change of dynasty. It contains certain presuppositions whose basis deserves careful scrutiny.

If we accept this teleological view of Chan history, then Jingjue has to be regarded as an aberration. He apparently began his scholastic career with a commentary on the *Vāracchedikā*, then revealed his enthusiasm for the *Laṅkāvatāra*, only to return finally to a *Prajñāpāramitā* text. To solve this apparent contradiction, two types of diametrically different arguments may be proposed. The first consists of insisting that Jingjue was above all a partisan of the *Laṅkāvatāra* and his interest in the *Prajñāpāramitā* tradition was superficial. It was only at the express request of his lay disciples that he condescended to write commentaries on two major works from that tradition. The second argument, to which I give my tentative support, holds that Jingjue's thought was deeply coherent and ultimately based on *Prajñāpāramitā* doctrine. The *Record* did a great deal to bolster the identification of the Chan of the Northern school with the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*. But, despite the reference to the *Laṅkāvatāra* in the title of the *Record*, Jingjue quoted this text much less than he did the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts. Jingjue does not seem to have had a great interest in its doctrinal content. We get the impression that for him, as for some of his predecessors, this canonical text is most important for its quasi-magical power and the authority it confers on its possessors. Its transmission is a measure of orthodoxy, a little like that, at the same period, of the Daoist talismanic texts.<sup>23</sup> In addition, Jingjue's *Commentary on the Hṛdaya* betrays a strong influence from Mādhyamika doctrine. This commentary is significant because it is one of the first to approach from a Chan viewpoint this *pāramitā* text "translated" a few decades earlier by Xuanzang, and it sheds light on various aspects of the thought of the Northern school.<sup>24</sup> If we are to believe its colophon, this commentary was widely disseminated during the Five Dynasties period and at the beginning of the Song, and it seems also to have been known in Japan at an early date.<sup>25</sup>

#### MĀDHYAMIKA AND YOGĀCĀRA

We have been looking at an apparent contradiction between the lines of thought that emerge from the two main scriptural authorities followed by Jingjue with the working assumption that a resolution of this contradiction

means accepting one of its terms. But Jingjue seems rather to have tried to reconcile the two lines of thinking, the one from the *Prajñāpāramitā* and that of the *Laṅkāvatāra*—that is, if he ever thought of them as contradictory and in need of reconciliation.<sup>26</sup> This, at least, is the impression one gets from the "Brief Preface" in which Li Zhifei, after presenting the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition that Jingjue is heir to, stated that all representatives of this tradition "obtained awakening, through the *prajñā*." The *Record* itself attributes to Daoxin the following statements: "Fundamentally my Dharma rests on the 'primacy of the Buddha mind' of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* and on the one-practice *samādhi* from the *Saptaśatikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*."<sup>27</sup> The two traditions are thus clearly presented as parallel by Daoxin himself and/or by Jingjue.

The antagonism between Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda and Mādhyamika has been assumed to be a fact ever since the famous dispute between Dharmapāla (530–61) and Bhāvaviveka (500–570). But it is possible that this conflict has been exaggerated in part by the later Indo-Tibetan tradition with its famous taste for dialectical oppositions.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, the *Laṅkāvatāra* no longer simply represents the Yogācāra viewpoint. Given these caveats, the opposition of the *Laṅkāvatāra* to the Mādhyamika doctrine of emptiness clearly becomes less firm. It still obtains, however, as long as one remains on the ontological level. If Chan adepts could accept both positions without much difficulty, it was because they paid attention above all to the soteriological aspects of the Mādhyamika theory of emptiness or the Yogācāra theory of "mind only." Chan adepts retained from the *Laṅkāvatāra* only those elements conducive to their practice of *dhyāna* or those that emphasized it. This attitude was made easier by the very loose structure of the text. The four-scroll *Laṅkāvatāra*, as it was translated by the Indian master Guṇabhadra, came to be considered a sort of epitome of Buddhist doctrine, like the *Awakening of the Faith* or the *Hṛdaya-sūtra*. In addition, on the ontological plane, some ideas helped to provide a common basis for *Prajñāpāramitā* texts and the *Laṅkāvatāra*. There is, for example, one fundamental Mahāyāna concept that the two traditions share and that plays a large role in Jingjue's thought: that of the two Truths (*satyadvaya*), the absolute (*paramārthasatya*) and the conventional (*saṃvṛtisatya*). The *Laṅkāvatāra* also develops a closely related idea, expressed by the two complementary terms *siddhāntanaya* (Ch. *zongtong*) and *deśanānaya* (Ch. *shuotong*); the first designates the experience of truth that one has acquired within oneself and the other the understanding obtained by means of an external teaching. This basic complementarity between the spirit and the letter of Buddhism, contemplative practice and the study of texts, had not been questioned by any Chinese school, at least down to Tang times.<sup>29</sup>

## A LOGIC OF AMBIVALENCE

But in practice opinions varied widely on the relative value of these two approaches. We see, as early as the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420–589), a division between those who dedicated themselves to the study of texts and those who preached the superiority of meditation. Within Chan itself, the two tendencies seem to have always coexisted, even though the second was clearly predominant. This double point of view was already apparent at the beginning of Bodhidharma's *Erru sixing lun* where "entrance by means of the principle [*liru*]" is first of all defined as the act of "realizing the essential principle [*zong*, Skt. *siddhānta*] while relying on doctrine," but then a few lines on it is stated that "to remain independent of discursive teaching is to become mysteriously harmonized with the true principle."<sup>30</sup> Here we have the origin of the two antagonistic but fundamentally complementary theories of "harmony between doctrine and meditation" (*jiaochan yizhi*) and of "special transmission outside the scriptures" (*jiaowai biechuan*) that would give rise to so much speculation in later Chan.<sup>31</sup> While it points out the complementarity between the *siddhāntanaya* and the *deśanānaya*, the *Laṅkāvatāra* insists on the ultimately ineffable nature of Truth and paradoxically maintains that the Buddha, during his fifty years of teaching, actually "never uttered a single word."<sup>32</sup> This famous passage probably goes a long way to account for the text's popularity in early Chan and even for a representative of the Southern school like Mazu Daoyi.<sup>33</sup> Du Fei, the author of the *Chuan fabao ji*, also stressed the greater importance of the *siddhāntanaya*.<sup>34</sup>

At the same time, the *Laṅkāvatāra* has always been considered a daunting text, as much for its style as for its content, and one whose decoding demands a high level of scholarship. Paradoxically it demands of its readers the dedication to the written text that it otherwise condemns. According to Suzuki Daisetsu, its scholastic nature is precisely one of the reasons why, as Chan thought started to spread at a popular level, this text was gradually abandoned in favor of the *Vajracchedikā*, which would become the symbol of the radical tendencies represented by Shenhui. But this does not mean, basically, an incompatibility between the two works. The ambiguous position of Jingjue reflects that of the *Laṅkāvatāra* in terms he borrowed from the tradition of the *Prajñāpāramitā*. At the beginning of his *Commentary*, he stated that "there exist two kinds of wisdom [*prajñā*]: the first is the wisdom [that derives] from the letter, the second is profound, pure wisdom. The wisdom [that derives] from the letter is expressed orally and transmitted by means of texts, whereas profound, pure wisdom is transmitted by the mind and works in silence."<sup>35</sup> He apparently invoked this theoretical equality between the two types of *prajñā* only to immediately reject them.<sup>36</sup> In line with the



orthodoxy that he claimed to represent, Jingjue could not deny the pre-eminence of the pure, profound knowledge of the ultimate truth or the *siddhāntanaya*. The preface to the *Record* opens on these paradoxical lines:

All recourse to the written word or oral tradition  
 betrays a false conception of Chan.  
 The Dharma [which was preached at the time] of the Nirvāṇa  
 remains a secret that could not be taught to others.  
 It is communicated through the mind and always works in silence.<sup>37</sup>

In the same vein, somewhat later: "The supreme Way is devoid of words, and to talk of it is to wander from it. . . . Great Awakening is profound, obscure, without words or explanations."<sup>38</sup> Jingjue apparently contradicted himself, however, when he vowed to dedicate his existences—both his present life and those in his future—to the transmission of the posthumous writings of Bodhidharma, and when he entrusted to a preface the task of expressing his awakening.<sup>39</sup> Was this simply a contradiction on his part? Did he not try, by a careful selection of quotations, to reconcile the *deśanā* and *siddhānta* points of view, conventional truth and absolute truth, scholarship and seated *dhyāna*? It is likely that he was simply following in his turn the "joint practice" of textual study and *dhyāna* that, according to the *Lengqie renfa zhi* (Record of the men and the Dharma of the Laṅkāvatāra school), Hongren himself recommended to his disciple Xuanze.<sup>40</sup> This attitude is by no means an original one. It already appears, as we have seen, with Bodhidharma as well as Shenxiu and his successors. But the *Record* is still the only work that presents a synthesis of the various Chan currents of the time, placing itself under the aegis of the *Laṅkāvatāra*.

This attempt was in accord with some fairly precise motives made clear in the *Commentary* and his "Brief Preface." While claiming to belong to the Chan tradition of Bodhidharma, Jingjue seems to be trying to establish his own school, described as a Southern school, one quite separate from that of Shenxiu's successors. From this vantage point, we can say that he paved the way for Shenhui and his Heze school. First of all there is the use he made of the *Laṅkāvatāra*. The *Commentary* refers to this sūtra only to show that "the knowledge of the ancient sages has been passed down [from generation to generation]."<sup>41</sup> It would appear that Jingjue, perhaps aware of the fragility of the doctrinal synthesis, wanted to avoid any precise reference to the theories expressed in the *Laṅkāvatāra* and treated that text only as a measure of legitimacy. The tradition of the *Laṅkāvatāra* thus achieved a value quite separate from the content of the text itself, which came to serve as a kind of talisman.<sup>42</sup> We know that during this period many texts, Buddhist as well as Daoist, were endowed with analogous powers.<sup>43</sup> In this connection we should

perhaps recall the tradition that Guṇabhadra, the first translator of the *Laṅkāvatāra*, acquired in a well-timed dream the mastery of the Chinese language that allowed him to perform this task. It was also the quasi-magical efficacy of the *Laṅkāvatāra* that, according to legend, helped Bodhidharma escape several attempts on his life. The Indian patriarch ended up being poisoned only after he had transmitted the *Laṅkāvatāra* to his disciple Huike and so had lost the mystical protection conferred by the sūtra. All these stories, of course, were just the sort of thing that appealed to a public avid for the supernatural and little interested in doctrinal subtleties. Jingjue's apparent concession to the tastes of the time may have simply been dictated by his desire to gain adherents to the Chan doctrine, but it may also reveal his sincere attachment to an already widespread vision of Chan. It is difficult to reach any decision without underestimating the complexity of the individual and his thought. Still, the first hypothesis seems most likely.

#### BODHIDHARMA AND HIS COUNTERPARTS

It is hard to avoid suspecting that Jingjue deliberately transformed the Indian translator Guṇabhadra into a haloed "*dhyāna* master" whose prestige would be enhanced by his status as the first "Chinese" Chan patriarch. According to Li Zhifei, "During the reign of Taizu [424–53] of the Song, a *dhyāna* master, the *trepitaka* Guṇabhadra, came from Southern India to transmit the lamp of the *Laṅkāvatāra*, and from then on people spoke of the 'Southern school.'"<sup>44</sup> This pious deception was intended not so much to relegate Bodhidharma to a secondary place as to thwart some adepts of the Dongshan school who derive from his tradition. The author of the *Record* can thus be seen as undertaking a public relations campaign: does not Guṇabhadra, converted into a *dhyāna* master, better represent for Jingjue the ideal of religious practice uniting scholarship and contemplation than does the "ascetic" Bodhidharma? At the same time, the tradition of the *Laṅkāvatāra* preached by the *Record* is presented as the senior branch of Chan.

If this was Jingjue's intent, we should look again at the story of the "miraculous spring" reported at length by both of his biographers.<sup>45</sup> According to Li Zhifei,

The *dhyāna* master Jingjue cultivated the Way at Taihang shan in Huaizhou, at the very spot where the *dhyāna* master Sengchou had separated fighting tigers with his monk's staff. . . . A tradition that has come down from antiquity to our day says that, during the time of Gaohuan [496–547], the *dhyāna* master Chou saw, near the miraculous spring on Taihang shan, two tigers fighting over the body of a deer, and he separated them using his monk's staff. The two tigers lay down on the ground and did not dare fight any more. Several centuries

after the *nirvāṇa* of the *dhyāna* master Chou, since nobody lived there any more, the miraculous spring had dried up and the cypresses withered. But it took only three days after the *dhyāna* master Jingjue of the great Tang, seeking signs of the ancient sage, had thatched the *dhyāna* hall and cleaned it out thoroughly for the miraculous spring to start flowing again and the withered cypresses to become green again.<sup>46</sup>

These auspicious signs clearly attest to the extraordinary powers of Jingjue the *dhyāna* practitioner, his deep spiritual affinities with Sengchou, and even the mandate with which he was invested over the centuries. He renamed this miraculous spring "the spring of *prajñā*," as if to emphasize the symbolic importance he attributed to its resurgence. Wang Wei tells the same episode, this time with a significant poetic emphasis:

[Jingjue] went to visit the ancient hermitage of a *dhyāna* master and settled there. Fierce tigers came and licked his feet, poisonous snakes warmed his body, mountain deities offered him fruit, and goddesses scattered flowers over him. Calm and at peace, he never showed pleasure or fear. There, where there had formerly been only a dried up fountain and withered cypresses, trees spread their branches and water rippled. The "miraculous fountain" of the Eastern Wei, responding to the incense he burned, suddenly burst forth again; the fruits of northern India were only waiting for him, the wandering monk, to reappear. Such were the signs of the clear renewal of the branches of the *dhyāna* and the resurgence of the water of the Dharma.<sup>47</sup>

Some years later the fusion of Jingjue, Sengchou, and Guṇabhadra was completed. This, at least, is the impression given by the "Song About the Foreign Monk of Taibo [shan]" (read Taihang shan), composed by the poet Cen Zhen (715–70), which begins:

I have heard of a foreign monk, living on Taibo shan,  
Whose hermitage almost touches the sky.  
Holding only the *Lañkāvatāra*, he entered the Central Peak.  
It is hard for people of this world to see him, and only the sound of  
his bell can be heard.  
At the edge of his window, he drives off two tigers with his staff.  
At the foot of his bed, his bowl encloses a dragon. . . .  
His mind is pure as running water.  
His body, like wandering clouds, is completely unattached.<sup>48</sup>

In Daoxuan's *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, Sengchou (485–560) occupies a position with many parallels to that of Bodhidharma:

Under the Gao Qi, the most notable individual in Hebei was Sengchou, while under the Zhou, Sengshi was honored in Guanzhong. . . . These two sages alone transmitted the lamp and spread their teaching without interruption. . . .

We must also speak of Bodhidharma. While remaining mysteriously fixed in the principle, he guided by his words [the people of the region of] Jiangluo, and his "wall contemplation" according to the Great Vehicle was a supreme feat. Educated laymen flocked to pay him homage, as if it were a market day. But his words were difficult to elucidate. . . . However, a careful examination of these two doctrines shows that they are the two wheels of a single vehicle. Since Sengchou gave more importance to the "foundations of mindfulness," whose rules are clear, these practices were in favor. But Bodhidharma followed the principle of emptiness, whose deep meaning is impenetrable.<sup>49</sup>

Obviously Daoxuan was drawing a clear distinction between the two men and their *dhyāna* methods, while insisting on their complementarity. He heaped high praise on the "wall contemplation" (*biguan*) of the Indian master, but recognized that this method is difficult to grasp, even for a practitioner as talented as himself. We are thus justified in having doubts that Bodhidharma's teaching was as successful as Daoxuan claimed.

On the other hand, Sengchou's popularity is unquestionable.<sup>50</sup> We know that, after turning down many invitations, he finally went to Ye in 551, to the court of Emperor Wenxuan (r. 551–59). This episode recalls Wu Zetian's later invitation to Shenxiu. The resemblances between the two men do not stop there. Sengchou, like Shenxiu, combined scholarship and practice, and it is very likely that this quality did not escape the attention of the author of the *Record*, who in his turn, after spending long years in his retreat on Taihang shan, became at least a nominal resident of one of the great monasteries in the capital. It was thus probably easier for him to identify with Sengchou, who had abandoned solitude to live his last years near the court, as a preceptor of state (*guoshi*), than with Bodhidharma, the uncompromising recluse of Song shan. Fotuo (dates unknown), the first abbot of the Shaolinsi, had already recognized Sengchou as the best practitioner of *dhyāna* east of the Pamir Mountains, and the latter's influence remained great in Jingjue's days.<sup>51</sup> By associating himself with Sengchou, Jingjue was endeavoring to give his doctrine a wider basis and to reconcile the two currents of thinking that, since the appearance of Bodhidharma's Chan, had been considered contradictory.

But the differences between Sengchou and Bodhidharma were probably not as deep as Daoxuan suggests. If we take Daoxuan at his word, we run the risk of giving too much credence to what well may have been only a literary technique. The author of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* also gave us two very different images of Bodhidharma, with the first in many respects that of a typically Hīnayāna ascetic.<sup>52</sup> Sengchou in turn, despite his taste for the technique called the "four foundations of mindfulness" was not simply an Indian-style *dhyāna* adept. He had, according to available evidence, a solid

knowledge of Mahāyāna doctrine and his biographical entry shows him conferring the Bodhisattva precepts on the Emperor.<sup>53</sup>

Jingjue was not the only person to have spotted the similarities between Bodhidharma and Sengchou.<sup>54</sup> One section of the Dongshan school seems also to have considered Sengchou its inspiration. Because of his origins, he could be considered more likely than his Indian homologue to incarnate the specifically Chinese aspects of Chan. In any case, we see the appearance under his name of a number of Mahāyāna texts that reveal the doctrinal development of the Dongshan school, as well as its rapid popularization.<sup>55</sup> One of these texts, the *Dacheng xinxing lun* (Treatise on mind cultivation [according to] the Great Vehicle), attributes to Sengchou a theory that depends on the notion of the "two entrances," considered characteristic of Bodhidharma's teaching:

There are two ways to apply the mind [*zuoxin*]. The first consists in reaching the principle from the outside, the second in proceeding from the principle. In the method of reaching the principle from the outside, the body and the mind work together. Thought does not consider the dharmas, and neither do the body and speech. . . . [On the other hand,] in the method that consists in working on the basis of the principle, the body and the mind work separately. Although the mind, inwardly, makes no distinction, one proceeds, in actions and words, like an ordinary person. Whether outwardly one behaves well or ill, one's thinking is not influenced to any degree. Therefore, do not reject actions and words, whether good or bad, but rather the objectivizing thought that is at the basis of the mind.<sup>56</sup>

It is not impossible that this text was inspired to a certain extent by Sengchou's thought. Doctrinally, it is in any case close to the *Record*. And since it does not necessarily predate Jingjue's works, the question of influences must remain open.

All these considerations leave an impression of a lack of coherence in Jingjue's efforts to pass as a leader of Chan by reconciling the two major tendencies in contemporary Buddhism. He is, in the *Record*, not in the class of theoreticians like Zhiyi or Zongmi, and rather than a synthesis it would probably be better in his case to talk of eclecticism. This eclectic spirit, which he shared with the other principal representatives of the Northern school, proved to be a double-edged sword. It was probably one factor in this school's lack of resistance to the vigorous attacks launched by Shenhui and his partisans in the name of sectarianism and a few key ideas. To understand fully the difficult situation Jingjue faced, we need to study in more detail the nature of these two traditions that converged in the Northern school at the beginning of the eighth century.

## CHAPTER 6

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### *The 'Laṅkāvatāra' Tradition and the Dongshan School*

As is suggested by its complete title, the *Record* was intended to establish the orthodox patriarchal tradition of Chan through the transmission of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*.<sup>1</sup> Its contents indicate that the author, Jingjue, a product of the then still-new Dongshan school, was trying to connect this school genealogically with the *Laṅkāvatāra* school, whose renown he wanted to appropriate. In this, Jingjue was perhaps only following the pattern set by his master Xuanze, the author of a work called *Lengqie renfa zhi* (Annals of the men and the Dharma of Laṅkā), a major inspiration for the *Record*. Before examining the accuracy of Jingjue's genealogy, or the sincerity of those who supported it, the nature of both the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition and the Dongshan school needs to be made more precise.

#### *The 'Laṅkāvatāra' Tradition*

In the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, Daoxuan presented two highly significant quotations concerning the existence of a "*Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* tradition." The first occurs in the biographical entry on Huike, and the second in the entry for one of Daoxuan's contemporaries, a charismatic monk named Fachong (587–665?).<sup>2</sup> The entry on Huike is in the section dedicated to "*dhyāna* practice" (*xichan*), which follows the materials on Bodhidharma. The part of interest here is the following:

At the outset, the *dhyāna* master [Bodhi]dharma entrusted the four-fascicle *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* to Huike, telling him: "In my opinion, only this sūtra has any value in the land of Han. Let your practice conform with it, and you will succeed in delivering the world." Huike transmitted the fundamental principle as this [sūtra] revealed it to him. . . . Each time he preached the Law, he ended with these words: "This sūtra after four generations will become a series of empty words devoid of any meaning. This is sad!" . . . This is why masters like Na and Man always kept with them the four-fascicle *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* and considered it the essence of the mind.<sup>3</sup>

The entry on Fachong is in the appendix dedicated to "resonant powers" (*gantong*). It begins like this:

[Fa]chong, feeling that the obscurity of the *Laṅkāvatāra* had caused this text to fall into long oblivion, decided to search for it, without being deterred by difficulties. Having met descendants of Master [Hui]ke who were very well versed in the exegesis of this sūtra, he studied under the direction of their master and often brought out the essential points [of the text]. Then [the master] left and entrusted [Fa]chong with the job of transmitting the doctrine. He subsequently commented more than thirty times [on the *Laṅkāvatāra*]. Then he met someone who had personally inherited from Master [Hui]ke and succeeded, by drawing on the "principle of the Single Vehicle of South India," in commenting on it one hundred times more. This sūtra had originally been translated by the *trepitaka* Guṇabhadra of the [Liu] Song and copied by the Dharma master Huiguan. This is why its text and its principle match each other, why its practice and its substance form a perfectly coherent whole. It focuses on a wisdom that is not the realm of the word.

Later the *dhyāna* master [Bodhi]dharma transmitted it in the south and the north, taking as principles the forgetting of words and thought and the correct examination of the unattainable. This was soon practiced in the Central Plain and the *dhyāna* master [Hui]ke was the first to grasp its fundamental points. In Wei intellectual circles, there were many who could not make sense of it, but those who understood this doctrine and grasped its deep meaning achieved awakening in due time. Today, as these men and their times recede more and more [into the past], the scholars of new generations are easily led into error.<sup>4</sup>

Daoxuan then indicates the lines of filiation recognized by Fachong: in the first generation, Huike and Huiyu, the two disciples of Bodhidharma; then the direct and collateral lines derived from Huike, since Huiyu, "having received the Way, practiced it in his mind and refrained from speaking of it."<sup>5</sup> Although the direct heirs of Huike "presented the principle orally and did not produce any texts," his indirect heirs, on the model of those who followed the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition, presented it in voluminous commentaries

written on this sūtra. Fachong himself was in a slightly ambiguous position, as we can see from the end of the entry on him:

From the moment when he undertook exegesis, [Fa]chong dedicated himself completely to the *Laṅkāvatāra*, which he commented on more than two hundred times. . . . When his disciples persistently asked him to isolate its deep meaning, he told them, "The meaning is the Principle itself. Oral explanations are themselves too simplistic; all the more reason why it should not be put down in writing!" But in spite of his reluctance, he finally put together a commentary in five fascicles that he entitled "Personal Notes," [a commentary] now very popular.<sup>6</sup>

The biographical entries on Huike and Fachong, both in their content and in the contrast between them or between them and other passages in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, call for further consideration. First, we shall look at the highly controversial question of the affinities of Bodhidharma and Huike with the *Laṅkāvatāra*, then at the role played by Huike's heirs, and finally at the problem posed by Huike's prediction about the fate of this sūtra.

#### BODHIDHARMA, HUIKE, AND THE 'LAṆKĀVATĀRA'

The *Xu gaoseng zhuan* is the earliest document known to present Bodhidharma and Huike as adherents of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*. This reputation would thenceforth be attached to Bodhidharma throughout his legendary career, even long after the Chan school opted for another sūtra, the *Vajracchedikā*.<sup>7</sup> But the association is doubtless of a late date, since Daoxuan seems to have become aware of it only after he had produced the first addendum to his *Xu gaoseng zhuan* in 645. There he made no mention of the *Laṅkāvatāra* in the entry on Bodhidharma or in his general discussion of *dhyāna* practitioners.<sup>8</sup> In addition, the sections quoted above from the entry on Huike appear to be interpolations.<sup>9</sup> These additions, emendations of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, apparently date from the years 645–67. During the last part of his life, Daoxuan noted the upsets in the Chinese Buddhist world caused by the return from India of the famous pilgrim and translator Xuanzang by compiling a supplement to his work, and it is in this last part that we find the entry on the *Laṅkāvatāra* master Fachong.<sup>10</sup> It is possible that changes were made in the text after Daoxuan's death.<sup>11</sup> We might also doubt the trustworthiness of his testimony and the traditional image of the two first Chan patriarchs that he echoes.

In the absence of historical documents, those who support this traditional image resort to a *contrario* arguments and insist on the doctrinal identity between the thought expressed in the *Laṅkāvatāra* and that of Bodhidharma



as it is revealed in the *Erru sixing lun*. Chan, like Daoism, often takes the paradoxical position of relying on a text—sometimes sacred, sometimes not—to reveal the uselessness of all language vis-à-vis the Absolute. This apparently inevitable contradiction, detectable in Bodhidharma as in so many other spiritual masters, may reflect some deep, almost constitutional requirement of all truth.<sup>12</sup> It may also be that the concrete needs for spiritual direction led Bodhidharma to modify the apophatic rigor of his teaching and, as a result, to make heavy use of the *Laŋkāvatāra*. We have seen that the *Erru sixing lun* encouraged the practitioner to rely on Buddhist doctrine while warning against too narrow a dependence on it. From the variety of its content, the *Laŋkāvatāra* was well suited to Chan teaching methods.<sup>13</sup>

From a doctrinal viewpoint, Bodhidharma seems to have been part of the lineage of the Mādhyamika school. This does not exclude the possibility that in certain situations he may have made use of the *Laŋkāvatāra*. But the little we know about his “thought” makes an exclusive attachment on his part to a single sūtra highly dubious, and especially any attachment to a particular translation of it. The same reasoning holds, broadly speaking, for Huike. The tradition that claims to go back to these two *dhyāna* masters certainly postdates them by a long time: the polemical intent of such an affiliation should be enough to make us cautious about accepting it.

#### HUIKE'S DISCIPLES

In the biographical entry on Fachong, the long line of heirs to Huike stands in sharp contrast to the entry on Huike himself, where there is mention of only two heirs in the *Laŋkāvatāra* tradition: Sengna in the first generation, and Huiman in the second.<sup>14</sup> Everything leads to the conclusion that it was only with Fachong, in the years 645–65, that this tradition spread in the capital and acquired its patent of nobility. From then on, it could not avoid coming into conflict with already established schools. Its main rival was clearly the Yogācāra tendency, represented by Xuanzang. The famous translator was then at the height of his fame and calling into question all traditional exegesis (to his mind, based on outdated translations), including that of the *Laŋkāvatāra*. The lively discussion between him and Fachong on this matter in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* tells us much about the strained relations between the two men and their respective schools.<sup>15</sup>

Xuanzang's claims and the fundamental reformation of Buddhism that derived from his “new translations” scandalized a traditionalist like Fachong. But he in turn claimed for the *Laŋkāvatāra* tradition an orthodoxy that gave rise to furious reactions from another, older group of *Laŋkāvatāra* masters. According to Yūki Reimon, these were the Daśabhūmika, who relied on

Bodhiruci's translation and were eventually absorbed by the epistemological school (Faxiang) or by the Huayan school.<sup>16</sup> Fachong's supporters tried to attribute to Bodhidharma a definitive judgment in favor of Guṇabhadra's translations, obviously to enhance the prestige of their own interpretation of the *Laṅkāvatāra* and thus demolish the older *Laṅkāvatāra* masters. Huike's heirs did not stay aloof from the controversy concerning the nature of the *ālayavijñāna*, which set the northern against the southern branch of the *Daśabhūmika-śāstra* school (Dilun).<sup>17</sup> The adepts of the northern branch of this school invoked the *Laṅkāvatāra*, in Bodhiruci's translation, as scriptural authority when they tried to assimilate the eighth *vijñāna*—that is, the *ālayavijñāna*, in its double aspect of pure and soiled—with the *Tathāgatagarbha*. After Paramārtha, the adherents of the *Mahāyānasamgraha* ended up by claiming the existence of a ninth, immaculate *vijñāna*, the *amalavijñāna*. This idea seems to have been developed originally by a monk affiliated with the southern branch of the *Daśabhūmika-śāstra* school, Huiyuan (525–92). He derived it from a passage in a chapter of the *Laṅkāvatāra* that does not occur in Bodhiruci's translation, and it may be precisely for this reason that Fachong and his disciples opted for Guṇabhadra's translation.<sup>18</sup> They could thus register their disagreement, as Mādhyamika adherents, with the substantialist tendencies of those following the *Daśabhūmika*.

It was doubtless around this time that the story of the poisoning of Bodhidharma arose. It is significant that the two presumed murderers—Bodhiruci (fl. 508–37) and Huiguang (i.e., the Vinaya master Guangtong, 465–537)—are precisely the founders of the two factions of the *Daśabhūmika-śāstra* school. We would probably not be too far from the truth to postulate the existence of two mutually antagonist lineages of “*Laṅkāvatāra* masters”: the first, with Yogācāra tendencies, was made up mostly of commentators who relied on Bodhiruci's translation; the second, that of Fachong, claiming to derive from the Chan of Bodhidharma and Guṇabhadra's translation. But there are indications of the presence of yet a third group, doctrinally halfway between Chan and Yogācāra and constantly attracted to one or the other of these two poles. This group, to which Xuanze may have belonged, seems to have had a certain influence on Shenxiu and, indirectly, on Jingjue. In Section 2 of the *Record*, Jingjue mentions a commentary on the *Laṅkāvatāra* compiled by Bodhidharma for the use of *dhyāna* practitioners and known under the title *Damo lun* (Treatise of Bodhidharma).<sup>19</sup> According to another source, the catalog of the Shōsōin in Nara, Bodhidharma was taken to be the author of two commentaries on this sūtra. The fact that they are not mentioned in Fachong's biographical entry suggests that they derive from another lineage, one closer to Yogācāra. The Northern school's *Treatise on*

the *Five Upāya* quotes a commentary by Bodhidharma, but this is not a commentary on the *LaŌkāvatāra*.<sup>20</sup> Elsewhere, in a catalog by the Japanese monk Ennin, Bodhidharma is cited as the author of a Yogācāra text, the *Weixin guan* (Examination of mind-only).<sup>21</sup> The evidence suggests that some Chan adepts were more open than Fachong to Daśabhūmika thought. We know that the theory of the "diamond-like Buddha nature," mentioned among others in the *Xiuxin yaolun*, the *Guanxin lun*, and the *Record*, was presented as a theory of the *Daśabhūmika-śāstra*.<sup>22</sup> Another well-known—and this time authentic—quotation from the same work is found in the *Dacheng xinxing lun* by the pseudo-Sengchou.<sup>23</sup> Finally, in a Chan apocryphal text compiled around the middle of the seventh century (probably in Korea), the *Jin'gang sanmei jing*, the wall contemplation of Bodhidharma is connected with the practice of "Guarding the One" in the Dongshan school and the "immaculate consciousness" (*amalavijñāna*) of the Saṃgrahika.<sup>24</sup>

With the establishment of the Faxiang school and the rise of sectarian rivalries, the eclecticism that prevailed in Chan-Yogācāra circles tended to change into a sort of militant syncretism by which each of the two movements—Chan and Vijñānavāda (another name for Yagācāra)—tried to invoke on its own behalf the authority of the founder of the opposing tradition. Thus, without any regard for the flagrant anachronisms involved, a text like the *Damo heshang wugeng zhuan* (Five watches of Master [Bodhi]dharma) could be attributed to Xuanzang, and Bodhidharma could be presented as the author of a "Praise of the *Hṛdaya-sūtra*" that presupposes the "translation" of this sūtra by Xuanzang.<sup>25</sup> All these texts are clearly very late, but there is reason to believe that they represent tendencies already at work toward the end of the seventh century.<sup>26</sup> In any case, these selected examples show the extreme fluidity within Buddhist circles at the end of the seventh century and the reciprocal influences of various tendencies in the elaboration of the Chan patriarchal tradition.

#### HUIKE'S PREDICTION

Under these conditions, what could the statements attributed to Huike about the decline of *LaŌkāvatāra* studies after four generations refer to? This "prediction" has been identified as an interpolation dating from the period of this fourth generation, and it is thus contemporary with the compilation of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*. Huike may not have made it, but we must determine what circles it came from and to whom the criticism is addressed before we can reach any conclusions about its meaning and import. Yanagida Seizan has stressed the contradictory nature of the two images of Bodhidharma presented in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*—as a practitioner of "wall contemplation,"

and then as an adherent of the *Laṅkāvatāra*.<sup>27</sup> He speculates these images may derive from two completely distinct groups of disciples. The first, considering themselves the only faithful heirs of Bodhidharma and Huike, doubtless considered the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition preached by the second a complete deviation. But how can we explain why Daoxuan, while clearly (from his praise of wall contemplation) sympathetic toward this group, should have inserted their criticism of the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition at the very point where he was trying to praise it? Once more, it is impossible to decide which of the possible hypotheses to accept.

Still, this discussion does show how the first Chan adepts divided into two main trends, according to their attitude toward canonical scriptures. First, there are those who limited themselves to *dhyāna* practice (for whom all language is not only superfluous but noxious). Such was Huiyu, the disciple of Bodhidharma, who "when he had received the Way, practiced it in his mind and abstained from speaking of it" and thus knew, as recommended in the *Erru sixing lu*, that he should avoid discursive teaching.<sup>28</sup> These adepts were the precursors of the "special transmission outside the scriptures" that would become the emblem of classic Chan.

Then there were those who grasped the spirit of the scriptures through their practice of *dhyāna* and retained the "essentials of the mind" in the *Laṅkāvatāra*. Regarding all writing as a dead letter, they produced no written texts, or at least tried not to. Such were Huike, Sengcan, and Fachong. Their trend seems to have been the majority one during the seventh century and at the beginning of the eighth. Xuanze and Jingjue showed their adherence to this group when they reported Hongren's statement about the *Laṅkāvatāra*: "This sūtra can be truly grasped only by a spiritual realization. Understanding of it does not come from literary commentaries."<sup>29</sup> The same point of view is found with Shenxiu, who considered the *Laṅkāvatāra* the essentials of the mind and "penetrated the scriptures by means of *upāya*." It is here that we find the origin of the theory of the "agreement between harmony and meditation."

At the beginning of the eight century, the first tendency is found in Du Fei's *Chuan fabao ji* and the second in Jingjue's *Record*. But paradoxically it is the second text that derives from the *Erru sixing lu*, whereas the author of the *Chuan fabao ji* refuses to consider wall contemplation the essential characteristic of Bodhidharma's Chan.<sup>30</sup> To resolve this apparent contradiction between the logic of facts and that of ideas, we must take into account personal influences as well as all the other factors that may have come into play in this or that concrete statement of position. The author of the *Chuan fabao ji* (or the group that he echoed) may have wanted, for example, to

distance himself (or itself) from the *Erru sixing lun*, whatever affinities he (it) may have had with this text, if another Chan trend, also deriving from the *Lankāvatāra*, had already laid claim to it. Such a claim was precisely staked out in the *Record*. However, it is still not possible to determine for sure which of these two works—the *Chuan fabao ji* or the *Record*—was written first.

