Encounter Dialogue and the Transformation of the Spiritual Path in Chinese Ch'an

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Introduction

The Rejection of the Path in Chinese Buddhism

Instead of discussing some variant of the Buddhist notion of the mārga or spiritual path, I will consider a case involving the rejection, or at the very least a radical reworking, of the concept of mārga itself. The emergence in medieval China of the Ch'an school, with its distinctive style of spontaneous "encounter dialogue" between masters and students, represents just such a situation: the appearance of Ch'an and its development into a major school signals a major transformation in Chinese Buddhism—one that appears to have been based in part on a shift away from a primarily mārga-based perspective. Indeed, the practice of encounter dialogue derived much of its creative energy from the iconoclastic rejection of traditional Buddhist formulations of the spiritual path, and the incredible popularity of the Ch'an methodology meant, at least in part, a rejection of the concept of mārga itself.

The originally Indian concept of mārga was never completely uprooted from Chinese soil, and it is not my intent to argue that Chinese Buddhism underwent some sudden and total revolution in consciousness, some Foucauldian epistemological shift, at one particular point in time. Rather, the emergence of Ch'an implies a gradual metamorphosis in the Chinese religious and intellectual consciousness, and the mārga and encounter models of spiritual training, if I may use those terms, were reciprocally engaged in a mutually interactive evolution over a period of several centuries.

There are still many unresolved historical issues pertaining to the emergence of the classical style of Ch'an practice, which as much as possible will be relegated to some later forum. The texts of Ch'an

encounter dialogue, as they exist today, are not journalistic accounts of actual events, although centuries of Chinese readers and practitioners have assumed that they are. Rather, they are literary re-creations of how the enlightened masters of the past must have spoken and acted. Although the narrative realism of many of the accounts about Ma-tsu, Pai-chang, and other famous masters should not be taken as evidence of historical accuracy, it is my current hypothesis that the style of dialogue represented in woodblock text was created in imitation of actual practice, and that the popularity of the printed texts eventually informed actual oral practice.

At present, the use of Ch'an stories within the context of monastic training during the T'ang is not well understood. Are we to believe that the T'ang masters actually functioned according to the style of spontaneous creativity depicted in the records? Or should we read the stories as firmly bounded by the precisely defined ritual contexts of the Sung, when the spontaneity and intuitive acumen of Ma-tsu and his associates and successors was a firmly accepted myth? My current feeling is that the "golden age" of the T'ang existed only in the mythic consciousness of later times, but this does not in any way eliminate the power of the images involved. Because of the very nature of time in the Chinese cultural context, the act of retrospective attribution was more than a powerful force within the Ch'an tradition; the process of re-creation and communion with the sages of the past was absolutely fundamental to the process of Ch'an spiritual endeavor.

I am not concerned here with the evolution of this oral practice or with its progressive creation (and re-creation) in written texts. Instead, I would like to focus on the theoretical implications of the bimodality between the encounter and mārga models in Chinese Buddhism. This discussion will have important implications for understanding the social, intellectual, and religious changes that mark what we now tend to call the "T'ang-Sung transition," that is, the period from roughly 750 to 1350 C.E. It may also complement the other discussions in this volume by showing some of the potential ramifications of themes deriving from the mārga concept, as well as the possibilities for approaches to Buddhism created in counterpoint, if not outright opposition, to the idea of the spiritual path itself.

"Encounter dialogue"[1] refers to the spontaneous repartee that is said to take place between master and student in the process of Ch'an training. This type of communication includes both verbal and physical exchanges that are often posed in the form of sincere but misguided questions from Ch'an trainees and perplexing, even enigmatic, responses from the masters. Instead of students, the questioners are sometimes monks with high monastic positions, specialists in Buddhist academics, or devotees of particular forms of religious devotion, all of

whom are gleefully lampooned and often depicted as eventually giving up their mistaken preoccupations with the trappings of Buddhism in favor of true spiritual endeavor. And instead of the usual sort of master —that is, the seasoned religieux who administers a training center for young trainees—we often find exotic characters of unorthodox behavior who engage more traditional masters as equals and, more often than not, tweak the tendencies of the latter toward stuffiness and formulaic responses.

This is by no means a complete description of encounter dialogue, but it should suffice as a working definition.² The general understanding of modern scholarship is that this form of practice came to the fore with the Hung-chou school of Ma-tsu Tao-i (709–788). Certainly, Ma-tsu's school does represent a new form of Ch'an developing in a newly expanding area of the provincial South, and the extent to which his first- and second-generation successors blanketed what was then Chiang-hsi nan-tao (roughly, modern Kiangsi) is truly remarkable.³ However, as I have shown elsewhere, the antecedents of encounter dialogue are apparent earlier in the Ch'an tradition.⁴ In addition, my more recent research into the documents surrounding Ma-tsu and the Hung-chou school has yielded the preliminary suspicion that encounter-dialogue material may not have appeared as a genre of Ch'an literature until sometime during the tenth century. For the present purposes I will place only the broadest of limits on the emergence of this important style of Ch'an practice.

Locating an Important Development

Yanagida Seizan's landmark study of the historical works of early Ch'an Buddhism,⁵ which was published just over twenty years ago, opens with the description of his research agenda as aimed at filling in a gap between the *Hsü kao-seng chuan* (Continued Lives of Eminent Monks; hereafter *HKSC*), written by Tao-hsüan in 645 and augmented until his death in 667, and the *Sung kao-seng chuan* (Lives of Eminent Monks [Compiled during the] Sung; hereafter *SKSC*), completed by Tsan-ning in 988. The first of these texts contains biographical entries on Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o, and Tao-hsin as well as other scattered information, all of which is crucial for our understanding of the early phases of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism, but which does not in any sense dominate Tao-hsüan's text as a whole. By the time the *SKSC* was written, however, the Ch'an school had become perhaps the single most important force in Chinese Buddhism, so that the number of Ch'an masters introduced in this text far exceeds that of any other category of monk.⁶ Clearly, a major sea change had taken place in Chinese Buddhism, one that Professor Yanagida navigated with stunning expertise in his 1967 magnum opus. But since our purpose here is slightly different from Pro-

fessor Yanagida's, a set of texts taken from the Chinese Buddhist meditation tradition itself will better serve as comparative reference points for the emergence of the classical Ch'an approach to religious training.

The first of these reference points is actually a set of texts: the prodigious output on the subject by the great T'ien-t'ai Chih-i (538–597) and his amanuensis Kuan-ting. The *Tz'u-ti ch'an-men* (Graduated Teaching of Meditation), *Mo-ho chih-kuan* (Great Concentration and Insight), and other shorter works by Chih-i constitute an encyclopedic repository of practical instructions and analyses regarding meditation. Although the T'ien-t'ai school suffered a temporary eclipse after the fall of Chih-i's patron Sui dynasty, his works in many ways represent both the font of knowledge and the springboard for the formation of Ch'an, both the wellspring from which Ch'an drew its sustenance and the template against which it rebelled.[7]

The complementary bracket to Chih-i's works is the *Tsu-t'ang chi* (Anthology of the Patriarchal Hall; hereafter *TTC*), the oldest of the mature and comprehensive "transmission of the lamp" texts to survive in complete form. Compiled in 952 by two obscure figures during the Five Dynasties period in what is now Fukien, the *TTC* survives only in a crude xylograph edition prepared as a supplement to the Korean canon. Organized according to the religious genealogy of Ch'an, the *TTC* traces the transmission of Ch'an from the Seven Buddhas of the past through a series of Indian and Chinese patriarchs and their successors, right down to earlier contemporaries of the compilers.

In contrast to the entries in the *HKSC* and *SKSC,* only rarely does the *TTC* attempt to create complete hagiographical portraits of its subjects. This is especially true for the more recent masters, for whom the legacy of earlier works is absent and about whom the editorial perspective of the compilers is most obvious; as in literary anthologies, only the most rudimentary of background information is given. The Ch'an masters included in the *TTC* are introduced primarily—it is almost fair to say solely—on the basis of their participation in memorable encounter-dialogue exchanges. In an editorial decision that was probably quite natural but extremely significant, it is left to the reader to visualize the contexts of those exchanges.[8]

Chih-i's works were in many ways the culmination of a long tradition of textual erudition and practical training. His synthesis is unique but could not have been accomplished without long years of study in the *Ta chih-tu lun* (Great Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom; *Mahāprajñā-pāramitopadeśa*) and training under the meditation master Hui-ssu. The *TTC,* in contrast, was but one of a long series of Ch'an "transmission of the lamp" texts, a genre that begins with two products of the Northern school in the second decade of the eighth century, climaxes with the appearance of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (Records of the Transmission of

the Lamp [Compiled during the] Ching-te [Period]; hereafter *CTL*) in 1004, and continues with a succession of works written during the Sung, Yüan, and Ming dynasties. The *TTC* is the oldest such text still extant to be so intensely devoted to the transcription of encounter dialogue.

The extreme contrast between the reference texts—namely, Chih-i's writings (chiefly the *Tz'u-ti ch'an-men* and the *Mo-ho chih-kuan*) and the *TTC*—is intentional; they have been chosen for heuristic purposes. My first task will be to summarize the salient characteristics of the approaches to spiritual training and of the path to liberation implicit in these texts, that is, the Chinese mārga paradigm implicit in Chih-i's writings and the encounter-dialogue model revealed in the *TTC*. For some aspects of encounter-dialogue practice I will refer to a seminal Ch'an text known as the *Pao-lin chuan* (Transmission from Pao-lin [ssu]; hereafter *PLC*), written in 801 C.E., which is the earliest extant product of the Hung-chou school of Ma-tsu. I will conclude with some general remarks on the historical and theoretical implications of the emergence of encounter dialogue, both in terms of the Buddhist tradition as a whole and for the role of Ch'an in the transformation of medieval Chinese society.