The *Lankāvatāra* tradition as it emerges from the biographical entries on Huike and Fachong seems thus to have been beset from the outset by powerful centrifugal forces. We do not know whether Fachong's group continued to prosper after his disappearance from the scene, or whether it faded in the face of the attraction posed by new, more energetic schools deriving a surplus of legitimacy from the caution of the *Lankāvatāra* masters.

### *The Dongshan School*

In the *Record* the name "Dongshan school" is used to refer to the line derived from Daoxin, Hongren, and their successors. The appearance of this school marks a milestone in the history of Chan, as Jingjue stressed: "This *dhyāna* master [Dao]xin reinstated the Chan teaching [*chanmen*], which [from that time forward] spread throughout the world."<sup>31</sup> It is true that the first typically Chan community formed around Daoxin (580–651).<sup>32</sup> In 624, after spending about ten years in a Lu shan monastery, Daoxin settled on nearby Shuangfeng shan (Huangmei sub-prefecture, in modern Hubei). He remained there, according to his biographical entry, for more than 30 years and had over 500 disciples. His successor, Hongren, settled on Fengmu shan, a mountain some distance to the east of Shuangfeng shan (whence its other name, Dong shan, "Eastern mountain").<sup>33</sup> According to some sources, he had over a thousand disciples.<sup>34</sup> The figure is doubtless somewhat exaggerated for propaganda purposes, but it is likely that Hongren's community did number in the hundreds. After Hongren's death, his disciples scattered throughout China. It was thanks to individuals like Faru, Huian, and Shenxiu that the Dongshan school reached its apogee, during the reign of Empress Wu Zetian. Paradoxically it seems even then to have almost disappeared from its place of origin, Shuangfeng shan, which soon became a Daoist mountain again.

As we have already noted, one of the main characteristics of this school lies in its construction of a patriarchal genealogy going back to Bodhidharma. The first effort along these lines appears in the death notice for Faru, where six patriarchs are listed: Bodhidharma, Huike, Sengcan, Daoxin, Hongren, and Faru himself.<sup>35</sup> The *Chuan fabao ji* takes up this genealogy and develops it further, adding Shenxiu as the seventh and outlining, in its preface, the

beginning with an Indian lineage, the three successors to the Buddha Śākyamuni: Ānanda, Maḍhyāntika, and Śāṇavāsa.<sup>36</sup> But it was Zhang Yue, in his epitaph for Shenxiu, who gave the Chinese lineage its classic form (if not its definitive components) of six generations and placed it firmly under the aegis of the *Laṅkāvatāra*.<sup>37</sup> Thereafter the lineage seems to be, on the whole, firmly established. The new Chan tendencies, in their search for legitimacy, would simply try to extend it upstream—drawing up a complete Indian patriarchal sequence—or downstream, by raising the question of the sixth and seventh Chinese patriarchs. The order of the basic succession—from Bodhidharma to Daoxin—was never called into question, however.

Yet nothing seems to have predestined Daoxin to become the successor to Sengcan and thus the fourth Chan patriarch. The entry on Daoxin in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* makes no mention of Sengcan or the *Laṅkāvatāra* line. Daoxin is not mentioned in the list of Huike's successors, nor does he seem to have had any contact with Fachong. However, his name is mentioned in three other entries in the same work, but never in connection with Bodhidharma or the tradition that claims to go back to him.<sup>38</sup> Sengcan's biography also poses problems. The future "third patriarch" has no entry in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, and he is simply mentioned at the beginning of the list of the eight heirs to Huike who "produced no written records." But it is precisely in this skimpy notice that we can find the key to his glorious posthumous destiny.<sup>39</sup> It is clear that Daoxuan had no inkling of this later state of affairs: he remarked that Huike had no flourishing successors. If there is mention of Sengcan elsewhere, it is for completely different reasons: the monk presented under this name was famous above all for his talents as a dowser.<sup>40</sup> It was only with the *Chuan fabao ji* and then the *Record* that the character of Sengcan begins to fill out. As a result, the existence of a master-disciple relationship between Sengcan and Daoxin now becomes certain.<sup>41</sup>

As it stands, the direct connections between the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition and the Dongshan school are very tenuous, if not nonexistent. Furthermore, the idea of a single-heir filiation is a later product: it reflects sectarian concerns that had just begun to contaminate Chan. In matters of doctrine, too, we can see a break between the Chan of Bodhidharma and that of Daoxin, as it is described in the *Record*. Yet the author of this work did try to stress the affinities between the two lines of thought and the common principles that underlay them, and to mask their incompatibilities. But doctrinal differences were inevitable between the practitioners of strict asceticism, wandering monks who lived by begging and chose to sleep in cemeteries, and Daoxin's disciples, settled and organized into a hierarchal community. These settled monks had to observe rules and rituals and relied for their sustenance not

only on their own work but probably also on the activities of lay brothers, even slaves, as well as generous donations from local nobles.<sup>42</sup> Observing traditional austerities (*dhūtaguṇa*) must have seemed to them an outdated ideal, more suited to Hinayāna adepts.

Various opinions have been expressed about the doctrines of the two tendencies, but always in terms of the second being the natural extension of the first. Yanagida sees in Daoxin's meditation method a degeneration from the high ideal preached by Bodhidharma in the *Erru sixing lun*: in wishing to become more accessible, Chan supposedly lost its original purity and become contaminated by elements borrowed from Tiantai.<sup>43</sup> Tanaka Ryōshō, looking at things quite differently, holds that it was in order to prevent the fossilization of the Chan of Bodhidharma that Daoxin was forced to adapt it to the requirements of the times, especially by developing a whole arsenal of skillful means (*upāya*) to fit the varying abilities of adepts.<sup>44</sup> In particular, the attention dedicated to novices explains the gradualist measures used to facilitate entrance into the Way and the calming of the mind; subitist practice was reserved for advanced adepts. This methodological dualism makes Daoxin's doctrine more inclusive than that of Bodhidharma, which was destined for an elite and often misunderstood—from the very fact of its uncompromising subitist nature. But even if Daoxin's Chan did permit better guidance of monks and laymen according to their respective paths, this double aspect—the passive and the dynamic—also led to certain compromises and eventually to a decline. The germ of the ultimate opposition between the Northern and Southern schools exists in this question of *upāya*. Does the use of expedients reveal faithfulness to or betrayal of the spirit of Bodhidharma's teaching? This was the main problem for people of that time and explains the importance of the choice of scriptural authorities.

According to the *Record*, Daoxin recognized the *Laṅkāvatāra* and the *Saptaśatikāprajñāpāramitā* as scriptural authorities.<sup>45</sup> Given this statement, Yin Shun sees the synthesis of the ideas of the *Laṅkāvatāra* and of *prajñāpāramitā* doctrine as one of the main features of Daoxin's teaching.<sup>46</sup> But can we trust the *Record* completely on this point? We may be attributing to Daoxin a pattern of thought that belonged to Jingjue. The influence of the *Laṅkāvatāra* in Daoxin's case is just as problematic as in that of Bodhidharma. But the major role played by the *Saptaśatikā* in the Dongshan school is beyond question. Shenxiu himself confirmed this during a conversation with Empress Wu, and this fact was well known at the time Jingjue was compiling his *Record*. Furthermore, the sixth Tiantai patriarch, Zhanran, stated in one of his commentaries, "Originally the *dhyāna* master Xin saw in this sūtra the essentials of the mind."<sup>47</sup> But it was through the teaching of

the Tiantai school that Daoxin first encountered the *Saptaśatikā*, and his understanding of *prajñāpāramitā* thought was doubtless not exactly the same as that of an adherent to the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition like Fachong, a product of the Sanlun (Three Treatises) school.

It thus remains highly unlikely that the Chan tendency that took shape under the auspices of Daoxin was merely a branch of the *Laṅkāvatāra* school. When Daoxuan completed the appendix to the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, Hongren was 65 years old and already widely known. He was not given a personal entry, however, and his name was mentioned only in the entry on Daoxin. The author of the *Song gaoseng zhuan* (988) simply repeats the image of Hongren, the fifth patriarch, that had meanwhile grown up in the Southern school, and his testimony should not be taken without reservation.<sup>48</sup> Judging from the *Xiuxin yaolun* (T. 48, 2011), Hongren's thought seems to have been close to that of his predecessor, that is, it was essentially *prajñāpāramitā* in its inspiration. In particular, there is no reference to the *Laṅkāvatāra*, an omission that must be considered at the very least odd if Hongren really was, as is claimed in the *Record*, the main heir to the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition.

In fact, the first conscious connection between the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition and that of Dongshan seems to have been established during the time of Faru and his disciples. After becoming an heir to the Dharma of Hongren, Faru settled in 684 in a monastery on Song shan, the Shaolinsi.<sup>49</sup> He was thus the first to have spread the Dongshan school's doctrine in the Luoyang region, and his death notice presents him as the sixth-generation successor to Bodhidharma. This notice does not speak of the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition, but another text from Faru's lineage, Du Fei's *Chuan fabao ji*, refers to it specifically and even recounts Huike's prediction about it. This citation was probably an afterthought, because the fourth generation after Huike, mentioned in the prediction, was precisely that of Faru. The evidence seems to show that the *Chuan fabao ji*, even as it echoed the content of Huike's prediction, was attacking a different target. The fact that this work could draw on the authority of the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition (without mentioning the major role played in it by Fachong) to support its own doctrine shows probably that the *Laṅkāvatāra* masters of Fachong's lineage had already lost most of their influence. The criticism in the *Chuan fabao ji* is directed rather at a rival group, one closer or more powerful. We may be dealing here with another current within the Dongshan school.

Be that as it may, the difference in viewpoints must have been a real one, since Faru, like Fachong before him, would soon be erased from the official histories of Chan. Yet if Faru had not come to live at the Shaolinsi, this monastery would very likely not have retrospectively been considered



the location for the exploits of Bodhidharma and Huike. Faru's death notice is the earliest extant document to clearly establish the fact that Bodhidharma stayed at the Shaolinsi.<sup>50</sup> The author of this notice, while trying to establish Faru's legitimacy, must have remembered opportunely that, according to the biographical entry for Huike in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, the Indian master Bodhidharma had come to preach in the Song and Luo regions (that is, Song shan and Luoyang). But it is only with the entries on the *dhyāna* master Fotuo and his disciple Sengchou that we have mention of the Shaolinsi. This fact seems to confirm the hypothesis, hinted at above, of the beginning of a blending of the legendary figures of Sengchou and Bodhidharma. However that may be, the connections of Bodhidharma and Huike with the Shaolinsi were confirmed in 728 when, by imperial decree, a Shaolinsi stela was erected on Song shan. The inscription on this stela, composed by Pei Cui (dates unknown), also refers to Faru and his disciples.<sup>51</sup>

### *The Verses on Siddham*

Among the Dunhuang documents is a rather strange text that reveals the existence of a *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition, one close to the Northern school, on Song shan during the Tang. This work, the *Lengqie jing chanmen xitan zhang* (Verses on the Siddham according to the Chan Gate of the *Laṅkāvatāra*), exists in four recensions and has a preface that begins: "Sons of the Buddha! Listen with all your heart, clasping your hands! I am now going to recite the verses of the Siddham of the Mahāyāna *Laṅkā[vatāra]*."<sup>52</sup> The preface further indicates that these verses were translated and published by the *śramaṇa* (monk) Dinghui of the Huishansi, who transcribed them following Kumārajīva's "correlative phonology" (*tongyun*). This individual was also the author of the *Suliu xitan zhang* (Verses on Siddham for the profane), a work of a very different content.<sup>53</sup> The subtitle of the latter text lists the author as "Dharma master Dinghui, *śramaṇa* of the Central Peak [Song shan] in the country of the Tang." Nothing more is known of him. The verses in question are said to come from a chapter in the *Laṅkāvatāra* concerning Siddham letters, but this sūtra has no chapter dedicated to the Sanskrit syllabary. If we are to assume that we are dealing with the chapter on the *Dhāraṇī*, we should remember that this chapter does not occur in Guṇabhadra's translation, the one Dinghui claimed to use.<sup>54</sup>

As for the text of concern here, it is made up of eight pieces in heptasyllabic verse, with rhymes in the falling tone and mnemonic refrains made up of Sanskrit syllables, of the *lu-liu-lu-lou* (ṛ-ṛ-ī-ī) type. In structure, the text is related to the popular rhymed sermons in fashion among adepts of

the Chan and Pure Land schools during the second half the Tang.<sup>55</sup> From its form, then, it seems to be fairly late. We find in them various expressions characteristic of the Dongshan school, such as "to gaze at the mind" (*kanxin*) or "fix one's mind to look at purity constantly" (*zhuxin chang kanjing*). These are the same terms that Shenhui used to define the practice of the Northern school when he accused that group of gradualism. We see also the metaphor of the mirror of the mind, which recalls the verse attributed, in the *Platform Sūtra*, to Shenxiu. With their gradualist tone, the *Verses on the Siddham* seem to reflect a conception of Chan less advanced than the one we see in the *Record*, and it is not impossible that in their first version they date from the height of the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition. In this connection, the beginning of the preface is important: "Formerly the Great Vehicle of the Siddham was on the mountain of Lāṅka. Thus Master Bodhidharma, in the first year of the [Liu] Song [420], could leave south India with *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* and reach the eastern capital [Luoyang]. The Dharma master, *trepitaka* [Guṇa]bhadra, consulted respectfully and translated this sūtra. [The work in question] consisted in all of five fascicles, that he assembled into a single section."<sup>56</sup>

Despite its obvious anachronisms, this passage is interesting in that it tries to establish a master-disciple relationship between Bodhidharma and Guṇabhadra.<sup>57</sup> The *Record* for its part considers Guṇabhadra the master of Bodhidharma. If we accept the greater age of the *Verses on the Siddham*, we may assume that Jingjue based himself on a tradition that was already widespread, one that he reshaped in his own way. Still, the preface to his *Commentary* suggests another possibility: "It is said in the *Ancient Precepts of Dhyāna*: At the time of Daizu of the Song, a *dhyāna* master, the *trepitaka* Guṇabhadra, came from south India to transmit the lamp of the *Laṅkāvatāra*, and one then talked of the Southern school. [This tradition] was transmitted successively to the *dhyāna* master Bodhidharma, *dhyāna* master Ke, *dhyāna* master Can, and *dhyāna* master Daoxin of Dong shan in Qizhou. It was then known by everyone as the Dongshan school."

Judging from this passage, the spiritual ascendancy of Guṇabhadra over Bodhidharma had already been confirmed in a collection of "*dhyāna* precepts" clearly earlier than Jingjue's works. Thus he could have been part of a *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition older than that represented by the *Verses on the Siddham*, and he may have been trying to separate himself from another Chan tendency, one dominant at Song shan. At any rate, the thesis expressed in the *Record* concerning the patriarchal status of Guṇabhadra is neither completely new nor completely disinterested. It is nonetheless Jingjue who seems to have been the first, with only moderate success, to have made of the translator Guṇabhadra the "first patriarch" of Chan.

### *The Role of Xuanze*

Thanks to the writer of the *Record*, the *Laŏkāvātāra* tradition experienced unprecedented growth. Jingjue himself, as he promoted this tradition, was strongly influenced by his master, Xuanze (dates unknown). Xuanze seems to have played in many ways the role of a catalyst, a role that we should now examine. Unfortunately, for the biography of Xuanze we have only the meager data provided by the *Record*. This master left no other traces, either epigraphical or in the Buddhist chronicles. His family name was Wang, and he came from Taiyuanqi prefecture (east of Fenyang, in modern Shanxi). According to his own testimony, as reported by Jingjue, he consulted Hongren in 670 and remained on Dong shan until the death of the patriarch, from whom he had earlier received the "seal of the mind." But he had apparently not yet reached awakening since, when Hongren, some hours before his death, asked him, "Do you now know my mind?" he had to answer that he did not. After his master's death, he left Dong shan and settled at Shou shan, in Anzhou (in the southwest of Yingshan sub-prefecture, in Hubei). He thus became the superior of the Shoushansi, and it was in this monastery that, according to Jingjue, he achieved enlightenment. He was called to Chang'an in 708, two years after the death of Shenxiu and a little before that of Huian (709). He also preached at Luoyang, and it was on the occasion of one of these sermons that Jingjue was able to consult him and become his disciple. It was probably about this time that he compiled his *Lengqie renfa zhi*, a work that strongly influenced Jingjue. We know this work only from quotations in the *Record*, and it is impossible to know whether it was widely distributed. The date of Xuanze's death is unknown. Jingjue drew up his preface to the *Record* more than ten years after meeting Xuanze, but he curiously neglected to mention what had happened to his master in the meantime. This oversight does not imply, however, that Xuanze was still alive at that time.

Another comment contributes a few more details to Xuanze's biography. According to the *Lengqie renfa zhi*, Hongren, in transmitting his doctrine to Xuanze, recommended that he continue his joint practice of doctrinal study and *dhyāna*. Like his elder Shenxiu, Xuanze thus apparently knew how to reconcile scholarship and contemplation. It is this harmony, so difficult to achieve, that distinguishes them from their fellow disciples and marks them off as accredited successors to Hongren. Once we accept Xuanze's scholarly nature, the connection that Nakagawa Taka makes between this *dhyāna* master and the monk of the same name who supposedly wrote down several texts translated by Xuanzang becomes plausible.<sup>58</sup> If this is the case, Xuanze

would have collaborated, between 645 and 649, in the translations of Xuanzang, and his interest in the doctrine of the Dongshan school would thus become fairly late. This could lead us to consider him an early *Laṅkāvatāra* master, one of those *dhyāna* practitioners, breaking away from Yogācāra, who gravitated to the group around Fachong. His allegiance to the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition does not need to be motivated solely, as Yanagida argues, by a concern to give his teaching the legitimacy of a more ancient tradition.<sup>59</sup> It rather represents deep convictions. At the same time, it testifies to the vitality of this *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition, even after the disappearance of its first spokesman, Fachong.

Whatever the case, if we guess that Xuanze must have been over twenty years old in 645, he would have been about 50 when he met Hongren and well over 80 when he was called to the capital in 708. Still, despite his presumably great age, he was far from losing his combative spirit. When, in the *Lengqie renfa zhi*, he presented Hongren as a stalwart adherent to the *Laṅkāvatāra*, he had no fear of alienating the sympathies of the other heirs to the Dongshan school who preceded him in the capital. Rather, he relegated to the second rank his fellow disciples Huian and Faru and attempted to confer on himself some of the prestige of Shenxiu.<sup>60</sup> His most direct attack seems to have been directed at Faru, who is called a mere "local personality," like Huineng and the Korean monk Chidök.

If not the first, Xuanze was thus at least one of those who vigorously asserted the orthodoxy of the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition, and this championing was dictated in part by his desire to evict his closest rivals. His conciliatory attitude toward Shenxiu may simply reveal that he considered that Shenxiu's posthumous image was too strong to attack. Furthermore, Xuanze's past as a translator may explain the choice of Guṇabhadra as the first Chan patriarch. It may be that Jingjue, by insisting on the role played by Guṇabhadra, was under the influence of his master. In any case, Xuanze himself may have simply relied on an earlier tradition. It was the author of the *Record* who would develop it.

## CHAPTER 7

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### *The Textual Tradition of the 'Record'*

#### *The Context*

A tradition is not only a grouping of doctrines and practices passed from generation to generation but also "an autonomous ordering of meanings that fundamentally governs the production of each text."<sup>1</sup> Every text is thus part of a corpus and acquires its meaning only as part of the corpus. These considerations hold sway in Chinese philosophical literature as a whole, a domain in which "the traditional art of quotation, the weighty heritage of the genius of the language, manifests itself in the purest form." They are particularly appropriate in the case of a work like the *Record*, whose author was, among so many other things, a master in "this way of making authentic but truncated extracts, this art of economical expression by means of and at the expense of the original."<sup>2</sup> A (con)textual study of the *Record* should begin by taking into account works like the *Guanxin lun* (Treatise on mind contemplation), the *Wusheng fangbian men* (Treatise on the five *upāya*), and epigraphic materials from the Dongshan school. Such a study would, however, go far beyond the framework of this book, and I shall restrict myself here to examining some of the works that served as a "pre-text" to the *Record*, or, to put it another way, works whose influence on it seems to have been significant: Daoxuan's *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (Supplement to *Biographies of Eminent Monks*), the *Erru sixing lun* (Treatise on the two entrances and four practices) attributed to Bodhidharma, the *Xiuxin yaolun* (Summary treatise

on mind cultivation) attributed to Hongren, and Xuanze's *Lengqie renfa zhi* (Annals of the men and the Dharma of the *Laṅkāvatāra*). To this list we must add Du Fei's *Chuan fabao ji* (Chronicle of the transmission of the Dharma Jewel), which, without having influenced the *Record* directly, provides an often revealing contrast to it. It is the sometimes subtle twisting of meanings between an original text and quotations from it in the *Chuan fabao ji* and the *Record* that lets us deduce Du Fei's and Jingjue's differing intents.

In order to understand this context correctly, we must return briefly to the question of authorship. On the basis of a Tibetan translation, the *Liñ kañi mkhan pho dan slob mañi mdo* (Sūtra of the masters and disciples of Liñka), Ueyama Daishun has suggested that Jingjue was not the author of the *Record*.<sup>3</sup> Unlike the Chinese text, the Tibetan translation has neither preface nor author's name, and it ends abruptly in the middle of the section on Daoxin. The translation is literal and there are lacunae and important variations. It fails in particular to mention the dialogues appended by the *Record* to the biographies of Guṇabhadra, Bodhidharma, and Shenxiu, dialogues that constitute major innovations in teaching and literary styles.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE 'XU GAOSENG ZHUAN'

Unquestionably Daoxuan's *Xu gaoseng zhuan* is the basis for all subsequent Chan "histories of the lamp," and the *Record* is no exception. It was perhaps from Daoxuan that Xuanze and Jingjue derived the concept of the "*Laṅkāvatāra* tradition" that they undertook to interpret. But although he did invoke the authority of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, the author of the *Record* limits himself to short citations from this work. Thus, for example, he reported the words uttered by Bodhidharma in transmitting the *Laṅkāvatāra* to Huike, but he refrained—unlike the author of the *Chuan fabao ji*—from mentioning Huike's prediction about this sūtra. Similarly, the biographical entry for Sengcan is derived from the peripheral note on this individual in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*'s entry on Fachong and the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition, a note that says, "According to the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, Ke had as his successor the *dhyāna* master Can."<sup>5</sup> But this text does not discuss Fachong himself, or for that matter several other disciples of Huike. And it paradoxically presents Sengcan, who supposedly left no written works, as an accomplished scholiast.

To flesh out the skimpy patriarchal biographies, Jingjue added various elements borrowed from other sources and did not hesitate to twist the facts. However, he did try to give his entries a certain air of historical accuracy. Unlike Daoxuan, he was not drawn to the supernatural. Above all, he stressed the thought of the Chan patriarchs, and ultimately their doctrinal

continuity was more significant to him than their historical legitimacy. If his work could reveal the former, the second would emerge on its own. This feature of the *Record* appears most clearly in the long chapter dedicated to Daoxin. Unlike the other chapters, this one provides almost no biographical details. Instead we have a profusion of theoretical explanations. Yet Jingjue must have been familiar with Daoxuan's entry on Daoxin, and his silence implies a rejection of that account. How can one explain the fact that, in a chapter obviously important to him, the author omitted all the information provided by his main source? Most likely this happened because Daoxuan's account, which avoided (and for an obvious reason!) discussion of Daoxin's relationship with the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition, did not provide the supporting evidence Jingjue wanted. The simplest thing to do was to ignore it and to draw on other sources more amenable or less compromising.

#### THE 'CHUAN FABAO JI'

It is difficult to decide whether Du Fei's *Chuan fabao ji*, put together at the request of one of Shenxiu's disciples, predates the *Record*.<sup>6</sup> It is generally dated to the beginning of the Kaiyuan era, but Jingjue seems not to have known of it when he was writing his *Record*. However, the two works represent currents of thought quite close to that of what would become the Northern school, and it is precisely in the divergencies between them that we can detect certain characteristics of the *Record*. The *Chuan fabao ji* is a shorter and less-developed work, facts interpreted as signs of its earlier composition. But these might equally well reflect the unwillingness of the author to produce a literary work. The main idea of the text is that truth transcends all discourse. This point of view, firmly stated in its opening lines, is observed more rigorously than in the *Record*. The *Chuan fabao ji*, although referring at various points to the *Laṅkāvatāra*, does not try, as does the *Record*, to make it the central element in the patriarchal transmission. The sūtra is here only an adjunct to practice and cannot provide legitimacy. The essential token of this, as is indicated by the title of the work, is the transmission of the Dharma Jewel.

In the *Chuan fabao ji*, what distinguishes Bodhidharma from other *dhyāna* practitioners is not the superiority of his doctrine or his practice but rather the fact that he has been invested with a sacred mission, to transmit the Dharma. This radically new point of view appears to be specifically Chinese. The *Record* for its part still insists on the excellence of Bodhidharma's Chan in comparison to the existing versions of *dhyāna*. Shenhui, in criticizing the gradualism of the Northern school, took the same stance. But he was closer to the position of the *Chuan fabao ji* when he stressed the importance of

possession of the patriarchal robe as a token of the authenticity of the transmission of the Dharma. These two tendencies would evolve together throughout the history of Chan, without the contradictions between them always being clearly enunciated. This almost sacramental nature of the Dharma makes those who possess it exceptional beings—hence the emphasis placed by the *Chuan fabao ji* on legends about Bodhidharma and Huike. Yet Du Fei, if we are to believe his foreword, claimed to be somewhat skeptical on this subject. This did not prevent him from reporting with great conviction Bodhidharma's survival of the continual attempts to poison him occasioned by the jealousy of his rivals. If the Indian master did finally die, it was of his own will: he had completed his mission of transmitting the Dharma to Huike. The latter, in order to be worthy of this honor, had not hesitated to cut off one of his arms. And the very day that Bodhidharma died, Song Yun, an emissary of the Eastern Wei returning from a visit to western countries, met the Indian patriarch somewhere on the Pamir Plateau, wending his way west. When they heard this report, Bodhidharma's disciples rushed to open his coffin, which was found to be empty—just like those of the Daoist immortals who had "freed themselves from the corpse" through an apparent death.<sup>7</sup>

The *Record*, in comparison, seems extremely sober: Bodhidharma's wall contemplation is of more interest than his miracles. Du Fei, in a comment in the *Chuan fabao ji*, sided against those who would reduce Bodhidharma's Chan to wall contemplation or to the four practices defined in the *Erru sixing lun*: to meet hatred without being resentful, to adjust to conditions, to hold nothing desirable, and to be in perfect harmony with the Dharma. The Dharma cannot, according to him, be restricted to such a rigid framework. His criticism is clearly directed at the supporters of the *Erru sixing lun*, as well as the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, which echoes it. The *Chuan fabao ji*, while repeating in abbreviated form entries from the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, is sometimes, unlike the *Record*, also severely critical of this work. For example, Du Fei criticized Daoxuan for claiming that Huike's arm was cut off by brigands.<sup>8</sup>

It is on the question of the patriarchal lineage that the *Chuan fabao ji* and the *Record* differ most clearly. As did the author of the death notice on Faru (689), Du Fei in his *Chuan fabao ji* tried to push the origin of Chan back to the Buddha Śākyamuni and his direct successors, Ānanda, Maḍhyāntika, and Śāṇavāsa. In doing this, he was inspired by the Preface added by the Lohan master Huiyuan (334–416) to the *Damoduoluo chan jing* (*Dhyāna sūtra of Dharmatrāta*), a work compiled at the beginning of the fifth century by the Kashmiri monk Buddhāsena and translated by Buddhabhadra (359–429). It was this "sūtra" that Shenhui would use to elaborate his theory of thirteen



Indian patriarchs.<sup>9</sup> But the list of Chinese patriarchs in the *Chuan fabao ji* begins with Bodhidharma and makes no allusion to Guṇabhadra. Du Fei, although he twice mentioned Huike's "prediction" concerning the *Laṅkāvatāra*, fails to note that this prediction was made about the translation in four fascicles done by this Indian master. The *Chuan fabao ji* lists seven "patriarchs" (even though the term itself is not used): Bodhidharma, Huike, Sengcan, Daoxin, Hongren, Faru, and Shenxiu. The work ends with the "Stūpa Inscription of Master Daoxiu [alias] Datong, of the Guisi on Zhongnan shan." The writer of this epitaph gave few biographical details, and seems to have been unaware of the account by Zhang Yue in which the *dhyāna* master Datong (Shenxiu) is presented as an adherent of the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition.

The most arresting feature of the *Chuan fabao ji*, however, is the place accorded Faru. The work seems to have been written on his behalf rather than for Shenxiu.<sup>10</sup> As in the *Record*, the "founder" of the Northern school seems to be included to validate yet another heir of Hongren. But Jingjue, unlike Du Fei, refrained from inserting an entry on his master Xuanze between those of Hongren and Shenxiu. Despite the shortness of the time Faru devoted to teaching (686–89), the current he represented certainly remained important at the beginning of the eighth century. This line, although close to that of Shenxiu, can be distinguished from it on several points, especially its mistrust of traditional Buddhist doctrine and its desire to keep the Chan *upāya* secret. Du Fei seems to have known and admired Faru, and even if his work, compiled at the request of one of Shenxiu's disciples, is theoretically dedicated to Shenxiu, the beliefs expressed are those of the author himself. This enigmatic character was equally versed in Tiantai thought: Japanese catalogues attribute to him a *Nanyue Si chanshi famen zhuan* (Commentary on the doctrine of the *dhyāna* master Nanyue [Hui]si).<sup>11</sup> As we have seen, neither the *Chuan fabao ji* nor the *Record* echoes the position adopted by Shenxiu's direct heirs. Whereas Puji attempted to promote the Songyuesi tradition—in opposition to the Shaolinsi tradition of Faru's disciples—the *Chuan fabao ji* seems to attempt a compromise between them. At any rate, both the *Record* and the *Chuan fabao ji* appear to be the work of somewhat peripheral thinkers whose real influence on contemporary Chan is hard to determine.

#### THE 'ERRU SIXING LUN'

In the chapter dedicated to Bodhidharma, Jingjue first provided biographical data and then referred the reader to the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* for further details. He then cited at length the *Lüebian dacheng rudao sixing dizi*

*Tanlin xu* (Preface by the disciple Tanlin, briefly discussing the four practices for entering the Way according to the Mahāyāna), and then the *Erru sixing lun* proper.<sup>12</sup> This was in fact the first part of a text known as the "Long Roll," one whose second part was an anthology of comments by various *dhyāna* masters in the same lineage, for the most part otherwise unknown.<sup>13</sup> This work poses many problems that we cannot consider here. Jingjue's interest in what he called the *Damo lun* (Treatise of Bodhidharma) seems to predate his meeting with Shenxiu. When he vowed to transmit Bodhidharma's "posthumous writings," he was apparently not yet aware of the precedence of the "*dhyāna* master" Guṇabhadra. Furthermore, in his commentary on the *Hṛdaya-sūtra*, he quoted a passage from the *Erru sixing lun* under the title *Anxin lun* (Treatise on pacifying the mind).

Most texts attributed by the Chan tradition to Bodhidharma actually postdate the *Record*, but even during Jingjue's lifetime a certain number of works were already attributed to the Indian master. The *Record* is the first Chan chronicle to take a stand for the *Erru sixing lun*. This critical endorsement was based on the recognized value of wall contemplation, felt to be a higher practice. Jingjue also acknowledged as the work of Bodhidharma a commentary on the "essential meaning" of the *Laṅkāvatāra*. On the other hand, he rejected as spurious a *Treatise of [Bodhi]dharma* in three fascicles endorsed by a rival current because, he said, "its style is abstruse and its doctrine incoherent: it could not serve for practice."<sup>14</sup> Behind this criticism we can see the three tendencies discerned in the entry on Fachong: the *Record*, emphasizing as it does the spiritual quintessence of texts, rejects both unconditional partisans of transmission outside the scriptures (like the author of the *Chuan fabao ji*) and exegetes too concerned with the letter of the text. The contrast in the attitudes of the *Record* and the *Chuan fabao ji* on the *Erru sixing lun* is thus revealing. These contrasting evaluations would continue to be attached to the *Erru sixing lun* throughout its long history. The work seems to have been appreciated by adepts of the Bao Tang School, in Sichuan, from whence it was, with the *Lidai fabao ji*, introduced at an early date into Tibet.

#### THE 'XIUXIN YAOLUN'

The *Xiuxin yaolun* is known from seven Dunhuang recensions, of which the oldest seems to be that in P. 3559.<sup>15</sup> This manuscript contains several other texts, including the *Chuan fabao ji*, that apparently circulated in the Dongshan school, especially among Faru's disciples.<sup>16</sup> It was in this setting that the treatise must have first appeared and been transmitted as the work of Hongren. But the *Record* adamantly opposes this attribution: Hongren,

practicing the purest form of Chan, "produced no writings: he presented the profound principle orally and conferred it silently on others."<sup>17</sup>

Jingjue's intent is made clear in an addition: "Although there is in the world a work discussing the *dhyāna* method, it is completely false to claim that this is the doctrine of the *dhyāna* master Ren!"<sup>18</sup> This comment clearly refers to the *Xiuxin yaolun*, which Jingjue rejected as a crude apocryphal work. Did Jingjue perhaps see its content as too foreign to the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition? His criticism was directed especially at the group that held to the *Xiuxin yaolun*, that is, Faru's partisans. If Jingjue simply intended, however, to disavow the ideas expressed in this work, it is hard to see why he plagiarized it on several occasions. Jingjue's attitude as he quotes here and rejects there proves in any case that partisan preoccupations are not entirely absent from his work and sometimes predominate over purely doctrinal considerations. We may reconsider in this context his attempt to connect himself with Sengchou. This strategy may have been motivated by the existence of several apocrypha attributed to this master. These texts, produced by the same group that produced the *Xiuxin yaolun*, were an attempt to popularize its teaching by placing it under the authority of Sengchou.

#### THE 'LENGQIE RENFA ZHI'

The *Lengqie renfa zhi* by Xuanze was, along with the *Erru sixing lun* and the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, one of Jingjue's main authorities. The contrast to the case of the *Xiuxin yaolun* is thus illuminating. We know Xuanze's work only through quotations in the *Record*, but these suffice to show that Jingjue did no more than develop, in various respects, tendencies already clear in Xuanze. While representing Hongren as an absolute partisan of the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition, Xuanze stated unequivocally, but almost as an aside, that the Dongshan patriarch never "composed a text in his lifetime."<sup>19</sup> But Xuanze definitely had to have known about the *Xiuxin yaolun*, and his silence on the subject was thus quite deliberate. Furthermore, by describing Faru as a "local personality," he disqualified him from being the main heir to Hongren and minimized his importance as a pioneer of the Dongshan school in the capitals.

Although he may have shared his master's opinion of Faru and his disciples, Jingjue revealed himself as better disposed toward Huian. Xuanze himself would probably have gladly disposed of both Faru and Huian as representatives of two competing trends. But Xuanze had to take into account Huian's immense prestige in the court and the two capitals. A preceptor of state (*guoshi*) on whom the emperor has just bestowed the purple robe cannot be treated with impunity as just a "local personality."<sup>20</sup> Thus Jingjue simply

reported a remark by Hongren that "old [Hui]an of Song shan is a seasoned practitioner," a remark quickly eclipsed by the praise Hongren heaped on the "joint practice" of his successor Xuanze.<sup>21</sup> From the evidence, Hui'an's practice, overly fixed on seated *dhyāna*, was not seen as being as worthy as the combination of doctrinal study and meditation that characterized Xuanze's practice.

In reference to Shenxiu, Xuanze behaved quite differently: rather than denying the prestige of the Northern school's leader, he made an effort to associate himself with it and to appropriate it to himself. The same process that had served against Faru's disciples was now turned against Shenxiu's. When they claimed to base themselves on the latter's works to justify their claim to be his successors, Xuanze retorted that, once Shenxiu obtained awakening, "the path of words was cut, and all mental activities ceased: thus he produced no writings."<sup>22</sup>

It may also seem strange that the characteristic ideas of the Northern school, like the "five *upāya*," which almost certainly derive from Shenxiu, are passed over in silence in the *Record*. Yet in the teachings of Shenxiu reported by Jingjue, the influence of the *Treatise on the Five Upāya* is clear. As he had done with the *Xiuxin yaolun*, Jingjue made use of a text that he seems otherwise to have ignored. Clearly his attitude toward the main successors to Shenxiu was not free from ambiguity. These successors, without conclusively invalidating his claims with regard to the *Lankāvatāra* tradition, might cast a shadow over them. This hypothesis may seem somewhat startling in that the *Record* ends with an entry, short but full of praise, on the four great disciples of Shenxiu. This looks like an inconsistency on the part of the author of the *Record*, and doubtless is not the only one. This final chapter is problematic; on the other hand, it is not certain that Jingjue wrote it.

### *The Author and Date of the 'Record'*

Despite its composite nature, the *Record* has generally been considered the work of a single author. Its long preface (including a partial autobiography of Jingjue) and its subtitle seem to leave no doubt as to its author's identity. The date of compilation is unfortunately not given. Various suggestions have been made, on the basis of internal criteria, but none seems decisive.<sup>23</sup> We can consider that the work—in its present form—dates from the first part of the Kaiyuan era. However, the Japanese Tibetologist Ueyama Daishun has questioned Jingjue's authorship of the *Record*, and we need to examine his arguments.<sup>24</sup>

## THE PROBLEM OF THE TIBETAN TRANSLATION

Among the Tibetan manuscripts at the India Office in London, Ueyama discovered a text entitled *Sūtra of the Masters and Disciples of Lin-ka*. This text corresponds to item number 710 (2) in the inventory of La Vallée Poussin and claims to be a translation of the *Record*.<sup>25</sup> It may well be possible that, as R. A. Stein has said, this is "one of the documents translated in connection with the Sino-Indian controversy of bSam-yas."<sup>26</sup>

Unlike the Chinese text, however, the Tibetan translation includes neither a preface nor the name of the author. It also ends abruptly toward the middle of the chapter dedicated to Daoxin. The possibility of an accidental break seems unlikely since the copyist transcribed, twice in succession, the word "end" (*rdzogs sho*), without taking the trouble, however, to compose a colophon. Such truncations are not uncommon in Tibetan manuscripts found at Dunhuang. They often resulted from the bad conditions under which the translations were made, and the vast volume of translations undertaken. Sometimes a text may simply be a copyist's practice piece rather than the final copy of a whole work.<sup>27</sup> This does not, however, seem to be the case with manuscript S. Tib. 710 (2); its excellent state of preservation seems to indicate that it was a highly valued document.

Ueyama has stressed first and foremost the literal nature of the translation. A concern for a sometimes excessive fidelity to the original seems to have prompted the translator to render various technical terms in current use (even the titles of very well-known sūtras) according to their Chinese translation rather than refer to the original terms or titles in Sanskrit. Are we to believe, as Ueyama suggests, that he was unaware of the official terminology used after 814 by great translators like Čhos-grub (Ch. Facheng) or Ye-śes-de?<sup>28</sup> We should not leap to conclusions on this point, as we shall see later.

The Tibetan text does, however, contain gaps and significant variants in comparison with the Chinese text. These may be laid at the translator's doorstep. But, as we have just seen, he did not seem to have been inclined to take liberties with the work he was translating. This viewpoint is reinforced by an examination of the main points of difference in the text. As Ueyama has emphasized, the differences between the Tibetan version and the oldest edition of the Chinese text (which seems to be that in manuscript S. 2054) do not seem to be chance variants.

In particular the Tibetan translation omits any allusion to the maieutic, attributed by the *Record* to Guṇabhadra, Bodhidharma, and Shenxiu, which consisted of "soliciting things." In the case of Shenxiu, the use of this method has been attested, but it seems much less sure in the case of the two first

Chan "patriarchs." On this point as on some others, the Tibetan text appears to be more trustworthy than its Chinese counterpart. This has led Ueyama to presuppose the existence of another Chinese version, now lost, that the Tibetan translation reflects closely. This version, revised by Jingjue and supplemented by entries on generations later than Daoxin, would then be the basis for the existing *Record*.<sup>29</sup>

This hypothesis of two successive stages in the composition of the text of the *Record* seems completely plausible: it accounts for the bipartite structure of the work, with the changeover at the entry on Daoxin. This entry's crucial role—as the final chapter in the first section and the first of the second—would explain its disproportionate length. A passage from this entry was recently discovered by Nishioka Soshū in another Tibetan manuscript from Dunhuang (S. Tib. 704). Its terminology is somewhat different, a fact that suggests the possibility of another translation of the *Record* at a later date.<sup>30</sup>

Ueyama's conclusions concerning (1) the date of composition of the original text of the *Record*, (2) the date it was introduced into Tibet, and (3) the reasons why Jingjue decided to produce a second version do not seem completely convincing and thus require re-examination.

*Date of the original text.* It is almost certain, as Ueyama believes, that the main purpose of the original *Record* was to connect the "*Laṅkāvatāra* tradition" with the Dongshan school. The outcome was that the Dongshan school would come to share the prestige acquired by "*Laṅkāvatāra* masters" such as Fachong.

But the borrowings in the first version of the *Record* from Daoxuan's *Xu gaoseng zhuan* and the fact that neither of these works contains biographical entries on the successors to Daoxin do not necessarily mean that their authors were contemporaries. However, the essence of Ueyama's argument rests on that assumption. The question of the legitimacy of the Dongshan school, that is, the problem of constructing a patriarchal lineage, did not, in my opinion, arise until the heirs of Hongren began to try to establish themselves in the region of the two capitals. Their primary concern then became to prove that they were Hongren's successors, as is shown in the cases of Faru, Shenxiu, and Xuanze. In the case of the *Lengqie renfa zhi* cited by Jingjue, for example, we do not know whether it contained an entry dedicated to Daoxin, but it is clear that one of the purposes of the work was to report the dialogue between Hongren and Xuanze.

Thus it was doubtless only after a fairly long process leading to the establishment of a firm relationship between Hongren and his main heirs that these heirs or their disciples could claim a link to Daoxin. They then

had to present Daoxin himself as an adherent of the "*Lañkāvatāra* tradition" and erase the image left by the entry in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*. If the connection between Daoxin and this tradition had been established soon after the definitive compilation of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (665), it is unlikely that the early "histories" of Chan would have ignored it. Why, in particular, would the *Chuan fabao ji* have been content to copy from the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* even though it reveals a critical attitude toward this work and tries to promote a "*Lañkāvatāra* tradition" close to that of the *Record*? Furthermore, the old "*Lañkāvatāra* masters," heirs to Fachong, were still influential at that time and would not have hesitated to react to such a "usurpation" of the tradition. Finally, the entire history of Chan seems to testify to the fact that the patriarchal lineages were put together following a reverse sequence (i.e., going from the most recent backward), and it is unlikely that the *Record's* contribution on this matter should be any exception. It is thus probably much later than Ueyama claims.

*Introduction into Tibet (and Dunhuang).* After stressing the awkwardness (obvious, in his opinion) of the Tibetan translation of the *Record*, Ueyama draws the conclusion that it must have been made before the establishment of official standards for translation and thus before the Tibetan occupation of the Dunhuang oasis (which he dates to 781). The basic Chinese text must then, if this is so, have been introduced to Tibet by the middle of the eighth century, via the "Sichuan route," which had been opened shortly before the Nanzhao kingdom (ca. 751–94) came under the suzerainty of Tibet.<sup>31</sup>

According to the *sBa-bžed*, a chronicle from the Tibetan monastery of bSam-yas (founded around 775), a certain San-śi went to China toward the end of the reign of Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan (ca. 705–55) to seek out Buddhist texts.<sup>32</sup> On the return journey, he is said to have met in Sichuan the Korean master Wuxiang. Captivated by this individual, he studied his doctrine for a while before undertaking an unplanned pilgrimage to Mount Wutai.<sup>33</sup> This account, despite its implausible features, clearly reveals the existence of cultural exchanges between Sichuan and Tibet. Thus it is not impossible that the *Record*, like the *Lidai fabao ji* of the Sichuan school, could have arrived in Tibet at that time, to be translated there and later sent to Dunhuang at the time of the Tibetan occupation. Such a pattern of events is as hard to prove as to disprove, given the current state of our knowledge. We may simply stress that if the *Record* was among the first batch of Chinese texts imported via the "Sichuan route," it would doubtless have been influenced (as was the case with the *Lidai fabao ji* and the *Erru sixing lun*) by the Bao Tang school and would have given the name of Bodhidharma in its "truncated and telescoped" form of [Bodhi]dharmatrā[ta], but this is not the case.<sup>34</sup>

Ueyama's thesis, accepted in part by Nishioka, contains several weak points. First, the awkwardness of the Tibetan translation is not as obvious as Ueyama claims. After careful examination, Stein stated that "far from being 'incompetent,' the Chinese and Tibetan translators had a good knowledge of traditional concepts, both Chinese and Tibetan, and they proceeded with intelligence."<sup>35</sup> In addition, things that Ueyama hastily attributes to ignorance on the part of the translator of the *Record* may result instead from deliberate choice. The fact that this individual did not follow standardized Tibetan terminology does not mean that his translation must necessarily predate its creation. Even if that were the case, it would not be enough to prove, as Ueyama claims, that the translation was completed by 781 at the latest; it seems that the Tibetans did not take Dunhuang until about 786–87, and the standard translation terms were drawn up much later (814), as was the catalogue of the Buddhist library of IDan-kar-ma, in which are listed the translations made during the reign of Khri-srong-lde-brtsan (ca. 756–97). The compilation of a catalogue of this type and of an index to the *Mahāvīyūtpatti* (a work whose index helped establish translation standards) is an indication of the fact that Indian Buddhism was much more influential than Chinese Buddhism. This dominance, established in principle by Kamalāsīla's victory over the *dhyaṇa* master Moheyan at the elusive Council of Tibet (ca. 794), in fact took place over a period of time.

In any case, Ueyama's argument does not really hold. The standardized equivalents were used mostly in translations from Sanskrit; translators rarely used them when rendering Chinese terms—except in exceptional cases like that of Čhos-grub. Stein emphasizes that the two terminologies, Indian and Chinese, existed before the edict of 814 and continued to co-exist after that date.<sup>36</sup> Thus the distinction between "ancient" and "modern" translations is irrelevant in the case of texts like the *Record*. This explains Nishioka's problems when he tries to account for the existence of "Indian" and "Chinese" terms in the two Tibetan translations of the *Record* contained in the manuscripts S. Tib. 710 and 704, to be considered, if we follow Ueyama's criteria, as earlier and later than the *Mahāvīyūtpatti*. Contrary to the opinion of these two authors, I think it is very likely that the first of these translations (S. Tib. 710) was made at Dunhuang after 781 (and even after 814).

*The role played by Jingjue.* Does this mean that Jingjue did not expand and revise the work, as Ueyama argues? Ueyama's discussion rests on the hypothesis that the original version of the *Record* appeared immediately after the final compilation of the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (665), or in other words, before Jingjue was born (in 683). But, as shown above, this hypothesis is shaky. The original *Record* was probably compiled much later, when the Dongshan



school had already won a solid position in the capitals. It may even be later than the *Lengqie renfa zhi* (ca. 708). If that is the case, nothing prevents us from regarding Jingjue as its author.

But there is every reason to think that Jingjue or his disciples later completed one or several "expanded revisions" of the work. There are actually not just two but at least four editorial layers:

1. The fundamental text
2. Jingjue's preface
3. The entries on Daoxin (second section), Hongren, and Shenxiu
4. The final entry, dedicated to Shenxiu's four disciples

As Timothy Barrett has correctly noted, the fact that Jingjue failed to use the posthumous title of Ruizong but did use the posthumous titles of two earlier rulers, seems to indicate that this section of the *Record* could not have been written later than 716. Such an act of *lèse-majesté* would have been unwise, at a time when he was still politically suspect.<sup>37</sup>

We have also noted that the *Record*, in its expanded version, attributes to Guṇabhadra, Bodhidharma, and Hongren a technique of spiritual direction dear to the heart of Shenxiu. Reference to this *upāya* of "pointing at things and inquiring into their meaning" (*zhishi wenyi*) reveals an influence from the *Treatise on the Five Upāya*. Here we have an unconscious revelation by Jingjue of the popularity of this treatise during the time of Shenxiu's disciples. The prestige that these disciples enjoyed at the capital doubtless explains why the author of the *Record* did not dare to adopt for himself the cherished title of "heir" to Shenxiu but satisfied himself with simply suggesting his relationship with him. Conversely, it is possible, as Barrett suggests, that he was deliberately distancing himself from Shenxiu's line, too compromised with its associations with Wu Zetian.<sup>38</sup> In a preface to the commentary on the *Hṛdaya-sūtra*, Jingjue's lay disciple Li Zhifei named him unambiguously the "single heir to the Southern school."<sup>39</sup> What, then, are we to make of the praise of the four successors to Shenxiu that ends the *Record*?

#### THE PROBLEM OF THE FINAL ENTRY IN THE RECORD

As noted above, this entry groups together four major disciples of Shenxiu: Puji (651–739), Jingxian (660–736), Yifu (651–739), and Huifu (dates unknown). This sets it apart from previous entries. Up to this point, the author of the *Record* did not clearly state, as Shenhui would later, the principle of a "single-heir filiation," but he did restrict himself to giving only one biography for each generation. Thus, it is surprising to suddenly see four

biographies summarized in such a short space—thirteen lines in the Taishō edition of the Buddhist Canon, as compared with an average of about sixty for the other entries, and more than double that for Daoxin. Why, when he had just cited at length the imperial edict conferring on Shenxiu the posthumous title “*Dhyāna* master Datong,” did he also feel the need to give the information, as if it were unknown to the reader, that the four individuals in question met “the *Dhyāna* master Datong, whose taboo name was Xiu”?<sup>40</sup>

Even more surprising in these circumstances is the fact that the author of the *Record* should forget to show these four eminent masters as unconditional supporters of the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition—at the end of a work in which he has taken such great pains to promote this tradition. All these features make the entry in question highly suspect and suggest that we have here a late interpolation by certain adherents to the Northern school who derive from a line of thought different from that of Jingjue.

### *The Later Influence of the 'Record'*

Although the existence of several recensions of the *Record* (nine in all, including two Tibetan translations) among the Dunhuang manuscripts attests to the wide diffusion of this work during the Tang, it is difficult to determine its actual influence on the development of Chan. It does not seem to have spread to Korea or Japan, where the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* and its commentaries were well known from the beginning of the ninth century. In spite of Shenhui's discrediting of what he pejoratively called the “Northern school,” we may in fact see in Jingjue's main ideas about religious practice a prefiguring of the driving notions of later Chan: primacy of seated *dhyāna* and use of “cases” (*gong'an*), special transmission outside the scriptures, and harmony between doctrine and meditation. In matters of practice, the emphasis on seated meditation is doubtless the main characteristic of the *Record*. In spite of a certain tendency toward “quietism,” the semantic evolution of ideas like the “one-practice *samādhi*” (*yixing sanmei*) or “guarding the one” (*shouyi*) clearly reflects the sinicization of Indian-style *dhyāna*, already undertaken by Zhiyi and Hongren. This primacy of seated meditation was seriously questioned by various Chan masters, from Huineng to Linji Yixuan through Shenhui and Mazu Daoyi. But it became the characteristic practice of Chan, in large part thanks to Zongmi. Another theme of the *Record* is the importance of the teaching technique of “soliciting things,” questioning concrete reality to find its deeper meaning. This type of skillful means seems to contain the seeds of the “case” (*gong'an*) method behind the popularity of

Chan during the Song. This method, with its more voluntarist aspect, would soon compete with seated meditation, often regarded as too passive. Two currents then appeared, calling each other mutually (and pejoratively) the "Chan of the examination of words" (*kanhua chan*) and the "Chan of silent illumination" (*mozhao chan*).<sup>41</sup> But the success of the first tendency is in fact the consequence of the purely Chan idea of a special transmission outside the scriptures. We may see the preliminary signs of this development not only in Du Fei's *Chuan fabao ji* but also in the *Record*.

At the same time, and despite the apparent contradiction, Jingjue insisted on the importance of the joint practice of doctrinal study and meditation. This idea, already present in Zhiyi and the Tiantai school, was reformulated by Zongmi and would become the theory of the harmony between doctrine and Chan. Without attaining the fame accorded the rival theory of special transmission, it still remained an important line of thinking, as can be seen in its presence later in Korea and Japan. Thus, several major themes in the *Record* would give birth to doctrines held by branches of Chan violently opposed to each other. Was Jingjue unaware of these latent contradictions, or was he trying to reconcile them by an appropriate synthesis? The second hypothesis seems closer to the truth. But Jingjue, in his desire to establish a school, underestimated the strength of the centrifugal forces at work in his doctrine and could achieve only a superficial compromise. This weakness mars the *Record* seriously and explains in part its rapid descent into oblivion.

The following period saw rivals attacking each other, as the various Buddhist currents lost their flexibility and became fossilized into sects. Jingjue himself contributed to this evolution in no small measure when he gave consistency to a patriarchal lineage that, up to his time, had been only vaguely sketched. Doubtless influenced by Fachong, whose *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition was indebted to the thought of the Sanlun school, he came to see himself as the legitimate heir to the Southern school. It was this claim, soon taken up by another of Shenxiu's disciples, Puji, that would provoke the reaction of Shenhui and prompt the creation of a new Southern school founded on the recent "tradition" of the *Vāṣṭhīka-sūtra*.<sup>42</sup> This school was, as we know, destined to have a great future and would, after the decline of the Northern school, come to represent the Chan movement as a whole. Without the precedent established by Jingjue, events would not have followed this course.

Yet despite his crucial role, Jingjue was quickly erased from official Chan history. Many factors may have helped cause this. The main reason must have lain in the fact that the masterpiece of his system, the patriarchal lineage, rested on too fragile a base: the predominant position accorded to Guṇabhadra seems to have, in the long run, diminished the reputation of

the *Record*. This is at least the impression that one gets from the *Lidai fabao ji*, which draws up a strong indictment against Jingjue:

A certain monk of the eastern capital, Master Jingjue, disciple of the *dhyāna* master Shenxiu of the Yuquansi, compiled a record on the lineage of masters and disciples of the *Laṅkāvatāra* in one *juan*, and, with no justification, made the *trepitaka* Guṇabhadra the first patriarch. In the absence of any evidence, he led later adepts into error by claiming that Guṇabhadra was the master of the master-patriarch Bodhidharma!

Originally Guṇabhadra was a *trepitaka*, [that is,] a translator of sūtras. He was thus an adept of the Lesser Vehicle and not a *dhyāna* master. Even though he translated the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* in four fascicles, it was not he who received this sūtra to transmit it to the master-patriarch Bodhidharma. The latter was himself the successor to Saṅgharakṣa, at the end of a transmission [extending] over 28 generations.

Later, the great master Huike, at the Shaolinsi on Song shan, personally questioned [Bodhi]dharma on the transmission he had received. He drew up himself an account that makes things clear. The fact that this Master Jingjue should so baselessly promote Guṇabhadra by calling him the "first patriarch" has deeply disturbed the study of the Dharma. It is said in the *Lotus Sūtra*: "Avoid frequenting adepts of the Lesser Vehicle [who rely] on the Triple Basket!"

The *trepitaka* Guṇabhadra translated the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* in four fascicles. . . . The *trepitaka* Bodhiruci, of the Wei dynasty, translated the recension in ten fascicles. . . . Finally, during the time of [Wu] Zetian, Śikṣānanda translated the recension in seven fascicles. All three are *trepitaka*, that is, translators, and not *dhyāna* masters. Furthermore, the teaching that they transmit follows the letter, whereas the Chan method of the school of the master-patriarch Bodhidharma has no written teaching at all: it transmits the mind seal in silence.<sup>43</sup>

Still, the force of the criticism does bear witness, almost a half century later, to the persistent impact of Jingjue's theses.<sup>44</sup> At the beginning of the Song, Yongming Yanshou, writing under the influence of the *Lidai fabao ji*, seems to have paid no attention to this criticism: he repeated a passage from the entry on Guṇabhadra in the *Record* and also attributes to a *dhyāna* master Futuo (characters that could be a variant of Batuo, the usual transcription of Bhadra) the theory of "entrance by means of the principle" usually attributed to Bodhidharma.<sup>45</sup> The idea of a spiritual relationship between Guṇabhadra and Bodhidharma, a relationship symbolized by the transmission of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, remained widespread in certain circles long after it should have been demolished by the *Lidai fabao ji* attack. One of the recensions of the *Verses on the Siddham*, the *Chanmen xitan zhang*, a text whose preface presents Guṇabhadra as the disciple and not the master of Bodhidharma, has a colophon dated 942.<sup>46</sup> Finally, even a detractor of the Northern school

like Zongmi could attest implicitly to the influence of Jingjue's ideas when, in his *General Preface*, he counted Sengchou and Guṇabhadra among the representatives of the ten main currents of Chan.<sup>47</sup> But the most surprising fact is the persistence of the tradition of a close relationship between the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* and the Northern school, one established or at least consolidated by the *Record*. Even if this tradition was not enough to ensure the lasting prosperity of the school, it has nevertheless retained down to our own day the status of an uncontested truth. It was this position that Suzuki Daisetsu echoed and propagated.<sup>48</sup>

## Conclusion

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In Chinese Buddhism, the eighth century was marked by the establishment of the Chan school as an orthodoxy, with the successive emergence of two branches, the Northern and the Southern. The concealing of the major role played by Shenxiu and his successors in this evolution has in one way shaped the traditional history of Chan. But this history, far from describing the actual unrolling of events, has had as its only goal that of concealing them, and it remains dominated by a teleological prejudice that makes it end with the classical Chan of the ninth century. To use Michel Foucault's expression, the aim has been always to "seek its meaning in its result."<sup>1</sup> Since Hu Shi it has been customary to set the birth of the Southern school, which inaugurates the period of maturity of Chan, at the conference at Huatai in 732. All the glory goes to Shenhui, worthy successor to the sixth patriarch, Huineng. The emphasis placed on these two figures, described as "revolutionary," and on their virtuous criticisms of a Northern school corrupted by undeserved success, derives from a simplistic one-sidedness. It is now clear that Shenhui's claims are tendentious and teach us more about him than about those he denigrated. His criticism (which extended to both philosophical and genealogical matters) turns out to be inappropriate, or even inconsistent.

On the philosophical plane, a careful examination of the texts suffices to reveal that the Northern school's doctrine cannot be summed up simply as gradualism, any more than that of the Southern school can claim to be

completely subitist. But this criticism, if it were valid, would have to be applied to the entire early tradition of Chan, to which Shenhui lays claim with such ardor. The mind contemplation of Shenxiu does not differ fundamentally from the wall contemplation of Bodhidharma, the one-practice *samādhi* of Daoxin, or the seated *dhyāna* of Hongren. If we take the *Xiuxin yaolun* to be a work that represents the thought of Hongren, it must be conceded that Shenxiu remained faithful to that tradition whereas Huineng and Shenhui departed from it radically.

On the genealogical plane, the rejection of the Northern branch as collateral, an interpretation permitted by Shenhui's claim of a transmission to a single heir, creates another substantial inconsistency. It invalidates the entire later tradition of Chan, based as it is on a double lineage going back not to the legitimate successor to the Sixth Patriarch, Shenhui, but to his two "fellow disciples," Nanyue Huairang and Qingyuan Xingsi. The accepted wisdom in this matter is so well rooted that this double inconsistency in Shenhui's reasoning, in spite of or because of the evidence, has passed practically unnoticed.

Another inconsistency should be pointed out. As noted earlier, the appellation "Northern school" that Shenhui applied to Shenxiu's lineage is charged with derogatory connotations. It implies heterodoxy, a dependence in respect to power. But we have seen that Shenxiu's disciples considered themselves representatives of the Dongshan tradition, the Southern school of Bodhidharma. For them, the term "south" referred to the Indian origins of Chan. Bodhidharma was, according to tradition, originally from southern India. Shenhui reduced the north/south opposition to a purely Chinese context: north and south of the Yangtze. But seen from this perspective, early Chan appears to be more a Northern school since Bodhidharma and Huike spread their teaching in the regions of Luoyang and Ye. Finally, by an ironic turn of events, the principal result of Shenhui's success was to transform his Southern school into a second Northern school.<sup>2</sup> It is not enough, however, simply to stress Shenhui's sectarian qualities and reject his verdicts. If we are simply content to refute his arguments, however tempting that may be, we still concede the main part of his position: the existence of a united Southern school facing a monolithic Northern school. From this position, the traditional schema of orthodoxy versus heterodoxy grows automatically. But the reality appears to have been more complex. We can see, in the development of the Dongshan school, the appearance of a number of trends that used, in order to gain ascendancy, a variety of strategies. Some sought to identify themselves with Shenxiu's circle, which the "revolution" of the Zhou had brought to power: this is the case especially with the

*Laṅkāvatāra* tradition preached by Xuanze and Jingjue. Others sought to mark themselves off from this circle, in order to lay claim to a new orthodoxy. At a later time various efforts were made to go beyond the two opposing points of view, either by encompassing them into a single synthesis or by seeing them as complementary.<sup>3</sup>

The name "Southern school" thus serves to designate all those who, in one way or another, tried to call into question the status quo within Chan, and that of "Northern school" all those who preferred to accommodate to it or try to profit from it. We see the same individuals trying to participate in each of the two efforts. Perhaps it would be best to talk about several Northern and Southern schools. Northern Chan was certainly never monolithic, neither at the time of Shenxiu's immediate disciples nor over the next two centuries during which it hung on to existence. Among the heirs to Hongren who are considered representative of the Northern school, in the widest sense, there are at least four distinct, even rival currents.

The Southern school, after identifying itself for some time with the Heze branch, soon experienced centrifugal disintegration. With Zongmi, for example, antagonism toward the Sichuan and Hongzhou branches clearly emerged. This state of affairs explains how, instead of an overall criticism of the reigning orthodoxy, we see a mish-mash of fractional criticisms whose motivations were tactical rather than strategic or philosophical. Thus Shenhui attacked Puji and the tradition of the *Chuan fabao ji*, but avoided a direct attack on Jingjue and the *Record*, from which he borrowed many ideas. His theory of the transmission of the *kāśāya* and his stress on the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* are clearly responses to the theory of the transmission of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* preached by Jingjue. But it was in a chronicle of the Sichuan school, the *Lidai fabao ji*, that the author of the *Record* was most badly mauled. This does not prevent the two works from appearing side by side in the list of Tibetan translations. For the rest, the schema of filiations or the placement of the various trends on the politico-religious chessboard does not cover adequately the true philosophical affinities and antagonisms. Thus the Niutou school seems to have inherited Shenhui and Jingjue's interest in the doctrine of the *Prajñāpāramitā*. The thought of Zongmi, reputed to be the fifth patriarch of the Heze school, is in many ways closer to that of the disciples of Shenxiu. The same may be said of the author of the *Dunwu yaomen*, Dazhu Huihai, whom tradition sees, perhaps wrongly, as the disciple of Mazu Daoyi.

On a practical level, also, the prime importance that the Chan school (especially in its Japanese version, Zen) later gave to seated meditation derives in large part from the joint influence of the Northern school and of Zongmi.



Once again, on this point Zongmi distanced himself considerably from his masters Huineng and Shenhui, who had sought to get rid of this method inherited from traditional Buddhism by reinterpreting it in a purely symbolic fashion. We may wonder, therefore, whether the line of demarcation, in both philosophy and practice, that was set up between the two schools after the famous meeting at Huatai may not be purely fictitious, and whether the tree (Shenhui) has not concealed the forests of Chan.

The opposition between the two doctrines may not be quite so irreconcilable as tradition would have it. It may have been useful only in certain individual rivalries. Shenhui—an inspired thinker to some, a flamboyant impostor to others—may after all have been only an exceptional case. The contradiction is surely less distinct than it may appear because, as so often in the history of ideas, "it is clear that, given that these two doctrines are organized on the basis of different initial concerns, they will never see the same problems from the same point of view and, as a result, the one will never answer precisely the same question that the other has posed."<sup>4</sup> To put it differently, they can neither ignore nor agree with each other. The specificity of Shenhui's thought cannot be discounted entirely; it reveals itself in a real difference of style. Moreover, oratorical skills do not always require the underpinning of an original spiritual experience. Too often, the later development of a doctrine is accompanied by a diminution of the first intuition. Even if this is not indisputably the case with Shenhui, his thinking does give the impression of being worked out within the same framework as is that of his rivals. It is a matter more of intellectual collage than a fundamental questioning. On many points, Shenhui remains a disciple of Shenxiu, and it seems significant that his relationship with Huineng has recently come into question. He is clearly not the revolutionary figure that dominated Chan during the eighth century, as Hu Shi saw him. That place probably belongs to Mazu Daoyi, and it is thus *within* the Southern school that the dividing line really falls. Like Jingjue, Wuzhu, and some others, Shenhui played only a transitional role. The Chan of the first period, ending with Zongmi, is characterized by a constant forward movement, with Daoxin, Shenxiu, and Jingjue markers along this path. But the ideological realm is by no means autonomous, and it is easy, for example, to detect behind Shenhui's theories a number of extra-philosophical concerns.

As with Shenxiu's disciples, we must, in order to grasp his drift, consider the audience he was addressing. Shenhui's patrons were for the most part fairly important officials, sometimes dissidents from the Northern school, who wanted to gain access to high positions. The subitism preached by Shenhui implies a criticism of the reformist movement and certainly could

awaken in them some deep resonances: "The unthinkable in this world is, for example, that a commoner could suddenly reach a position of highest dignity. The unthinkable in the otherworldly realm is to achieve supreme awakening from the production of the initial thought of the *bodhi* mind. . . . This illustrates the unthinkable nature of sudden awakening."<sup>5</sup> Similarly, his rejection of seated meditation could appear attractive to a lay public. As for his choice of the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* as a scriptural authority, there is nothing surprising in this if we consider the contemporary popularity of this scripture, for which an imperial commentary had just been produced. Shenhui's doctrine thus appears to have been used by his adepts for political purposes, and this is another trait it shares with the teachings of Shenxiu and his disciples. Shenhui, however, recognized more clearly than did Shenxiu's circle the threat to traditional Buddhism posed, in the long run, by the Daoist preferences of Emperor Xuanzong. This was certainly one of the reasons why he distinguished himself so clearly from the Northern school.

But should we really be looking so hard for sociopolitical or economic motivations and reduce Shenhui, Jingjue, or Puji to common politicians, more or less skillful, more or less aware of what they were doing? Such an analysis has the merit of revealing the motives of some of the figures involved and helps us rethink the early history of Chan, but it is perhaps not as intellectually neutral as might be claimed, and we cannot show, after all, that its apparent rationality is not yet another illusion. "We inquire into religious phenomena insofar as they are able to inform us about a certain social position, whereas it was actually just these theories that, for the people of their time, provided the foundation of the society. From them down to us, the thing explained has become that which makes their own explanations understandable to us."<sup>6</sup> If it was no more than a historically dated fratricidal battle for power, how can we interpret the major ramifications of this controversy between the two schools and its huge impact on the development of Chinese thought? How can we explain the fact that this initial rivalry intellectualized itself and became a classic debate on orthodoxy? What does the north/south split signify, or the frantic establishment of patriarchal lineages, a practice that would soon extend to other Buddhist schools and then to other Chinese religions? We should be able to trace the "genealogy of these genealogies" because, as Michel Foucault has stressed so cogently, "what really matters in the statements of men is not so much what they must have thought beyond or besides these statements, but what it is that systematizes them, making them for the rest of time indefinitely accessible to new forms of discourse and open to the possibility of transforming them."<sup>7</sup>

In the case of Tang China such an enterprise unfortunately encounters almost insurmountable barriers given the current state of research. If we limit ourselves to the history of Chan, may we not see this Manichaean vision of the origins of the sect, prevalent right down to our modern times, as filling psychological needs? By assigning the role of scapegoat to the Northern school, which thus became the emblematic figure of heterodoxy, one could succeed in limiting in time and space those deviationist risks (intellectualism, quietism, secularization) to which Chan is constantly exposed. At the same time, the entire tradition (both before and after the Northern school) could be purified of its gradualist elements and the dominance of orthodoxy definitively established. The fact that the orthodoxy in question could always be seen as "paradoxical" does not change matters in the least. This exorcism has permitted the maintenance to our own time of the myth of an idealized, "pure" Chan, a doctrine uncontaminated by its relationship to history, a school from which power connections would be, if not completely rejected, at least subordinated to the search for a transcendent truth. This was the thesis supported by Suzuki Daisetsu during his controversy with the historian Hu Shi.<sup>8</sup> At this very moment, in Japan as in the West, Zen serves as a vehicle for an ideology that can appear in many respects suspect, like any ideology that claims complete neutrality. It is true that any method claiming to reach the absolute is destined to appear relative at first sight. The discourse of reason cannot, however, invalidate that of faith. Maybe it is ultimately more profitable to adopt an ideology of non-involvement than to refuse point blank to become involved. Indeed the "recorded sayings" of Chan resemble, to a certain extent, that "true way of speaking" which is, according to Heidegger, "resistant to all vulgarization," and which "evaporates when one submits it to the cheap acidity of a purely logical intelligence."<sup>9</sup> But Heidegger himself, as we know, sometimes found it difficult to resist the siren song of ideology.

When it comes to Zen, an object of fascination for many Western intellectuals, it is important to point out that the systematic use of methods such as "cases" (*kōan*) and/or seated meditation (*zazen*) actually constitutes a disguised form of gradualism, no different in any way from that of the Northern school. The question remains open whether such a gradualism can result in anything but a relative form of transcendence. In any case, from the point of view of the history of Chan, we observe that we have come a full circle and that the injustice suffered by the Northern school has been redressed to a certain extent by the very people who continue to impose it.

## Reference Matter

## Notes

For complete author names, titles, and publication data for works cited here in short forms, see the Bibliography, pp. 235–69. For the abbreviations used here, see pp. ix–x.