The Conception of the Path in the Meditation Manuals of Chih-i

Progressive and Hierarchical

The traditional paradigm implicitly predicated by the Ch'an school to pre- or non-Ch'an schools of traditional Chinese Buddhism was based on the Indian Mahāyāna conception of the mārga or spiritual path. This path is traversed by each sentient being from the initial moment of inspiration to achieve enlightenment on behalf of all other sentient beings *(bodhicitta),* through potentially countless lives of spiritual discipline and compassionate service, to a theoretical culmination in the attainment of buddhahood. Indian texts—and their Chinese translations—define explicit stages along this path with great precision and detail; meditation practices are defined and assigned according to specific dispositional problems that occur at different stages, with the appropriate remedies assigned by a teacher who has progressed farther along the path than the student. The temporal extent of this paradigm can only be described as monumental and grandiose.

The first and most basic achievement of Chih-i and his master Hui-ssu in the field of meditation theory was the organization of the extensive variety of Buddhist meditation techniques into a rationalized system.[9] Chih-i's basic formulation of the "graduated meditation"

(chien-tz'u chih-kuan) occurs in the *Tz'u-ti ch'an-men,* which was tran-
scribed from lectures probably given around 571 at Wa-kuan ssu in
Chin-ling.[10] Here occurs Chih-i's first formulation of what came to be
called the twenty-five expedient means *(erh-shih-wu fang-pien),* which
define the prerequisites of meditation practice. Even more important,
this work contains the sequential explanation of the following list of
techniques:

Four dhyānas *(ssu-ch'an)*
Four unlimited states of mind *(ssu wu-liang hsin)* or pure abodes (Skt.
    brahma-vihāra)
Four formless dhyānas *(ssu wu-se ting)*
Six wondrous teachings *(liu miao-men)*
Sixteen excellent dharmas *(shih-liu t'e-sheng fa)*
Three penetrative illuminations *(san t'ung-ming)*
Nine contemplations *(chiu hsiang)* of physical impurity
Eight remembrances *(pa nien)* of the Buddha, Dharma, Saṃgha,
    breathing, etc.
Ten contemplations *(shih hsiang)* of impermanence, suffering, the lack
    of a self, etc.
Eight renunciations *(pa pei-she),* more often known as the eight eman-
    cipations *(pa chieh-t'o)*
Eight excellences *(pa sheng-ch'u)* or distinctions in the treatment of
    craving by contemplating various aspects of form in this world
Ten totality-spheres *(shih i-ch'ieh ch'u)* of earth, water, fire, wind, etc.
Nine successive dhyānas *(chiu tz'u-ti ting),* the ability to pass through
    each stage of dhyāna without any extraneous intervening thoughts
Samādhi of the lion's charge *(shih-tzu fen-hsun san-mei),* which allows
    one to enter rapidly into an uninterrupted state of concentration
Samādhi of transcendence *(chao-yüeh san-mei),* the ability to proceed
    directly from normal consciousness to *nirodha-samāpatti* and back
    again without any intervening stages[11]

The order of the practices listed in the *Tz'u-ti ch'an-men* is derived in
part from passages in the *Ta chih-tu lun* and, ultimately, the *Great Perfec-
tion of Wisdom Sūtra,* but the overall achievement is Chih-i's. The com-
prehensive approach taken by Chih-i in this work goes beyond a simple
ranking of individual techniques, however. As Andō Toshio writes:

[The *Tz'u-ti ch'an-men*] took a variety of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna medita-
tion techniques that had been given nothing more than a sequential rank-
ing ever since the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra* and distinguished them on
the basis of their being tainted or untainted, worldly in purpose or condu-
cive to emancipation, and whether they emphasized phenomena or abso-
lute principles, etc. [Chih-i] grasped the essential character of each prac-

tice and validated the existence of every variety of meditation technique on
the basis of research into a great number of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna
scriptures. On the basis of this, Hīnayāna meditation techniques were pos-
itively correlated with the Mahāyāna techniques. . . . Such a systematic
classification of the graduated practice was truly unprecedented.[12]

Of course, the scope of Chih-i's work is such that no one practitioner
could hope to master all the methods described. The important point is
that Chih-i achieved a new synthesis of the Buddhist spiritual path, a
schematization which suggests that any single meditation practice is
part of a larger spiritual quest. This prioritization of meditation tech-
nique is similar in some ways to the "doctrinal taxonomies" *(p'an-chiao)*
created by Chih-i and others. Although other masters might quibble
over the details, Chih-i thus established the basic template of the Chi-
nese mārga paradigm.

As defined by Chih-i, the spiritual path is inherently hierarchical,
even cartographic, in its conception. Although not a pyramidal struc-
ture, it is highly segmented and articulated vertically, a detailed map of
the pathway to emancipation. Paralleling the Indian understanding of
this world as a realm of saṃsāra, this Chinese explication of the path
explicitly categorizes the ranks of sentient beings, their innate abilities,
their dispositional tendencies or problems, and the meditation tech-
niques appropriate to their situations. Because one is always inferior to
some others on the path, spiritual practice means following the guid-
ance of one's superiors; and because these dispositional problems fre-
quently, if not always, involve some function of ignorance, great impor-
tance is given to the teacher's instructions.[13]

Like the Indian conception of the path from which it is derived, Chih-
i's formulation is based on a grandiose and abstract conception of time
—grandiose, in that it assumes extraordinarily long periods of time for
the cultivation of positive spiritual virtues, and abstract, in that this vast
temporal span is not linked to any historical framework and its truths
are applicable universally. Chih-i's path is necessarily progressive and
intrinsically gradualistic. Students move gradually up a ladder of
stages, a progressive structure that goes back to the stages of dhyāna in
the primitive and sectarian periods of Indian Buddhism. Chih-i's medi-
tation manuals discuss real developments, even if in the abstract, and
assume the Buddhist notion of saṃsāra, the endless round of rebirth.
Against this background the individual practitioner also becomes an
abstract, almost hypothetical, agent.

Unipolar and Radial

Chih-i's greatest work on meditation, the *Mo-ho chih-kuan,* was recorded
from lectures given at Yü-ch'üan ssu in Ching-chou in 594, just two and
a half years before his death. Whereas the *Tz'u-ti ch'an-men* may be

thought of as a self-study project undertaken after departing from Hui-ssu's side, the *Mo-ho chih-kuan* is much more intimately based on Chih-i's own religious experience—or at the very least on his later intellectual and spiritual development.

Chih-i's approach in the *Mo-ho chih-kuan* differs from that of the *Tzu-ti ch'an-men* in significant ways, although the same attention to comprehensive structure obtains. Practice of the "perfect and sudden meditation" *(yüan-tun chih-kuan)* explained within this work is organized into three stages:

1. The twenty-five expedient means, preparatory moral and procedural considerations drawn almost entirely from the *Tz'u-ti ch'an-men;*
2. The four types of samādhi, from which the practitioner selects the one most appropriate to his/her own needs and interests, as a more advanced but still preliminary stage;
3. The ten realms *(shih ching)* and ten modes of contemplation *(shih-sheng kuan-fa),* which alone constitute true contemplation.[14]

Even granting this overall structure, the most significant aspect of the *Mo-ho chih-kuan*'s system of perfect and sudden meditation is the allowance made for spontaneous, even instantaneous, freedom in the application of different meditation techniques.

Although in the *Tz'u-ti ch'an-men* Chih-i did not insist that practitioners master each of the listed techniques in serial order, the emphasis of that text was unmistakably on the overall contour of the spiritual agenda. In a text written slightly later, the *Liu miao-men* (Six Wondrous Teachings), Chih-i defines what is generally called the "indeterminate meditation" *(pu-ting chih-kuan).*[15] According to Chih-i, the practitioner can choose any technique at any given moment on the basis of individual needs and circumstances. Traditional meditation theory posited that certain techniques were appropriate responses to different problems, but never before, as far as I am aware, were the techniques to be chosen and applied in such an immediate, short-term framework. In addition, traditional meditation theory required that the student perform techniques chosen for him by an accomplished master, whereas in Chih-i's system this responsibility was shifted to the student.

In the *Mo-ho chih-kuan*'s explication of the perfect and sudden meditation, this allowance for momentary, instantaneous spontaneity in the application of different meditation techniques is incorporated into the very heart of the system. The beginning point of that system is contemplation of the first of the ten realms, the realm of cognitive reality or, more literally, the realm of the skandhas, *āyatanas,* and *dhātus (yin-ju-chieh ching).* This is nothing less than one's complete personal system of

physical form, sensory capabilities, mental activities, and realms of sensory perception. This realm is present during every moment of contemplation—indeed, during every moment of sentient existence. Although the entire human cognitive apparatus is included in this category, Chih-i indicates that one's meditation should begin with concentration on the mind itself: "If you wish to practice contemplative investigation [of reality] you must cut off the source [of your illusions], just as in moxabustion therapy you must find the [appropriate physical] point."[16] The goal of this inspection of the mind is the comprehension of the first mode of contemplation, the contemplation of the inconceivable realm *(kuan pu-k'o-ssu-i ching)*.