### Introduction

1. ZZ 1, 2, 15: 434b.
2. See the critical edition in Yanagida 1969a; an English translation can be found in Jorgensen 1979, a French translation in Faure 1986c.
3. On these two texts, see Chapter 7 of this book.
4. The full title is *Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun* (Treatise establishing the true and the false according to the Southern school of Bodhidharma). Compiled by a disciple of Shenhui, Dugu Pei, it is an account of the conference organized by Shenhui at the Dayunsi in Huatai (Hua xian, northeast of Luoyang), during which he claimed to be the sole legitimate heir to Bodhidharma's Southern school. This work was edited in Hu Shi 1970. See also Gernet 1954; Yanagida 1967: 103–17; and Shinohara Hisao 1972.
5. T. 51, 2075; critical edition in Yanagida 1976. This title could also be translated as "Record of the Dharma jewel in the Dali era" (766–80). It is indeed during this era that the *Lidai fabao ji* was compiled in praise of the Chan master Wuzhu (714–74), the founder of the Bao Tang school in Sichuan.
6. The *Baolin zhuan* was compiled by an obscure monk, Zhiju (var. Huiju). Its title is in reference to the Baolinsi, the monastery of the "Sixth Patriarch" Huineng. See Yanagida 1975; and Tokiwa 1973.

7. On the definition of Chinese Buddhist apocrypha, see Buswell 1990; and Makita 1976. Early Chan (the Northern school in particular) made great use of apocrypha to spread its new teachings. Among the most important are the *Jin'gang sanmei jing*, the *Fajiu jing*, the *Fawang jing*, the *Xinwang jing*, the *Chanmen jing*, the *Shoulengyan jing*, and the *Yuanjue jing*. On the *Jin'gang sanmei jing* in particular, see Buswell 1989.

8. For a discussion of problems that this attribution raises, see Foulk (forthcoming).

9. Zongmi claimed to be the fifth-generation heir to the Heze school founded by Shenhui, but he apparently forged his lineage. He is also considered to be the fifth patriarch of the Huayan school. In several of his works, he tried to achieve a synthesis of the various Chan schools of the time and warned against the extremism of some of them. See his epitaph by Pei Xiu (797-870) in *QTW* 743, 16: 9731. For a discussion of this important figure, see Gregory 1991.

10. The expression "deposit of sacred waste" is from A. Stein 1921: 2: 820.

11. *ZZ* 1, 2, 15, 5: 433d.

12. See review of Cleary, *Zen Dawn*, in McRae 1986b: 142.

13. The Bao Tang school derives its name from the Bao Tang Monastery in Sichuan, where the Chan master Wuzhu lived. Strongly influenced by Shenhui's ideas, the teachings of this school were, together with those of the Northern school, introduced very early on in Tibet.

14. The Niutou (Oxhead) school claims the following lineage: Farong (594-657)—Huifang (629-95)—Fachí (635-702)—Zhiwei (646-722). At the fifth generation, it divided into two branches, those of Niutou Huizhong (683-769) and of Helin Xuansu (668-752). With their respective successors, Foku Yize (751-830) and Jingshan Faqin (714-92), two new branches appeared. Actually, it is at the time of Zhiwei and his disciples that this school seems to have become conscious of itself as a school.

15. On this question, see Ogawa Takashi 1991b; and Chapter 3 to this book.

16. Actually, Shenhui's image as seventh patriarch was preserved far from the capital, in the peripheral kingdoms of Dali and Nanzhao (modern Yunnan). It appears in a magnificent esoteric Buddhist scroll painted by Zhang Shangwen during the years 1173-76. Helen Chapin, who was the first Western scholar to study this scroll, mentioned the presence of the six Chan patriarchs, but failed to identify Shenhui in the seventh position. I noticed the latter's portrait in 1986 and communicated it to Yanagida Seizan, who discussed it in Yanagida 1988. See also McRae 1990b. On the scroll itself, see Chapin and Soper 1971. On the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms, see Backus 1981.

17. Concerning the Chan expansion in Central Asia (apart from Dunhuang), there has been until now practically no research. We know, however, that several important texts were translated into Sogdian, Uighur, and Xi Xia. On Tibetan Chan, see among others Demiéville 1952 and 1979; Tucci 1958; Lai and Lancaster 1983; on Vietnamese Buddhism, Thich 1975; and Giáp 1932; and on Japanese Zen, Funaoka 1979 and 1987.

18. For a critique of this view, see Faure 1986d and 1993.

19. See Derrida 1981: 452.

20. See Said 1979.

21. See Cleary 1986: 14; and McRae's response in McRae 1986b.

### Chapter 1

1. T. 51, 2076: 231b.

2. See T. 50, 2061: 755c and 835b.

3. Yanagida 1967a: 498.

4. Yanagida 1971a: 396.

5. Yanagida 1971a: 396.

6. This Dong shan is not the place where Shenxiu later met his master Hongren. It is a mountain located in the southwest of the district of Shangyu (present-day Zhejiang), and it was well known for its Daoist hermits. At that time, Shenxiu was still interested in Daoism. Meng shan is probably a place in Zhejiang, northwest of the prefecture of Xiangshan, but there are several other mountains with the same name in Jiangxi, Sichuan, and Guangxi, as well as in Shanxi and Shandong. Lu shan, in present-day Jiangxi, brings to mind the image of Huiyan (334-416) and his community, but it was also a stronghold of Daoism. Daoxin is said to have lived there several years before moving to Huangmei shan. On Tai shan, see Chavannes 1910; Demiéville 1921; on Luofu shan, see Soymié 1956.

7. Yanagida 1971a: 396.

8. T. 50, 2061: 835b.

9. Yanagida 1967a: 498.

10. Yanagida 1971a: 396.

11. Ibid.: 298.

12. Yanagida 1967a: 273.

13. See Matsuda 1957: 213.

14. See *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T. 51, 2076: 235b; *Sōkei daishi betsuden*, ZZ 1, 2B, 19, 5: 483. This latter work, brought to Japan by Saichō, has not been found in China.

15. See Yampolsky 1967: 59-63.

16. Without entering into detail, we may think that if this contest had taken place, the antagonism between the two schools would have arisen very soon—and the attack would have come from the Northern school. Furthermore, Shenhui would not have forgotten to use this argument in his diatribes against Northern Chan. The fact that he seems to ignore the story suggests that it is extraneous to the tradition. A prototype of Shenxiu's verse can be found in a biographical entry on Tanlun in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T. 50, 2060: 598a), or in the *Xiuxin yao lun* (T. 48, 2011: 378a), a work attributed to Hongren. Actually, the metaphor can be traced back to Laozi. Note also, in Zhang Yue's work, the existence of two poems dealing with the mirror and the "dust," respectively (*Zhang Yangong ji*, 51-52). On this question, see also McRae 1986a: 235-238.

17. T. 50, 2061: 756a.

18. This monastery, Yuquansi, located at the foot of the southeastern slope of Mount Yuquan, near the sub-prefecture of Dangyang (in modern Hubei), was established in 592 by the future Emperor Yangdi (r. 604-17) for the *dhyaṇa* master Zhiyi (538-97). The following year it received its official name. It was here that Zhiyi compiled the *Fahua xuanyi* and the *Mohe zhiguan*, works that consolidated the theory and the practice of the Tiantai school. After Zhiyi's death, the Yuquansi strain remained

important, perhaps even more so than that of Mount Tiantai, which would be more valued by later tradition. It was characterized by a joint study of Tiantai and Vinaya, transmitted to Hongjing (634-712) by Daosu (dates unknown) and Daoxuan. The connections between this monastery and Shenxiu doubtless contributed to the syncretic nature of the doctrine of the Northern school. See Tsukamoto 1976: 535; and Luo Xianglin 1977.

19. This fact may reflect the ups and downs of the Buddhist clergy of the period. In 622 an imperial edict, of Confucian inspiration, tried to reduce the status of the clergy and gave rise to riots among Buddhists. See, for example, the biographical notice of Weixiu, a monk of the Dazhuangsi (*T.* 50, 2061: 812b); and *Tang huiyao* 47, 836. The registration of wandering monks is part of the same centralizing tendency, but there is no mention of an enforced secularization of monks, as would be the case in the following century. We cannot exclude the possibility, in this case, that psychological reasons played a role. McRae (1986a: 48-50) identifies Shenxiu with Weixiu, but this hypothesis of a Shenxiu, "née [sic] Weixiu" does not seem convincing.

20. Yanagida 1971a: 396.

21. *T.* 50, 2061: 835b.

22. See *Yuanjue jing dashu chao*, ZZ 1, 14, 3: 277b, and *Yuanjue jing lüeshu chao*, ZZ 1, 15: 131b.

23. Yanagida 1967a: 499.

24. Yanagida 1971a: 403.

25. This passage from the *Jiu Tang shu* is widely known and was taken by Saichō as a quotation from the *Record of the Master Dōsen* [Daoxuan], a work by the Japanese statesman Kibi no Makibi (693-775). See *Kechimyakufu*, 211.

26. See *Baqiongshi jinshi buzheng* 50, in *SKSLXB*, 4801a; and Yanagida 1967a: 499. Despite Zhang Yue's rhetoric, Shenxiu's pre-eminence was probably not as absolute as he claims. On the question of the monks' independence vis-à-vis temporal power, see Kamata 1961.

27. There are no existing documents testifying to the presence of Shenxiu at Song shan, but it is unlikely that the "founder" of the Northern school could have lived in Luoyang without visiting this nearby mountain, where he had many disciples. This seems to be suggested by the *Stela of the Songyuesi* composed by Li Yong (678-747), which mentions that Emperor Zhongzong ordered the construction of a stūpa of thirteen stories on one of the peaks of Song shan in memory of the *dhyāna* master Datong (QTW 263). In the *Quan Tang shi* the title of a poem by Chu Guangyi (707-59) alludes to stūpas erected in the compound of the Songyuesi in memory of Shenxiu and Puji. Zhang Yue also refers clearly to Shenxiu's stūpa in one of his poems connected with Song shan (*Zhang Yangong ji* 3:26). Another possibility is that Shenxiu's connection with Song shan, and more particularly with the Songyuesi, was made up by Puji, who attempted in this way to assert his legitimacy by erecting Shenxiu's stūpa in the monastery where he had long lived. See Ogawa 1988.

28. Also called the Datongsi, after the posthumous title of Shenxiu. His stela, preserved within this monastery, is one of the earliest monuments in the history of Chan, but its authenticity has been questioned by Tokiwa Daijō (1972: 123), who



sees it as a work dating from the early Yuan. The stūpa itself has been largely destroyed. After Shenxiu's death, the community at the Dumensi continued to exist for some time, as is shown by a letter sent by Yixing to Zhang Yue (QTW 914). Subsequently the monastery was abandoned. It was only during the Wanli era (1573–1620) of the Ming that it was restored by the Chan master Wuji. This monk, while he was living at the Yuquansi, had received from his master, Manxiu, the oral transmission of the Northern school and thenceforth dedicated himself to reviving the doctrine of this school. Wuji was saddened by the division within Chan as can be seen from one of his poems: "The two schools of the South and the North were divided and destroyed / Because [Bodhidharma] left only one sandal to his heirs" (*Yuquansi zhi* 6: 6). At his death he was buried beside Shenxiu's stūpa. During the Qing, in the Guangxu era (1875–1908), the monastery was divided into two, Darongsi and Dumensi. Tokiwa found both sites completely abandoned only a few years later.

29. JTS 191, 5110.

30. Gernet 1949: 94.

31. T. 50, 2061: 835c.

32. Yanagida 1971a: 426.

33. Yanagida 1971a: 302.

34. Yanagida 1967a: 499.

35. T. 54, 2126: 252.

36. Yanagida 1967a: 500.

37. *Baodingshi jinshi buzhen* 50, in SKSLXB, 4801.

38. See *Taiping guangji* 160; and Faure 1983.

39. See T. 50, 2061: 736b.

40. See Chapter 3 in this book.

41. As noted earlier, it is anachronistic to speak of a "Chan school" (let alone a Chan "sect") at this time. The term *chanzong*, when it appears, is taken to mean "principle of *dhyāna*," or sometimes "Chan lineage." It is only later, after Zongmi, that it came to be used in the sense of school. But even then, as Foulk has shown, this is not to be understood in the sense of a distinct institutional entity, a concept that will emerge only during the Song. See Foulk (forthcoming).

42. According to another version, the invitation was made under the reign of Emperor Zhongzong (705–10). See QTW 17, 1: 241.

43. Gernet 1949: 95. Shenxiu's desire for reconciliation also appears in the dialogue he is reported to have had with his disciple Zhicheng: "Zhicheng: 'The great master Neng cannot read a single character. What is then so remarkable about him?' Shenxiu: 'He has learned, without a master, to achieve wisdom and a deep realization of the Supreme Vehicle. I could not say as much about these matters. This is why you really should go to Caoxi'" (see *Yuquansi zhi* 2: 4). The historicity of this story is clearly dubious, as is that of the preceding ones. But the sentiments they attribute to Shenxiu have the ring of truth. The *Jiu Tang shu* in turn also stresses the affinity between the two men.

44. See "Faru chanshi xingzhuang" in Yanagida 1967a: 35–46.

45. T. 50, 2060: 606b.

46. See *Chengxi tu*, ZZ 1, 2, 15, 5: 433b, and *Yuanjue jing dashu chao*, ZZ 1, 14, 3: 277a.

47. See Yanagida 1971a: 273; and Hu Shi 1975: 186.

48. T. 51, 2075: 182a.

49. Yanagida 1967a: 487.

50. See *ibid.*: 498. This anecdote inspired Wuji to write a poem entitled "The Peak of Lankā": "Lonely and quiet, seven *li* to the east / The Peak of Lankā is silent, Dumen deserted. / These thousand-year-old pebbles, who concerns himself with them? / There remains only a stele in the name of Datong" (*Yuquansi zhi* 6:36).

51. See Yanagida 1971a: 426.

52. Dialogue quoted below.

53. *Zuting shiyuan* 1: 12. The story already appears in its simplest form in the *Zutang ji* (348a). A similar anecdote is reported in the funerary inscription of the Indian missionary Dhyānabhadra [Zhikong]: "In that land, the ruler is an infidel, and knowing my vows debarred me from violence and lechery, he ordered a dancing-girl to bathe with me in the same pool. I showed complete indifference to her presence, being no more affected than if I had been a corpse. The king sighed, saying: 'This is certainly an unusual man'" (Waley 1932: 363).

54. See Yanagida 1971a: 295.

55. See Yanagida 1967a: 596.

56. See *T.* 50, 2061: 835b; and *Shenseng zhuan*, *T.* 50, 2064: 993b. See also Yanagida 1963: 53.

57. Note the self-fulfilling character of the prophecy: "Xiu called his disciples and told them: 'Keep this flute carefully. Later, when the time has come, you will have to offer it to someone important.' Damo and his disciples understood the meaning of these words only after Ruizong's abdication. Then they offered the flute [to Xuanzong]. The emperor, pleased by such foreknowledge, lavished his favors on them" (*T.* 50, 2061: 835c).

58. Wanhui (literally, "ten thousand [*li*] there and back") owes his name to a miracle of his youth: he is said to have gone, in the space of one night, to visit his older brother from whom his parents had received no news. The legend also tells that Xuanzang, during his stay in India, read on a pillar an inscription telling of the activities in China of the Bodhisattva Wanhui, and he hurried to venerate him as soon as he returned to the Tang capital. Wanhui was in favor at the court beginning with the reign of Gaozong and throughout the reign of Wu Zetian. The Northern school in particular owes to him at least a part of its influence. On the margins of Chan, he is considered to be one of the spiritual heirs to the famous Liang thaumaturge Baozhi (418-514). He is said to have predicted the tragic end of Empress Wei (Jingjue's sister), as well as An Lushan's rebellion, even further in the future. It was also Wanhui who revealed to the emperor that the Central Asian monk Sengqie (629-710), whose mummification was accompanied by many miraculous manifestations, was none other than an avatar of the Bodhisattva Guanyin. On his death in 711 he was buried at the Xiangxisi in Chang'an. Like Sengqie, he would be deified toward the end of the Tang. See his biographical entry in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, *T.* 50, 2061: 823c. On Sengqie, see *ibid.*: 822a. On the divinization of these two figures, see Makita 1956 and 1958.

59. See *Song gaoseng zhuan*, *T.* 50, 2061: 732a. For a translation of Fazang's essay, see Chan 1963.

60. On Wanhui and Sengqie, see above. For Huian, see Chapter 3 of this book. Daojun was another adept of the Dongshan school, who lived at the Bijiansi in Jingzhou. He has a short entry in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T. 50, 2061: 758a. Hongjing (var. Hengjing; 634-712) was invited to court three times under the reigns of Empress Wu and Emperor Zhongzong. In the inner chapel he played the role of a "master administering the precepts" (*shoujie shi*). He entered the palace at just about the same time as Shenxiu did, and he seems to have been fairly close to him during their shared time at the Yuquansi; see his entry in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T. 50, 2061: 732b-c. Yinzong (627-713) is the *dhyāna* master under whom Huineng (Layman Lu), after inheriting Hongren's Dharma, is said to have received ordination in 676; see *ibid.*: 731b.

61. According to the *Lidai fabao ji*, Zhishen was invited in 697. Three years later Empress Wu called Shenxiu, Xuanze, and Huian to meet a western monk whom she revered for his psychic gifts. This monk prided himself in being able to read the thoughts of other people, but he was stymied by Zhishen's "absence of thought." The empress then asked the members of this illustrious group whether they still experienced desire. Naturally they all replied in the negative, except for Zhishen, who explained: "Whoever is alive has desires; only he who is dead does not." This explanation pleased the empress, who showered favors on Zhishen and passed on to him the patriarchal robe she had obtained from Huineng. This whole tale obviously is intended only to legitimize the Sichuan school. See Yanagida 1976: 129-30, and Adamek (forthcoming).

62. See, in particular, Forte 1976. Forte examines how Wu Zetian, in her attempt to establish imperial legitimacy, passed herself as a Bodhisattva and a cakravartin (wheel-turning) king. In 690, she enfeoffed as dukes nine monks as a reward for compiling a commentary on the *Dayun jing* (*Mahāmegha-sūtra*), which contains a prophecy that seemed to refer to her apparition as a manifestation of the future Buddha Maitreya.

63. On this question, see Yamazaki 1967: 191-98; and Abe 1963: 9. Both scholars emphasize the contrast between Shenxiu's supporters and those of Huineng.

64. Li Fan became a prince in 710, when Ruizong ascended the throne. He was also named chief minister of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*Taichang qing*), commander-in-chief of Ping prefecture (*Pingzhou da dudu*), and grand general of the Yulin army. After helping Xuanzong get rid of his rival, Princess Taiping, he received an estate of 5,000 households. In 720 he became "grand mentor of the heir apparent" (*taizi taifu*). He dedicated himself to gathering a circle of poets and painters, ignoring the proscription Xuanzong had issued, in the interest of stopping court intrigues, against members of the imperial family entering into relations with the wider society beyond the court. These activities brought several of his friends a sentence of exile, but he himself was spared any criticism. Xuanzong even went so far as to say, "My brother is my dearest friend. Whatever happens, nothing can part us." When Li Fan died in 726, the emperor suspended all audiences for a period of three days and awarded him the posthumous title Huiwen taizi. See *JTS* 95, 9: 3016; *XTS* 81, 12: 3601.

65. Zhang Yue was born in Fanyang in 667, of humble stock, and was admitted in 689 to the examination of "wisdom and kindness, uprightness and rectitude." An imperial decree then ordered him to compile the *Sanjiao zhuying*. In 700 his honesty prompted him to address a protest to the empress. Then, in 703, when he opposed Zhang Yijing (d. 705), who wanted him to bear false witness against the imperial censor Wei Yuanzhong, he was exiled to Qin prefecture (in modern Guangdong). He was recalled when Zhongzong came to the throne in 705 and was named vice-president of the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of War. During the Shenlong era (705-7), his steadfast observance of mourning for his mother (during a period when mourning rites were little observed among bureaucrats and no longer prevented them from remaining in their posts) won him general esteem and praise from Ruizong. When Ruizong considered abdicating in 713, Zhang Yue actively supported Xuanzong against those who backed Princess Taiping. He came to real power when he became director of the Imperial Secretariat (*Zhongshu ling*). It was then that he was awarded the title "duke of the principality of Yan" (*Yanguo gong*) and an estate of 200 households. After a falling out with Prime Minister Yao Chong (651-721), he was named prefect of Xiangzhou. He remained in the provinces for some time, despite his success in his various postings, especially his administration of the border areas. He won victories against the Tibetans in 720 and the Mongols in 723. He was finally reinstated in his old position in the Imperial Secretariat, but not for long. He was once again disgraced in 726 after he was accused by Yu Wenrong, Li Linfu, and others of various misdeeds: receiving bribes, abusing his position, consorting with monks, and, above all, secretly consulting astrologers. He had to retire from public life and dedicated himself to revising the official history. In 729 he was named vice-president of the Department of State Affairs, but he died the following year at the age of 64. He was much missed by Xuanzong, who composed his epitaph himself and awarded him the posthumous title "Wenzhen." He left behind a reputation as a valuable historian and man of letters. His works were collected in the *Zhang Yangong ji*. See *JTS* 97, 9: 3049-57; *XTS* 125, 14: 4404-10.

66. *T.* 50, 2061: 755b.

67. Wu Pingyi came from a distinguished Taiyuan family and was very early known for his scholarly ability. During the reign of Empress Wu, however, he chose to refuse any official appointment. He cloistered himself at Song shan, where he dedicated himself to the study of Buddhism. It was only after Zhongzong came to the throne in 705 that he entered public life. In 708 he became a scholar of the Institute for the Cultivation of Literature (*Xiuwen guan xueshi*) and soon became vice-director of the Bureau of Evaluation (*Kao gong yuanwailang*). On several occasions he warned the emperor against the evil doings of the princesses and their various factions, but to no avail. Although he was sent off to Suzhou (in modern Jiangsu) when Xuanzong came to power, he never seems to have taken advantage of the opportunity to go to Caoxi, where Huineng lived. This story seems clearly designed to let the Southern school profit from the prestige of this well-known adherent of the Northern school. Shenhui, however, saw slander as more effective than appropriating someone's merits, and so did not hesitate to accuse Wu Pingyi of

having tried to falsify Huineng's stela in 719. See Hu Shi 1970: 289; and Gernet 1954: 460. This also reflects the fact that Wu Pingyi had incurred Xuanzong's disfavor. See *XTS* 119, 14: 4293-95.

68. Song Zhiwen was a native of Fenzhou (modern Fenyang *xian*, in Shanxi). An extremely eloquent person, he became a literatus of the third degree in 675. Coming to the attention of Empress Wu, he was named assistant director of the imperial workshops. He underwent a temporary period of disgrace because of his connections with Chang Yizhi, but absolved himself by revealing a plot against Wu Sansi (d. 707), the man in power of the moment. This action has, however, caused him to be condemned by official historians. He was then raised to the directorship of the Bureau of Evaluation. Zhongzong wanted to make him drafter of the Imperial Secretariat (*Zhongshu sheren*), but the animosity of Princess Taiping caused Song Zhiwen to be reduced to the post of administrator (*zhangshi*) of Yue prefecture (in Zhejiang). His poems from exile quickly made him very famous at the capital. But his indiscreet behavior early in Ruizong's reign (710-12) had a dramatic outcome: he was once again exiled, to Qing prefecture (in Guangdong), and then condemned to death. See *JTS* 190, 1: 5025-26; *XTS* 202, 18: 5750-51; and Ogawa Tamaki 1975: 91-103.

69. See *Quan Tang shi*, 156b.

70. On this point, see Yanagida 1963: 66.

71. Lu Hong came from Fanyang, and his public personal name was Haoran. He came to reside in Luoyang, where he became prominent for his scholarly achievement and his talent as a calligrapher. He did not take up an official position, however. At the beginning of the Kaiyuan era, he was often called on by Xuanzong who wanted, in 718, to name him grand master of remonstrance (*jianyi taifu*). But he declined the offer and received permission to go to Song shan, where he soon had 500 disciples. Xuanzong showed his appreciation of his worth by taking care of his material needs in his retreat. At the death of Lu Hong he is supposed to have given a sum of 10,000 cash. See *JTS* 192, 16: 5119-20; *XTS* 196, 18: 5603-4. An anecdote reported in the official history reveals Lu's personality: "[Lu] Hong went to the eastern capital. At his audience he abstained from any greeting. The prime minister sent the secretariat receptionist [*tongshi sheren*] to inquire into this matter. [Lu Hong] made this reply: 'Etiquette [*li*] is important when loyalty and trust are shallow. Your servant chose to present himself with his loyalty and trust'" (*XTS*, 196, 18: 5604). According to the *Song gaoseng zhuan* (T. 50, 2061: 732c), Lu Hong exerted some influence on Shenxiu's main disciple, Puji.

## Chapter 2

1. The title *Treatise on the Five Upāya* is used here to designate, in a generic fashion, several texts of the same lineage (including the *Tong yiqiejing yaoyi ji*, in S. 0182, recently discovered by Ibuki Atsushi) but with many significant variants that cannot be seen merely as copyists' errors. Suzuki Daisetsu saw in this fact a proof that the treatise is not the work of a single author—in this case, Shenxiu—but the depository of a tradition, that of the Northern school, whose period of activity

extends over some 150 years. According to Takeda Tadashi (1970: 3: 7), there is a certain textual development, but the theories expressed in the treatise in question were certainly formulated by Shenxiu since they are also found at the end of the entry dedicated to him in Jingjue's *Record*. More recently, Ibuki (1991b) has argued that textual filiation reveals two different lines stemming from the *Wusheng fangbian men*, and reflecting the intellectual evolution of the Northern school.

2. See Kim Chigyŏn 1973: 380-84; and 1977.

3. See *Kishinron honsho chōshūki*, in *DNBZ* 27: 144b. See also Yoshizu 1982. The *Wōnjong mullyu* is a treatise of doctrinal classification that followed Fazang's *Wujiao zhang* (Treatise on the five Teachings, *T.* 45, 1866) and contained many documents relative to Tang Buddhism. Only three *juan* (1, 14, and 22) are extant, and none of them contains Junkō's quotation.

4. According to Zongmi's *General Preface* (*T.* 48, 2015: 402-3), the teachings of the *dhyāna* masters Zhishen of Jiannan, Shenxiu of the Northern school, Wuzhu of the Bao Tang school, and Xuanshi of Guolang correspond to the Yogācāra doctrine and can be defined with the formula "put a stop to error and cultivate one's mind" (*xiu'ang xiuxin*). On the other hand, the teachings of the *dhyāna* masters Shitou, Niutou Farong, and Jingshan Faqin correspond to the Mādhyamika doctrine and can be defined by the formula "put an end to all dependence" (*minjue wuji*). Finally, the teaching of the Heze school (i.e., Shenhui), relying on the theories of the Tathāgatagarbha presented in sūtras like the *Avatamsaka* and the *Yuanjue jing*, can be defined by the formula "manifest the true mind as one's fundamental nature" (*xian zhenxin ji xing*). See *T.* 48, 2015: 402b.

5. The impact of Yogācāra doctrine on early Chan is undeniable, and Shenxiu in particular must have been aware of Xuanzang's contributions. But this still does not mean that his thought can be seen as identical to that of the epistemological school. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that if Shenxiu did borrow certain elements of this doctrine, it was only in order to move beyond them. His hermeneutic method, based on mental and verbal associations derived from contemplation (*guanxin shi*), is very different from traditional, philological exegesis, and could perhaps be defined as an early form of "performative scholarship" (on which, see Faure 1993). Shenxiu's mixed feelings toward Yogācāra are perhaps reflected in the *Xiu chanshi quanshan wen* (Exhortations to the good by the *dhyāna* master Xiu), a popular sermon attributed to him, in which we find a critique of the notion of *ālayavijñāna*. See Yanagida 1963: 50.

6. See, e.g., Ui 1966a: 331; Takamine 1956: 67; Kamata 1965: 473.

7. Daoxuan (J. Dōsen) is reputed to have introduced Fazang's *Wujiao zhang* into Japan in 736. He may be responsible for the synthesis of Vinaya, Huayan, and the Chan of the Northern school that characterized Japanese Buddhism in its earliest stages. Shouzhī (var. Shouzhen) is known for his commentaries on the *Dacheng qixin lun* and the *Avatamsaka*. He was also well versed in Vinaya and had received the Bodhisattva precepts (*bodhisattvaśīla*) from the Tantric master Śubhakarasiṃha.

8. In his *Guanxin lun*, Shenxiu cited the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, the *Wenshi jing* (*T.* 16, 701), and the *Vimalakīrtinīrdeśa*. He seems to have attached

some importance to the *Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra* since the *Record* gives two citations from this sūtra as well as one from the apocryphal *Yingluo jing* (T. 24, 1485). Furthermore, according to the *Song gaoseng zhuan* (T. 50: 738c5), he contributed to the distribution of another apocryphal work, the *Sūramigama* (T. 19, 945), throughout northern China. Finally, if we accept that the *Treatise on the Five Upāya* is representative of his thought, he put great store by five canonical works: *Dacheng qixin lun*, *Saddharmapundarika*, *Viśeṣacintibrahmapariptṛhā*, *Vimalakīrtinīdeśa*, and *Avatamsaka*. As far as the *Laṅkāvatāra* is concerned, only the stela inscription composed by Zhang Yue mentions Shenxiu as transmitting this sūtra as "the essentials of the mind" (*xinyao*). There is no mention of this in the other inscription added to Du Fei's *Chuan jǐbao jī*. It is true that if, as does Suzuki, we take the *Treatise on the Five Upāya* to postdate Shenxiu, the absence of any mention of the *Laṅkāvatāra* in this work may simply testify to the existence of two strains within the Northern school: one (Zhang Yue, Jingjue) making use of the *Laṅkāvatāra* and the other not. We may also consider that the title of this sūtra has been omitted deliberately, and that this omission reveals opposition to the "*Laṅkāvatāra* tradition" preached by Jingjue. But against this point of view we must point out that many adherents to the Northern school received the "mind seal" of the *Laṅkāvatāra* from Puji.

9. The *Treatise on the Five Upāya* makes other use of Yogācāra notions such as "a posteriori knowledge" (*prṣṭhalabdhajñāna*) (T. 85, 2834: 1275b).

10. Concerning Shenxiu's authorship of the *Guanxin lun*, traditionally considered to be one of the "Three Treatises" of Bodhidharma, see Sekiguchi 1969a: 217. This traditional attribution reflects the enduring popularity of this work, which played an important role in Japanese Buddhism and was also translated into Uighur under the title *āt'öz-üg koniū-üg körmäk* (Treatise on the contemplation of body and mind; I am indebted for this information to Kudara Kōgi). The *Guanxin lun* is also known as the *Poxiang lun* (Treatise on the destruction of characteristics), not to be confused with another *Poxiang lun* (or *Pusa zongchi fa*, in P. 3777), which does contain some similar terminology and may also be a Northern Chan text. On this question, see Tanaka Ryōshō 1987.

11. The first chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra* is dedicated to "skillful means," and it is not surprising that this text should have had a great influence on the thought of the Northern school. It is this importance given to the *upāya* that drew most criticism from Shenhui, who seldom cites the sūtra in question. Still there are various indications that can lead us to think that adepts of the Heze school did not always scorn the use of *upāya*. Thus, comparing three Chan schools (Southern, Northern, and Nantou), Zongmi could write that "each school also possesses skillful means in great variety" (Kamata 1971: 316).

12. On this question, see Chapter 5 in this book; and Faure 1986b.

13. Demiéville 1929: 71.

14. The Dongshan school seems to have sought legitimacy for its meditative practice in another text, this time an authentic one, called the *Saptaśatikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. We should also note the importance that this school gave to apocryphal texts close to the *Dacheng qixin lun* both in their content and in their attribution to Āśvaghoṣa. This

is especially the case with the *Yuanming lun* (Treatise on perfect clarity), recopied at the beginning of manuscript P. 3559, and the *Yijiao jing lun*, a commentary on a partial Chinese version of Āśvaghosa's *Buddhacarita* (Acts of the Buddha), which is presented as a translation by Paramārtha. The *Yuanming lun*'s description of the *ālayavijñāna* (storehouse consciousness) in terms reminiscent of the *amalavijñāna* (immaculate consciousness) indicates an influence from the tradition of the *Mahāyānasamgraha* starting from Paramārtha. On this text, see Yanagida 1963: 47; and McRae 1986a: 161-63.

15. Cf., e.g., the *Dacheng qixin lun* (T. 32, 1666: 567a), the *Chuan fabao ji* (Yanagida 1971a: 331), and the *Record* (Yanagida 1971a: 63).

16. Taking its cue from the *Dacheng qixin lun*, the Chan school interprets the One-Mind as an absolute, an ontological principle, unlike the Yogācāra (Faxiang) school, which equated it with *cittamātra*, the mental texture of reality.

17. T. 85, 2833: 1270c.

18. T. 85, *ibid.*

19. See, e.g., the discussion of the *Xinwang jing* and its commentary, the *Xinwang jing zhu* (T. 85, 2886) by Huibian, in Ibuki 1993a, 1993b, 1993c, and of the commentaries attributed to the Bodhisatta Jin'gangzang, in Ibuki 1991a. The *Xinwang jing* (Mind-king sūtra) in particular, also known as *Toutuo jing* (Dhūta[guṇa] sūtra), provides a radical hermeneutics of the traditional asceticism (*dhūtaguṇa*).

20. See *Yuanjue jing dashu*, in ZZ 1, 14, 2: 119; and *Yuanjue jing dashu chao*, in ZZ 1, 14, 3: 277-81. The use of *upāya* is also mentioned as a characteristic of the teachings of Shenxiu and his disciple Puji in several stela inscriptions, for instance in the epitaph composed by Wei Chuhou (773-828) for a disciple of Mazu Daoyi named Ehu Dayi (QTW 715, 15: 9311b).

21. In the teachings of Hongren or Shenhui, the expressions "supreme vehicle" (*quishangcheng*) or "single vehicle" (*yicheng*) point to the same absolute reality. On this point, see Yanagida 1963: 60; and 1974a: 20.

22. See T. 85, 2834: 1273c; and *Dacheng qixin lun*, T. 32, 1267: 584c.

23. See *Huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, T. 36: 62a, 261b, and 262a. For an analysis of *linian*, see Zeuschner 1977: 120-33.

24. T. 85, 2834: 1273c.

25. *Ibid.*

26. T. 85, 2834: 1274c.

27. *Ibid.* 1273c.

28. It cannot be denied that, in practice, interpretation of the *Treatise on the Five Upāya* sometimes gave rise to "quietist" deviations. However, there is no evidence that could let us state, as does Demiéville (1961: 5), that "the passive, introspective, even cataleptic *dhyanā* seen in the Northern school excluded all intelligence, *prajñā*." In accepting Shenhui's criticisms at face value, Demiéville underestimates their eminently polemical nature. This quality manifests itself also in the judgment attributed in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* to a fellow disciple of Shenhui's, an Indian monk named Jueduo [Upagupta?] who compared the "contemplation of purity" recommended by Shenxiu to the worst Indian heresies (T. 50, 2061: 770b). According to Yanagida (1976: 11), "the summary that Shenhui presents of the Northern school's doctrine is, in fact, a criticism of a sort of 'Chan sickness' in which one remains attached to 'detachment from thought' [*linian*] and to the contemplation of the fundamentally



pure mind. From a historical point of view it does not appear that the masters of the Northern school were particularly attached to the practice of *linian*, but it must be admitted that, on a philosophical level, their thought lent itself to this kind of criticism. In any case, Shenhui saw this school as attached to *linian* and he preached his own concept of *yunian* to counter this idea."

29. The title includes the words "Northern school" (*beizong*), which leads us to think that we have here a work that postdates the criticisms made by Shenhui, who is responsible for the attachment of this label to the line of thinking represented by Shenxiu and his disciples. There is no sign that the text was not intended to reply to those criticisms. However, its recitative style seems to indicate that it was read during some ceremony or another, not a characteristic of a polemical text. On the position of this text in Northern Chan thought, see Ibuki 1991b.