Chih-i's elaborate explanation of the inconceivable realm is summarized by Leon Hurvitz; there is no need to expand on that summary here. What is significant at present is not Chih-i's description of the ultimate realization, but the substantial allowances he makes for those who do not achieve that realization immediately. Although the first of the ten realms is present in every moment of consciousness, the others occur adventitiously, based on the karmic propensities of the individual. In other words, the very effort of intense contemplation may agitate the *kleśas* (afflictions or illusions), generating various feelings and desires that would not occur during normal consciousness. Such agitation may lead to physical illness or to awareness of former events' karmic implications, both of which occurred during Hui-ssu's course of practice, or even to apparitions, both fearful and enticing, tempting the practitioner away from his practice, as supposedly happened to Chih-i.[17] Due to the practice of different states of dhyāna in previous lives, the practitioner may now experience any number of the concomitants of those states.

In other words, the latter nine realms are all manifestations of the impediments associated with meditation. They may occur in any order or combination and continue for any length of time. As they occur they are to be made objects of contemplation. Their nonarising would indicate the relative aptitude of the practitioner for the ultimate goal.

The ten modes of contemplation, in contrast, are a preconceived sequence of practices aimed at ensuring achievement of ultimate enlightenment. The goal of the entire system is success in the first mode, that of the contemplation of the inconceivable realm, but failing this at the outset, the practitioner is to avail himself of each successive mode until he achieves success. Thus he renews his dedication to the bodhisattva ideal, reposes his mind in the *dharmatā*, frees himself of attachments, distinguishes between that which hinders and that which aids his progress, and so on (these are a few of the ten modes), to the extent necessary and in the appropriate order.

The fundamental stance of the practitioner in this type of endeavor is one of autonomy and spontaneity: fixing his aspirations firmly on the

highest goal, he draws from his broad knowledge of meditation techniques whatever means are appropriate to bring him nearer to success. As Kuan-ting writes in his introduction to the *Mo-ho chih-kuan:*

In the Perfect and Sudden [Meditation], from the first one focuses *(yüan)* on the True Characteristic, the realms [all being] the Middle, there being nothing that is not True. One fixes one's focus on the *dharmadhātu;* one is completely mindful of the *dharmadhātu*. Of all the forms and fragrances (i.e., all reality) there is not a single bit that is not the Middle Path. One's own realm, the realms of the Buddhas, and the realms of sentient beings are also similarly [the Middle Path]. The skandhas and *āyatanas* are all "such-like" and without suffering that can be rejected. The illusions of ignorance are enlightenment and without any accumulation that can be eradicated. . . . Saṃsāra is nirvāṇa, with no extinction that can be realized. . . . The serenity of the *dharmatā (fa-hsing)* is called concentration *(chih, śamatha)*. Serene yet permanently reflecting is called insight *(kuan, vipaśyanā)*. Although the terms "beginning" and "later" are used there are no dualities, no distinctions. This is called the Perfect and Sudden Meditation *(yüan-tun chih-kuan)*.[18]

There is an undeniably gradualistic cast to the design of the perfect and sudden meditation, in the self-evident sense that achievement of the goal requires the expenditure of effort in a prescribed set of contemplations. Nevertheless, the distinction between this and manifestly gradualistic systems such as that of the *Tz'u-ti ch'an-men* is clear: here one is not eradicating attachments, illusions, and the like in order to gain greater and greater individual perfection, but seeking for the one moment of realization that will obviate the entire framework of one's conceptualized ignorance. Hallucinations, recurrent swells of feeling, mental agitation, and so on are obstacles to success, but not in the sense that they must be eliminated or forcibly suppressed. Since one's illusions are fundamentally no different from enlightenment, they become objects of one's contemplation; one seeks to understand and not be unduly moved by them rather than to annihilate them.

What additional inferences can we now make about Chih-i's formulation of the path? First, there is a fundamental contradiction inherent in the concept of the gradual path: even though the overall process may be described as a progressive development, actual performance of the many exercises involved requires that the practitioner focus exclusively on the moment, the immediate present. This contradiction is, I believe, inherent in the earliest Indian formulations of the spiritual path, in which the stages of dhyāna are perceived as a vertical progression preparatory to but not sufficient for a lateral leap into a moment of prajñā. Of course, many Chinese were skeptical of the implicit requirement to continue spiritual training for lifetime after lifetime, and this awareness

may have abetted Chih-i's description of the highest form of meditation as instantaneously malleable.

In addition, Chih-i's formulation of the path may harbor within its most basic structure an admission of its own inadequacy and a prescription for the articulation of an alternate paradigm. The wider implication of these qualifications is that, although the elaboration of the encounter model of spiritual training was a unique innovation of Chinese Ch'an, the very construction of earlier Buddhist models of the path virtually necessitated that some such dialectically superior paradigm be enunciated. Thus it is not merely adventitious that the sudden/gradual distinction arose in the Ch'an school, nor that that distinction embodied value-laden and polemic judgments similar to the Mahāyāna/Hīnayāna dichotomy. Such distinctions were inherent to the Buddhist conception of the path, at least as received in China, from its earliest stages.

Second, Chih-i's description of the perfect and sudden meditation highlights the peculiar role of the individual practitioner in his system. The focus of Chih-i's system was on spiritually gifted individuals. It was individual human beings, whether trainees, bhikṣus, bodhisattvas, or buddhas, who performed the practices necessary to propel them upward along the path.

I find it significant that these individual people are unnamed. The practitioner who navigates Chih-i's path is anonymous, and we never hear examples drawn from Chih-i's experience as a meditation instructor. The practitioner is a piece on the playing board, so to speak, who must make his or her own decisions on the basis of universal rules, rather than on inferences drawn from specific cases (as in the Indian literature) or through the contemplation of anecdotes intended not simply to instruct but to propel the listener or reader past the current obstacle (as in later Ch'an literature). Indeed, in Chih-i's system the present moment on which the practitioner is to concentrate is an abstraction constructed out of psychological categories and metaphysical principles. Judging in part from a draft paper by Daniel Stevenson, Chih-i's criticisms of contemporary meditation masters were largely based on their identification with individual approaches to meditation—that is, on their refusal to adopt a systematic approach to Buddhist meditation. He may also have resented them because they refused to subordinate their identities to the path as a whole, and thus become anonymous.

Perhaps it is only a result of the "dark age" that the T'ien-t'ai school entered after the fall of the Sui, but I get the impression that all the practitioners surrounding Chih-i were dressed in the invisible black of Nō stage assistants, like supporting characters attendant to the grand theater of his lectures. Indeed, his disciples are known chiefly for their service to him. Even the biography of the scribe Kuan-ting, who must have played a large role in the compilation and editing of Chih-i's writ-

ings, is largely unknown. The same situation prevails in Chih-i's theoretical descriptions of the path: the theoretician is glorified and the actual practitioner is reduced to a virtual cipher.

Third, implicit in the hierarchical structure and the focus on gifted if anonymous individual practitioners is the exaltation of the teacher or guru. In traditional meditation texts, the master is specifically given the responsibility for intuiting the student's dispositional tendencies and assigning the appropriate meditation technique or sequence of techniques.[19] Indian texts set out rules and guidelines for the master's input that make his role as instructor to students seem somewhat mechanical and automatic. Perhaps this is the source of Chih-i's tendency to deal with students' problems in the abstract: in traditional meditation theory, students have the autonomy to seek different teachers, but they themselves play only a secondary role in the cultural expression of the religion. To put it differently, practitioners are virtually invisible within the system until they achieve the status of master or teacher.

Of course, the master's training gives him special insight into Buddhist doctrine, and it is this facet of the Buddhist monk's identity that was most highly valued in the Chinese tradition. In China the teacher is often perceived as the great expounder, the theoretician, either delivering the authoritative interpretation of the text or generating brilliant theories for the consumption of lay and ordained followers.[20] These great teachers were, in effect, independent entities due to their perceived status as figures who towered over the rest of the religious community (this was, at least, a favored descriptive). Like lesser buddhas, they radiated their teachings outward and downward to their spiritual inferiors. There was competition among teachers for this role of ascendency and cooperation among those who recognized themselves to be at similar spiritual levels (usually considered out of humility to be uniformly low relative to the buddhas), but the radial and unipolar model held even in these situations.

Chih-i was, of course, the ultimate example of such an exalted teacher: his brilliance was transcribed in roll after roll of abstruse treatises and commentaries, he lectured to large audiences of monks and laypeople, and he ministered to princes and courtiers. Although his instructions on meditation are magnificent, it is simply not known how he taught his own students. Whereas traditional meditation texts place great emphasis on the role of the instructor in analyzing the student's temperament and assigning techniques to him, the role of the teacher is recognized but not emphasized so explicitly by Chih-i.

Mechanistic, Artisanal, and Elitist

I suspect that meditation practice in China prior to the advent of the Ch'an school was based primarily on the paradigm of Chih-i's gradu-

ated system. This is not to say that all meditators used his texts, nor that they restricted themselves to the techniques he described or the way he described them. Although his work was very influential, we have no means of tabulating the statistics that would be implied by such assertions. Rather, Chih-i's work was the dominant example of the kind of religious paradigm presupposed and superseded by the Ch'an school (according to its own perspective) in its creation of a "transmission outside the teachings."

In the most positive sense, meditation practice according to Chih-i's writings was the most subtle of crafts, a spiritual trade learned through self-effort by gifted students practicing predetermined techniques. But the mārga paradigm was so well elaborated in Indian texts that it often seemed to the Chinese to be mechanistic in its application and not a little overwhelming in its requirements. Authority was granted to the meditation instructor, but the relationship between instructor and trainee was mechanistic in that the master used preestablished rules to select among known meditation techniques on the basis of the student's dispositional problems. In Chinese biographies, however, individual masters appear devoted to a certain style or interpretation of religious practice. In cases where their training is described, the identities of their teachers is often unclear. And in accord with the invisibility of practitioners who are not (yet) teachers, in many cases their training is hardly mentioned and never described in any depth or detail. (In this the meditation master Seng-ch'ou [480–560] of the Northern Ch'i is much more representative than Chih-i.)[21]

As a spiritual craft, the practice of meditation as conceived by Chih-i was intrinsically elitist, being limited solely to the spiritually advanced. Essentially, it was open only to monks and others who had given up all family ties. This was in part due to the great dedication of time and energy involved, but it was also presumed that those with great moral impediments, such as a large store of negative karma from past lives, simply could not participate in the process described. Hence monks and the occasional layperson with the capacity for dedication to a long-term process of self-transformation were the intended audience of Chih-i's meditation texts.

The Encounter Paradigm as Manifested in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*

A Comprehensive, Reiterative Genealogical Structure

The *Tsu-t'ang chi (TTC)* was compiled in 952 by two students of Ching-hsiu Wen-t'eng, who provided a preface for the work. Although the two students are otherwise unknown, Wen-t'eng himself was the author of a series of verses for each of the Indian and Chinese patriarchs from

Kāśyapa to Hui-neng, and for a few other major figures up to Shih-t'ou and Ma-tsu. In addition to being incorporated into the *TTC,* Wen-t'eng's verses were discovered as a separate text among the finds from Tun-huang.[22] The *TTC* itself, though, does not occur at Tun-huang, nor was it widely circulated in China, where it seems to have merited only a reference or two in the annotation of Ch'an scholiasts. Fortunately, woodblocks for the text were carved in 1245 as a supplement to the Korean canon; since the text itself was not printed along with the canon, presumably due to its supplementary status, it was only in the twentieth century that the existence of the *TTC* became known.

Although the *TTC* is markedly different in character from the writings of T'ien-t'ai Chih-i, its high degree of structural integrity as a single text is at least as striking as the drive toward conceptual systematization apparent in Chih-i's writings. The *TTC* traces the "transmission of the lamp" of Buddhist enlightenment from the Seven Buddhas of the past through a series of Indian and Chinese patriarchs, thus connecting the historical present (i.e., tenth-century southeastern China) with its spiritual roots in a most comprehensive and compelling fashion. More specifically, the structure of the *TTC* is as follows:

1. The Seven Buddhas of the past: each buddha is identified by very brief name and family information, followed by a transmission verse for each (written by Wen-t'eng).
2. The historical Buddha: Śākyamuni receives a long entry, probably summarized from an earlier Ch'an text, the *Pao-lin chuan* (Transmission from Pao-lin [ssu], or *PLC*), but deriving from various canonical sources. The customary verse is included.
3. The twenty-eight Indian patriarchs from Kāśyapa to Bodhidharma: these sections are also drawn from the *PLC,* although they are abbreviated somewhat. Transmission verses are included.
4. The six Chinese patriarchs from Bodhidharma to Hui-neng: the verses for these patriarchs first appeared in the *Platform Sūtra.* (Bodhidharma receives only one *TTC* entry, of course.)
5. Eight generations of successors of Ch'ing-yüan Hsing-ssu through Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien (700–790): this line of succession devolves to Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un and after him to Ching-hsiu Wen-t'eng; hence it is the lineage of the compilers of the *TTC.*
6. Seven generations of successors of Nan-yüeh Huai-jang through Ma-tsu Tao-i (709–788): this line of succession includes Lin-chi I-hsüan. The *TTC* adds transmission verses for several figures (in both this and the previous category) not included in Wen-t'eng's separate text.

As indicated by the references to the *PLC*—an extremely important work that will come up again later—the *TTC* was not the first text to

utilize this comprehensive genealogical structure. Nor was the *TTC*'s version of the tradition history of Ch'an destined to become orthodox; this status was accorded the presentation found in the *CTL,* a text submitted to the imperial Sung court in 1004. The *TTC* is used here because it represents the earliest extant version of this comprehensive vision.

Whereas Chih-i's system involves a graduated set of practices set in a grandiose cosmological context, the structured nature of the *TTC* derives from a sequence of biographies, or at least biographical vignettes. This text was not written for practitioners who are conceived of as game pieces moving across a playing board and performing consciously selected sequences of spiritual exercises. In fact, the *TTC* may not have been written for living practitioners at all, for it describes a community of spiritual masters of the near and distant past. It was no doubt written for living aspirants to use as a guide to spiritual cultivation, but in form, at least—and this is an important qualification—the *TTC* is dedicated to the past. Here is a conception of time that is fundamentally different from that of the Indianesque framework of Chih-i's writings.

Yet it would not be fair to say that the *TTC* looks backward to the past. Rather, like many other works of Chinese literature, it acknowledges the supreme greatness of figures of antiquity. The Seven Buddhas of the past are concessions to the infinite regression of human history; the real beginning of this text (as, perhaps, of all Buddhist scriptures) is the historical Buddha Śākyamuni. The biography of Śākyamuni is the most complete hagiographical portrait in the *TTC,* and in many ways it is the root metaphor of the enlightened sage.

Although the Ch'an biography of the Buddha is an intriguing subject,[23] Śākyamuni represents only the beginning node of an interconnected chain of sages. By virtue of the transmission or certification of enlightenment that each patriarch bestows on his successor, each one of the subsequent Indian and Chinese sages is Śākyamuni's spiritual equal. This is a purportedly historical list, yet its impact is distinctly ahistorical: the transmission is perfect, each successor is the spiritual equivalent of his predecessor, and the distinctions of synchronic time are eliminated. Time is flattened into a single continuous, participatory moment—not a present moment, but a continuous expression of a golden moment of the past, whether from the hoary ancient age or from the poignant memory of one's recently departed master.

The primary feature of this temporal continuity is its participatory nature: to receive certification of enlightenment from a Ch'an master is to join the succession of patriarchs and enter into dynamic communion with the sages of ancient times. The primary goal of this training is not an exalted state of spiritual attainment but reenactment of the archetypal drama that takes place between each patriarch and his successor.

The "transmission of the mind with the mind" described in the anecdotes involving Hung-jen and Hui-neng, Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o, and eventually the historical Buddha and Mahākāśyapa, are scripts of the primal event in the Ch'an religious sensibility. This pristine moment of ancestral time was intended for repetition, over and over, within each teacher-and-student combination throughout the extended genealogy of Ch'an.

It was through the reenactment of this primal script that Ch'an derived its emphasis on sudden personal transformation: with the cast limited to teacher and student, there could be no in-between category of "almost-enlightened" or "rather like a master." One either belonged within the lineage of enlightened masters or one did not, and the religious transformation from one status to the other could only take place suddenly.

Bipolar and Collaborative

In encounter dialogue, the locus of spiritual practice shifted from the individual realm of yogic meditation exercises to the interpersonal interaction between master and student. Teachers sometimes wrote essays, poems, and gave sermons, but their primary source of identification lay in their interaction with students. It was impossible to express the truth in words radiated outward from a high seat in the lecture hall; rather, truth could be alluded to only in the spontaneous and natural activities of daily life. This critical importance of a teacher's ability to interact with students is a direct continuation of the emphasis on expedient means or salvific technique *(fang-pien,* Skt. *upāya)* in early Ch'an.

The cast of characters in the encounter-dialogue texts is essentially limited to master and students, and there is a remarkable degree of near-parity between these two statuses. I find it extremely significant that in this literature both masters and students are defined almost entirely through their mutual interaction. For example, although Ma-tsu is known for a few basic positions—"this mind is the Buddha" and "the ordinary mind is enlightenment"—the major emphasis is on the fact that he taught in the context of intimate interpersonal interaction. The very number of students, both named and anonymous, that appear in this literature, and the emphasis placed on the master's interaction with them, indicates a remarkable shift in Chinese Buddhist literature. In the theoretical works of previous centuries, a master's students were mentioned rarely, if at all, and then only as incipient exegetes, gifted translators, or future teachers whose presence proved the master's ability to attract followers.

In classical Ch'an texts, however, the gifted exegete or great theoretician is no longer the universal cynosure. Although it is still the master who is "on stage," he is depicted in terms not of doctrinal soliloquy but

of his varied and creative responses—his mastery of *upāya*—in relation to a number of students. (A graphic example of this is the painting discussed by Robert Gimello in this volume, in which the Ch'an master Fa-hsiu appears with an anonymous lay student.) In other words, in Ch'an texts masters attain individual identity only through their group identity, that is, through their interaction with students and the rest of the Ch'an community.[24]

Unstructured and Creative

Encounter-dialogue anecdotes are presented as having been unrehearsed, and such exchanges are taken as the very nexus of spiritual cultivation. In the *TTC,* encounter-dialogue exchanges are sometimes preceded by a sermon or pronouncement of the master's; in many cases the student's inquiries are standardized. Nevertheless, and even though we can now posit rules to explain the master's strategic jumps, the dialogue itself proceeds in a spontaneous and unique fashion. There are no explicit rules that the student can follow.[25] Indeed, if the master detects any predication of logical structure (e.g., rules, preconceptions, or projections) on the part of the student, rejection is sure to follow. Any attempt by the student to impose logical structure on the dialogue is exploded by the master in a superior verbal parry or nonverbal thrust. Obviously, the most common type of logical structure students applied in their questions was that derived from the traditional conception of the Buddhist mārga.