30. See Ui 1966a: 447.

31. See ZZ 1, 14, 2: 119.

32. See Kim Chigyŏn 1977: 236, 247. 33. T. 50, 2061: 736b.

34. See QTW 918, 19: 12070.

35. See *Taiping guangji* 160; and Chapter 1 of this book.

36. Li Renjun's visit to the Jianfusi is considered to have taken place toward the end of the Jianzhong years (780-84). For more information on this second Shenxiu, see Faure 1983. This is most likely the same "Huayan master" whom the Japanese monk Kūkai met during his trip to China at the beginning of the ninth century. (I owe this information to Professor Kobayashi Enshō.)

37. A significant exception is Sakamoto 1976: 56. Despite the publication of these findings in Faure 1983 and Faure 1988 (in Japanese), recent Japanese scholarship still persists in attributing a commentary on the *Avatamsaka* to the "Northern Chan" master Shenxiu. See, e.g., Yanagida 1985: 358; and Tanaka Ryōshō 1994: 76.

38. See, e.g., Min 1974; and Kamata 1980.

39. The notion of nine "mountains" is in fact quite late and does not take into account the actual state of affairs, because it excludes some schools and includes one (Sumi-san) that was not founded until the Koryŏ period. Tradition makes Chisŏn the founder of Sŏn. But Chan was already exported to Korea in the time of Pŏmnang (dates unknown), who studied with Daoxin. The inscription on Chisŏn's stela mentions two strains, that of the Northern Mountain (Puk-san) and that of the Southern Peak (Namhak). The first is represented by Toŭi (founder of the Kaji-san school, died 825) and draws its name from Sorhak-san where Toŭi lived after he left Kaji-san. The Southern Peak is Chii-san, where Hongch'ok (dates unknown, founder of the Silsang-san school) established a monastery. Although both were heirs of Mazu Daoyi, these two precursors of Sŏn developed their doctrine in completely different fashions. Toŭi opposed the Buddhism of the period, which was in his eyes only a mess of superstitions. He withdrew for fifteen years to the Chinjon-sa, following the example of Bodhidharma who, according to legend, spent nine years in retreat at Song shan. Hongch'ok, on the other hand, succeeded in converting King Hŭngdŏk and Heir Apparent Sŏngkang. He tended toward a very flexible syncretism that took into consideration Korean beliefs and led to a synthesis of meditation and doctrine. This doctrinal flexibility explains his success. These two divergent attitudes

influenced other schools and resulted in the establishment of the two major currents mentioned above. It was the second, that of the Southern Peak, that inherited the syncretic thought of the Northern school. During the Koryŏ period, further development of the Huayan and Tiantai doctrines led to the elaboration of a new synthesis, from the point of view of both doctrine (with Ŭich'ŏn) and Chan (with Chinul). After Chinul there was a gradual return to the more radical trend, with the consolidation of a "Chan of patriarch masters." For a more detailed study of the origins of Sŏn, see Buswell 1989.

40. See QTW 718. According to Buswell (1989), it was Pŏmnang who was responsible for the compilation of the apocryphal text known under the title of *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra* (*Jin'gang sanmei jing*). Buswell's conclusion, however, remains tentative.

41. See "Pongam-sa Chijŏng taesa Chŏkchi t'appi," in Chŏsen sŏtokufu 1919: 90-91; and Yi 1955: 1: 127 and 151.

42. Yi Nŭnghwa (1955: 2: 6-7), for example, states that "it is Korean Buddhism that truly transmits the direct line from Chogyŏ [Caoxi, toponym of Huineng]." This transmission of the Chan of the Southern school is corroborated in a symbolic fashion by the legend in which the Korean Kim Taebi took to Korea in 721 the head of the mummy of the Sixth Patriarch, Huineng. Today one can still see the mausoleum at Ssanggye-sa that is supposed to contain this precious relic. It is interesting to note that this monastery, which also preserves the funerary inscription of Chingam Hyeso (773-850), was founded early in the eighth century by two monks who had returned from China. It was at that time called the Oksem-sa [Ch. Yuquansi], an indication that it perhaps derived from the Chan of the Northern school. See Yi 1955: 2: 93-95. For more details on Huineng's mummy, see Faure 1991; Fontein 1993; Jorgensen 1988.

43. See Min 1974.

44. Actually almost all the teachings of the "nine mountains" derived from the Chan of Mazu Daoyi. We may assume here that as a counterbalance to the influence of another Korean, Wuxiang (alias "Master Kim," head of the Sichuan school), they try to emphasize their origins in the circle of Huineng (whose toponym, Caoxi, becomes the eponym of the unified Sŏn sect, Chogyŏ-chŏng, after Chinul). On this question, see Faure (forthcoming).

45. See T. 50, 2054: 280-86.

46. See *General Preface*, T. 48, 2015: 403a, trans. in Broughton 1975: 156. On Chinul, see Buswell 1983.

47. In this sense we may say that Shenxiu is the faithful heir to the Chan of Bodhidharma, who, far from rejecting written texts, only wished to subordinate them to the living spirit. Thus the doctrine does no more than point to the spirit of Chan, which achieves it by transcending it. Henceforth, to speak about "agreement" or "contradictions" between canonical doctrine (*jiao*) and Chan is already to devalorize the latter and, by assigning it a relative position, lose sight of its specific nature. Still, this Chan metaphysics of presence has strong ideological overtones.

48. The affinities between Shenxiu and Zongmi do not stop there, and we can certainly apply to the former the description given of the latter in the *Song gaoseng*

zhuan. To the question: "Is the master [Zongmi] an adept of Chan, a practitioner of Vinaya, or a scholar well versed in the Scriptures?" it was replied, "[Zongmi] is a country coveted by four neighboring countries, but none among them has succeeded in dominating it and imposing its name on it" (T. 50, 2061: 742b).

49. On this figure, see Welter 1988 and 1992. Other than the interest he holds for the theory of *jiaochan yizhi*, Yanshou is known for advocating theories such as the "joint cultivation of Chan and Pure Land" (*chanjing shuangxiu*) or the "harmony of the three doctrines," Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism (*sanjiao yizhi*), both of which would become important under the Song. Next to the Northern school, the influence of the *Avatamsaka* is most marked in the Fayen branch of Chan (of which Yanshou is one of the chief representatives). This feature explains in part the connections that may have existed between Shenxiu and Yanshou.

50. On the Korean development of *jiaochan yizhi*, see Chŭng 1974. In China, Zongmi's theory was taken up most notably by Changshui Zixuan (934-1038) and Jinshui Jingyuan (1011-88), and it had a profound influence on Song dynasty Chan. In Japan, it predominated for some time in the Zen monasteries of the Kamakura period, thanks to individuals like Enni Ben'en (1202-80). Lectures on Yanshou's *Zongjing lu* were extremely popular. Beyond the Zen sect, we may cite the *Zenshū kōmoku* of Shōjō (1190-1255), a disciple of Myōe (1173-1232) who adopted a position close to that of Chinul (even if we cannot speak of any direct influence). But this doctrinal syncretism soon came up against the partisans of "pure" Zen (especially Dōgen [1200-1253] and some of his disciples), and it would not achieve the same success as in Korea. See Imaeda Aishin 1970: 73-74; and Kamata and Tanaka 1971: 557.

51. The Chan school, insofar as it refused to admit adherence to any doctrine as a criterion of orthodoxy, had to emphasize the patriarchal lineage. We must also interpret in this "genealogical" sense the idea of "special transmission outside the Scriptures" (rather than from a purely soteriological point of view). Thus we are faced with the paradox that a text is valued not for its content but for its ability to corroborate a lineage. Thus Huineng stated, "Those who do not receive the *Platform Sūtra* do not possess the essence of my teaching" (Yampolsky 1967: 173). On the notion of "rhizome," see Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *On the Line* (New York: Semiotext[e], 1983).

52. *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T. 50, 2060: 570b.

53. *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T. 50: 599c.

54. See the entry in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T. 50: 687b.

55. See T. 33, 1716: 686a, and T. 46, 1911: 132a.

56. T. 46, 1911: 1c.

57. On Tiantai meditation, see Stevenson 1986.

58. For a further discussion of Daoxin's understanding of the one-practice *samādhi*, see Chappell 1983, 1986.

59. T. 85, 2837: 1288.

60. T. 85: 2837: 1289a.

61. T. 46, 1915: 466c.

62. On this question, see Bielefeldt 1986.

63. For more about this monastic code, compiled in 1003, see Kagamishima 1972; on the *Zuochan yi*, see Yanagida et al. 1974: 145-64, 224-240; and Dōgen's *Fukan zazengi* (T. 82, 2580). For the relationship among these various texts, see also Bielefeldt 1986, 1988.

64. See the biographical entry in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T. 50: 480c; and also Sekiguchi 1959b: 47.

65. T. 50, 2060: 596c.

66. For more details about this text, see Sekiguchi 1969a; and Tanaka Ryōshō 1965, 1980.

67. See *Lidai fabao ji* in Yanagida 1976: 143.

68. Ibid.: 270, 290, et passim.

69. On Huiji's criticism of Chan, see also Chappell 1986.

70. On this question, see also Hioki 1977; and Kondō 1981.

71. T. 48: 342b.

72. T. 51: 120a.

73. R. F. Sasaki 1975: 19.

74. Yampolsky 1967: 161.

75. See Hu Shi 1970: 225-30.

76. T. 85, 2837: 1290b.

77. See, e.g., T. 48, 2015: 404b, 409b.

78. T. 48, 2011: 377b.

79. T. 85, 2837: 1288a.

80. T. 85, 2837: 1288c. See also Suzuki Daisetsu 1980b: 247.

81. T. 48, 2011: 379a.

82. T. 85, 2837: 1289c.

83. See Demiéville 1979: 10.

84. See Suzuki Daisetsu 1980a: 453-54.

85. We may be reminded of certain passages in the *Enneads* of Plotinus on the subject of spiritual vision: "One must not pursue it, but wait quietly until it comes; thus the eye awaits the rising of the sun." Or, "Then you have become vision. . . . Fix your gaze and see" (see *Enneads*, V, 5, 8, and I, 6, 9).

86. Demiéville 1947: 114.

87. Suzuki Daisetsu 1936: 451.

88. See *ibid.*: 90.

89. Demiéville 1952: 51.

90. *Ibid.*: 52, 125, 158.

91. See Imaeda Yoshirō 1975: 131.

92. Obata 1976c: 19.

93. See Tanaka Ryōshō 1983: 261-82.

94. See Yanagida and Tokiwa 1973. An alternative translation of *jueguan* could be "absolute contemplation." This polysemy reflects the doctrinal dynamics of early Chan, which held the "abolition of contemplation" to be "absolute contemplation."

95. T. 8: 731a. For a full translation of this passage, see Chappell 1986.

96. On this point, see Faure 1986b: 101-3.

97. T. 85, 2837: 1290b-c.

98. See T. 85, 2834: 1273c.

99. See T. 48: 338b; and Yampolsky 1967: 136-37. Following the "ontological" interpretation, Yampolsky translates *yixing sanmei* as "samādhi of oneness."

100. See Hu Shi 1970: 181.

101. *Ibid.*: 301.

102. T. 48: 2015, 399b.

103. For more details on this question, see Faure 1986b.

104. See *Baopuzi* 18, in *Daozang* 870 (Taipei: Zhonghua shuzhu, 1974).

105. Concerning the Maoshan school, see Strickmann 1977, 1981; and Robinet 1977, 1993.
106. See Yoshioka 1976: 3: 307.      107. Quoted in *ibid.*: 335-36.
108. Pelliot 1912: 415.      109. T. 85: 1289b.
110. See Buswell 1989: 147.      111. T. 85: 1289a.
112. T. 48: 377, 940a.      113. T. 85: 1290a.
114. T. 85: 1273c.
115. *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T. 51, 2076: 457a. On the *Xinxin ming*, see Tanaka Ryōshō 1983: 293-302.
116. T. 45, 1857: 145a. On the *Baozang lun*, see Sharf 1991.
117. T. 9: 368a.      118. See Gernet 1949: 34.
119. R. F. Sasaki 1975: 28-29.      120. Gernet, 1995: 94.
121. T. 48, 2015: 403.

### Chapter 3

1. On Puji, see below. Shenxiu's second disciple, Yifu, had the family name of Jiang. He came from Tongdi in the prefecture of Lu (var. Shengdang, in modern Shanxi). At the age of fifteen, he went to Wei and Ye. At first he was interested in the so-called neo-Daoist or Arcane Studies (Xuanxue) philosophy but soon turned to Buddhism. Still a layman, he observed monastic discipline rigorously. He remained for a while at the Lingquansi, on Liu shan in Runan (modern Henan), where he read the *Saddharmapundarika* and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. Then he became the disciple of Dharma Master Fei (the future author of the *Chuan fabao ji*) at the Da Fuxiansi in Luoyang and dedicated himself to the study of the Mahāyāna scriptures. Having heard about Faru, he decided in 690 to go and consult him on Song shan. But Faru had just died, and Yifu (like Puji and many others) then decided to go to the Yuquansi, the home of Faru's fellow disciple Shenxiu. The same year he received ordination, at the age of 32. He studied with Shenxiu for ten years and obtained awakening after "practicing the five gates [*upāya*?] and attaining the seven purities." According to Yan Tingzhi, Shenxiu then conferred on him the "Treasure of Emptiness" (*kongzang*) and gave him his accreditation, affixing the seal of the *dhāraṇī* (which suggests some influence from Tantric Buddhism not only on Yifu but on Shenxiu himself). Yifu seems to have accompanied his master when he was called to the capital in 701. In 706 Shenxiu fell sick (this version differs from that of Zhang Yue who speaks of a "healthy" death), and Yi remained alone at his bedside. Thus it was that he was present at the last moments of his master and received the "transmission" from him without anyone else being present. He was then 49. Since there were no witnesses and no tangible proof (the *kāśāya* theory was not yet in force), it would have been difficult for him to prove his legitimacy if he had not at that moment met the wonder-working monk Wanhui. Thanks to his powers, Wanhui was influential at court, and he gave Yifu invaluable support by recognizing him publicly as Shenxiu's legitimate heir. The role Wanhui played in the emergence of the Northern school needs to be studied further. Yifu, secure in his new title, was welcomed at the Songyuesi, into

the community of Puji, with whom he always seems to have remained on excellent terms. Then he went to Chang'an and settled on Zhongnan shan (Lantian), at the Huaguansi. It was then that he began to preach, attracting many lay disciples. He remained cloistered in this monastery for about twenty years. All sources agree on this point, and it is doubtless an anachronism that the *Song gaoseng zhuan* (T. 50, 2061: 863a) mentions that a monk named Sirui went to consult Yifu at Song shan during the Kaiyuan years and remained for five years near him on this mountain. Still, it was less than twenty years after he settled on Zhongnan shan, in 722, that Yifu was invited to stay at the Ciensi by his disciples, both laymen and monks, in Chang'an. The following year he was part of the imperial entourage when Xuanzong went to Luoyang. He seems to have already been popular, since, when he traveled through the two prefectures of Pu and Gao, "governors and officials, men and women, all offered standards and flowers to welcome him. The route became blocked and people constantly pressed around to venerate and admire him" (ibid.). In 725 he moved to the Da Fuxiansi, where he had studied earlier. In 727 he was once again in Chang'an. In 733 he was staying at the Southern Longxingsi where he received, according to his biography, more than a thousand visits per day. Given this pace, it is little wonder that his health deteriorated. He fell sick in the eighth month of 735. His sickness became progressively worse, and in the fifth month of the following year he told his disciples: "My primordial master, Śākyamuni, appeared in this world and then entered into Nirvāṇa at the end of 79 years. I have now reached the same age as the Buddha. Why should I stay any longer?" The man whom Demiéville was perhaps too hasty in calling a "courtier priest" died on the twenty-fourth day of the fifth month of 736 (not 732, as is claimed in the *Jiu Tang shu* and the *Song gaoseng zhuan*). An imperial decree conferred on him the posthumous title "Dhyāna master Dazhi." One month later he was buried in the grounds of the Fengxiansi, at Longnen, where his disciples set up a stela. Several tens of thousands of people took part in his funeral ceremonies. Yan Tingzhi composed the stela inscription and put on mourning like an ordinary disciple. Like Shenxiu and Puji, Yifu was known above all for his prophetic talents. This aspect of his personality is preserved in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, the *Taiping guangji*, and the *Shenseng zhuan*. On the other hand, we have almost no information about his thought and his method of dhyāna. Like all his fellow disciples, he most probably gave great importance to Vinaya, and his decision to stay on Zhongnan shan, cradle of the Vinaya school founded by Daoxuan, was doubtless not a matter of chance. He also studied Tantric Buddhism with Vajrabodhi (see *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T. 50, 2061: 711b). Yifu seems to have had fewer prominent disciples than did Puji, but one of them, the monk Moheyan, distinguished himself at the debate of bSam-yas in Tibet. Finally, as we have already noted, he shared with his fellow disciples the feeling that he represented the seventh generation of the Dongshan school. Huifu, the fourth successor to Shenxiu, does not appear in any of the Buddhist "histories." Only the *Jingde chuandeng lu* (T. 51, 2076: 224b and 226a) mentions a dhyāna master Xiao Fu ("Little Fu") from the capital who seems to have been the same person. The nickname was doubtless given to distinguish him from Yifu (who was the "Great Fu" mentioned by Moheyan at the Council of Tibet).

But we also see among the disciples of Shenxiu a Dafu (655-743) who could also fit in this context. Despite the obscurity surrounding him, Huifu was undoubtedly an important figure since Moheyan invokes him, along with Yifu and Xiangmo Zang, as one of his masters.

2. See QTW 262, 280; and JTS 191.

3. On this question, see Takeshima 1969; Kamata 1961; Huang 1959: 27; and Tsukamoto 1976: 243-44.

4. See *Tang huiyao* 47. On Yao Chong's attitude toward Buddhism, see also Gernet 1995: 282-83.

5. *Tang huiyao* 49; *Fozu tongji*, T. 49: 373b. See also Weinstein 1987; and Tonami 1988.

6. *Tang huiyao* 47: 836.

7. Shenxiu's former disciple had already been accused for his relations with the Vinaya master Daoan. See Takeshima 1969: 54-55; Pulleyblank 1966: 43-45. As Gernet (1995: 287-88) points out, "The fears of the central government [about divination] were well justified: many a conspiracy and rebellion, led by members of the aristocracy, separatist officials, and monk-magicians had been founded upon the diffusion of omens and messianic theories. . . . The role of prophecies in the accession of Wu Tse-t'ien [Zetian] is amply known. This form of propaganda, practiced by Buddhist monks, was plainly very effective."

8. On the Inexhaustible Treasures, see Yang Lien-sheng 1950; Gernet 1995: 210-17. One of these treasures was at the Huadusi in Chang'an, the other, created by Wu Zetian, was at the Fuxiansi in Luoyang. Their direction was entrusted to the Huayan master Fazang. Note that it was in 725, one year after the closing of the second treasury, that Yifu came to reside at the Fuxiansi. On the sect of the Three Stages, the fundamental study (despite a number of errors) remains Yabuki 1927. See also Forte 1990; Lewis 1990; and Gernet 1995.

9. *Fozu tongji*, T. 49: 2035: 374; *Tang huiyao* 49: 863.

10. See *Fozu tongji*, T. 49: 374c-375a; *Tang huiyao* 49: 859-60, 50: 879-80.

11. The Longxing monasteries had been established as early as 707, to replace the Zhongxing monasteries (founded upon the return to power of Zhongzong, in 705). See Takeshima 1969: 51-59; Michihata 1957: 144; and Benn 1977: 96.

12. See T. 50: 835c and 824a; and Chapter 1 of this book.

13. It is there that Yifu, in his youth, had consulted the dharma master Fei (the putative author of the *Chuan fabao ji*), before joining Shenxiu. It is also in this monastery that Daoxuan (J. Dōsen), Puji's disciple, met in 733 the two Japanese monks Eihei and Fushō, who would convince him to go to Japan to transmit the Vinaya. See Takakusu 1928: 22.

14. T. 49, 2035: 373c.

15. Yixing is usually considered a patriarch of the Zhenyan (J. Shingon) school, but his biographical notice also mentions his studies of Chan, Tiantai, and Vinaya, as well as his interest in astronomy (T. 50, 2061: 732). In the inscription on the Śubhakarasiṃha stela, Yixing is presented as the disciple of Puji of Song shan, but the *Song gaoseng zhuan* also tells how Lu Hongyi, the famous Confucian hermit of Song shan (and the author, it may be recalled, of one of the epitaphs for Shenxiu), recognized

the precocious genius of Yixing and judged Puji incapable of giving him guidance. The Chan connection is also stressed in a sub-commentary to the *Vairocana-sūtra* compiled in 1077: "Question: 'In a case like that of the *dhyaṇa* master Yixing, *dhyaṇa* master actually means master of the Chan school. But there are two branches of Chan: the Northern and the Southern. I would like to know to which he belonged.' Answer: 'He was actually a master of the Northern school'" (ZZ 1, 37, 1: 10d). The case of Yixing is also brought up in the *Xianmi yuantong cheng fo xinyao ji* by Daozhen (a Wutai shan monk who lived during the Song) as a proof that Chan adepts did not find Tantric teachings incompatible with their own doctrine (T. 46, 1955: 1002a). Yixing is also claimed by the syncretic tradition of Tiantai and looms large among the precursors of Saichō. It seems that he also studied Vinaya during his stay at the Yuquansi. But it was finally his scientific contributions in the field of astronomy that brought him his posthumous fame, and the honor of having his name carved into the pediment of a famous European library, the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris, alongside those of great Western scientists like Newton.

16. See T. 50: 733c; and Tonami 1990: 52.

17. Although he came from a humble background, Yan Tingzhi quickly won the esteem of Yao Chong and Zhang Jiuling. He was named vice-president of the Department of State Affairs and soon passed the qualifying examinations for the Ministry of Personnel and the Ministry of War. But Li Linfu's ill-will toward him, coupled with Li's victory over Zhang Jiuling, led to a demotion. He ended his days in bitterness. According to the *Jiu Tang shu*, he was buried in 742 near the stūpa of Puji (variant in the XTS: Huiyi). See JTS 99, 9: 3103; XTS 129, 14: 4482; *Fozu lidai tongzai*, T. 49, 2036: 595b.

18. Pei Kuan came from a prominent family in Hedong and was appointed in turn vice-president of the Ministry of War, of the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Personnel, and then prefect of Henan, vice-president of the Tribunal of Censors, and president of the Ministry of Finance, before becoming a member of the Supreme Council during the Tianbao era. Thus he belonged to the nobility of Guanzhong, just like Yu Wenrong, the sworn enemy of Zhang Yue. But this did not prevent him from opposing the corruption under Li Linfu. He established connections with many monks, and when he was old he asked the emperor's permission to enter a monastery, but did not get approval. He died in 755 at the age of 75. See JTS 100, 9: 3129; XTS 130, 14: 4488.

19. Li Yong came from Jiangdu (Jiangdu *xian*, in Jiangsu). His father, Li Shan, is known for his commentary on the *Wenxuan*. Li Yong also rose to prominence rapidly as a writer, and then he became vice-president of the Tribunal of Censors. But he was soon sent into exile as a result of his conflicts with Zhang Yue. Later he also antagonized Li Linfu, which resulted in his being condemned to death at the age of 70. See JTS 190, 15: 5039; XTS 203, 18: 5754.

20. In the process of trying to supplant rival schools (Faxiang and Huayan), the Northern school actually came to resemble them on certain points, and its constantly growing tendency toward scholasticism distanced it from the more praxis-oriented



Dongshan tradition. It remained very popular, however, but this popularity itself served only to make it suspect in the eyes of Xuanzong.

21. Wei Zhi came from a high Guanzhong family (his father was Wei Anshi) and quickly came to the forefront because of his scholarship. He was introduced into the political world by Song Jing (as was Li Yong) and soon became a member of the government under Zhang Jiuling (as did Yan Tingzhi). For this reason he too was hated by Li Linfu, who prevented his promotion. He had to wait for the reign of Emperor Suzong (756–62) before he was named vice-president of the Tribunal of Censors, and then president of the Ministry of Personnel. He died in 760 at the age of 65. He was a member of the high nobility and a noted literatus, a close friend of Wang Wei, and a typical lay member of the Northern school. See *JTS* 92, 9: 2958; *XTS* 122, 14: 4351.

22. Like his father, Zhang Yue, Zhang Jun was a talented writer. He was first named secretariat receptionist (*tongshi sheren*) for audiences to the heir apparent, and then high secretary to the Office of Noble Titles and high secretary in the Imperial Secretariat. In 729, Zhang Yue entrusted him with the position of vice-president of the Department of State Affairs. But after Zhang Yue's death, he was demoted by Li Linfu. After Li's death, he was promoted to the presidency of the Ministry of Justice. A scandal, however, led to his being named prefect of the Jian'an administrative district (in Fujian). He took advantage of An Lushan's rebellion to "usurp" the post of president of the Imperial Secretariat. After the re-establishment of the dynasty, he escaped execution only thanks to the intercession of Fang Guan. See *JTS* 97, 9: 3057; *XTS* 125, 14: 4411.

23. Li Cheng came from Wenshui (Dayuan) and became chief functionary in the sub-prefecture of Xianyang (in Shaanxi). Supported by Zhang Yue, he was promoted to chief functionary of the capital (Chang'an) in 721. He quickly became chief secretary in the Ministry of Personnel, then chief secretary to the Imperial Chancellery. But Li Linfu demoted him to the position of vice-prefect of He'nan. Early in the Tianbao era, he became prefect of the Qinghe administrative district (in Hebei) and then of Hedong. He was then named assistant in the Department of State Affairs and prefect of the high prefecture of Zhangzhao. Finally he was promoted to "regent of the Eastern Capital (Luoyang) during the absence of the emperor" (*dongjing liushou*). When rebellion broke out in 755, he remained in the capital with Imperial Censor Lu Yi in order to organize its defense. Both were captured and executed by the rebels. Emperor Xuanzong awarded them posthumous titles. Two of Li Cheng's sons became monks after the tragic death of their father. One of them, Li Yuan, lived at the Huilinsi in Luoyang and became famous for his filial piety. See *JTS* 187, 15: 4887; *XTS* 191, 18: 5510. The story soon became part of legend. See, e.g., *Taiping guangji* 154, 309a.

24. Younger brother of Huaishen, department chief of the Imperial Chancellery, Lu Yi was named during the Kaiyuan years administrator for public order (*sili canjun*) in the high prefecture of Jingzhao. Early in the Tianbao era (around 742), he became sub-prefect of Hu (in Shaanxi), and then high secretary to the Ministry of War. In

752 he became, as had his father and older brother before him, vice-president of the Tribunal of Censors. He thus ruled over the Branch Censorate of the Eastern Capital (*liutai*) and ran examinations to choose military personnel in Luoyang. When he was captured by An Lushan's troops, he refused to cooperate and was executed in 755. This led to his being remembered as an example of an honest, faithful official. See *JTS* 187, 15: 4893; *XTS* 191, 18: 5526.

25. Li Yong in particular was known for his venality (Frankel 1959: 115). Given this fact, we should not place too much importance on the fact that he composed the inscription for Puji's stela.

26. *T.* 50, 2061: 760b. See also *Taiping guangji* 97, 194a.

27. Zhang Yue had drawn up a commentary on the *Daode jing* and, like all the great literary men of the era, was well versed in the Arcane Studies (*Xuanxue*). See, e.g., his poems dedicated to the Daoist Liu, an adept of the school of Supreme Purity (*Shangqing*) whose older brother was a Confucianist and whose younger brother was a Buddhist. He also contributed, as an "embellisher," to the translations by Yijing and Bodhiruci. His interest in Daoyin (the exegete of the *Vajracchedikā*) seems to have been aroused by the lectures that Daoyin gave at the Da Fuxiansi in Luoyang. Tanyi was a monk well versed in Confucianism and the friend of many high officials like He Zhizhang. His friendship with Zhang Yue dates from the time when Zhang was prime minister. Another Buddhist acquaintance of Zhang Yue's was the monk Daoan, a disciple in the third generation from Daoxuan, the founder of the Southern Mountain school (*Nanshan*, a reference to Zhongnan shan, south of Chang'an, or Vinaya). See Yamazaki 1967: 472. Finally, although Zhang Yue does not seem to have been personally acquainted with Huineng, he did, for a while, have an interest in Shenhui.

28. In its notice dedicated to Weique, commentator on the *Sūramgama-sūtra*, the *Song gaoseng zhuan* echoes a tradition that mentions a connection between the *dhyāna* master Shenxiu and this apocryphal text (*T.* 50, 2061: 738c). Although it emphasizes certain theories characteristic of the Southern school, the work does not seem to have been a product of Shenhui or the group around him. On this question, see Demiéville 1952: 43-44, 372-73; Yin Shun 1971: 146.

29. Fang Guan wrote in particular the preface to the representations of the six generations of Chinese Chan patriarchs, representations that originally decorated the walls of the shrine built by Shenhui in memory of his master Huineng within the enclosure of the Hezesi. See *Song gaoseng zhuan*, *T.* 50: 755b.

30. See Gernet 1995: 282.

31. Tongguang died in 770 at the Shaolinsi, at the age of 71, after 45 years of monastic life. Thus he must have been ordained in 726, thirteen years before the death of Puji from whom he received the "robe and bowl." He seems to have been the head of a fairly large community, since, according to his inscription, more than 30 of his disciples achieved awakening. See *QTW* 441, 9: 5685.

32. Fawan became the disciple of Puji at the age of eighteen and received full ordination two years later. He died in 790, at the age of 76, at the Jing'ai. His stela inscription, dated 791, gives a list of 39 disciples. See *QTW* 913, 19: 12005.

33. Unlike Puji and Yifu, Jingxian does not have a biographical entry in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* or the *Jiu Tang shu*, and his name is simply mentioned in the *Jingde chuangdeng lu* (T. 51, 2076: 224b, 226a) where he appears as the *dhyāna* master Jing of Song shan. Fortunately we possess an "Inscription on Stone for the Funerary Stūpa of the Late Grand Master Jingxian of the Huishansi on Song shan, under the Tang" ("Tang Song shan Huishansi Jingxian dashi shenta shiji"), dated 735 (variant, 737). Jingxian's family name was Xue, and he came from Fengyin (Yinghe xian, in modern Shanxi). According to his biography, he had an imposing presence. We have here the stereotypical description of all the outstanding representatives of the Northern school; in contrast, the picture we get of the "founder" of the Southern school, Huineng, is of a person conspicuous for his ugly appearance. Jingxian studied first with a *dhyāna* master named Zhibao (dates unknown) who advised him to consult Shenxiu at the Yuquansi. After several years of practice, he was accredited by Shenxiu in 705. This seems to indicate that he accompanied him to the capital in 701. He was then invited to the palace by Emperor Zhongzong, who asked him to stay permanently in Chang'an. But Jingxian managed to refuse this summons and soon regained the solitude of Song shan. He stayed then at the Huishansi, where he was probably the neighbor of Jingzang, the disciple of Huian and Huineng (see *Ui* 1966a: 283–84). It was in this monastery that he died, at the age of 64. His disciples Faxuan, Huiyan, Jing'yan, Huilin, and others, built him a stūpa for which Emperor Xuanzong produced a horizontal calligraphic inscription. The funerary stūpa dates from 732, and the inscription on the stela itself from 735. In this inscription mention is made of the five generations that separated Bodhidharma from Shenxiu, and the four disciples with whom Jingxian shared, implicitly, the title of representing the seventh generation of Chan: Puji, Yifu, Xiangmo Zang, and a certain Cheng. We may wonder whether the reference to the "four disciples" of Shenxiu in the *Record* does not derive from this section of Jingxian's stela inscription. If this chapter of the *Record* is a later addition, as it probably is, by someone other than Jingjue, it must have been added by a disciple of one of these four figures. But Puji and Yifu were already widely known, and putting them (as the *Record* does) in the eighth generation adds nothing to their prestige. The case may be different, however, for Jingxian and Huifu, and the fact that Jingxian is placed here immediately after the uncontested heir to Shenxiu, Puji, leads to the conclusion that this passage constitutes an interpolation by one of Jingxian's disciples. We know almost nothing about Jingxian's thought. He seems to have had in common with Yixing and Yifu some interest in Vinaya and Tantric Buddhism since he went to consult the Indian master Śubhakarasiṃha on these subjects (see the *Wuwei sanzang chanyao*, T. 18, 917: 942c2 ff.: see also the *Stela Inscription of Subhakarasiṃha* in T. 50, 2055: 292a). It was around the time of his stay at the Huishansi that Yixing and Yuantong built an ordination platform in this monastery (see *Huishansi jietan dian*, in *Jinshi cuibian* 94, *SKSLXB* 3: 1568a). Although his name is not mentioned on this occasion, it is unlikely that Jingxian would have remained apart from this event. In any case, he is one of the figures who, along with Puji and Yixing, contributed most to the development of the Northern school at Song shan.

34. Among the adepts of the Northern school who were specialists in Vinaya, we may mention Shouzhī, who, before receiving from Puji the “*dharma* of the mind,” studied at the Yuquansi with Huizhen and received the Bodhisattva precepts from Śubhakarasiṃha. His journey resembles that of Yixing. He played, with some of his disciples like Jiaoran (d. ca. 790), an important role in the development of Chan-Vinaya syncretism (T. 50, 2061: 797c).

35. The Northern school was not, as might be believed from its name, a presence only in the great monasteries in the region around the two capitals. In the second and third generation, it spread into several provinces (Shaanxi, Henan, Shandong, Jiangsu, Anhui, Hubei, Zhejiang, Hunan). However, it was almost nonexistent in Hebei, Sichuan, Jiangxi, Fujian, and Guangdong (regions where the Southern school was solidly established).

36. See Benn 1977: 88; Miyakawa 1979; des Rotours 1976: 170–72; Imaeda Jirō 1978. In 721, Xuanzong received from Sima Chengzhen, the leader of the Shangqing school, a diploma that encouraged him to present himself as a Daoist ruler.

37. On Zhida, see Chapter 4 of this book.

38. It seems, for instance, that Śubhakarasiṃha himself had some connections with the *Vajrasekhara* tradition (see T. 2975).

39. Jingxian is mentioned as one of Śubhakarasiṃha’s disciples in the postface to the latter’s stela inscription (see T. 50, 2055: 292a). The author of Jingxian’s inscription, a monk named Wengu, was also a Tantric adept who had, in 723, produced at the dictation of Vajrabodhi the translation of various esoteric texts. See *Kaiyuan lu* 9. T. 55, 2154: 571c. For more details on Jingxian, see above, n. 33.

40. On this question, see Tanaka Ryōshō 1981.

41. Hongjing’s lineage is not clear. According to the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, he studied with Wen’gang (636–722), successor to the Vinaya master Daoxuan. The *Fozu tongji* (T. 49, 2035: 2014a) takes him to be a collateral heir to Guanding (561–632), the second Tiantai patriarch. Finally, the *Fahua zhuan ji* (T. 51, 2068: 62a) sees him as the disciple of Daosu (dates unknown). All we need to know is that Hongjing was an heir to both the Tiantai and the Vinaya strains, and the synthesis made up the main characteristic of the doctrine of the Yuquansi. On the relations between Chan and Tiantai, see also Tanaka Ryōshō 1983: 54–60.