It bears repeating that the locus of religious endeavor defined in these texts is not seated meditation practice, of whatever style, but engagement in encounter dialogue itself: it is in such exchanges that religious truth is to be found. The student is not allowed to rely on any explicit method or technique, including any form of meditation practice. The antiritualism of Ch'an toward traditional Buddhist activities is well known, but the most significant aspect of this was the school's iconoclasm toward meditative and contemplative exercises. It is virtually certain that such exercises continued to have wide currency, but they were removed from center stage. The impression given in the text—although it is an impression that probably would not have occurred to the actual participants in ninth- and tenth-century Ch'an training regimens, as opposed to the literary constructs who appear in the *TTC* itself—is that the locus of spiritual self-cultivation has shifted from the realm of private yogic endeavor to a more public realm of informal, interpersonal linguistic exchange.

Finally, the goal of spiritual endeavor had changed, perhaps irrevocably. Entering the confraternity of masters may have required a total and instantaneous transformation, but it did not require the laborious cleansing away of unwanted defilements. The prelude to the moment of

transformation was a process not of self-improvement but of self-discovery: namely, recognition of one's own identity as a buddha or patriarch. This is graphically demonstrated by the internal structure of the *PLC,* in which each patriarchal successor is discovered by his predecessor but undergoes no training prior to his accession to the status of patriarch. In fact, the text does not contain a single description of the enlightenment experience of any of the Indian patriarchs.

The first patriarch whose enlightenment is described in the *PLC* is Hui-k'o, but even here the treatment is unusual. Before meeting his teacher Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o underwent an inner transformation that is depicted in amusingly physical terms: he experiences what is literally an exchange of skeletons prior to his encounter with Bodhidharma.[26] Thus to become a patriarch he had to be totally transformed. The suddenness of the encounter paradigm implies a transformation of self, awareness, or one's total being into a different mode of existence. As Robert Gimello has noted, sudden enlightenment was perceived as a transformation into a world totally different and absolutely separate from, but at the same time identical with, ordinary reality, yet immediately at hand.[27] This was a leap similar to that of prajñā, a lateral jump off the vertical ladder of the stages of dhyāna. In other words, the encounter model of Buddhist practice is intrinsically subitist. In addition, it makes no claims regarding the validity of saṃsāra as a description of sentient existence.

Conclusion

The Implications of Chronology

In this chapter I have described the T'ien-t'ai and Ch'an approaches to spiritual practice with a variety of terms, such as paradigms, models, and templates. Since this is a preliminary statement of findings that will change as my research continues, the reader is justified in considering the multiplicity of terms a function of the experimental nature of this paper. However, there is another more profound reason for the avoidance of a rigid terminology—namely, that the emergence of Ch'an was a complex process that should not be treated by the social and intellectual historian with artificially precise theoretical categories.[28]

To explain this dictum, let me briefly address the issue of the historical emergence of encounter dialogue itself. Earlier writers, including Professor Yanagida, have treated the existence of this unique form of spontaneous Ch'an dialogue as a given, with the explicit assertion that it emerged in conjunction with the Hung-chou school of Ma-tsu in the last part of the eighth century in south-central China.[29] It would seem, in fact, that singleminded devotion to encounter dialogue distinguishes

the "classical Ch'an" of Ma-tsu from the "early Ch'an" of the Northern, early Southern, and Oxhead schools, the last of which was almost contemporaneous with the Hung-chou school. Indeed, the distinction between early and classical Ch'an, which I posed in an earlier article as the primary discontinuity in the development of Chinese Ch'an, was based on this identification of encounter dialogue with Ma-tsu's community.[30]

Although Robert Buswell recently made the very cogent suggestion that we identify early, middle, classical, and postclassical phases of Chinese Ch'an, the precise delineation of these stages is still subject to further consideration.[31] More important is the question of whether we can actually use the occurrence of encounter dialogue as a distinguishing characteristic of a specific chronological period. When did it emerge as the central style of Ch'an practice? Was there ever a period in which the primary activity of Ch'an students and masters was spontaneous religious dialogue, or is the image of such a period only an enabling myth generated by later generations of Ch'an devotees?

The orthodox texts of Ch'an would clearly have us believe that such a period did exist, and that it existed during the careers of Ma-tsu and his immediate students and successors. But examination of these sources indicates that none of the stories involved can be traced back earlier than the *TTC*. While some of the anecdotes seem quite obviously to be artificial reconstructions—for example, Huai-jang's mimicking the young Ma-tsu in meditation by trying to polish a piece of tile into a mirror—others carry a sense of vivid realism that makes us want to believe they really happened. However, we must not allow ourselves to be misled by this impression of credibility, which is an essential function of fictional writing.

Examination of the contemporary sources for Ma-tsu's Hung-chou school, which include a number of epitaphs and texts such as the *PLC*, supposedly from 801, and the *Ch'üan-hsin fa-yao* (Essential Teaching of the Transmission of Mind), from around 850, has led me to believe that the school did have a significant emphasis on oral practice, or at least oral instruction. But was the type of oral encounter emphasized the same as that evoked by the classical Ch'an encounter dialogue that appears in the *TTC* and later texts? At this point, I am uncertain. I suspect that all the famous stories we have about Ma-tsu and his students are later reconstructions rather than edited transcriptions of contemporary, first-person observer accounts. This is not to say that spontaneous dialogue did not occur, but that the examples we have of it are less journalistic reports than creative imitations.[32]

To support the assertion that encounter dialogue arose only with the Hung-chou school, it has usually been said that the absence of such material among the Ch'an literature discovered at Tun-huang shows a

basic lack of conformity with early Ch'an. But although there was no encounter-dialogue material at Tun-huang, there were several Hung-chou school and later texts of the "classical" or "middle" periods. Significantly, the latest of these consists of Wen-t'eng's verses, which formed the backbone of the *TTC*, as mentioned earlier.[33]

Although further research is needed, the implication is clear: encounter dialogue was published for the first time in Chinese history with the *TTC*. No doubt there were private transcriptions circulating within the monastic community, but we know of nothing prior to this text, which was compiled more than 150 years after the death of Ma-tsu. Given this passage of time, the accounts that we have of Ma-tsu and his early generations of students must be edited reconstructions at the very least, rather than first-person accounts.

In the present context, we need not specify exactly when encounter dialogue came to dominate Chinese Ch'an. But notice that the question is not solely one of chronological obscurity. A larger issue is involved: the appearance of encounter-dialogue material in the *TTC* must be considered as a phenomenon of literary genre. We should think not only about masters and students of the late eighth and early ninth centuries engaging in spontaneous dialogue, but about their successors during the middle of the tenth century pondering the implications of the anecdotes of spiritual parry and riposte handed down from generations before.

The *TTC* was compiled during the relatively peaceful southeastern regime of Wu-Yüeh, and its very creation implies that its editors were on a mission to preserve a tradition that had become tenuous due to the difficult military and social conditions of the Five Dynasties period. If the urge to compose the text was essentially conservative, in the primary meaning of the term, then the attitude of the editors and their cohorts toward the patriarchs of earlier years was inherently retrospective. Whatever the facts of the eighth and ninth centuries, it was at the hands of these editors that the "golden age" of the T'ang Ch'an masters was created; it was from their text, and later ones like it, that students of Ch'an reenvisioned the wondrously enlightened actions of Bodhidharma, Hui-neng, and Ma-tsu. And it was in this process of creative visualization that the genealogical structure of the *TTC* is of absolutely fundamental significance.

The Attractions of Living in Ancestral Time

The masters and students of the postclassical Ch'an of the Five Dynasties and Sung periods read, pondered, discussed, and sermonized about the anecdotes contained in the *TTC*, and in so doing they defined both their own religious identities and the contour of their own spiritual endeavors. Meditating on the *hua-t'ou* or "critical phrase" *wu* (J. *mu*)

according to the instructions of Ta-hui Tsung-kao (1089-1163) was not merely a psychological device, it was a method for visualizing oneself as a full-fledged member of the numinous world of the ancient patriarchs, a way of entering into dialogue with the patriarchs on their own terms, of entering a particular moment in ancestral time.

Why did Ch'an become so popular within Chinese Buddhism? No doubt there are many answers to this question, including the identity of the school as a movement of spiritual revitalization within Chinese Buddhism. However, I suggest that at least part of the reason is that its mode of practice and its entire self-understanding were inherently and intrinsically genealogical, in a way that echoed the extended family social structure and that mirrored some of the dominant concerns of post-T'ang Chinese society. This is not to say that the genealogical structure of Ch'an is intrinsically Chinese; as I have pointed out elsewhere, the nucleus of the transmission theory, whereby the true teachings of Buddhism are handed down from Śākyamuni Buddha through a succession of patriarchs, was brought into China by the Kashmiri masters who established the foundation of the meditation tradition in China.[34]

Roughly contemporaneous with the efflorescence of Ch'an was another movement in the Chinese intellectual world: the reclamation of the native civil tradition by a movement that began with the search for *ku-wen* (ancient texts)—a movement that later came to be called *tao-hsüeh* (study of the Way) or *li-hsüeh* (study of principle), and that is known in modern English writings as Neo-Confucianism. The de facto originator of this movement is thought to have been Han Yü (768-824), a scholar-official known both for his brilliant literary style and for his famous memorial attacking the worship of a relic of the Buddha. Han Yü's contemporaries did not share his xenophobic interest in reviving the Confucian tradition to the exclusion of Buddhism, but he became a cultural hero to Chinese literati during the Sung.

Although the group of thinkers now identified as Neo-Confucian did not go unchallenged during their own lifetimes, the dominant move during the Sung was to look back through Han Yü to the sages of the Chou dynasty and create a Confucian *tao-t'ung* (succession of the Way). This mirrored the Ch'an perspective, which looked back through the patriarchs of the T'ang to Śākyamuni.[35] In addition, most Sung literati held that the Way should be recovered by seeking within the ancient classics of the Chinese tradition to understand the principles known to the sages. Although it was generally recognized that the contemporary world was too complex to witness the perfect re-creation of ancient institutions, the golden age of the past and the wisdom of the ancient sages were to be used as models in reforming the present.[36]

If the Neo-Confucians and other Sung dynasty intellectuals were

seeking to redress China's contemporary problems by returning to the rediscovered ideals of its past, postclassical Ch'an represents a more radical version of the same move. By meditating on famous anecdotes from Ch'an literature, Ch'an trainees were, in effect, visualizing the golden age of the T'ang, thus re-creating in their own minds the enlightened actions of the ancient sages and affecting the same style of intuitive repartee in their responses to their own living masters. What is more, masters such as Yüan-wu K'o-ch'in (1063–1135) and Ta-hui Tsung-kao effectively entered into dialogue with the ancient sages in their commentaries and sermons on Ch'an "public cases" *(kung-an,* J. *kōan).* The status of Ch'an master allowed one to communicate on an equal footing with the buddhas and patriarchs, so that time was flattened along the family tree of Ch'an in practice as well as in the organizational structure of the Ch'an legitimizing myth. Both Ch'an and Neo-Confucianism were innovatively conservative movements, in that they introduced new features to Chinese culture under the guise of re-creating a golden age of the past. Both monk and scholar idealized their respective forebears, but each wished to emulate rather than merely study them.

Elaboration of these very brief comments on the relationship between Ch'an and Neo-Confucianism will have to await another occasion; what is significant at present is that, for the Ch'an school, the imaginative re-creation of and communion with the past were not mere literary tropes but fundamental characteristics of Ch'an religious practice. It is thus no accident that Chinese texts do not talk openly about techniques of mental concentration, processes of spiritual growth, or dynamics of the experience of enlightenment. These subjects had already been covered in detail in the writings of Chih-i and others, and perhaps did not need repeating; there were also taboos against describing individual religious experience in ways that could be construed as self-aggrandizement. Nevertheless, I am convinced that if the members of the Ch'an movement had been more interested in exploring these areas they could have found ways to improve or expand on Chih-i and to avoid breaking the taboos.

Mārga and Encounter as Creative Bimodality

The very different proclivity of Ch'an—to the reproduction of almost endless quantities of encounter dialogue—suggests that the Chinese were intensely interested in exploring the new encounter paradigm, in deliberating over its famous cases in the meditation hall, and in emulating the style of untrammeled activity and discourse implicit in its famous exemplars. Does this mean that the mārga paradigm was completely discarded? I think not. The vitality of the originally Indian version of the spiritual path may have been mitigated through its reformu-

lation by Chih-i and thoroughly undercut by Ch'an, but in the latter case the very dynamism of Ch'an spiritual practice depended on the contrast between the dualistic formulations of the student and the perfect spontaneity of the master. If there was a decline in the dynamism of Chinese Buddhism after the Sung, it may have occurred in part because the nature and quantity of new Buddhist translations completed during the Sung allowed the creative tension between the mārga and encounter paradigms to be lost.

It would be foolish to suggest, however, that the mārga approach to Buddhist spiritual practice disappeared from the Chinese world. It may be true that the impact of Indian Buddhism declined gradually from the mid-T'ang onward, but I suspect that Indian Buddhist conceptions were far more vital than has generally been thought to have been the case within the Chinese religious and intellectual life of the late T'ang, Five Dynasties, and Sung, and probably even later in Chinese history as well. Our task as historians of religion is to remain sensitive to the interplay between the two models. We may be inspired by Bernard Faure's very suggestive interpretation of Bodhidharma as only one element within a binominal religious and literary motif,[37] and we may take a cue from David Pollack's luminous if sometimes controversial work, *The Fracture of Meaning.* In a fashion similar to the interplay between foreign and native themes in Japanese culture, where China represented the richly complex versus the innocent simplicity of indigenous sensibilities, the mārga paradigm represented a logically ordered set of abstract priorities that was juxtaposed to the nondualistic illuminations of encounter dialogue.[38] That the former came to seem contrived and the latter natural is an indication of the dominant structure of later Chinese cosmology.

What are the ramifications of this development for our understanding of Buddhist soteriology in general? Grace Burford's discussion of the *Aṭṭhakavagga* implies that there may be very deep continuities between the Chinese case and the earliest Buddhist tradition. She describes two distinct approaches to Buddhism present in the *Aṭṭhakavagga*—one that encouraged the adoption of correct views *(diṭṭhi),* and another that suggested that only the absence of views was correct. When we consider the possible relationship between this set of approaches and the distinction between the mārga and encounter models in Ch'an, two separate questions arise.

First, is the Ch'an polarity of mārga/encounter a distant echo of the contradiction between right views and no views found in the *Aṭṭhakavagga?* Although the fully elaborated spiritual path is considerably more complex philosophically than the simple views discussed in the Pāli text, and although the encounter model of spiritual practice is considerably richer than the basic insight that one should be without views,

the parallelism is there: to cultivate correct views is to engage in self-improvement, whereas to eliminate views is the sudden achievement of wisdom. In this sense, the congruence between Ch'an and the Indian tradition goes back not only to the *Aṭṭhakavagga,* but to the two traditions discussed by Alan Sponberg—the ecstatic, visionary perspective of the Upaniṣads and the enstatic, purificatory approach of the śrāmaṇa groups.[39]

In the Buddhist context, of course, these two traditions percolate out as the *śamatha* (concentration) and *vipaśyanā* (insight) branches of meditative endeavor. Even though the Indian conception of the path embraced both gradual and sudden, *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā,* in Ch'an the path is redefined as entirely gradualistic, entirely *śamatha.* Any gradual progress was but the cultivation of positive qualities, which, as shown in Collett Cox's chapter, was the preferred choice in the *Mahāvibhāṣa* system. It is thus possible to line up the different subtraditions of Buddhism according to how they treat the basic polarity between views or no views, *śamatha* or *vipaśyanā,* mārga or encounter; the delineation of precisely how these variants resemble, relate to, and differ from each other is an important task of future research.

Second, we might take a hint from the Chinese material and suggest that, no matter what set of alternatives is being considered, the relationship between the two is probably not so much one of absolute opposition as one of creative tension or mutual interrelation. For instance, is it possible that the two views apparent in the *Aṭṭhakavagga* were not independent viewpoints but different poles of a single continuum, or at least alternatives that constituted an interdependent pair? There does not seem to be any direct evidence of this in the text, and it would be difficult to find explicit, incontrovertible evidence that differing approaches to spiritual practice, when offered roughly simultaneously, necessarily represent pairs of alternatives operating as a single system. Nevertheless, this is an attractive interpretive perspective to which we must remain sensitive.

Within the Ch'an tradition, I am reminded of the introductory manual attributed to Hung-jen, the *Hsiu-hsin yao lun* (Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind), which displays a palpable sensitivity in its simultaneous exhortations to vigorous practice and cautions against predicating enlightenment as a goal to be desired and achieved.[40] This same delicate touch is apparent in the Japanese *Zazen ron,* discussed in this volume by Carl Bielefeldt, which displays a delicate balance between zazen as a goal-oriented technique and as an expression of inherent buddhahood. Since the *Zazen ron* draws heavily on early Ch'an ideas, it is not surprising that it also records interest in two separate models of the religious life—one that suggests working to attain enlightenment, and another that advocates simply manifesting the enlightenment already inherent within.

In a similar fashion, Chinese texts from the late seventh and early eighth centuries seem to espouse two separate models of spiritual practice and enlightenment—one based on the doctrine of the buddhanature obscured by ignorance (likened to the sun obscured by clouds), and the other based on the image of the mind of the sage reacting perfectly to the needs of sentient beings (depicted by the perfectly reflecting mirror).[41] As Gimello and Buswell suggest in their introduction to this volume, these are manifestations of Buddhism's maintenance of a vital balance between the apophatic thrust of the doctrine of śūnyatā and the theoretical implications of mārga. By restraining the urge to reify or routinize practice, the doctrine of śūnyatā mitigated spiritual enervation and the decay of mārga.

Thus for Chinese Buddhism to have sustained two different models of spiritual practice is consonant with the Buddhist tradition as a whole. Of course, the specific nature of that pair of models, not merely the paradigm of encounter dialogue but the antinomy between the mārga and encounter models, evolved within the context of the Chinese historical and cultural situation. Hence it is entirely valid to consider the parallels between the mārga/encounter opposition and themes native to Chinese culture, such as the different views of human nature in Chou dynasty Confucianism, the contrast between Taoist naturalism and Confucian moral training, and the differing approaches to self-cultivation in Sung and Ming dynasty Neo-Confucianism.