42. In his stela inscription, composed by Li Hua, Huizhen is presented as the sixth-generation heir to Nanyue Huisi. Thus he occupies an important position in the Tiantai school but, strangely enough, his biography appears neither in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* nor in the *Fozu tongji* by the Tiantai monk Zhipan. But the testimony of Li Hua confirms both his fame and his important role in the development of the Yuquansi branch. From the time of Wu Zetian and Zhongzong, he was very much in favor at court and received the title “*Dhīyāna* master Dahui.” His renown spread as far as India and probably was the motivation for the journey to China of a monk “from the country of Siṃha,” the translator Mujia. In doctrinal matters he is, like his master Hongjing, an adherent of a syncretism encompassing Tiantai, Vinaya, Chan, and Tantric Buddhism. He seems in this to have certain similarities with Puji and Yifu, whom he certainly met during their stays at the Yuquansi. A dialogue

reported by Li Hua illustrates his impartial position in the quarrel that divided Chan: "Question: 'Don't the doctrines of North and South differ?' Answer: 'At the gate of every house [school] is the road that leads to Chang'an [lit., eternal peace]'" (QTW 319: 4095a).

43. QTW 320: 4105b; *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T. 50, 2061: 796b; see also Hasegawa 1981.

44. This monumental work (originally 250 *juan*) is known only through a fragmentary recension (*juan* 191 to 195), in Saitō 1973.

45. On Huaigan, see *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T. 50, 2061: 638c; on Jingye, see *Jinshi nibian* 75, SKSLXB 2: 1322.

46. We see the same point of view with Fazhao, for whom the "*samādhi* of commemoration of the Buddha" (*nianfo sanmei*) is the "true, supreme, profound, and subtle gate of *dhyāna*."

47. On Huirì, see *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T. 50, 2061: 890a; *Fozu tongji*, T. 49, 2035: 275a; Tsukamoto 1976: 260-67; and Ono 1930. On his criticism of Chan, see Nakayama 1962; Kondō 1981; and Chappell 1986. It is not certain that Yanshou was a partisan of Chan/Pure Land syncretism, as the later tradition has it.

48. T. 85, 2826: 1237-41.

49. See Zongmi, *Yuanjue jing dashu*, ZZ 1, 14: 277b; and *Yuanjue jing lüeshu chao*, ZZ 1, 15: 131b.

50. On the *Tanyu*, see Hu Shi 1970: 223-54; Liebenenthal 1952; and Shinohara Hisao 1969, 1972. On the *Ding shifei lun*, see Hu Shi 1970: 258-319; Gernet 1954; and Shinohara 1972. For an outline of Shenhui's criticisms of Northern Chan, see Suzuki Tetsuo 1980.

51. The accusation may not have been completely gratuitous and there are many indications, even during Puji's lifetime, that there was already a certain tension between the two strains of Chan. An especially noteworthy fact (at least in the version given of it by Zongmi) is that a personal guard was sent by imperial decree to the leader of the Northern school.

52. See Gernet, 1949: 11, 1995: 58-60; and Twitchett 1979: 131.

53. On Wang Ji, see *JTS* 106, 10: 3248; and *XTS* 121, 14: 4331; on Cui Riyong, *JTS* 99, 9: 3087; and *XTS* 121, 14: 4329; on Su Jin, *JTS* 100, 9: 3116; and *XTS* 128, 14: 4458.

54. Yamazaki 1967: 220.

55. The fact that a senior official like Pei Xiu, a follower of Zongmi, becomes after the latter's death in 841 a disciple of Huangbo Xiyun (heir to the lineage of Mazu Daoyi, strongly criticized by Zongmi), is indicative of this trend. The Heze school, whose decline Zongmi tried to check, was eventually superseded by the two branches stemming from Mazu Daoyi and Shitou Xiqian (700-790).

56. Gernet 1949: 96.

57. See the *Wang Youcheng jijian zhu* 17, quoted in Ogawa Takashi 1991b: 293.

58. On this question, see Ogawa Takashi 1991b.

59. The stela inscription of the third patriarch Sengcan, in particular, emphasizes the fame of Puji and his successor Hengzheng. See QTW 390; and Ogawa Takashi 1991b.

60. Chonggui, lay name Jiang, was a native of Jiacheng. His family was dispersed during the An Lushan rebellion, and his father, who had become a merchant, died during a trip. Chonggui was ordained at eighteen and went to Nanyue, where he stayed several years, before moving to Mao shan. He was already famous when Li Deyu asked him to reside at the Cihesi. But Chonggui soon left for Song shan and took up residence at the Songyuesi. In 828, there was a drought in Luoyang. Because rain fell on Song shan, the rumor spread that Chonggui's virtue was able to move the local dragon-king. In 836, Li Deyu had him come to Luoyang's Longxingsi, where he gathered many followers.

Hengzheng was a native of Bingyuan, and his lay name was Zhou. After his ordination at the Yinhesi, he left for Song shan, where he obtained awakening. He eventually settled on Taiyi shan (Zhongnan shan, south of Chang'an). During the Taihe era (827-35), he was remarked by Emperor Wenzong, who visited him at the Xingshansi. He was soon invited to the palace, where he lectured on the *Guanyin jing*. Wenzong had him stay at the Shengshousi. When Emperor Wuzong ascended the throne in 840, Hengzheng returned to Zhongnan shan, where he died on the eve of the anti-Buddhist proscription of Huichang.

Yuanguan, a native of Chang'an, was ordained at the Xingshansi. He first specialized in Vinaya and Abhidharma. After reaching awakening during a pilgrimage, he settled at Nanyue. Legend has it that he was fed by the god of Nanyue.

Daoshu was a native of Tangzhou (Henan), and his lay name was Wen. He became a monk late, toward 40. After his ordination, he went to Tiantai shan and Nanyue shan, before joining the Northern school (ca. 776). He settled on Sanfeng shan (Shouzhou, in modern Anhui), where he spent about ten years before his death.

Chong'yan, lay name Duan, was a native of Dongbing. He was ordained in his prefecture's Longxingsi. During his travels, he met the Northern Chan master Shanji of Songyang, who transmitted to him the "essentials of the mind." He later settled on Tuliang shan (in Weinan, not far from Nanjing), where another Northern Chan adept, Quanzhi, also lived. He had many disciples, including the statesman Li Shen (a former enemy of Buddhism). Li Shen had him reside at the Huizhaosi in Yangzhou, where he died in 837.

Quanzhi, lay name Rui, was a native of Guangzhou. After his ordination, he went to Luoyang to study Chan, and eventually settled in a hermitage on Duliang shan. He died on the eve of the Huichang proscription.

Rizhao, native of Qixia, was ordained by Master Tangguang at the Xingshansi in Chang'an. He then went to Song shan, where he reached awakening. Later, he settled in a hermitage on Nanyue, where he stayed about twenty years, until the Huichang proscription forced him to take refuge in a cave. After the proscription, Rizhao returned to Nanyue, where he spent another fifteen years.

Zhen, lay name Lu, was a native of Jiangling. After reaching awakening on Song shan, he went to Mao shan in Danyang, before settling on Lengqie shan in Suzhou, where he gathered many disciples. When the poet Bai Juyi (772-846) became governor of the commandery, he came to discuss Buddhism with Zhen and asked him to stay at the Shuiliusi, but Zhen preferred to continue his reclusive life.

61. See Ogawa Takashi 1991b: 295.
62. *T.* 50, 2061: 760b. On Puji, see also Tanaka Ryōshō 1983: 549-60.
63. See *Dazhao chanshi taming*, in *QTW* 262, 6: 3360.
64. See ms. S. 2512 (5), edited in Tanaka Ryōshō 1968: 91-92.
65. Faru had capitalized on Wu Zetian's attempt to promote Song shan as the "Divine Peak"—together with Luoyang, the "Divine Capital." See Ogawa 1989: 312.
66. See *ibid.*: 315.
67. *T.* 50, 2061: 990c.
68. On Yixing and Daoxuan (J. Dōsen), see above in this chapter; on Tongguan, see *QTW* 441, 9: 5685; on Mingzan, see *Song gaoseng zhuan*, *T.* 50, 2061: 834a; on Hongzheng, see *Fozu lidai tongzai* (*T.* 49, 2036: 6036).
69. *QTW* 262: 23362b.
70. *Ibid.*: 3361b.
71. On this question, see Tanaka Ryōshō 1983: 569-78.
72. See Yanagida 1967a: 498.
73. *QTW* 262, 3362a.
74. *Ibid.*: 3360a.
75. Tanaka Ryōshō 1983: 555.
76. *QTW* 280, 6: 3597b.
77. *Ibid.*: 362, 8: 4650a.
78. See Suzuki Daisetsu 1980a: 453.
79. See Demiéville 1952: 161; and 1961: 25-26.
80. See *QTW* 997, 20: 13059b.
81. Gernet 1949: 94.
82. On this question, see Anna Seidel, "Den'e," in *Hōbōgin* 8 (forthcoming); and Jorgensen 1987. A first mention of the theory appears in Jingjue's commentary on the *Hṛdaya-sūtra*: see Yanagida 1967a: 597.
83. See, e.g., Hu Shi 1970: 289.
84. *Ibid.*, 288; see also Gernet 1954: 460.
85. Hu Shi 1970: 288.
86. *QTW* 320, 7: 4101.
87. *Ibid.*: 390, 8: 5021b; see also *Fozu lidai tongzai*, *T.* 49, 2036: 603a.
88. See, e.g., Kōjō's *Denjutsu issinkaimon* (*T.* 74, 2379: 652c); and Qisong's *Chuanfa zhengzong lun* (*T.* 51, 2080: 783a).
89. *QTW* 320, 7: 4104a. See also Vita 1988: 114.
90. *ZZ* 2B: 453d.
91. See *Saihoku shū*, quoted by Yanagida 1967a: 100.
92. See "Xuan heshang siji zhufu," in *Kechimyaku fu*, *T.* 55, 2154: 212.
93. Yanagida 1967a: 539.
94. See *T.* 50, 2061: 823b and 829c.
95. *Ibid.*: 823b.
96. *Ibid.*: 823c.
97. See *Baqlongshi jinshi buzhen* 53, in *SKSLXB* 7: 4849-50.
98. *T.* 50, 2061: 828c.
99. *QTW* 997, 20: 13059b.
100. See Yanagida 1967a: 596.
101. See Hu Shi 1970: 115; and Gernet 1949: 30.
102. See *Yuanjue jing dashu chao*, in *ZZ* 1, 14, 3: 278c, trans. in Jan 1972: 43-44.
103. See Kamata 1971: 298.
104. See *Zutang ji*, ed. Yanagida 1974a: 54-55.
105. *Ibid.*

106. Ibid., 348a. See also *Zuting shiyuan*, ZZ 1, 2, 18, 1: 32.

107. T. 49, 2035: 370a.

108. See Yanagida 1976a: 129.

### Chapter 4

1. Scholars have tended to take the *Song gaoseng zhuan* at face value. See, e.g., Osabe 1950; and Demiéville 1961: 26. The two texts mentioned above are found in S. 5702 and S. 1494, respectively; for edited versions, see Yanagida 1963: 50. This kind of opusculum seems to have been widespread in Chang'an at the turn of the eighth century. We find similar exhortations attributed to a monk of the Da Anguosi, Lishe (biographical entry in T. 50, 2061: 815a). Yanagida points out the resemblance between the *Datong heshang qili wen* and some Pure Land predications such as the *Xifang lizan* by Shandao or the *Jingtu zan* by Fazhao. The manuscript P. 3559 also contains, in annex to the *Xiuxin yaolun* attributed to Hongren, a short text said to be transmitted by Master Xiu, which provides specific guidelines for beginners: "When a practitioner comes to you with questions, tell him simply to apply himself to contemplation and to persevere in seated *dhyāna*. This form of meditation is fundamental. Those who can pursue this exercise for three to five years are able to appease the pangs of hunger with one mouthful and to obtain all kinds of benefits from it. Close your doors and remain seated! Abstain from reading the sūtras and śāstras, and from talking with people. Those who [abstain] can truly help others, but such men are rare. Meditate on my words to benefit from them, like the macaque who can extract the core of a chestnut to eat it. . . . To practice contemplation, you must start from the outside world. For it is external objects that arouse thought and produce passions; it is they, too, that render the determination of the ordinary person shallow. If you want to elucidate things, difficulties are likely to arise. Consequently, those who practice this contemplation by starting from the external world must first of all realize that all dharmas are by nature fundamentally equal and undifferentiated. . . . There is not one thing that you can reach outside of your mind. Knowing that the various principles are merely conditioned by your mind, you must observe them all, one by one, and understand that there are only mind and that there is no objective world outside" (Yanagida 1963: 49). We have here a skillful means (*upāya*) much more concrete than the "mind contemplation" advocated by Shenxiu in his *Guanxin lun*, and this may be an indication that Shenxiu tried to adapt his method of practice to the needs and capacities of a broader audience.

2. This impression is based on several epitaphs, in particular the stela inscription of the third patriarch Sengcan, which indicates that Puji inherited Shenxiu's teaching about *upāya*. Ibuki Atsushi (1991b) has recently discussed the development of Northern Chan thought based on the textual changes found in various recensions of the *Treatise on the Five Upāya*. He thus distinguishes two textual (and intellectual) lineages. Whereas the earliest recensions of this text resemble Shenhui's *Tanyu*, later recensions apparently aim at going beyond some aspects of early Chan (as Shenhui himself did in his later work).



3. See *T.* 85: 1273b.
4. See Shiina 1969a. Northern Chan was essentially dependent on the so-called Nanshan Vinaya (Vinaya of the Southern Mountain), founded by Daoxuan (596-667). However, some of its adepts seem also to be heirs to other Vinaya trends such as the Xiangbu school and the Eastern Pagoda school (Dongta zong)—trends that declined after the end of the eighth century.
5. See *QTW* 320, 7: 4105a. On Fashen's biography, see also *Song gaoseng zhuan*, *T.* 50, 2061: 796b. For a discussion of the stela inscription, see Vita 1988: 114-17.
6. Other cases include Yuangui (dates unknown), Dafu (655-742), Sirui (dates unknown), Lingzhu (691-746), Tongguang (700-770), Lingjue (dates unknown), Sinhaeng (704-79), Changzhao (705-63), and Qiwei (721-81).
7. *T.* 49, 2035: 375a.
8. See *T.* 24: 1484, translated in Groot 1893.
9. On this question, see Kuo 1994.
10. See, e.g., the *Sifenlü xingshi chao*, *T.* 40, 1804: 49c, or the *Guangzhong chuangli jietan tu jing*, *T.* 45, 1892: 808a, 817c.
11. On this question, see Kuo 1994; and Michihata 1979: 342.
12. *T.* 85, 2837: 1286c.
13. See Yanagida 1963: 50.
14. *Guanxin lun*, in Suzuki Daisetsu 1936, 2: 199.
15. Suzuki Daisetsu 1980a: 168.
16. See Ibuki 1993b: 5-6.
17. *T.* 24, 1484: 1003c. According to a catalogue by the Korean monk Üich'ön (*T.* 55, 2184: 1173b), Zhishen, the putative founder of one of the Sichuanese Chan schools, wrote a commentary (no longer extant) on the *Fanwang jing*. In Northern Chan, Daoxuan (J. Dōsen) had also commented on this apocryphal scripture, but only a few quotations remain. On this question, see Yanagida 1967a: 199; and Yin Shun 1971: 156.
18. *T.* 85: 1273b. Seated meditation is an integral part of several ordination manuals of that period—for instance the *Jingxin jie guanfa* (*T.* 45: 1893) by the Vinaya master Daoxuan, or the *Chanyao* by the Tantric master Śubhakarasiṃha.
19. See Sekiguchi 1961: 466; and Magnin 1979: 117-128. For the first two texts, see *ZZ* 2, 10, 1: 5c and 1a. On the *Shou pusa jieyi*, see Tsuchihashi 1960.
20. See Annen, *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, *T.* 74, 2831: 757b, quoted in Sekiguchi 1961: 465.
21. See *T.* 74, 2379: 963b. Another significant example is provided in the diary of Ennin. During his stay in China, Ennin, despairing of ever seeing his country again—due to the violent repression of Chinese Buddhism during the Huichang era and to the dangers of sea travel—once vowed to build a “court of *dhyāna*” (*chanyuan*) if he returned safely to Japan. The following night, he dreamed that various past masters (Bodhidharma, Baozhi, Huisi, Huineng, Shōtoku *taishi*, Gyōki, and Saichō himself) offered him their protection. He was finally able to bring with him to Japan many Chan texts, as we can see from his catalogs. See *T.* 55, 2165, 2166, and 2167. He was, however, at times quite critical of the Chan monks he met in China.

22. The first text to mention that tradition is the biography of Ganjin (Ch. Jianzhen), compiled by his disciple Situo. This text is unfortunately not extant, but the passage mentioning Huisi is quoted in a later work, the *Shōtoku taishi heishiden zōkanmon* (DNBZ 112). The story is also mentioned in the *Tō daiwajō tōseiden* (see Andō 1960: 111). In the diary of his travel to China, during his visit to Wutai shan, Ennin also described the joy of the Chinese monks when he told them about Huisi's Japanese rebirth. The story seems to have spread quickly, since we find an echo of it in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* (T. 50, 2061: 781b).

23. See *Gakudō yōjinshū*, T. 82, 2581: 9a.

24. Concerning this legend, see Nishimura 1985; and Ogisu 1964a, 1981: 3-16.

25. See Tanaka Ryōshō 1983: 463-67.

26. See Yanagida 1964a: 65, and 1967: 183. For an English rendition of Yanagida's thesis, see McRae 1993-94: 68-75.

27. See *Kechimyaku fu*, 210-15.

28. See Hu Shi 1970: 229.

29. See *Yuanjue jing dashu chao*, ZZ (new ed.) 14: 562b.

30. See Hu Shi 1970: 229.

31. See Yanagida 1961: 869.

32. QTW 262, 3360b.

33. Ibid.

34. *Kechimyaku fu*, 211. The chapter of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* on discipline is one of the first texts to define the "three groups of pure precepts" and to authorize the postulant to receive "from himself" these precepts—in the absence of a qualified master. This work was not as influential in Japan as the *Fanwang jing*, which, as noted earlier, Daoxuan also commented on.

35. T. 85: 1290c.

36. T. 50, 2061: 829.

37. T. 18, 917: 948.

38. T. 85, 2837: 1288c.

39. However, in the manuscript S. Tib. 116, Xiangmo Zang presents the passage from the *Puxian jing* where this notion appears as a quotation from the apocryphal *Fanguang jing* (Tib. *Phyogs-su-rgyas pai-mdo*). See Ueyama 1974; Okimoto 1975; Nishioka 1982.

40. T. 85, 2836: 1281c.

41. T. 85: 2835: 1279b.

42. T. 51, 2075: 185b.

43. T. 74, 2379: 653a.

44. See T. 51, 2075: 189a. Likewise, in Mazu Daoyi's school, Weikuan was affirming: "The supreme *bodhi* becomes Vinaya for the body, Dharma for the mouth, and *dhyāna* for the mind. Truth is one, but its function is threefold. . . . The Vinaya is the Dharma, and the Dharma is in no way distinct from the *dhyāna*." See Weikuan's stela inscription by Bai Juyi in QTW 678, 14: 8785b.

45. See Michihata 1979: 346. The *Fozu tongji*, quoted by Michihata, implies that the Mahāyāna ordination platform in the capital was reserved for conferring the Bodhisattva precepts on monks who had already been fully ordained in the provinces.

46. On this question, see Groner 1984: 107-65.

47. On the Yuquansi current, see Sekiguchi 1969b: 185-205; and Hibi 1975: 40-57.

48. Saichō was on that point influenced by Li Hua's stela inscription for the Tiantai master Xuanlang; see QTW 320, 7: 4101a; and Vita 1988: 106-8. On the

patriarchal theory itself, see Yanagida 1967a: 136-48. This Chan lineage soon became a burden when the Tendai school, won over to Shingon esotericism, abandoned the eclecticism of its founder. Thus some scholars of this school came to reject the *Kechimyaku fu* as apocryphal.

49. Gyōhyō was a monk of the Sanron (Ch. Sanlun) school ordained in 741 by Daoxuan (J. Dōsen). After receiving full ordination in 743 at the Kōfukuji in Nara, he studied the doctrines of the Ritsu, Zen, Hossō, and Kegon schools. He was soon named superior (*jūji*) of the Sūfukuji in Ōmi, and then "great preceptor of state" (*daikokushi*) of the same province. He ordained Saichō in 780. He later lived at the Daianji and died in 797, at the age of 76. He studied with Daoxuan for nearly twenty years.

50. Yanagida (1980a) emphasizes this Niutou lineage and its influence on Tendai. However, according to Groner (1984: 44), "the brevity of Saichō's account [in the *Kechimyaku fu*] suggests that he did not attach much value to the Niu-t'ou transmission." The catalogues of the Japanese monk Enchin mention a "Hymn to the spiritual contemplation of master . . . the sixth patriarch" (*Liuzu heshang guanxin ji*), which confirms that at that time Shenxiu was still considered by some to be the representative of the orthodox tradition of Chan. His stela inscription is also mentioned just after that of Hongren and before those of Huineng and Shenhui. See *T.* 55, 2172: 1101a; and 2173: 1106b.

51. These "transmission verses" that the *Baolin zhuan* attributes to the 28 Indian patriarchs would inspire the Confucianist Zhu Xi (1130-1200) to remark: "In ancient times, the Buddha and the patriarchs were western barbarians: but see how they could produce verses rhymed in the Chinese manner!" (Sargent 1957: 58, 147). The argument, despite its polemical or impertinent nature, seems fairly cogent and must have embarrassed more than one Buddhist!

52. See *Kyōjijō ron*, *T.* 75, 2395(b): 363c.

53. The conflation of the Northern school with the Niutou shan lineage was so great that Kōshū continued to confuse Shenxiu with Xiaoran, the monk from the Chanlinsi with whom Saichō studied. Precision was not his strong suit: he also confused Huike, the second Chan patriarch, with Xuanjue (d. 713), the author of a famous Chan breviary, the *Yongjia ji* (*T.* 48, 2013). See *T.* 76, 2410: 534a-b.

54. *T.* 80, 2543: 4a.

55. According to the *Genkō shakusho* (*DNBZ* 62, 470: 98b-c), Empress Danrin sent a monk named Egaku to China to find a Chan master who might teach in Japan. Once he had completed this mission, Egaku returned to China and asked a monk at the Kaiyuansi in Suzhou to engrave an account of this event on a stela, which was carried to Japan and set up at the Rashōmon Gate, southwest of the Tōji. The empress herself founded for Yikong a third official monastery (with the other two being the Tōji and the Enryakuji), called the Danrinji. This monastery, to the west of Kyoto, was recently reconstructed, but with none of its former grandeur. If we are to judge from documents in the *Shoku Nihon kōki* and the *Heian ibun* 128, dated 836 and 859, respectively, it apparently controlled large properties. It became almost as significant as the Tōji. At the beginning of the Muromachi period, the

founder of the Tenryūji, Musō Soseki (1275-1351), said he was honored to inherit the remnants of Danrinji. We may wonder about the connections between this monastery and the Tōji, or between Yikong and Kūkai, then the authority on Buddhist matters. According to Kokan Shiren (ibid.: 98c), it was Kūkai himself who prompted Emperor Saga to send Egaku to China. But Kūkai does not seem to have had any special liking for Chan, and this detail (if not the whole story) remains historically suspect. On this question, see Yanagida 1978; and Takagi 1985.

56. Regarding this tradition, see Funaoka 1979. Not surprisingly, the theory that Saichō inherited the Chan tradition has been questioned by Tendai scholars such as Sasaki Kentoku 1982.

57. The same eclecticism is found with Shunjō, the founder of the Sennyūji (a monastery close to Enni Ben'en's Tōfukuji), but this time the accent is placed on Vinaya rather than on Zen. Myōe, in his retreat at the Kōzanji (at the western boundary of the capital), was also very interested in Zen, Shingon, and Vinaya. But he was above all an adept of Kegon. The same was true for Ryōhen, whose leanings toward Zen and Amidism did not prevent him from being an ardent member of the Hossō school. The question of the harmony between doctrine and meditation was still very much alive during the Muromachi era. It formed the center of the debate between Shūhō Myōchō (Daitō Kokushi, 1282-1338) and Musō Soseki, the first reproaching the second for never having been able to transcend the "doctrines" of Shingon, Tendai, and Pure Land. On this question, see Tamamura 1958: 131; and Akamatsu and Yampolsky 1977: 323.

58. See Manzan, *Zenkaiketsu* (T. 82, 2599: 616c); Shimaji 1931: 484-93; and Kagamishima 1973: 261-62.

59. QTW 320, 7: 4101a. This passage, quoted in Kōjō's *Keiran shūyōshū* (T. 74, 2379: 652c), also appears in Qisong's *Zhuanfa zhenzong lun* (T. 51, 2078: 783a).

60. See Kagamishima 1961: 165.

61. This request was natural since the "perfect and sudden" ordination of Tendai was apparently considered null and void by the Buddhist clergy of the Song. Thus Dōgen, in spite of being a regular Japanese monk, had to take his place once again among the novices at the beginning of his stay in China. See Michihata 1979: 348. According to Ogisu, the Bodhisattva precepts received by Yōsai were formless precepts, but this point remains to be proved. See Ogisu 1972: 182.

62. T. 80, 2543: 7a.

63. See, e.g., the *Genkō shakusho* entry on Yōsai, in DNBZ 62, 470: 76b. If we are to judge from the violent reactions provoked by the Darumashū, a violence that resulted in the destruction of the Sanbōji, the monastery where Nōnin lived, it seems that this school rapidly gained a large following. In his *Kyakuhaimeiki*, Myōe complains of its influence over laypeople. But the doctrine of the Darumashū, insofar as it can be reconstructed, seems fairly much in line with Chan orthodoxy (at least in the form given in the school of Dahui Zonggao). Its influence would survive in the Sōtō school, especially in Keizan Jōkin (1268-1325). On this point, see Faure 1987 and 1996: 47-54. See also Washio 1945: 106-21; Yanagida 1967c: 39; Takahashi 1961; and Ishii 1974.

64. See, e.g., the remark made by Kyōgō, a disciple of Dōgen, in his commentary on the *Shōbōgenzō*: "In the Darumashū, one relies on the *Hasōron* [Ch. *Poxiang lun*], the *Goshōron* [Ch. *Wuxing lun*], and the *Kechimyakuron* [Ch. *Xuemo lun*]" (see *Eihei Shōbōgenzō shūsho taisei* 12: 330). The Song edition of these *Three Treatises* seems to postdate 1153. Since the Darumashū was officially forbidden in 1194 (although it survived till a much later period), these works must have spread quite rapidly in Japan. See Shiina 1978: 225; and Ibuki 1994a.

65. See Kōzen *gokokuron*, T. 80, 2543: 7a; *Puxian guan jing*, T. 9, 1977: 393b. Actually, Yōsai quoted from the *Mohe zhiguan* (T. 46, 1911: 39c), not from the original sūtra or from a Chan text. According to Itō (1960: 13-14), he seems to have considered the Hinayāna precepts of the Dharmaguptaka and the Mahāyāna precepts of the *Fanwang jing* as so many "skillful means" (*upāya*) for the practice of Chan.

66. On this question, see Ogisu 1964b: 2. See also Taga 1961; Shimaji 1931; and Furuta 1981. On Keizan and Kohō Kakumyō, see Faure 1996: 52-53.

67. Another work attributed to Yōsai, the *Isshinkai giki*, gives a lineage of 33 generations running from Bodhidharma to a monk of the Kenninji, Ryūtō (d. 1498). This lineage has among its notable members Shenxiu, Puji, Daoxuan (Dōsen), Gyōhyō, Saichō, Ennin, Genshin, and Kakushō [cf. Ogisu 1964b: 7]. In this case, too, we are dealing with the lineage of Ennin (794-864) and not the rival lineage of Gishin (781-833) and Enchin (814-91), which was that of the Miidera. It seems that the tradition of the *isshinkai* was transmitted by Saichō to three of his disciples: Enshō (third Tendai patriarch), Kōjō, and Ennin (fourth patriarch). The lineage of Enshō died out quickly, whereas the other two developed in parallel. The six masters (Chōi, Jinen, Jinin, Genshin, Zennin, and Ryōnin) who inherited from Kōjō also inherited from Ennin. But the lines diverge with Ryōnin, who transmitted the "current" from Ennin (Jikaku-ryū) to Eikū, and that from Kōjō (Kōjō-ryū) to Yakunin (dates unknown). The lineage of Kōjō survived for some time, but then died out. That of Ennin, on the other hand, prospered and continued to the Kamakura era within the Pure Land school. Hōnen transmitted the one-mind precepts to many disciples, which act in turn gave birth to three distinct "currents." See Mochizuki 1964: 1: 310c.

68. The *Zenkai ron* (Treatise on Zen precepts) by the Sōtō master Baizan Monpon (d. 1417) has the following passage: "When the first patriarch arrived from the West, he did not bring with him a single sūtra but was content to transmit the patriarchal robe, as well as his lineage and his method [for observing] morality. This involved the Ten Precepts of the *Fanwang jing*, the three collections of pure precepts transmitted by Nāgārjuna, and the chapter of the *Fanwang jing* on these precepts. These were solely Mahāyāna precepts, and in spite of the differences in lineages, all are one in their essence" (cited in Itō 1960, 16).

69. See *Zenkaiketsu*, T. 82, 2599: 616c; Kagamishima 1961: 152-55; and Takeda Kenju 1969: 64. Sekiun Yūsen reproached in particular Manzan for placing morality (*śīla*) on a par with concentration (*samādhi*), instead of considering the former as a mere skillful means allowing one to reach the latter.

70. See *Zenkaiketsu*. Dōgen himself clearly recognizes the specificity of the Zen precepts transmitted by Bodhidharma; see *Shōbōgenzō* "Jukai," T. 82, 2582: 307a.

Finally, With Banjin Dōtan (1698-1775), *śīla* came to take precedence over *samādhi* and the specificity of Zen precepts is affirmed once and for all. These precepts are no longer traced back merely to Bodhidharma, but to Śākyamuni himself. See Kagamishima 1961: 164.

71. *T.* 85, 2819: 1193b.

72. See Suzuki Daisetsu 1980a: 2: 215. On the *Zhengxin lun*, see Tanaka Ryōshō 1975: 35.

73. The complete title is *Huida heshang dunjiao dacheng bimi xinqi chan famen*; see Suzuki Daisetsu 1936, 1: 90.

74. This knowledge is based on my discovery of a document unnoticed by Tanaka Ryōshō and other researchers who have taken up the question. See, e.g., Tanaka Ryōshō 1995: 237-60. This is the epitaph of Zhida, composed by an official named Cui Guan and entitled "Inscription for the Funerary Stūpa of the Grand Master Houmochen of the Liudusi" ("Liudusi Houmochen dashi shouta mingwen"). It is preserved in a little-known epigraphic collection, the *Manglu zhongmo yuwen* (in *SKSLXB* 19: 14263). It tells us among other things that Zhida undertook the conversion of the people of the Luoyang region, "revealing directly the essence of the *dhāraṇī* and spreading the principle of sudden awakening" (ibid.: 14264a). This document is extremely important because it confirms the fact that some of Shenxiu's disciples were already attracted by Tantric doctrine (then popular in Luoyang) even before the arrival in China of the Indian masters Śubhakarasiṃha and Vajrabodhi. See Faure 1986d. More recently, Ibuki Atsushi (1992), unaware of my findings, has also found Zhida's epitaph and reached the same conclusions.

75. See Xu Guolin 1937, 2: 139. Tanaka Ryōshō (1981: 167-69) has studied another recension of this text, contained in P. 3913, and concluded from the reference to Vasubandhu that the Chan lineage was first recuperated by the Faxiang school before being co-opted by Chinese Tantrism. Tanaka (1983: 193-207, 213-36) detects a similar drift from Chan to Pure Land and Tantric Buddhism in a late recension of the *Niantianzhuguo Putidamo chanshi guanmen*, in S. 6958.

76. The *Dacheng anxin nidao fa* is contained in P. 3559. For a discussion of this text, see Yanagida 1963: 57-61; and Shinohara and Tanaka 1980: 177-79. Concerning the *Dacheng yaoguan*, allegedly translated by Bodhidharma, see Tanaka Ryōshō 1975: 120; and Kawasaki 1980: 327.

77. See, e.g., Ui 1966a: 355; and Kuno 1940: 136.

78. *T.* 85: 1273c.

79. *T.* 55, 2154: 673a.

80. See Suzuki Daisetsu 1936: 230. This text is known through a recension of the Kanazawa Library, the *Guanxin poxiang lun* (copied in 1254), on which, see Tanaka Ryōshō 1967: 54.

81. On the Tibetan translation of the *Dumwu yaojue*, contained in P. Tib. 116 (IX), see Ueyama 1976a; and Okimoto 1980: 417. On the problems raised by the Tibetan recension of the *Lengqie shiziji*, see Chapter 6 of this book. On the Tibetan debate, whose historicity is still debated, see first of all Demiéville 1952; and Tucci

1958: 3-154. See also Imaeda Yoshirō 1975; Okimoto 1975; Ueyama 1975; and Yamaguchi 1975.

82. See Demiéville 1952: 125-26, n6. Actually Demiéville simply contrasts Moheyan's "subitism" with the "gradualism" of Northern Chan and lets the reader draw his or her own conclusions. In a later article, however, he feels compelled to note that most of the masters mentioned by Moheyan were Northern Chan masters; see Demiéville 1961: 24-27. Rao Zongyi (1964: 174), on the other hand, is adamant that Moheyan was a disciple of Shenhui. In this, he merely follows Zongmi's *Chengxi tu* (in ZZ 1, 2, 15: 435a), which mentions Moheyan among Shenhui's ten successors.

83. See Demiéville 1952: 15-17, n1.

84. See Yanagida 1974b: 96.

85. According to Giuseppe Tucci (1970: 14), it is from the time of Ral-pa-can (Khri-gtsug lde-bstan, r. 815-38) onward that the number of Chan adepts began to seriously decline. Imaeda Yoshirō (1975: 140), however, thinks that the obvious contradictions between the Chinese and Indian files mean that the debate between Moheyan and Kamalaśīla never took place.

86. On the *bSam-gtan-mig-sgron*, a work compiled at the beginning of the eighth century by gNubs-chen Sans-rgyas-ye-śes, see Okimoto 1976: 7. The *bKa-than-sde-lia* is said to have been "discovered" in the fourteenth century by O-rgyan-gling-pa (1323-79). The fourth section, which contains the *dicta* of various Chan masters, has been translated in Tucci 1958: 81-101. On Moheyan, Xiangmo Zang, and Wolun, see Obata 1976c: 16-23; Demiéville 1961: 25; and Wu Jiyu (Wu Chi-yü) 1979.

87. On this question, see Broughton 1983; Obata 1976b; and Harada 1976.

88. Thus, in the P. Tib. 116 and in the *bKa-than-sde-lia*, the names of Bodhi-dharmatrā[ta] and of Wuzhu (Tib. Bhu-cu) are listed side by side with those of Xiangmo Zang (Tib. bDud-'dul gyi snin-po) and of Moheyan; see Obata 1974, 1975; and Demiéville 1978.