However, in at least two respects the mārga/encounter polarity seems unique. First, the encounter paradigm is based on an iconoclastic rejection of the very notion of mārga itself. Although such antinomian tendencies may be latent in other subtraditions of Buddhism, one suspects that the Ch'an example is the most pronounced. Second, the encounter paradigm involves an image of human interaction that derives jointly from Indian and Chinese sources. Not only did the genealogical model of the "transmission of the lamp" theory grow out of a coincidence of Indian and Chinese ideas, but the dialogic style of discourse used in Ch'an literature derived from a combination of Indian logical dilemmas and stylistic tendencies going back as far as the Chinese classics.

Notes

1. The term "encounter dialogue" is used to render *kien mondō,* as in "The Development of the 'Recorded Sayings' Texts of the Chinese Ch'an School,"

trans. from Yanagida Seizan, "Zenshū goroku no keisei," in Whalen Lai and Lewis R. Lancaster, eds., *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet,* Berkeley Buddhist Studies, no. 5 (Berkeley, Calif.: Lancaster-Miller Press, 1983), 185–205. The basic components of the corresponding Chinese, *chi-yüan wen-ta,* are attested, but the phrase is not widespread. The term *"wen-ta"* ("questions and answers," or simply "dialogues"), is quite general and may refer to any text with a question-and-answer structure.

2. Other than virtually any of the works of D. T. Suzuki, the most convenient source for examples of encounter dialogue is probably Chung-yuan Chang, *The Original Teachings of Ch'an Buddhism: Selected from the Transmission of the Lamp* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969; rpt. New York: Grove Press, 1982).

3. See Suzuki Tetsuo, *Tō Godai no Zenshū—Konan Kōsei hen—,* Gakujutsu sōsho • Zen Bukkyō (Tokyo: Daitō shuppan sha, 1984), 112–138, 359.

4. See John R. McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism,* Studies in East Asian Buddhism, no. 3 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 91–97.

5. Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki Zenshū shisho no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967).

6. There was a steady increase in the percentage of meditation specialists in successive "Biographies of Eminent Monks" texts, i.e., the *Kao-seng chuan* of 518, the *HKSC* of 645/667, and the *SKSC* of 967. As compiled by Mizuno Kōgen, only 16+ percent of the subjects were listed as meditators or thaumaturges (the power for whose feats came through meditation) in the first of these texts, whereas successive versions had 45+ and 36+ percent. The last figure may actually be adjusted to some 60–70 percent due to the suffusion of meditation specialists throughout the other categories. Mizuno suggests that the ultimate prevalence of meditation in Chinese Buddhism resembled that in primitive Indian Buddhism, where only certain monks were listed as especially proficient in meditation but all were well versed in it. See Mizuno Kōgen, "Zenshū seiritsu izen no Shina no zenjō shisōshi josetsu," *Komazawa Daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 15 (March 1957): 17–18. I would note that the increased number of figures bearing the title "Ch'an master" and identified within Ch'an genealogies does not immediately imply an increased devotion to the practice of meditation per se, but rather the greater currency of Ch'an as an ideology of religious identity.

7. The discussion of Chih-i's writings here is distantly based on work included in my doctoral dissertation, *The Northern School of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism* (Yale, 1983), 51–76.

8. The *TTC* is a quintessentially "hot" medium, as the term is defined in the dialogue surrounding the classic work by Herbert Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, *The Medium Is the Massage* (New York: Random House, 1967). That is, it provides only the bare narrative thread, forcing the reader to imagine the background information. This is in contrast to "cool" media (such as television), which supply enough information to supplant the process of creative imagination.

9. Hui-ssu's own curriculum of training seems to have paralleled a later T'ien-t'ai scheme of four types of meditation, and it is probable that he also initiated the process of rationalization that culminated in Chih-i's system of the graduated meditation *(chien-tz'u chih-kuan).* This inference is based on Chih-i's heavy dependence on the *Ta chih-tu lun* in explicating this graduated meditation, this being a text he studied under Hui-ssu. Unfortunately, there is very little direct evidence with which to gauge the extent of Hui-ssu's contribution, so for the purposes of this discussion I consider only the most relevent themes of T'ien-t'ai meditation theory, which become manifest in Chih-i's writings.

10. The *Tz'u-ti ch'an-men* is Chih-i's most important early work; there are a number of abstracts or commentaries based on it compiled by Chih-i and/or Kuan-ting. I have used an abbreviated title for this work, which occurs at *T* 46.475a–548c. For an analysis of its background and importance, including its relationship to other T'ien-t'ai texts, see Satō Tetsuei, *Tendaî daishi no kenkyū—Chigi no chosaku ni kansuru kisoteki kenkyū*—(Kyoto: Hyakkaon, 1961), 103–127. For a discussion of the origins and date of this text, see Takahashi Shūei, "Dai ikkai Kinryō dendō jidai ni okeru Tendai daishi no kōsetsu ni tsuite—toku ni *Shidai zemmon* o chūshin to shite—, *Komazawa Daigaku Daigakuin Bukkyōgaku kenkyūkai nempō* 5 (June 1971): 125–126. Chan-jan's date for the compilation of this work is given in Ono Gemmyō, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten,* 13 vols. (Tokyo: Daitō shuppan sha, 1933), 5:21a.

11. The four dhyānas, the four unlimited states of mind, and the four formless dhyānas are discussed at length in Paravahera Vajirañāna Mahāthera, *Buddhist Meditation in Theory and Practice: A General Exposition According to the Pāli Canon of the Theravāda School* (Colombo, Sri Lanka: M. D. Gunasena, 1962), 35–42, 263–317, 332–340. For a shorter explanation, see Stephen Beyer, "The Doctrine of Meditation in the Hīnayāna," in Charles Prebish, ed., *Buddhism: A Modern Perspective* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975), 138–139, 142–144. The six wondrous teachings refer to stages in the practice of meditation on breathing. The three penetrative illuminations refer to the four dhyānas, four formless dhyānas, and the attainment of extinction *(nirodha-samā-patti),* so named because they lead to the three illuminations *(ming)* into past, future, and the exhaustion of the defilements, as well as the six penetrations or supernatural powers *(t'ung* or *shen-t'ung,* Skt. *abhijna).* See Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyōgo daijiten,* 2 vols. (Tokyo: Tōkyō shoseki, 1975), 2:972d. For the nine contemplations, eight remembrances, ten contemplations, eight renunciations, and eight excellences, see Mochizuki Shinkō, *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten,* 10 vols. (Tokyo: Sekai seiten kankō kyōkai, 1933–1936), 1:678b–79a, 5:4223a–c, 3:2284c–85b, 5:4206b–207b, 5:4213c–14b. For the totality-spheres, see Vajirañāna, *Buddhist Meditation,* pp. 139–165, and *Mochizuki* 3:2374a–75b. For the nine successive dhyānas, samādhi of the lion's charge, and the samādhi of transcendence, see ibid., 1:664c–65a, 2:1788a–c, and Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo,* 2:965c.

12. Andō Toshio, *Tendaigaku—kompon shisō to sono tenkai*—(Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1968), 430.

13. Exceptions are lives of solitary practice or singleminded dedication to an ideal, such as the forbearance of suffering, that a practitioner may choose to emphasize for a particular lifetime. Such lifetimes are conceived of as individual steps along the path. A somewhat related exception must be made for the case of Mahāyāna texts that posit a single key to the entire panoply of Buddhist practices, such as the perfection of wisdom or the *śūraṁgamasamādhi.*

14. See Leon Hurvitz, "Chih-i (538–597): An Introduction to the Life and Ideas of a Chinese Buddhist Monk," *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 12 (1960–1962): 318–331.

15. This text occurs at *T* 46.549a–55c under the title *Liu miao-fa men.* (The three-character title is apparently older.) See Satō, *Tendai daishi,* pp. 151–172; Andō, *Tendaigaku,* pp. 438–462; and Mochizuki, *Mochizuki,* 6:5077b–58a. Andō, *Tendaigaku,* pp. 434–436, discusses the status of this work as a forerunner to the *Mo-ho chih-kuan.*

16. *T* 46.52a–b, as quoted in Andō, *Tendaigaku,* p. 219.

17. See *T* 50.563a for the events cited for Hui-ssu.

18. *T* 46.1c–2a, quoted in Mochizuki, *Mochizuki,* 1:311c–12a. The "accumulation" of illusions and its eradication refers to the four noble truths.

19. This paradigm was described in detail in Chinese texts derived from the Kashmiri meditation tradition, e.g., Kumārajīva's *Tso-ch'an san-mei ching* (Scripture of Seated Meditation and Samādhi).

20. The theories proposed by these theoreticians are often very long on abstraction, categorization, and hierarchical evaluation, as is shown by the popularity of the *p'an-chiao* tradition of classifying Buddhist doctrines according to a systematic ranking of theoretical and heuristic principles.