### Chapter 5

1. See Yanagida 1971a: 52-91; and Yanagida 1967a: 596-97, 517-34. Wang Wei's interest in Buddhism is well known. He even took as his personal honorific name the two syllables Mojie, which, preceded by Wei, his official personal name, make up the Chinese transcription of the name of Vimalakīrti (Weimojie). Wang Wei was also the author of the "Stela Inscription of the *Dhyāna* Master Neng, the Sixth Patriarch" (QTW 327, 7: 4191-93). He apparently composed this inscription toward the end of his life, at the request of Shenhui, whom he had known for a long time. We do find Wang Wei's name in the *Nanyang heshang wenda za zhengyi*, "miscellaneous dialogues" dating from the period when Shenhui was still living in Nanyang (around 739). Yamazaki (1967: 209) and Yanagida (1967a: 97, 186-87) have stressed his connections with the Heze master. But apart from the stela inscription for Jingjue, composed at quite a late date, certain other indications suggest that Wang Wei remained equally close to the Northern school during most of his life. He most likely

inherited this interest from his mother. According to his own report, "My late mother, born Cui, from Boling prefecture, served the *dhyāna* master Dazhao [i.e., Puji] for more than thirty years. [Satisfied] with crude clothes and a vegetarian regime, she observed the precepts and practiced *dhyāna*. She liked to remain in the mountains and forests, and was intent on seeking stillness" (Iritani 1976: 20-21). Wang Wei himself was a frequent visitor to Song shan, where he made a retreat on one occasion, around 733, when his wife died. His feelings about Yifu, another prominent representative of the Northern school, emerge from the following poem, entitled "Passing near the Hermitage of the *Dhyāna* Master Fu":

Cliffs and gullies make the hidden pathway wind;  
 Clouds and forest conceal the Dharma hall.  
 The immortals fly, playing music;  
 The *devī* kneel and burn incense. . . .  
 In the shadow of the wisterias the water is still cooler.  
 If you want to know whether he remained long seated  
     in *dhyāna*,  
 Along the way the springtime fragrance still lingers.

(*Quan Tang shi* 126: 319b)

Wang Wei was still only a young official when Yifu died, in 736, and we cannot know for sure whether he personally knew Shenxiu's successor. But he was certainly in close contact with monks of the Northern school like Yuanchong (713-77), and dedicated one of his poems to the latter's master, Daoxuan (Dōsen). He also counted among his friends various lay followers of this school, especially Wei Zhi, one of Jingjue's relatives. The fact that he later converted his house into a monastery where he dedicated himself to contemplation leads us to assume that he had not taken seriously Shenhui's harsh criticism of the "quietist" seated *dhyāna* of the Northern school. Are we to believe that he, like some of his contemporaries, then gradually abandoned the Northern school in the face of the growing success of Shenhui's teachings? He seems to have shown more independence of spirit than that. While being close to Shenhui, he kept until the end of his life his respect for the Northern school. The letter that he drew up on behalf of the *ācārya* Shan, a representative of that school, shows this clearly. In this letter Wang Wei thanked Emperor Suzong (r. 756-62) for having deigned to write out in his own handwriting the funerary stūpa inscription for the masters Datong (i.e., Shenxiu) and Dazhao (Puji). He also praised the imperial policy that, according to him, was completely in accord with Buddhist ideals (QTW 324, 7: 4159). See also JTS 190, 15: 5051-53; and XTS 202, 18: 5764-66.

2. See Yanagida 1967a: 518.

3. See JTS 183, 14: 4743.

4. Yanagida 1967a: 597.

5. Yanagida 1971a: 52-53.

6. Yanagida 1967a: 518.

7. Ibid.

8. On this question, see JTS 51, 7: 2171-75; and XTS 76, 11: 3486-89. On Wu Sansi, see JTS 183, 14: 4734; and XTS 206, 19: 5840; on Shangguan Wan'er, JTS 51, 7: 2175; on Princess Anluo, XTS 83, 12: 3654.



9. See, e.g., the memorial by Yao Chong: "Since the Shen-lung era [705-7], the princesses and other members of the imperial family have all petitioned the emperor to undertake ordinations. They have even employed their own wealth to construct monasteries. Each time an imperial edict has been promulgated [to sanction such constructions], it was followed by irregularities and abuses" (Gernet 1995: 50).

10. See *JTS* 183, 14: 4744; Yanagida 1971a: 33 (quoting Andō Kōsei et al., eds, *Seian hirin* [Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1966]); and Hasebe 1970: 18.

11. Yanagida 1967a: 597.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*: 518.

14. The repression does not spare Buddhist monks. For instance, a monk named Huifan, who had been the lover of Princess Taiping, was executed for his participation in the plot. See *Fozu tongji*, T. 49, 2035: 372b; Gernet 1995: 286; Benn 1977: 62-75; and Levy 1959.

15. See Twitchett 1979: 329 (quoting Yuan Shu, *Tongjian jishi benmo*).

16. The identity of Li Zhifei raises some questions. If, as Yanagida argues, he was the "fourth paternal uncle" of the emperor, he should be one of Gaozong's sons (if one admits that the emperor in question is Gaozong) and consequently the brother of Zhongzong and Ruizong. However, he is not included among the eight sons of Gaozong whose names have been recorded in history. See *JTS* 86, 9: 2823. Yanagida (1967a: 611) suggests that he could also be one of the sons of Zhongzong, but he would then be a "nephew" of the emperor; furthermore, he is not listed as one of Zhongzong's four sons. Actually, his name does not seem to appear anywhere. Barrett (1991: 257) finds an elegant solution to this problem by pointing out that the expression *si congbo* signifies something like "uncle four times removed," that is, quite distant, and not "fourth paternal uncle," which makes him, to use Barrett's expression, a "relative nonentity."

17. See Barrett 1991: 257-59.

18. *XTS* 206, 19: 5845.

19. Yanagida 1967a: 597.

20. *Ibid.*: 519.

21. Jingjue's death, like that of Shenxiu and other Chan patriarchs, is supposed to be a mere *upāya*, an apparent death similar to the "deliverance from the corpse" practiced by Daoist immortals.

22. Yanagida 1967a: 517.

23. The same power was attributed to other scriptures such as the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Vajracchedikā*, or the *Avatamsaka*. This belief in the magical efficacy of scriptures is evident from the spread of works such as the *Hongzan Fahua zhuan* (T. 51, 2067), the *Fahua zhuan ji* (T. 51, 2068), the *Jin'gang banruo ji yanji* (ZZ 2B, 22, 1), or the *Huayan jing ganying zhuan* (T. 51, 2074). See also Lopez 1990. On Daoist talismanic texts, see Seidel 1983.

24. Jan Nattier (1992) has recently argued that the *Heart Sūtra* was a Chinese compilation. Other Chan commentaries of the same period include works attributed to a monk of the Jiguosi named Huijing, to the putative founder of the Jingzhong school, Zhishen, and to Huineng's successor Nanyang Huizhong (d. 775), whose text has been published as a preface (dated 849) to Xuanzang's famous translation

(T. 8, 251: 848c). We also have a set of verses attributed to Bodhidharma and a commentary attributed to Dadian Baotang (732-824), but they are products of a later period. Unfortunately, McRae (1988) focuses on Zhishen's and Huizhong's commentaries and neglects Jingjue's work. Likewise, following Yanagida, he seems to consider that Huijing's work bears an "obviously fictitious or untraceable attribution" because "its author is usually identified as a monk who died before Hsüan-tsang translated the Heart Sūtra" (ibid., 91). Ibuki, however, believes that the attribution is credible, although the text has clearly been transmitted (and amplified) within Chan circles. This work heavily influenced "Zhishen's commentary," which is probably an apocryphal work compiled in Sichuan toward the mid-eighth century. The changes in Huijing's commentary reflect the evolution of the Northern school, and its content is related to another commentary on the *Vajracchedikā*, the *Jin'gang banruo jing zhu*, attributed to the Bodhisattva Jin'gangzang. Judging from certain expressions used by Jingjue, he may have read Zhishen's commentary. However, as this commentary was very close in content to that of Huijing (578-645) of the Jiguosi, it is possibly the latter work Jingjue had read. See Yanagida 1972: 145-77. We also find in the *Shōshitsu rokuemon* (T. 48, 2009: 365a-355c) a *Xinjing song* (Eulogy of the *Heart-sūtra*) attributed to Bodhidharma, but it must be roughly contemporaneous with Jingjue's commentary. Outside Chan, we already find in the eighth century several commentaries on this text. The best known, according to Ūich'ōn's catalogue (T. 55, 2184: 1171a), were those by Kuiji, Zhilang, Wōnhyo, Wōnch'ok, and Fazang. Concerning Chan commentaries on the *Vajracchedikā*, see Fukui 1982; McRae 1988; and Ibuki 1991a, 1992c.

25. It is for instance mentioned in the *Reiganji oshō shōrai hōmon dōgutō mokuroku* (T. 55, 2164: 1073a), a catalogue compiled by the Japanese monk Engyō (799-852). Furthermore, as Chikusa Masaaki (1958: 64) points out, the colophon on Jingjue's *Commentary* is important from the standpoint of the history of printing in China (the oldest printed text known today being a recension of the *Vajracchedikā* dated 788 and found at Dunhuang).

26. Apparently such an attitude was fairly common among Northern Chan adepts. See, e.g., the *Lengqiefeng Dumen chanyuan ji* (Inscription of the *dhyāna* court of Dumen[sic] on the Lañkā Peak"—that is, Shenxiu's former hermitage): "The *Lañkā[vatāra]* is no different from the *Prajñāpāramitā*, the *Prajñā[pāramitā]* is the same as the *Lañkā[vatāra]*. Such is the non-dual Dharma" (*Yüquansi zhi*, 3: 21).

27. T. 85, 2837: 1286c.

28. Examples of this trend are found among several later Dunhuang manuscripts, in which the contrast between Northern and Southern Chan, respectively associated with *Vijñānavāda* and *Mādhyamika*, is based on the doctrinal classification established by the Tibetan translator Ye-śes-de. See, e.g., the mss. S. 2583 and P. 2258(5). Ye-śes-de's classification was in fact nuanced, since he seems to be responsible for the introduction of an intermediary rubric, the *Yogācāra-Mādhyamika* (a compromise based on the Two Truths theory). See Mimaki 1982: 44; and Ueyama 1982: 114-15.

29. This conception seems to justify, for instance, the twofold approach advocated by Daoxin (according to the *Record*): the one, conventional (or gradual), for beginners;

the other, "sudden," for advanced practitioners. On the "Two Truths" theory, see also Nagao 1954.

30. See Yanagida 1969a: 31–32.

31. The theory of special transmission at first was intended to remedy the abuses brought about by too close an adherence to the exegesis of canonical texts but never constituted a rejection of these texts. Still, this was the radical interpretation that prevailed under the Song, despite various efforts at reconciliation on the part of monks like Zongmi and Yongming Yanshou, who saw in the rejection of all scriptural authority the beginnings of a "naturalist" heresy. It was this anti-intellectual drift that Dōgen opposed in the Chan of the Song. But it was especially within the Tiantai school that the theory of special transmission was rejected. The most severe criticisms came from Shenzhi Congyi (1042–91), an unswerving partisan of the interdependence of doctrine and contemplation (*jiaoguan xiangyi*). Congyi insisted on stressing that Bodhidharma himself recognized the value of the *Lankāvatāra* and added:

Since [Bodhidharma] stated that one must achieve the essential principle by relying on doctrine . . . how can later adepts reject this pronouncement of the Dharma and insist that the First Patriarch's coming from the West constituted the spiritual seal of the special transmission outside the scriptures? How can they state boldly that the meaning of Chan doctrine is not accessible to an expert in the scriptures?

As we can see, Congyi based himself on the *Erni sixing lun* of Bodhidharma when he denounced the extremist positions taken by Chan followers under the Song. See *Zhiguan yili zuanyao*, quoted in Kagamishima 1965: 94.

32. See Suzuki Daisetsu 1977a: 274; and 1977b: 124–25, 206.

33. The Chinese monk Moheyan addressed the same point during the Council of Tibet. The Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang attest to the popularity of the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* in Tibet, even after the defeat of the Chinese party, but this sūtra seems to have been valued as a scholastic compendium and not for its radical nominalism. Even in the case of Mazu, the theoretical aspect of the *Lankāvatāra* had a considerable influence. According to Zongmi, Hongzhou Chan (i.e., the school of Mazu) rested on the concept of the *Tathāgatagarbha* as it is found in the *Lankāvatāra* (among others).

34. See Yanagida, 1971a: 337; see also McRae 1986a: 256.

35. Yanagida 1967a: 598.

36. This double aspect of *prajñā* is illustrated in a short Dunhuang text in which one of the protagonists is a young girl, and the other none other than Zhiyi, the founder of the Tiantai school. Realizing that this young woman ascetic was carefully guarding a Buddhist text, Zhiyi reproached her: "In *prajñā* the word is worth nothing, / What good are paper and brush? / Wishing to free yourself, see how you bind yourself; / You get deluded as you destroy delusion." To this the young girl replied: "That from which the letter itself delivers, is that not *prajñā*? / Seeing deluded people outside your own mind, / It is you yourself who are deluded!" (See Demiéville 1961: 15n69). Zhiyi here appears as a representative of the anti-intellectualist current, which is at the very least paradoxical since he was one of the first to criticize this current, and the entire Tiantai tradition, since Huiwen (dates unknown) and Huisi,

emphasized rather than the "letter" brings deliverance. In the following passage from the *Keiran shūyōshū*, the protagonists this time are Zhiyi and Bodhidharma, and their roles are reversed to the benefit of Zhiyi: "Bodhidharma has only scorn for doctrine, whereas in Tiantai doctrine and contemplation are equally real" (T. 76. 2410: 532b).

37. See Yanagida 1971a: 49.

38. T. 85, 2837: 1283b.

39. See Yanagida 1971a: 52, 57; and T. 85, 2837: 1283a.

40. T. 85, 2837: 1289c.

41. See Yanagida 1967a: 607.

42. This attitude contrasts with that of Mazu Daoyi, who, in citing the *Laṅkāvatāra*, did not even mention its transmission within the Chan school, but rather used this sūtra as scriptural authority to prove the existence of an inherent Buddha-mind; see Suzuki Daisetsu 1977a: 46-47.

43. See note 24 to this chapter. Note in particular the case of the *Avatamsaka*, whose possession brought restored sexual power to a eunuch; see Hurvitz 1956: 56.

44. Yanagida 1967a: 596.

45. Miraculous springs abound in Buddhist hagiography, where they illustrate the spiritual feats of thaumaturge-monks. The best-known case is probably that of Dharmarakṣa (Ch. Zhu Fahu, 239-316). The spring from which Dharmarakṣa drank dried up after being defiled by a woodcutter, but when Dharmarakṣa expressed his intention to move elsewhere, it gushed forth again. In the Chan tradition, we find in Bianyi's (541-607) biography the following passage concerning Sengcan (the future "third patriarch"): "Formerly there was a spring there. The *dhyāna* master Sengcan, looking for a spring, had burned incense, and the spring had gushed forth. After Sengcan's death, the spring had dried up [and remained dry] year after year. When the site of Sengcan's stūpa was chosen, that very night, it started to flow again" (T. 50, 2060: 500c). A similar story is found in Daoxin's biography (ibid.: 606b). The Japanese monk Ennin also mentions in his diary the case of a spring reputed for its therapeutic virtues, which dried up after the death of the thaumaturge-monk Baozhi (418-514). As to the traditional motif of the monk taming wild animals thanks to the powers obtained through asceticism and meditation, it is found among others in the biographies of Guṇavarman and Huiming (T. 50, 2060: 340c, 606b), or in the Tibetan chronicle, *sBa-bṣed*, concerning the Korean monk Wuxiang (founder of the Bao Tang school in Sichuan). However, it is the story concerning Sengchou that seems to have been the most widespread. It is found in the biography of Zizai of Funiu shan, a monk who founded a monastery called the Ganquansi (Monastery of the Sweet Spring) on Wangwu shan (T. 50, 2061: 771c). Dunhuang mss. S. 4597 and P. 3490 also contain a text entitled *Chou chanshi jiehū zān* (Eulogy of the *dhyāna* master Chou who separated the tigers); see Ch'en Tsu-lung 1981: 194. On the relationship between the "miraculous spring" and the two tigers, see also Soyumié 1961: 41; on Sengchou as a thaumaturge, see *Tai ping guang ji* 91: 183.

46. Yanagida 1967a: 597.

47. Ibid.: 518.

48. *Quan Tang shi* 199: 2057.

49. T. 50, 2060: 596b.

50. See the entry on Sengchou in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T. 50, 2060: 553b. His lay name was Sun, and he was a native of Yingtao (Ningjin xian, in modern Hebei). After showing a precocious erudition, he became a monk in 507 at the age of 28. He first studied the *śamatha-vipaśyanā* with a disciple of the Indian monk Fotuo, the *dhyāna* master Daofang, and breathing techniques (*ānāpānasmṛti*) with a monk named Daoming. He then consulted Fotuo at the Shaolinsi and remained some time on Song shan. After declining an invitation from Emperor Xiaoming (r. 515-28) of the Northern Wei, he withdrew to Huaizhou (in Henan). In 532, he was again invited to court by Emperor Xiaowu (r. 532-34), and again refused. It was only much later, toward the end of his life, that he agreed to go to the court of the Northern Qi, where Emperor Wenxuan (r. 550-59) placed him at the top of the Buddhist hierarchy. His death, in 560, was followed by sumptuous funerals, and Wei Shou, the author of the *Weishu*, composed his epitaph. On Sengchou, see Yanagida 1970b, 1983a; McRae 1986a; Faure 1986a.

51. On Fotuo, see *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T. 50, 2060: 551a; Yanagida 1970b: 148-50; Pelliot 1923: 245-50, 262-64; and Faure 1986a. It was in 496, two years after the transfer of the Northern Wei capital to Luoyang, that Fotuo took up residence at the Shaolinsi on Song shan, a monastery built for him by Emperor Xiaowen (r. 471-99). Among his disciples, apart from Sengchou, were Daofang (Sengchou's first master) and Huiguang (471-ca. 550), a specialist of Vinaya and founder of the Southern branch of the *Daśabhūmika* (Dilun) school. In the Chan school, Huiguang and Bodhiruci have been traditionally held responsible for Bodhidharma's death.

52. Compare the entry on Bodhidharma (T. 50, 2060: 551b) and Daoxuan's comments (ibid.: 596c). Likewise, the Bodhidharma who appears in the *Luoyang qielan ji* (547) by Yang Xuanzhi does not have the stature of a Chan patriarch. See Faure 1986a, 1986c; and Yang Hsüan-chih 1984: 20-21.

53. Sengchou's *Fabao yi lun* (Treatise on the meanings of the Dharma Jewel), a work no longer extant, was quoted next to Sengzhao's *Zhao lun* and Shenxiu's *Guanxin lun* in the *Yiqie jing yinyi* (Phonetic glosses on the Buddhist canon, T. 54, 2128: 930a) by Huilin (737-820). A Pure Land adept of the same period, Feixi (dates unknown), who also quoted this text, seemed to consider it a work dealing with the *nianfo sanmei* (*samādhi* of Buddha commemoration). At any rate, the vogue of this text in the eighth century suggests its Mahāyāna content. Jan Yün-hua (1983) has attempted to reconstruct Sengchou's method of *dhyāna*, but several of the documents on which he relies are later in date and belong in fact to the Northern school.

54. Here we could almost speak of antagonistic *mimesis*, in the sense that René Girard gives to the term. Bodhidharma fits the role of the scapegoat analyzed by Girard in *Violence and the Sacred* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977) and various other works, and it is not unthinkable that the legends surrounding the death of the first Chan patriarch have their origin in a real historical drama. On the other hand, Sekiguchi Shindai (1967, 1969a) has been able to show that the traditional image of Bodhidharma can be seen as deriving from some among his rivals or successors, like Zhiyi, Fu dashi, Niutou Farong, and Shenxiu. This analysis should doubtless be widened by taking into account all the other doubles and rivals of

Bodhidharma—among others, Baozhi, Fotuo, Bodhiruci, and Guangtong. Later tradition seems to indicate the beginnings of a fusion of Fotuo and Bodhidharma, or of Bodhidharma and Sengchou; see Faure 1986a.

55. See, e.g., the *Chou chanshi yaofang* (Pharmacopoeia of the *dhyāna* master Chou), a short text included in P. 3559, partially edited in Yanagida 1963: 61-62. This text may be a product of the community of Faru on Song shan.

56. See Yanagida 1970b: 156-57.

### Chapter 6

1. To date, seven recensions of the *Record* have been found among the Dunhuang manuscripts: S. 2054, S. 4272, P. 3294, P. 3436, P. 3537, P. 3703, P. 4654, and S. Tib. 710(2). In 1926, Hu Shi discovered the manuscripts S. 2054, S. 4272, and P. 3436. They were collated by Kim Kugyōng at the request of Suzuki Daisetsu, and a first edition of the *Record* appeared in 1931. The following year, the work was inserted with a preface by Hu Shi in Kim's *Kangwŏn ch'ongsŏ* (Record of the ginger garden). Meanwhile, in 1930, Yabuki Keiki had given a photographic reproduction of S. 2054 in his *Meisha yoin* (Echoes from Mingsha, i.e., Dunhuang). This text, revised by Kim, was published in vol. 85 of the Taishō edition of the Buddhist canon (1932) and thus became the vulgate. After an eclipse, the text came to light again in the mid-1950s. In 1961, Tanaka Ryōshō found the manuscripts P. 3537 and P. 3294. A critical edition of Jingjue's preface, based on the manuscripts S. 2054, P. 3294, and P. 3436, was included in Yanagida 1967a. Finally, in 1968, Ueyama Daishun discovered among the Tibetan manuscripts of the India Office in London a translation of the *Record* that had been catalogued (but not identified) by Louis de la Vallée Poussin as S. 710(2). Only P. 3703, a fragmentary recension corresponding to the last two chapters of the *Record*, has not yet been studied. This is unfortunate, because these chapters raise many problems. Thus, the text edited and translated into Japanese in Yanagida 1971a is a composite text, obtained by superposing fragments with many variants.

2. Fachong's personal name was Xiaodun and his family name, Li. A native of Zhengji (Longxi district in Gansu), he first aimed for an official position and, at 24, became a colonel in the "yinyang" militia. But on the death of his mother, he happened to read the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* and then had the thought of awakening (*bodhicitta*). After hearing explanations of this sūtra about 30 times, he went to Anzhou, to a master named Huihao (547-633). With him he studied the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasnikāpmajñāpāramitā-sūtra* and the "Three Treatises" of the Sanlun school. He then left on pilgrimage, still studying the Mahāyāna doctrine and practicing *dhyāna*. It was around this time that he began to study the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* with a group of Huike's followers. In this way he saw himself at the crossing point of two lines: that of the *dhyāna* practitioners derived from the Sanlun school, and the other going back to Bodhidharma and Huike. He was also convinced that these two lineages rested on the same philosophical base. He was also probably one of the first to have tried to effect a union of the *Laṅkāvatāra*, Chan, and Mādhyamika doctrines.

3. T. 50, 2060: 552b.

4. Ibid.: 666b.
5. On Huike and Huiyu (or Daoyu), see Satomichi 1978.
6. *T.* 50, 2060: 666b.
7. This image of Bodhidharma was at times called into question. See, e.g., the biographical entry for Yangshan Huiji in the *Zutang ji*, where Bodhidharma is presented as "the great master who transmits not simply a text, no matter how important it may be, but "the mind seal of the Buddha" (Yanagida 1974d: 850b). Similarly the author of the *Fozu tongji*, in his entry on Sengcan, stressed that Bodhidharma transmitted to his disciples only the Treasure of the Eye of the True Dharma (*zhengfa yanzang*, J. *shōbōgenzō*). But, by an ironic twist, this secret doctrine would soon be revealed in works bearing this name by authors like Dahui Zonggao (1089-1163) and Dōgen (1200-1253). A later critic of the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition is the Korean master Chōnghō Hyujōng (better known as Sōsan Taesa, 1520-1604), who wrote in his *Sōnkyo sōk*: "Originally, Bodhidharma came with the Treasure of the Eye of the True Dharma, which he secretly conferred on Huike. However, he realized that the *dhyāna* master Sengna remained attached [to words] and had not understood the true Dharma of the masters-patriarchs. Fearing that, due to his stupid and mistaken views, Sengna would distort the true Dharma, he temporarily revealed to him an *upāya*, and told him: 'The four-fascicle *Laṅkāvatāra* is the essence of the mind.' By the same token he transmitted this sūtra to Huike. Thus, the transmission of the *Laṅkāvatāra* in the school of the patriarchs was merely a handful of golden leaves to stop Sengna's crying" (see Yanagida 1974c: 119b).
8. *T.* 50, 2060: 551b, 595-597b.
9. See Hu Shi 1935: 170-73.
10. *T.* 50, 2060: 666a.
11. The *Xu gaoseng zhuan* mentions, for instance, a funerary service for Xuanzang, which according to other sources took place in 669, two years after Daoxuan's death; see *T.* 50, 2060: 458b.
12. In Chan the paradoxical relationship between word and truth is often stressed. This is, for instance, Zongmi's position: "In his desire to show that the finger that points to the moon is not the moon, and that the Dharma is none other than our mind, [Bodhidharma] was satisfied with establishing transmission from mind to mind, without the intervention of any written letter. His words are intended to reveal the principle and to destroy all attachments. They do not mean that there exists a deliverance outside all scriptures. This is why those who teach his thought shower praises on the *Vajracchedikā* and the *Laṅkāvatāra*; they see in these two sūtras the essence of the mind" (*T.* 48, 2015:400b).
13. See, on this point, Takasaki 1966: 53.
14. See *T.* 50, 2060: 552c.
15. *T.* 50, 2060: 666c.
16. See Yūki 1937: 21-44.
17. On this question, see *ibid.*: 23; Sakamoto 1976: 362-96; and Demiéville 1929: 36.
18. According to Yūki (1937: 29), it was the Korean monk Wōnch'ok (613-96)

who connected the notion of a ninth *vijñāna* to Paramārtha's teaching. However, in her work on Paramārtha, Diana Paul (1984) continues to credit the Indian master with this notion.

19. T. 85, 2837: 1285b.

20. See Ui 1966a: 467, 485.

21. T. 55, 2167: 1084a.

22. See T. 48, 2011: 327a; Suzuki Daisetsu 1936: 2: 187; and T. 85, 2837: 1285c.

23. See P. 3559, in Yanagida 1967a: ill. 16B 14. The work quoted is the recension of the *Daśabhūmividyākhyāna* (T. 26, 1522) translated by Bodhiruci.

24. See T. 9, 273: 369c-370a; and Buswell 1989: 137-57.

25. See T. 55, 2167: 1085a; and *Shōshitsu rokumon*, T. 48, 2009: 365a.

26. The Japanese tradition noted by Kokan Shiren in his *Genkō shakusho* is significant in this respect. According to it, Xuanzang once convinced his Japanese disciple Dōshō (629-700) of the futility of Buddhist exegesis and advised him to study with the *dhyāna* master Huiman at the Longhuasi in Xiangzhou (modern Henan). Huiman, a second-generation heir to Huike, initiated Dōshō to the *Lankāvatāra* tradition, and thus made possible the "first diffusion" of Chan/Zen in Japan. The story is obviously apocryphal, but its polemical motive makes sense only when placed in the context of Tang Buddhism. See *Genkō shakusho*, DNBZ 62, 470: 70c.

27. See Yanagida 1969a: 13.

28. Yanagida 1967: 32.

29. T. 85, 2837: 1289c.

30. The *Chuan fabao ji* has its own Huike's "prediction" about the decline of Bodhidharma's Chan, whereas the *Record* passed over it in silence. This suggests that, at the time when these two works were produced, the first tendency had divided between the partisans of wall contemplation, who relied on the *Ermi sixing lun*, and those who, like Du Fei, emphasized Bodhidharma's importance as "patriarch" responsible for the transmission of the true Dharma (rather than as *dhyāna* practitioner). Huike's "prediction" is also taken up in the *Beishan lu* (T. 52, 2113: 611a) and the *Lidai fabao ji* (T. 51, 2075: 180c). It provides the author of the *Lidai fabao ji* with an argument against Jingjue's *Record*: the *Lankāvatāra*, in the end, belongs to the written teaching, and as such it is unworthy of Bodhidharma, who was able to transmit the "mind seal" without uttering a single word.

31. T. 85, 2837: 1286c. For a discussion of the term *chanzong*, see Foulk 1987: 109-54.

32. See Daoxin's biographical entry in *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T. 50, 2060: 606b.

33. See Hongren's biographical entry in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T. 50, 2061: 754a.

34. See, e.g., the *Lidai fabao ji*, T. 51, 2075: 183c.

35. See Yanagida 1971a: 488. In an inscription for the Chan master Yuanguì, we find a reference to the following seven patriarchal generations: Bodhidharma—Huike—Sengcan—Daoxin—Hongren—Faru—Yuanguì (see *Baigongshi jinshi buzhen*, in *SKSLXB* 7: 4849-50).

36. See Yanagida 1971a: 336-37. This is actually a quotation from the preface to the *Damoduoluo chan jing* (*Dhyāna sūtra of Dharmatrā[ta]*, T. 15, 618), a work composed



around the beginning of the fifth century by the Kashmiri master Boddhasena and translated into Chinese by his disciple Buddhābhaddra (the attribution to Dharmatrāta results from an error on the part of the compiler of the *Lidai sanbao ji* [597], Fei Zhangfang.). This preface, drawn up by Huiyuan (334–416), gives the following list of the seven Indian patriarchs: “After the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, the worthy monk (*bhadanta*) Mahākāśyapa, Ānanda, Madhyāntika, Śānavāsin, Upagupta, Vasumitra, Saṅgharakṣa, Dharmatrāta, and so on until the worthy Buruomiduoluo (Punyatmitra or Prajñāmitra?), all these preservers of the Dharma transmitted from one to the other the lamp of wisdom” (see Lin Li-kouang 1949: 344). In a work along the lines of Du Fei’s *Chuan fabao ji* (and following it in the ms. P. 3559), the *Xiande ji yu Shuangfeng shan ta wen xuanli* (Discussion on the profound principle [according to] the stūpa of the [twelve] ancient worthies gathered on Shuangfeng shan), we observe another attempt to link the Dongshan school to certain Indian patriarchs and various famous Chinese masters who did not belong to Bodhidharma’s lineage: the *bhikṣu* Xie (Skt. Pārśva? Puṇyayaśas?), the Bodhisattva Aśvaghōṣa (disciple of the former and alleged author of the *Dacheng qixinlun*), the *dhyāna* master Chao, the *dhyāna* master Fotuo, the *bhadanta* Ke, the sage Yu, Master Min, the *dhyāna* master Neng, the *dhyāna* master Xian, Master Dao, the *dhyāna* master Zang, and the *dhyāna* master Xiu. Some of these cannot be identified: Chao, Yu (unless it is Daoyu, Bodhidharma’s disciple), Dao, Zang (Xiangmo Zang, Shenxiu’s disciple?). The two Indian masters were later incorporated into the list of 28 Chan patriarchs. Fotuo is probably the *dhyāna* master for whom the Shaolinsi was founded. Master Min is perhaps Famin (579–645), a monk from the Yiyinsi mentioned by Daoxin in Jingjue’s *Record*. Finally, the presence of both Huineng and Shenxiu seems to indicate that the schism between the two schools had not yet taken place. However, the fact that each of these masters is credited with a verse already prefigures the “verses of Dharma transmission” of the *Baolin zhuan* and as such reveals a certain sectarian awareness. For more details on this document, see Yanagida 1963: 55; and McRae 1986a: 84–85.

37. See Yanagida 1967a: 498–99.

38. See the entries on Xuanshuang of the Shenshansi (*T.* 50, 2060: 600a), Faxian of the Sicengsi (ibid.: 599c), and Shanfu of Mount Hengyue (ibid.: 603a).

39. While the *Record*, in the section on Sengcan, pays attention only to his thought, the entry in the *Chuan fabao ji* is the first to give biographical data on the future third patriarch. However, around the mid-Tang the figure of Sengcan started to arouse interest in Chan circles. With the exception of Shenxiu’s disputed case, Sengcan appears to have been the first of the “six patriarchs” to receive a posthumous title, that of “*Dhyāna* master Jingzhi” (var. Jianzhi). A first stela inscription was put together at the request of Shenhui in 745, by a turncoat from the Northern school, Fang Guan. A little later, in 772, another inscription was composed by Dugu Ji on the occasion of the awarding to Sengcan of his posthumous title. Finally, according to the *Lidai fabao ji*, a third inscription was compiled by Xue Daheng, a famous man of letters of the Sui period, but this epitaph, like that of Fang Guan (quoted in part in the *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* [*T.* 51, 2078, p. 745]), has unfortunately disappeared. Dugu Ji’s inscription, on the other hand, is preserved in QTW 390, 8: 5021–22. See also

QTW 392, 8: 5044-45; and 790, 17: 10445-46. A comparison between the two versions (the one in the QTW and that in the Buddhist histories) shows variants that are of great interest in the history of the Chan of the Northern school. In particular, the following passage: "Daoxin later transmitted the doctrine to Hongren, who transmitted it to Huineng and Shenxiu. *Huineng retired to Caoxi to grow old there, and he was never heard to speak about his successors.* Shenxiu transmitted the doctrine to Puji, whose school counted several tens of thousands of members." The section in italics was omitted by Buddhist chroniclers, as was the word "doctrine." The original inscription clearly derives from the Northern school, and it is not surprising that adherents of the Southern school (by this time the orthodox line) felt it advisable to modify it.

40. See the entry on Bianyi, in *T.* 50, 2060: 510b.

41. *Ibid.*: 666b.

42. Ui (1966a) argues that the communities of Daoxin and Hongren were able to provide for their own needs, and he emphasizes the importance of manual labor in Chan monasteries. But he is obviously influenced by a later conception of monastic life. In the economic context of the Tang, the autarky of a community of this size seems problematic; see Gernet 1995: 94-141.

43. Yanagida 1962: 85.

44. Tanaka Ryōshō 1983: 49-53.

45. *T.* 85, 2837: 1286c.

46. See Yin Shun 1971: 53.

47. See the *Zhiguan fuxing chuan hong jue*, *T.* 46, 1912: 184c.

48. *T.* 50, 2061: 754a.

49. The previous year (683), Empress Wu had visited this monastery, thus sanctioning its importance. See the "Shaolinsi bei" (Stela of the Shaolinsi, in QTW 279, 6: 3586a); and Tonami 1990. The move of Faru to the Shaolinsi may be connected to this event.

50. See Yanagida 1967a: 488.

51. On this stela, see Tonami 1990.

52. See Jao and Demiéville 1971: 87. On this work, see also Kaji 1979: 212-15. These *Verses on the Siddham* seem to have been known early on in Japan, since they are mentioned in a catalogue of the Tendai monk Ennin (*T.* 55, 2166: 1077a).

53. See ms. Beijing niao 64, in Xu Guolin 1937: 2: 50; Jao and Demiéville 1971: 86; Jao 1993: 205-8. On Kumārajīva's "correlative phonology," see also Jao 1993: 187-98.

54. According to Suzuki Daisetsu (1977a: 16; 1977b: 223-25), these *dhāraṇī* were a later addition.

55. See, e.g., the *Wugeng zhuan* (Passing of the five watches) attributed to Shenhui (in Jao and Demiéville 1971: 118-20) and the *Jingtu zan* (Hymns to the Pure Land) attributed to Shandao (in Xu Guolin 1937: 2: 57).

56. *T.* 85, 2779: 536a.

57. The *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* was translated in 443. Bodhidharma, who according to Chan tradition died near Luoyang at the beginning of the sixth century, could hardly have arrived in China almost a century earlier. Furthermore, Guṇabhadra's translation was in four *juan*, and a recension in five *juan* does not appear anywhere.