21. See McRae, *Northern School of Chinese Ch'an*, pp. 31–50.

22. This is the *Ch'üan-chou Ch'ien-fo hsin-chu chu tsu-shih sung (i-chuan)*, Stein 1635 or *T* 85.1320c–1322c.

23. My analysis of Śākyamuni's biography in the *TTC* is still not complete, but suffice it to say that the text explicitly cites a large number of early Chinese sources here. Presumably, this is drawn from the *PLC*, although the *TTC* does omit the *Sūtra in Forty-two Sections*, used in the *PLC* as the Buddha's "recorded sayings." See Yanagida Seizan, "Zen no Butsuden" (The Ch'an Biography of the Buddha) *IBK* 13, no. 1 (25; January 1965): 124–128.

24. Eventually, of course, the proliferation of Ch'an led to a very hierarchical arrangement of encounter-dialogue material according to generations and lineages. This may be viewed as a natural function of the institutionalization of the original charisma of early Ch'an, although hierarchy may also be inherent to the act of textual re-creation.

25. Encounter-dialogue exchanges may be analyzable into more or less regular patterns that were internalized by their participants, but the lack of explicit rules remains a relative distinction made in comparison with other forms of Buddhist spiritual endeavor. I refer to the notable efforts by William Frederick Powell, *The Record of Tung-Shan: An Analysis of Pedagogic Style in Ch'an Buddhism* (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1983), and Alan Sponberg, "Puttin' the Jump on the Master: Nāgārjuna and the Tactics of Emptiness in Ch'an Encounter Dialogue" (unpub. draft, 1987).

26. Similar skeletal exchanges are noted in shamanic religions. See Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, trans. Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Series, no. 76 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964), 57.

27. I am recalling oral comments made at the Kuroda Institute conference on sudden and gradual approaches to enlightenment in Chinese Buddhism, held in Los Angeles, March 1982. For a more detailed and somewhat different statement, see Luis O. Gómez, "Purifying Gold: The Metaphor of Effort and Intuition in Buddhist Thought and Practice," in Peter N. Gregory, ed., *Sudden and Gradual Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*, Studies in East Asian Buddhism, no. 5 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 67–71, 131–135.

28. In addition to Robert Gimello's lament, made in his role as respondent to an earlier reading of this paper, that the Kuhnian terminology of "paradigm shift" has been used ad nauseum and with insufficient discrimination in the humanities and social sciences, my criticism of the oversimplifications and distortions implicit in Hu Shih's work on Ch'an has rendered me more sensitive to the problems implicit in gross periodization schemata. Hu Shih's dichotomy between gradual/Indian/complex and subitist/Chinese/simple resembles that between the mārga and encounter paradigms, and the problems inherent in the former may thus apply to the latter. Although I believe the latter comparison to be more sophisticated and of greater analytical utility, the potential for error remains.

29. See Yanagida Seizan, "Goroku no rekishi" (The History of Recorded Sayings) *Tōhō gakuhō Kyōto* 57 (March 1985): 211–663, esp. 453–454.

30. See John R. McRae, "The Ox-head School of Chinese Buddhism: From Early Ch'an to the Golden Age," in Robert M. Gimello and Peter N. Gregory, eds., *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen,* Studies in East Asian Buddhism, no. 1 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 169–253.

31. See Robert E. Buswell, Jr., "The 'Short-cut' Approach of *K'an-hua* Meditation: The Evolution of a Practical Subitism in Chinese Ch'an Buddhism," in Gregory, ed., *Sudden and Gradual,* 321–377.

32. It is clear from Northern school texts that Chinese meditation masters had long emphasized spontaneous interaction as a means of both understanding and teaching their students. Hung-jen (600–674), remembered posthumously as the fifth patriarch of Ch'an, seems to have been adept at this, and his important but soon-forgotten student Fa-ju (638–689) certainly was. Northern school texts include quite a few "questions about things" *(chih-shih wen-i)* that masters posed to students, although the responses are not given, and there are other citations in eighth-century texts suggesting that Ch'an involved a unique and recognized form of teaching. See McRae, *Northern School and Formation,* 91–97.

33. See note 22 above.

34. See the conclusion to John R. McRae, "The Legend of Hui-neng and the Mandate of Heaven," *Fo Kuang Shan Report of International Conference on Ch'an Buddhism* (Kao-hsiung, Taiwan: Fo Kuang Publisher, 1990), 69–82. For the passage on which the comments in the article just cited are based, see idem, *Northern School and Formation,* 80–82.

35. Actually, the term *"tao-t'ung"* was used by Han Yü. Charles Hartman, *Han Yü and the T'ang Search for Unity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), 160, notes that "although there can be no doubt that the idea of transmission lineages in the Chinese scholarly tradition dates from at least the Han Dynasty and probably before, Ch'en Yin-k'o has suggested that Han Yü derived his concept of the *tao-t'ung* from the more immediate example of the Ch'an practice of the 'transmission of the dharma' *(ch'üan-fa)."* Hartman is citing an article by Ch'en called "Lun Han Yü" (1954), 105–106; the article is reprinted in *Ch'en Yin-k'o hsien-sheng lun-wen chi* 2:589–600. A recent and as yet unpublished manuscript by Peter Bol of Harvard University suggests that the concept of the *tao-t'ung* is also indebted to that of political succession *(cheng-t'ung).*

36. This summary is necessarily brief and overly general. In fact, the intellectual world of the Northern and Southern Sung, not to mention the Chin (which was contemporaneous with the latter), was complex and multivalent. To cite only the broadest of major currents, Sung dynasty intellectuals disagreed on whether the Way was real and universal, being transparently expressed by the sages through language and ritual (this was Ou-yang Hsiu's position), or whether it was an understanding or interpretation by the sages of the patterns of human affairs (Chu Hsi's position). They also disagreed on whether one could achieve wisdom by exploring the world on one's own and relying on the natural ability of the mind (the position taken by Ch'eng I), or whether one had to probe the ancient classics of the Chinese tradition to understand the principles known to the sages (Chu Hsi's interpretation). The latter, more absolutist position is that taken by Neo-Confucianism; the former, more epistemological one is that of Ou-yang Hsiu and others. Although still highly speculative at this point, it is possible to correlate the two major streams of Sung dynasty Ch'an practice with these differing currents within the civil Chinese tradition. Ch'eng

I's reliance on the natural ability of the mind resembles the "silent illumination" *(mo-chao)* approach to Ch'an meditation, while Chu Hsi's access to the Way through the mediation of the Confucian classics parallels the "observing the critical phrase" *(k'an-hua)* style of Ch'an. In this summary I am paraphrasing the formulation of Peter Bol, as expressed in several private conversations and stated during the Chinese religions workshop at Harvard, April 1988. In addition, I have referred to Bol's presentation at the Harvard Buddhist Studies Forum of February 1988, "Ch'eng Yi was not a Confucian"; I responded to these remarks with "And so the Ch'an monks weren't Buddhists?"

37. See Bernard Faure, "Bodhidharma as Textual and Religious Paradigm," *History of Religions* 25, no. 3 (February 1986): 187–198.

38. David Pollack, *The Fracture of Meaning: Japan's Synthesis of China from the Eighth through the Eighteenth Centuries* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986). For an extremely critical review of this book, see Naoki Sakai, "Modernity and Its Critique: The Problem of Universalism and Particularism," in Masao Miyoshi and H. D. Herootunian, eds., *Postmodernism and Japan,* a special issue of *South Atlantic Quarterly* (1988): 475–504, esp. 481–487. The reader should also consult Pollack's rejoinder, in his "Modernism Minceur, or Is Japan Postmodern?" *Monumenta Nipponica* 44-1 (Spring 1989): 75–97, esp. 83–86.

39. This discussion occurred in a paper Alan Sponberg presented at the Buddhist soteriology conference held at UCLA in June 1988 but not submitted for inclusion in this volume.

40. See McRae, *Northern School and Formation,* 136–138.

41. Ibid., 132–136, and 144–147, where I discuss these two models as complementary but separate "conceptual matrixes" of early Ch'an thought.

Glossary

Andō Toshio 安藤俊雄
chao-yüeh san-mei 超越三昧
cheng-t'ung 政統
Chiang-hsi nan-tao 江西南道
chien-tz'u chih-kuan 漸次止觀
chih 止
Chih-i (see T'ien-t'ai Chih-i)
chih-shih wen-i 指事問義
Ching-chou 荊州
Ching-hsiu Wen-t'eng 淨修文偈
Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu 景德伝灯録
Ch'ing-yüan Hsing-ssu 青原行思
chiu hsiang 九想
chiu tz'u-ti ting 九次第定
chi-yüan wen-ta 機緣問答
Ch'üan-chou Ch'ien-fo hsin-chu chu tsu-shih sung i-chuan
  泉州千仏新著諸祖師頌一巻
ch'uan-fa 伝法
Ch'uan-hsin fa-yao 伝心法要
erh-shih-wu fang-pien 二十五方便
fa-hsing 法性

fang-pien 方便
Han Yü 韓愈
Hsiu-hsin yao lun 修心要論
Hsü kao-seng chuan 続高僧伝
Huai-jang 懷讓
hua-t'ou 話頭
Hui-k'o 慧可
Hui-neng 慧能
Hui-ssu 慧思
Hung-chou 洪州
Hung-jen 弘忍
k'an-hua 看話
kien mondō (see chi-yüan wen-ta)
kōan (see kung-an)
kuan 觀
kuan pu-k'o-ssu-i ching 觀不可思議境
Kuan-ting 灌頂
kung-an 公案
ku-wen 古文
li-hsüeh 理学
Lin-chi I-hsüan 臨済義玄
Liu miao-fa men 六妙法門