58. See Nakagawa 1961: 142.
59. See Yanagida 1967a: 61-62.
60. T. 85, 2837: 1289c.

### Chapter 7

1. Marcel Detienne, *Dionysos mis à mort* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977), 23.
2. Balazs 1964: 130.
3. This work was found among the Tibetan manuscripts preserved at the India Office in London, and it is listed as S. Tib. 710 (2) in Louis de la Vallée Poussin's inventory (La Vallée Poussin 1962: 229). See Ueyama 1968.
4. On this question, see McRae 1986a: 91-97.
5. T. 85, 2837: 1286b.
6. The *Chuan fabao ji* is known through three recensions, those of the manuscripts P. 2634, P. 3858, and P. 3559 (the only complete one). For a critical edition and Japanese translation, see Yanagida 1971a.
7. On this question, see Robinet 1979. Concerning Bodhidharma's legend, see Faure 1986a and 1986c.
8. Yanagida 1971a: 355.
9. See Hu Shi 1970: 294-95; and Yampolsky 1967: 29-30: "Bodhidharma received the teaching from Saṅgharakṣa, Saṅgharakṣa received it from Śubhamitra, Śubhamitra received it from Upagupta, Upagupta received it from Śaṇavāsa, Śaṇavāsa received it from Madhyāntika, Madhyāntika from Ānanda, Ānanda from Kāśyapa, Kāśyapa from the Tathāgata. When we come to China, Bodhidharma is considered the Eighth Patriarch. In India Prajñāmitra received the Dharma from Bodhidharma. In China it was the *dhyāna* master Huike who came after Bodhidharma. Since the time of the Tathāgata there were, in all, in India and China, some thirteen Patriarchs." However, Shenhui's theory differs from that of the *Chuan fabao ji* and of Faru's necrology in that, instead of relying on Huiyuan's Preface, it draws on the *Chan jing* itself. Nevertheless, the reference to this "*Dhyāna Sūtra*" as such attests clearly that Shenhui is on this point influenced by the *Chuan fabao ji*—which he so violently denigrates in other respects.
10. The new emphasis on Bodhidharma's and Huike's residence at the Shaolinsi attests to the importance of Faru's line, based on this monastery. The fact that the stela of the Shaolinsi mentions Faru but omits Shenxiu suggests that this current may not have been altogether sympathetic to Shenxiu and his disciples. In the *Xiuxiu yaolun* (another work produced in Faru's circle), Shenxiu (*alias* Daoxiu) is presented as a disciple of Faru. See Yanagida 1967a: 79; and Ogawa Takashi 1989: 317. Conversely, the *Record* fails to link Bodhidharma and Huike with Song shan and omits Faru altogether, while mentioning Puji (that is, the Songyuesi tradition on Song shan). However, according to Tonami (1990), this stela was erected in commemoration of Yixing, Puji's disciple.
11. T. 55, 2165: 1075b; 2166: 1077c.
12. T. 85, 2837: 1284c.

13. This text, discovered by Suzuki Daisetsu in 1935, seems to have been widespread, since nine recensions have been found at Dunhuang. For a critical edition, see Yanagida 1969a; for a French translation, see Faure 1986c.

14. *T.* 85, 2837: 1285b.

15. The other recensions are *S.* 2669, *S.* 3558, *S.* 4064, *P.* 3434, *P.* 3777, and Beijing *yu* 04. In annex of the recension of *P.* 3559, the following passage is found: "Originally, Bodhidharma transmitted his teaching to Huike; this teaching was later passed on to Sengcan, and then to Daoxin, who transmitted it to the great master Hongren. Hongren transmitted it to Faru, who transmitted it to his disciple Daoxiu [read Shenxiu]. Daoxin's epitaph, composed by Du Zhenglun, was recited and transmitted by the disciples of master Ren" (see Yanagida 1963: 48). Suzuki Daisetsu (1936: 141) was the first to think that the *Xiuxin yaolun* was the work of one of Hongren's disciples, and the presence in this text of a metaphor also found in the verse attributed to Shenxiu (the mirror that must be constantly polished—an illustration of "gradual" practice) led the Japanese scholar to believe that the author was a Northern Chan adept. However, the verse attributed to Shenxiu by his detractors may also have been influenced by the *Xiuxin yaolun* and correctly "reflect" Hongren's ideas. In this case, the Northern school would be the true heir to the Dongshan tradition (which would not be entirely exempt from "gradualism"), instead of reflecting its own bent to Hongren's thought as Suzuki implies.

16. On Faru's school, see Ibuki 1991c.

17. *T.* 85, 2837: 1289b.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. See *Fozu tongji*, *T.* 49, 2035: 372b.

21. *Ibid.*, 1289c.

22. *Ibid.*, 1290a. On the basis of this passage, Hu Shi (1975: 191) argued, rather uncritically, that it is incorrect to attribute to Shenxiu such works as the *Treatise on the Five Upāya*. We know that Shenxiu was the author of the *Guanxin lun*, and we can consider him, until there is evidence to the contrary, as the author of the primitive version of the *Treatise on the Five Upāya*. As for the reliability of the *Record* or the *Lenggie renfa zhi*, it is far from being as obvious as Hu Shi assumes, and their affirmations or silences cannot be taken at face value. The fact that a Northern Chan work is not mentioned by Xuanze or Jingjue might just as well be seen as an *a contrario* indication of its inconvenient popularity.

23. See, e.g., Nakagawa 1961; and Tanaka Ryōshō 1959, 1962. More recently, see Barrett 1991.

24. See Ueyama 1968 and 1973.

25. See La Vallée Poussin 1962: 229; and Kimura 1980: 128.

26. See R. A. Stein 1983: 152.

27. See Okimoto 1980: 415.

28. See Ueyama 1968: 200-202. In a later article (Ueyama 1976a: 46), Ueyama notes that the same type of literal translation is found in two works preserved in the Tibetan canon (nos. 791 and 803 of the Beijing edition), the *Buddhapitaka-sūtra* (*T.* 15, 653) and the apocryphal *Jin'gang sanmei jing* (*T.* 9, 273), as well as in another Northern Chan work, the *Dunwu zhenzong yaojue*. However, the translation of the

last text is more correct than that of the *Record*, and it makes numerous borrowings from official terminology. According to Tucci (1958: 46-48), the compilation of the *Mahāvvyūtpatti* began in 814, under the reign of Khri-lde-srong-brtsan. On the insufficiency of standard equivalents as criteria for dating Tibetan translations, see Okimoto 1978. Concerning Facheng, see Ueyama 1967; and Su 1974.

29. See Ueyama 1973: 601-2.

30. See Nishioka 1982. Nishioka judges that the recension of S. Tib. 704 is later than that of S. Tib. 710 on the basis of the presence in this translation of a number of standard equivalents, but, as noted earlier, this criterion is in no way decisive.

31. On this question, see Backus 1981.

32. See Stein 1973: vii-xii.

33. On Wuxiang and his legend, see Faure (forthcoming).

34. See Demiéville 1979: 1.

35. R. A. Stein 1983: 167.

36. *Ibid.*, 154.

37. I had earlier concluded, on the basis of scanty evidence, that Jingjue had written the *Record* much later, probably about the time when he compiled his commentary on the *Hṛdaya-sūtra* (727). However, Barrett's (1991) arguments are compelling, and I stand corrected on that point.

38. Barrett 1991: 259.

39. See Yanagida 1967a: 597.

40. *T.* 85, 2837: 1290c.

41. For more details on this, see Yanagida 1975c.

42. According to Suzuki Tetsuo (1980: 77), the way in which Shenhui emphasized the decisive superiority of the *Vajracchedikā* during the Huatai conference reflects his desire to counter the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition asserted by the *Record*. However, a similar interest in the *Vajracchedikā* appears in the Northern school, with a commentary attributed to the "Bodhisattva Jin'gangzang." On this question, see Ibuki 1991a.

43. *T.* 51, 2075: 180b.

44. We should also take note, in the preface to the *Platform Sūtra*, of the "prediction" of Guṇabhadra about the sixth patriarch: "In the future, a living Bodhisattva will receive ordination here." The choice of Guṇabhadra as the supernatural validator of the legitimacy of Huineng seems to attest to the influence of the *Record*. But the error made by the author of the *Song gaoseng zhuan* in attributing this prediction to the Kashmiri translator Guṇavarman shows the limit of this influence. According to the stūpa inscription commemorating the tonsure of Huineng at the Guangxiaosi, an Indian monk named Zhiyao was supposed, in 502, to have planted a *bodhi* tree before the ordination platform erected by Guṇabhadra at the Faxingsi (former name of the Guangxiaosi) and predicted that, 160 years later, a Bodhisattva "in the flesh" (lit. "a flesh-body Bodhisattva, *roushen pusa*, perhaps an allusion to Huineng's mummy) would teach under this tree the doctrine of the Supreme Vehicle. This inscription, attributed to a certain Facai, is dated 676. If this date is correct, we may have here an indirect challenge to Facheng and the "ancient" *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition. But if, as is likely, the inscription is later than the *Record*, it is rather at the latter that it is aimed.

45. In the Northern school, the *Dunwu zhenzong lun* also repeated the words attributed by the *Record* to Guṇabhadra. Elsewhere, a recension of the *Treatise on the Five Upāya* (S. 2503) contains a passage on the five *dharma* (*pañcadharma*), the three "natures" (*svabhāva*), and the two kinds of emptiness (of self and *dharma*, *puṅgaladharmā nairātmya*)—well-known rubrics from the *Laṅkāvatāra*. Yanagida (1974b: 88) sees here an indication of the influence of the *Record* and deduces that this edition is later than the others. But we should note that the *Laṅkāvatāra*, in this same passage, is very close to the scriptures cited in the *Treatise on the Five Upāya*, to such a point that the lack of mention in this text could be interpreted as a deliberate act on the part of certain of Shenxiu's disciples to separate themselves from the *Record*. It does seem that one of the currents derived from Puji was attached to the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition. See, e.g., the case of Shouzhi, who is said to have received from Puji the "mund seal" of the *Laṅkāvatāra*, or that of Hongzheng who, "after having penetrated the meaning of the *Laṅkāvatāra*, established himself in non-abiding" (see QTW 918, 19: 12067a; and 501, 11: 6465).

46. See P. 2204, quoted in Jao and Demiéville 1971: 86-87.

47. See T. 48, 2015: 400c. The mention of Sengchou and Guṇabhadra is apparently directed at the tendency represented by Jingjue. For Zongmi this was not the same thing as the Northern school itself. He added a little later, "From this rubric [cultivate one's mind by putting an end to illusions] descend the disciples of [Zhi]shen in the south, of [Shen]xiu in the north, of Bao Tang and Xuanshi [in Sichuan]. As for the means (*upāya*) of progression used, they clearly resemble [those of the schools of] Niutou and Tiantai, or of Huichou [that is, Sengchou] and [Guṇa]bhadra, but they differ in interpretation" (ibid.: 402b).

48. See, e.g., Suzuki Daisetsu 1977a: 60.

### Conclusion

1. Foucault, *Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1972), 94.
2. This point was noted by Hu Shi (1975: 699) himself: "Shenhui succeeded in establishing Zennism as a state religion, but by doing so he almost killed it."
3. Ironically enough, this effort started among Shenhui's disciples, who, although they claimed for their master the title of "seventh patriarch," downplayed the importance of his sectarian polarization. On this question, see Ogawa Takashi 1991b.
4. Etienne Gilson, quoted in Henri-Irénée Marrou, *De la connaissance historique* (Paris, 1956), 253.
5. Gernet 1949: 10.
6. See Dominique Julia, "La religion: Histoire religieuse," in Jacques le Goff and Pierre Nora, eds., *Faire de l'histoire: Nouvelles approches* (Paris: Gallimard, 1974), 143.
7. Foucault, *Naissance de la clinique* (Paris, 1963), xv.
8. See Suzuki Daisetsu 1953. On this question, see also Faure 1993.
9. Martin Heidegger, *Introduction à la métaphysique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1967), 38.

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## Character List

An fashi 岸法師  
An Lushan 安錄山  
Anguosi 安國寺  
Anluo 安樂  
Annen 安然  
anxin 安心  
anzheng chanshi 闇證禪師  
Anzhou 安州  
aziguan (J. ajikan) 阿字觀

Bai Juyi 白居易  
Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海  
Bao Tang 保唐  
Baoensi 報恩寺  
Baogong 保恭  
Baolinsi 寶林寺  
Baopuzi 抱朴子  
Baoying 寶迎  
Baoyu 寶瑜  
Baozhi 寶誌  
Batuo 跋陀  
beizong 北宗  
benjue 本覺  
Bianyi 辨義

biguan 壁觀  
buli wenzi 不立文字  
busi buguan 不思不觀

Caodong 曹洞  
Caoshan Benji 曹山本寂  
Caoxi 曹溪  
Cen Shen 岑參  
Chang'an 長安  
Changchao 常超  
chanhui 懺悔  
chanjing shuangxiu 禪淨雙修  
chanliu huchuan 禪律互傳  
chanmen 禪門  
Chanmen jing 禪門經  
Chanmen xitan zhang 禪門悉曇章  
channa 禪那  
chanshi 禪師  
chanzang 禪藏  
Chen Chuzhang 陳楚章  
Chen Zi'ang 陳子昂  
Chengdu 成都  
Chengru 乘如  
Chengshi zong 成實宗

- Chengxin 澄心  
 Chingam Hyeso 神鑑惠昭  
 Chinul 智訥  
 Chisōn 智誦  
 Ch'oe Chiwōn 崔致遠  
 Chogyē 曹溪  
 Chong fashi 寵法師  
 Chonggui 崇珪  
 Chonghui 崇慧  
 Chongshen 崇慎  
 chongxuan 重玄  
 Chongyan 崇演  
 Chongye 崇業  
 Chongyuan 崇遠  
 Chu Guangyi 儲光義  
 Chuan fabao ji 傳法寶紀  
 Chuji 處寂  
 Chujin 楚金  
 Chuyiqiegaizhang 除一切蓋障  
 Cien dashi 慈恩大師  
 Ciensi 慈恩寺  
 Ciguang 慈光  
 Cilang 辭郎  
 Cimin sanzang 慈愍三藏  
 Ciming 辭明  
 Congling 惠嶺  
 Cui Qi 崔琪  
 Cui Riyong 崔日用  
 Cui Wu 崔晤  
 Cui Yixuan 崔義玄  
  
 Da Anguosi 大安國寺  
 Dacheng xinxing lun 大乘心行論  
 Da Fuxiansi 大福先寺  
 Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲  
 Daianji 大安寺  
 daijō endonkai 大乘圓頓戒  
 Dainichi Nōnin 大日能忍  
 Dajian chanshi 大鑑禪師  
 Dalinsi 大林寺  
 Daming 大明  
 Damo 達摩  
 Damo ben 達摩本  
 Damo heshang wugeng zhuan 達摩和尚五更轉  
 Damo lun 達摩論  
 Danrin 檀林  
 Daoan 道安  
 Daochuo 道綽  
 Daochong 道寵  
 Daofu 道福  
 Daojun 道俊  
 Daoming 道明  
 Daosheng 道生  
 Daoshu 道樹  
 Daoxin 道信  
 Daoxiu (Shenxiu) 道秀  
 Daoxuan 道宣  
 Daoxuan (Dōsen) 道璿  
 Daoyin 道蔭  
 Daoyu 道育  
 Daoyuan 道原  
 Darumashū 達磨宗  
 Datong chanshi 大通禪師  
 Dayun jing 大雲經  
 Dazhao chanshi 大照禪師  
 Dazhi chanshi 大智禪師  
 Dazhu Huihai 大殊慧海  
 Dehui 德輝  
 Dengyō Daishi 傳教大師  
 Dilun 地論  
 Ding chanshi 定禪師  
 Dinghui (Huishansi) 定慧  
 Dinghui (Xingshansi) 定惠  
 Ding shifei lun 定是非論  
 diyiyidi 第一義諦  
 Dōgen 道元  
 Dong shan 東山  
 Dongshan famen 東山法門  
 Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价  
 Dongyang 東陽  
 Dōsen, see Daoxuan  
 Dōsen wajō san 道璿和上纂  
 Dōshō 道昭  
 Du Fei 杜朮  
 Du Fu 杜甫  
 Du Hongjian 杜鴻漸  
 Du Xing 杜行  
 Du Yu 杜昱  
 Du Zhenglun 杜正倫

Duan chanshi 端禪師  
 Dugu Ji 獨孤及  
 Dugu Pei 獨孤沛  
 Dumensi 度門寺  
 dun 頓  
 Dunhuang 敦煌  
 dunjiao 頓教  
 dunwu 頓悟  
 Dunwu yaomen 頓悟要門  
 Dunwu zhenzong lun 頓悟真宗論  
 Dunwu zhenzong yaojue 頓悟真宗  
 要訣  
 Dushun 杜順

Egaku 慧萼  
 Ehu Dayi 鵝湖大義  
 Eiheiji 永平寺  
 Eisai 榮西. *See also* Yōsai  
 Enchin 圓珍  
 endonkai 圓頓戒  
 Engyō 圓行  
 Enni Ben'en 圓爾辯圓  
 Ennin 圓仁  
 Enryakuji 延曆寺  
 ernu 二入  
 Ernu sixing lun 仁入四行論

Faan 法安  
 Fabao yilun 法寶義論  
 Facai 法才  
 Facheng (T. Čhos grub) 法成  
 Fachi 法持  
 Fachong 法沖  
 Fahai 法海  
 Fahua yuan 法華院  
 Falang 法朗  
 Fali 法礪  
 Famin 法敏  
 Fang Guan 房瑄  
 Fang Rong 房融  
 fangbian 方便  
 fangshi 方士  
 (Niutou) Farong (牛頭) 法融  
 Faru 法如  
 Fashang 法上

fashi 法師  
 Fawan 法玩  
 Faxian 法顯  
 Faxiang 法相  
 faxing 法性  
 Faxuan 法宣  
 Fayan Wen'yi 法眼文益  
 Fayun 法雲  
 Fazang 法藏  
 Fazhao 法照  
 Feixi 飛錫  
 Fengmao shan 馮茂山  
 Foku Yize 佛窟遺則  
 Fotudeng 佛圖燈  
 Foruo 佛陀  
 foxing 佛性  
 foxinzong 佛心宗  
 Fu dashi 傅大士  
 Fushō 普照  
 Futuo 伏陀  
 Fuwang 傅尪  
 Fuxi 傅翕  
  
 Ganjin 鑑真  
 Gedatsu shōnin 解脫上人  
 Genkō shakusho 元亨釋書  
 Genshin 源信  
 Gikū 義空  
 Gishin 義真  
 gong'an (J. kōan) 公案  
 Guan Di 關帝  
 Guanding 灌頂  
 Guangde 廣德  
 Guanghui 廣惠  
 Guangxiaosi 光孝寺  
 Guannan Daowu 關南道悟  
 guanxin 觀心  
 Guanxin ji 觀心偈  
 Guanxin lun 觀心論  
 guanxin shi 觀心釋  
 Guanzhong 關中  
 Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密  
 Guisi (Zhongnan shan) 歸寺  
 Guoensi 國恩寺  
 guoshi 國師

Gyôhyô 行表

Gyôki 行基

Gyônen 凝然

Haein-sa 海印寺

Hakuin Ekaku 白隱慧鶴

Hanshan 寒山

Haoran 浩然

He Ji 何忌

He Zhizhang 賀知章

Helin Xuansu 鶴林玄素

Hengjing 恆景

Hengyue 衡岳

Heze 荷澤

Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會

Hicizan 比叡山

Hônen 法然

*hongaku* (Ch. *benjue*) 本覺

Hongch'ok 洪陟

Hongfusi 廣福寺

Hongjing 廣景

Hongren 弘忍

Hongzheng 宏正

Hongzhi 廣智

Hongzhou 洪州

Hossô, *see* Faxiang

Houmochen 候莫陳

Huagansi 化感寺

Huaigan 懷感

Huairang, *see* Nanyue Huairang

Huairén 懷仁

Huaisu 懷素

Huawei 懷威

Huaiyun 懷惲

Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運

Huangmei shan 黃梅山

Huatai 滑台

Huayan 華嚴

Huian 慧安

Huibu 慧布

Huichang 會昌

Huichi 慧持

Huida 慧達

Huifu 慧福

Huiguang 慧光

Huijing 慧淨

Huijisi 會稽寺

Huike 慧可

Huילang 慧朗

Huילin 慧琳

Huiman 慧滿

Huiming 慧命

Huineng 慧能

Huishansi 會善寺

Huiwen 慧文

Huixiu 慧秀

Hüiyang san 曦陽山

Huiyin 慧隱

Huiyu 慧育

Huiyuan (Jingyingsi) 慧遠 (淨影寺)

Huiyuan (Lu shan) 慧遠 (廬山)

Huizang 惠藏

Huizhao 慧超

Huizhen 惠真

Huizhong, *see* Nanyang HuizhongHuizhong, *see* Niutou HuizhongHwaôm, *see* Huayan

Hyech'ol 惠哲

Hyeso 慧昭

Hyeüm 慧隱

*isshinkai* 一心戒

Ji (Sengcan) 際

*jian* 見

Jianfusi 薦福寺

Jiangling 江陵

Jiangnan 江南

Jiannan 劍南

*jianxing* 見性*jianxiu* 漸修Jianzhen, *see* GanjinJianzhi *chanshi* 鑑智禪師

Jianzhong 建中

*jiaochan yizhi* 教禪一致

Jiaoran 皎然

*jiaowai biezhuàn* 教外別傳

Jikaku Daishi 自覺大師

Jing'aisi 敬愛寺  
 Jin'gang sanmei jing 金剛三昧經  
 Jingde chuanglu lu 景德傳燈錄  
 Jingjue 淨覺  
 Jinglong 景龍  
 Jingshan Faqin 徑山法欽  
 jingtu (J. jōdo) 淨土  
 Jingxian 敬賢(景賢)  
 Jingye 淨業  
 Jingzang 淨藏  
 Jingzhao 京兆  
 Jingzhi chanshi 鏡智禪師  
 Jingzhongsi 淨眾寺  
 Jingzhou 荊州  
 jixin shi fo 即心是佛  
 Jizang 吉藏  
 Jizhou 吉州  
 Jue 覺  
 jueguan 絕觀  
 Jueguan lun 絕觀論  
 Jueyuan 覺苑  
 Jufang 巨方  
 Junkō 順高  
  
 Kaifeng 開封  
 Kaiyuan 開元  
 Kaiyuansi 開元寺  
 Kakushin, see Shinchī Kakushin  
 Kang Senghui 康僧會  
 kanhua chan (J. kanna zen) 看話禪  
 kan wusuochu 看無所處  
 kanxin 看心  
 kechimyaku, see xuemo  
 Keron, see Huayan  
 Keikai 景戒  
 Kenninji 建仁寺  
 Kibi no Makibi 吉備真備  
 Kim Dabai 金大悲  
 Kim heshang 金和尚  
 kōan, see gong'an  
 Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師  
 Kōjō 光定  
 Kokan Shiren 虎關師鍊  
 koushi 口實

Kuiji 窺基  
 Kūkai 空海  
 kyōge betsuden, see jiaowai biezhuān  
 kyōzen itchi, see jiaochān yizhi  
 Kyunyō 均如  
  
 Lao An 老安  
 Laozi 老子  
 Lengqie jing kewen 楞伽經科文  
 Lengqie jing shu 楞伽經疏  
 Lengqie renfa zhi 楞伽人法志  
 Lengqie shizi ji 楞伽師資記  
 Lengqie shizi xuemo ji 楞伽師資血脈記  
 Lengqie zong 楞伽宗  
 Li Bai 李白  
 Li Fan 李範  
 Li Hua 李華  
 Li Jifu 李吉甫  
 Li Jiongxiu 李迴秀  
 Li Linfu 李林甫  
 Li Longji 李隆基  
 Li Renjun 李仁均  
 Li Shemin 李世民  
 Li Shen 李慎  
 Li Shizhi 李適之  
 Li Tongxuan 李通玄  
 Li Yi 李揖  
 Li Yu 李頤  
 Li Zhifei 李知非  
 Liang Wudi 梁武帝  
 Lidai fabao ji 歷代法寶記  
 liguan 理觀  
 Lingjue 靈覺  
 Lingnan 嶺南  
 lingquan 靈泉  
 Lingyi 靈一  
 Lingyinsi 靈隱寺  
 Lingzhu 靈著  
 linian 離念  
 Linji (Rinzai) 臨濟  
 Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄  
 Linjian lu 林間錄  
 linu 理入

Lishe 利涉  
 lishi 理事  
 Liu Wude 劉無得  
 Liu Xie 劉鋹  
 Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫  
 Liu Zhi 劉秩  
 Liu Zhicheng 劉志成  
 Liu Zongyuan 劉宗元  
 Longhuasi 龍華寺  
 Longmen 龍門  
 Longxingsi 龍興寺  
 Lu shan 廬山  
 Lu Zangyong 廬藏用  
 Lu Zhengquan 廬正權  
 Lu Zichan 廬子產  
 Lü Qiujun 閻丘均  
 Luofu shan 羅浮山  
 Lü zong 律宗  
 Luling 廬陵  
  
 Manzan Dōhaku 卮山道白  
 Mao shan 茅山  
 Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一  
 Meng shan 蒙山  
 Menzan Zuihō 面山瑞方  
 Miaoli yuancheng guan 妙理圓成觀  
 Mingkuang 明曠  
 Mingzan 明瓊  
 Mingzhuzhi 明珠之  
 Moheyan 摩訶衍  
 Mohezhi guan 摩訶止觀  
 mozhao chan 默照禪  
 Mujia 目加  
 Musō Soseki 夢窗疎石  
 Muyom 無染  
 Myōe 明惠  
  
 Namhak 南岳  
 Nanhua si 南華寺  
 Nanshan 南山  
 Nanyang 南陽  
 Nanyang Huizhong 南陽慧忠  
 Nanyue 南嶽  
 Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓

Nanyue Huisi 南嶽慧思  
 nanzong 南宗  
 nianfo 念佛  
 Nihon ryōiki 日本靈異記  
 Ningchasi 寧利寺  
 Niutou Farong 牛頭法融  
 Niutou Huizhong 牛頭慧忠  
 Niutou shan 牛頭山

Pan Shicheng 潘師正  
 panjiao 判教  
 Pei Cui 裴淮  
 Pei kuan 裴寬  
 Pei Mian 裴冕  
 Pei Xiu 裴休  
 Pōbun 法雲  
 Pōmil 梵日  
 Pōmnang 法朗  
 Pongam-sa 鳳嚴寺  
 Poxiang lun 破相論  
 Pozao Duo 破竈墮  
 Puji 普寂

qinggui 清規  
 Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思  
 Qisong 契嵩  
 Quan Deyu 權德輿  
 Quanzhen jiao 全真教

Renjian 仁儉  
 Rensu 仁素  
 Rinzaï, see Linji  
 Rizhao 日照  
 Rudao anxin famen 入道安心法門  
 Ruizong 睿宗  
 Rujing 如淨  
 rulai chan 如來禪  
 Ryōchū 良忠  
 Ryōhen 良偏

Saichō 最澄  
 Sanbōji 三寶寺  
 Sanlun 三論  
 Seiryōji 清涼寺

Sengcan 僧璨  
 Sengchou 僧稠  
 Sengfu 僧副  
 Sengna 僧那  
 Sengqie 僧伽  
 Sengquan 僧詮  
 Sengshi 僧實  
 Sengzhao 僧肇  
 Sennyūji 泉涌寺  
 Shandao 善導  
 Shanfu 善伏  
 Shangde 尚德  
 Shanguan Wan'er 上官婉兒  
 Shangqing 上清  
 Shanjia pai 山家派  
 Shanwai pai 山外派  
 Shanwuwei 善無畏  
 Shaolinsi 少林寺  
 Shaoshi shan 少室山  
 Shaozhou 韶州  
 Shelun 攝論  
 Shen Yue 沈約  
 Shenhui, *see* Heze Shenhui  
 Shenqing 神清  
 Shenxiu 神秀  
 Shenzhao 神照  
 Shenzi Congyi 神智從義  
 Shide 拾得  
 shijie 尸解  
 Shinchī Kakushin 心地覺心  
 Shingon (Zhenyan) 真言  
 Shinran 親鸞  
 Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷  
 Shizang 石藏  
 Shōjō 證定  
 Shōsōin 正倉院  
 Shōtoku taishi 聖德太子  
 shouyi 守一  
 shouyi buyi 守一不移  
 Shouzhi 守直  
 Shuangfeng shan 雙峰山  
 Shuanglinsi 雙林寺  
 Shunjō 俊仍  
 shuotong 說通

Sifen lǜ 四分律  
 Siheng 思恆  
 Sikong Benjing 司空本淨  
 Silsang san 實相山  
 Siming Zhili 四明知禮  
 Sinhaeng 信行  
 sinianchu 四念處  
 Sirui 思睿  
 Sizhou 泗州  
 Song Ding 宋鼎  
 Song gaoseng zhuan 宋高僧傳  
 Song Jing 宋經  
 Song Yun 宋雲  
 Song Zhiwen 宋之問  
 Song shan 嵩山  
 Songyuesi 嵩嶽寺  
 Sorhak san 雪岳山  
 Sōtō (Caodong) 曹洞  
 Ssanggye-sa 雙溪寺  
 Su Shi 蘇軾  
 Sumi-san 須弥山  
 Sunji 順之

Taihangshan 太行山  
 Taibo shan 太白山  
 Taiping 太平  
 Taiping guangji 太平廣記  
 Tai shan 泰山  
 Taishanghuang 太上皇  
 Taiyuan 太原  
 Taizong 太宗  
 Tanguang 曇光  
 Tanlin 曇林  
 Tanluan 曇鸞  
 Tanlun 曇倫  
 Tanqian 曇遷  
 Tanyi 曇一  
 Tanzhen 曇真  
 Tao Hongjing 陶弘景  
 Tendai, *see* Tiantai  
 Tengteng 騰騰  
 Tenkei Denson 天桂傳尊  
 Tianbao 天寶  
 Tiangongsi 天宮寺



Tianhuang Daowu 天皇道悟  
 Tianjusi 天居寺  
 Tiantai 天臺  
 Tiantai Deshao 天臺德韶  
 Tiantai shan 天臺山  
 Tōdaiji 東大寺  
 Tōfukuji 東福寺  
 Tohōn 道憲  
 Tongguang 同光  
 Tonghwa-sa 桐華寺  
 Tōui 道義

Ūich'ōn 義天  
 Ūisang 義湘

Waguansi 瓦棺寺  
 Wang Bi 王弼  
 Wang Ju 王琚  
 Wang Lingzhi 王靈知  
 Wang Shichong 王世充  
 Wang Wei 王維  
 Wang Xi 王錫  
 Wangmūng 亡名  
 Wangwu shan 王屋山  
 Wanhui 萬迴  
 Wei Chuhou 韋處厚  
 Wei Ding 韋玘  
 Wei furen 韋夫人  
 Wei Jiong 韋洞  
 Wei Qu 韋璩  
 Wei Xuānzhēn 韋玄貞  
 Wei Yuānsong 衛元嵩  
 Wei Yuānzhong 魏元忠  
 Wei Zhi 韋陟  
 Weiguan 韋貫  
 Weikan 惟寬  
 Wei que 惟慤  
 Weishi 尉氏  
 weishin 唯心  
 weixin guan 唯心觀  
 Wengang 文綱  
 Wengu 溫古  
 Wolun 臥輪  
 Wōnhyo 元曉

Wu Pingyi 武平一  
 Wu Sansi 武三思  
 Wu Zetian 武則天  
 Wu Zhao 武曌  
 Wuji 無跡  
 wujinzang 無盡藏  
 Wulao 武牢  
 Wuliangsi 無量寺  
 wunian 無念  
 wusheng 無生  
 wusheng fangbian 無生方便  
 Wutai shan 五臺山  
 Wuxiang (Chan master) 無相  
 wuxiang 無相  
 wuxiangjie 無相戒  
 wuxin 無心  
 Wuzhu 無住  
 wuzuo 無作

Xiancheng Huiming 仙城慧命  
 Xiangmo Zang 降魔藏  
 Xiangyan Zhixian 香嚴智閑  
 Xiangyu 香育  
 Xiangzhou 相州  
 Xiao Fu 小福  
 Xiaoliao 曉了  
 Xiaoran 儵然  
 Xie biqiu 協比丘  
 Xie Lingyun 謝靈運  
 xingru 行入  
 Xingshansi 興善寺  
 Xing Tangsi 興唐寺  
 Xinjin wenji 鐔津文集  
 xintong 心通  
 Xinxing (Daoxin) 信行  
 xinyao 心要  
 Xiu shi yanji 秀師言紀  
 Xiuxin yaolun 修心要論  
 xiwang xiuxin zong 息妄修心宗  
 Xu gaoseng zhuan 續高僧傳  
 Xuanlang 玄朗  
 Xuanshi 宣什  
 Xuanshuang 玄爽  
 Xuanzang 玄奘

- Xuanze 玄蹟  
 Xuanzong 玄宗  
 Xue Huaiyi 薛懷義  
*xuemo* 血脈  
  
 Yan Tingzhi 嚴挺之  
 Yang Bocheng 陽伯成  
 Yang Xuanzhi 楊銜之  
 Yangshan Huiji 仰山慧寂  
 Yanguan Qi'an 鹽官齋安  
 Yangzhou 揚州  
 Yao Chong 姚崇  
 Yifu 義福  
 Yijing 義淨  
 Yijing 易經  
 Yikong (Gikū) 義空  
 Yin Chong 尹崇  
 Yingtian Shenlong 應天神龍  
 Yinzong 印宗  
 Yiwan 義琬  
*yixin chuanxin* 以心傳心  
 Yixing 一行  
*yixing sanmei* 一行三昧  
*yong* 用  
 Yongjia Xuanjue 永嘉玄覺  
 Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽  
 Yongningsi 永寧寺  
 Yongtai 永泰  
 Yongtaisi 永泰寺  
 Yōsai 栄西 (var. Eisai)  
 Yuan chanshi 緣禪師  
 Yuanchong 元崇  
 Yuanguan 元觀  
 Yuangui 元珪  
 Yuantong 圓同  
*yulu* 語錄  
 Yunhuasi 雲化寺  
 Yunyan Tansheng 雲巖曇晟  
 Yuquansi 玉泉寺  
  
 Zanning 贊寧  
 Zenkairon 禪戒論  
  
 Zhang Changzong 張昌宗  
 Zhang Jiuling 張九齡  
 Zhang Jun 張筠  
 Zhang Yizhi 張易之  
 Zhang Mingzhao 張明照  
 Zhang Wanfu 張萬福  
 Zhang Yue 張說  
 Zhanran 湛然  
*zhengfa yanzang* (J. *shōbōgenzō*) 正法眼藏  
 Zhenliang 真亮  
*zhennu* 真如  
 Zhenyan (Shingon) 真言  
 Zhibao 智寶  
 Zhicheng 志誠  
 Zhida 智達  
 Zhi Daolin 支道林  
 Zhide (K. Chidōk) 智德  
 Zhifeng 智封  
*zhiguan* 止觀  
*zhihui* 智慧  
 Zhikai 智錯  
 Zhikong 志空  
 Zhilang 智朗  
 Zhimin 智敏  
 Zhipan 志磐  
 Zhiru 智如  
 Zhishen 智說  
 Zhisheng 智昇  
*zhishi wenyi* 指事問義  
 Zhiyan (Huayan) 智嚴  
 Zhiyan (Niutou) 智巖  
 Zhiyi 智顗  
*zhongguan* 中觀  
 Zhongnan shan 終南山  
*zhongshu ling* 中書令  
*zhongshu sheren* 中書舍人  
 Zhu Xi 朱熹  
 Zhuangzi 莊子  
 Zishengsi 資聖寺  
*zongtong* 宗通  
*zuochan* (J. *zazen*) 坐禪

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